

KRONSTADT FOR BEGINNERS

MARCH 1921: RUSSIAN LIFE IS DOMINATED BY LENIN'S "WAR COMMUNISM" - FOOD IS REQUISITIONED FROM THE PEASANTS AND TOO MUCH OF IT FINDS ITS WAY INTO THE BELLIES OF PARTY OFFICIALS, LIKE URITSKY, HEAD OF THE CHEKA.



THE SOVIETS HAVE BECOME THE TOOLS OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY. TRADES UNIONS AND PEASANTS' ORGANISATIONS ARE DENIED THE RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY. MILITANTS ARE IMPRISONED AND STRIKERS ARE ROUNDED UP AND SHOT. ROAD BLOCKS AND GUARDS ON FACTORIES MAKE UNHINDERED TRAVEL IMPOSSIBLE.



ANARCHISTS AND LEFT SOCIAL-REVOLUTIONARIES ARE FORCED UNDERGROUND OR ELSE SUFFER IMPRISONMENT OR DEPORTATION.



THERE IS A REVOLT AT THE NAVAL BASE OF KRONSTADT AND FREE SOVIETS ARE FORMED. THE SAILORS, LED BY PETRICHENKO, SEND A RESOLUTION TO LENIN DEMANDING AN END TO THESE INJUSTICES



IT IS ANNOUNCED THAT A WHITE GENERAL HAS TAKEN KRONSTADT AND IS MARCHING ON PETROGRAD. THE FULL MIGHT OF THE RED ARMY IS LAUNCHED AGAINST THE TOWN AND FLEET (FROZEN IN THE ICE) AND THE REBELLION IS CRUSHED. IRONICALLY LENIN IS SOON TO INTRODUCE HIS "NEW ECONOMIC POLICY" WHICH RECTIFIES SOME OF THE SAILORS' GRIEVANCES.

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THAT'S NOT THE WAY IT'S GOT TO BE



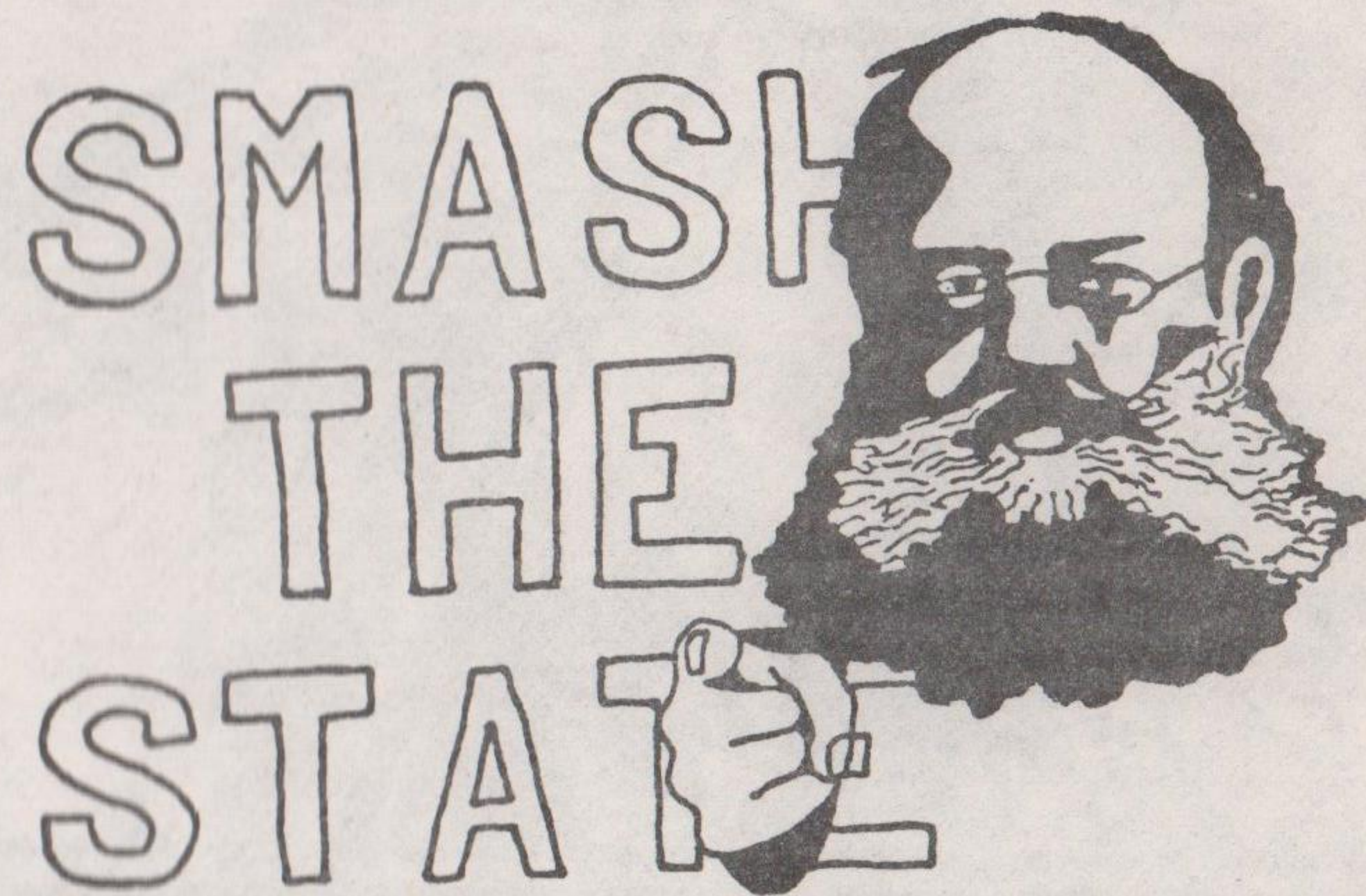
CARRIES A GOVERNMENT HEALTH WARNING

COLLECTED THOUGHTS OF THE WARWICK ANARCHISTS

If you're reading this in the hope of finding a 'party line' to confirm to, don't bother, join the IMG or SWP for their doctrine is more cut and dried, they claim to have an all powerful plan that will lead us all to socialism. We make no such claims. We desire both freedom and equality and we believe that one without the other can only lead to one or another form of tyranny.

This document was produced to show various aspects of anarchism, to publicly air our differences (wash our dirty linen, if you like) and try to give some idea of what anarchism and anarchists are like.

Anyway, read on, may be you'll recognise some of your own feelings in here somewhere.....come and talk to us too, we have a fair grasp of the English language, though many of us have not learned the spelling and grammar yet.



The Anarchist (a White House Nursery Composition).

The Anarchist is a very fierce creature. It is a first cousin to the gorilla. It kills emperors, Kings, Princes, Presidents, likewise members of their familiesIt has long unkempt hair on its head and all over its face. Instead of finger nails, it has long, sharp claws. The Anarchist has many pockets in which it carries Knives, pistols, bombs, and dynamite. It is a night animal. After dark, it gathers in groups, large and small, and plans raids and murders. Lots are drawn to select those who must carry out the work.

The Anarchist does not like water. It never washes or changes its clothes. It is always thirsty, and drinks beer and whisky. The home of the Anarchist is Europe, especially Russia and Italy. Some few have been imported to America where they are feared and hated by all decent folks and hunted everywhere they show up.

Papa does not like Anarchists a bit. They give him bad dreams, he says. He has given orders to have them all caught and put in cages. And he will not allow any more to come into his country if he can help it. If any sneak in, he will shoot them like bears, Spaniards, mountain lions and such wild animals. I practice every day with my new rifle so that I can shoot those wild beasts when I grow up.

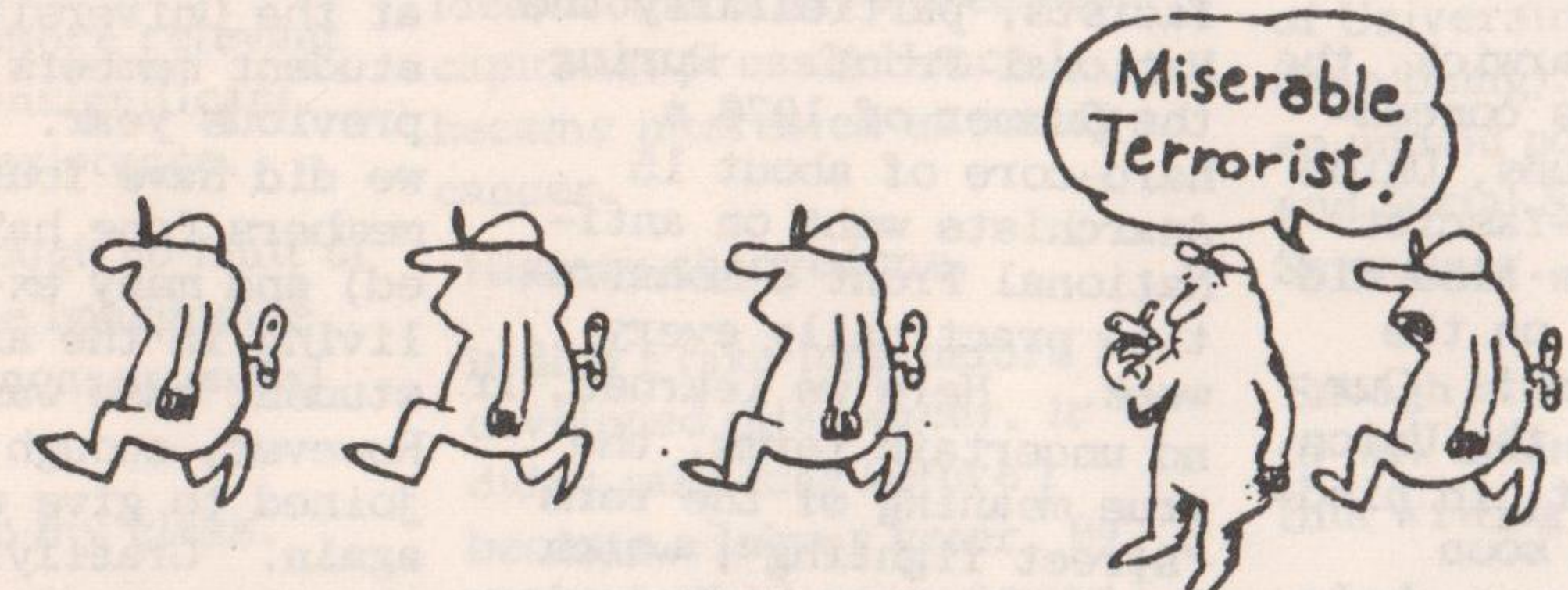
Papa says Anarchists, rabbits and such vermin multiply and do not commit race suicide.

Aspects Of Anarchy

STEVE FELLER

In answer to the question, What is Anarchy?, it is possible to find as many different answers as there are people who call themselves anarchists. However, below I will attempt to put down some of my ideas.

For an anarchist the most important word in their vocabulary is freedom. But freedom can mean many different things, for instance, many extreme right wingers (e.g. "The National Association for Freedom") claim as their aim to defend individual freedom. Most anarchists, however, would be most upset to be connected with people such as these. For these people, the freedom which they talk about and try to defend is the freedom for some people to suppress the freedom of others. For the anarchist, on the other hand, it is impossible to divorce the idea of freedom from the idea of equality. For, in order to form a society in which everyone is free there cannot be members of that society who can wield power over other members of that society, either by their position in society, i.e. leaders, bureaucrats, etc. or through their material position, i.e. having more possessions. We cannot hope to have our own freedom without having respect for the freedom of others.



So anarchism is socialist in its content, and indeed, in many cases anarchists are seen to say and do similar kinds of things to other people who call themselves socialists. That is not to say the Labour Party (who don't really want to change society), but those people on the so called "Far Left" who call themselves Trotskyists, Leninists and the like. So, in what way are the anarchists different from these?

The anarchists differ from these in that they organise non-hierarchically, for we believe that authoritarian and hierarchical structures can only change one form of hierarchical society into another hierarchical form, not into the free society, which we desire. In order to change society in such a way so that individuals can think and act for themselves we believe that we must do this within our own organisations. So we see our task as encouraging people to think and act autonomously in order to demonstrate the restrictions placed on the individual in the present form of society and show the need for change.

So, of you want to live your own life, think that you are a social being, if you want to be free, then join us.

WHEN TYRANNY IS LAW



REVOLUTION IS ORDER

When I came to the University in October 1975 I was already a committed anarchist, although I had never been in an anarchist group. It was a pleasant surprise, first to find other Anarchists at Warwick and second to find so many of them. (In the year 75-76, paper membership was about 60 and of these about 20 were active). Although at first put off slightly, by the fact that everyone seemed to know everyone else, I soon met people, and within two weeks felt that I could count many of the Anarchist Association as personal friends.

In my year at Warwick, the A.A.'s activity was concentrated on two issues, Union Politics and anti-fascist work. Although we also did most of the work on the Ko-op and still do! Our interventions in the Union, although at first, in hindsight frivolous, soon gained the A.A. as a whole 'political credibility', and even a certain amount of respect. Among other things, the Anarchists were the prime movers in the destruction of the living corpse, of the Students Representative Council, a body, which although in constitutional theory was important, acting as a link between U.G.M. and executive, was practically moribund. Our efforts came to fruition in the Union Elections when two Anarchists were elected to sabbatical posts, and three to non-sabbatical. In Union politics we often, though by no means always, worked with the Soc. Soc. and I.S. Soc. against the Broad Left's waverings. In Union activities from 1975-6 then, we can be said to have been more successful than we had hoped.

AS IT WAS

J.T. KIRKWOOD



Our other, more dramatic sphere of action was in mobilization against fascists, particularly the National Front. During the Summer of 1976 a hard-core of about 15 Anarchists went on anti-National Front demonstration practically every week. Here we learned, in no uncertain terms, the true meaning of the term "street fighting", which for most of us had previously been a cliché fantasy. It is fair to say the Warwick A.A. played a significant part in taking the struggle against N.F. and Police onto the offensive. In the riots at Bradford and Birmingham, several black flags were lost to the expediency of the battle. (One was seen on national T.V. in Bradford; being broken over a police-man's lead). Amazingly, only one A.A. member (a pacifist!) was arrested, having been beaten to the ground whilst running away from a police-horse charge. Our shared experiences on the streets built a deep sense of genuine comradeship, but unfortunately, this gave us the appearance and it must be admitted, in many ways the reality of a clique.

During 1975/76 we also hosted two Conferences of the short-lived Confederation of British Anarchists, and although they were not entirely successful, we made very good contacts.

At the end of the summer term I left/was thrown out of the University and joined many other comrades on the dole. I was not alone in leaving Warwick, as many members were either not prepared to stay students or were third years.

October 1976 then saw an A.A. with a good reputation at the University, but few student members from the previous year. Admittedly we did have four executive members (one having resigned) and many ex-students living in the area, but the student base was small. However, enough people joined to give us a society again. Gratifyingly, these were not only first year anarchists, who had been converted elsewhere, but also people who had been at the University the previous year, who our efforts helped to convert.

The year began ominously as the news of the Murray case began to break in the U.K. Our grandiose plans for the years work went into permanent cold storage as we tackled this new problem. With the help of the Leicester and Birmingham groups we formed the West Midlands Murray Defence Group which was almost certainly the most active of the British Defence Groups. The W.M.M.D.G. not only went on demonstrations, produced leaflets and raised money, but also

carried out a series of occupations for publicists reasons, the most notable being the 60 strong occupation of Amnesty's Offices in London, which was organised entirely by and comprised mainly of W.M.M.D.C. Members.

Meanwhile, back at the University, other activities suffered. Two of our Executive members resigned, and our candidates in elections failed to re-



place them. Political events in the Union on the Left came almost entirely from the Soc.Soc./I.S.Soc coalition, which picked up a great deal of support, though in general the Union moved to the right.

In the summer term, with the Murray's case "decided" work in that area lapsed and we were able to organise a fairly successful Anarchist Week with speakers, a disco, and an

evening of poetry and song. We also hosted the inaugural Conference of the Midlands Anarchist Federation and began attempts to revive the ossified and decaying Libertarian Students Network. Faced with the problem of only about 10 student members this year, we decided to produce this pamphlet as propaganda.

October 1977 is up to you!

"POLITICS CAN BE ABOVE YOUR HEAD WHEN YOU'RE A BEAR OF LITTLE BRAIN;"

A NEW LINE IN MYTH-TAKING!

Once upon a time, as A.A. Milne has happily told us, Eeyore the Old Grey Donkey lost his tail, and helpful Pooh Bear, full of comradely spirit and honey, asked the very wise Owl what to do.....

"Well", said Owl, "the customary procedure in such cases is as follows".

"What does CrustimoneyProseed cake mean?" said Pooh.

"For I am a Bear of Very Little Brain, and long words Bother me".

"It means the Thing to Do."

"As long as it means that I don't mind," said Pooh humbly.

This is a tale told to delight and instruct. It is at Warwick a parable of our times. Wander round the Sean Hosey bar of an evening and listen to the wise owls talk about the objective application of the concept of the negation of the negation to an historical materialist perspective of the anti-Imperialist struggle in Ireland. And that's when they're debating whether to have another Guinness. There are few who have the integrity of Winnie the Pooh to stop and ask what's going on. I must admit, I keep my dictionary hidden as I struggle through Battle of Ideas, rather than bolster the egos of the S.W.P. comrades I live with, who read theirs upstairs and are thus limited to the use of Roget's Thesaurus and Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable.

Something is happening in left politics, perhaps has been happening for a long time, which Anarchists at least should have the insight and the foresight to be concerned about. It may seem petty, and it is laughable at the level I have been talking about, but as a general tendency it does not bode well. We talk of raising the consciousness of the masses - in itself an offensively patronising cliché. We think we have something important to communicate. Surely what we've gleaned from socio - and psycholinguistics (yes, anarchists can use long words too) should instill in us a greater regard for language. A vocabulary which can express clearly the basic concepts of our political and social theory is indispensable. A jargonized bastardization of that vocabulary repulses the people with common-sense whom we hope to reach, encourages intellectual elitism, and leads to the mystification and confusion of a theory - and a practise, which must be logical and clear.

It is not only the host of unconscious associations each individual can connect with particular words which makes the process of communication so uncertain, but the attitude to language itself which this society has engendered. Words can define and label concepts and situations for an individual although she/he may not have come to terms in actual experience with what is defined. Use of such words can therefore give an individual a sense of control over experience which she/he does not actually have. I could talk now of the disassociation of sensibility, or of how the perception of the gulf between the structured apparatus of communication set up to articulate social order and the actual degenerate state of that social order - the alienation of language - can on a cultural level produce a potentially revolutionary situation. Most people would have a fair idea of which I'm talking about - I've got a rough "idea myself. Firstly though, we might note that if it sounds convincing it is partly because the education system we've passed through has taught us to be convinced more easily by pentasyllabics. Secondly, if we accept as a fact the alienation of language we should be striving to expose and counter its effect on society rather than fall victim to it ourselves. Our arguments must convince by the validity of our ideas, not by any apparent syntactic logic, a clever juggling of thuses and therefore, -ations and -isms. Misuse of the vocabulary of our politics will taint not only the words themselves but the concepts they define. These words, intended to make easier objective analysis are too often prostituted in subjective indulgence. Individuals may feed their own egos by taking them out and waving them in front of us like Baudelaire's shawl, but this has little to do with objective politics.

If, as Anarchists believing that 'the means we adopt will determine the ends we achieve', we hope to lay the foundations of a society where each individual has the greatest possible control of their lives, we must foster in ourselves, and those we hope will join with us, the ability to carry on a process of continual objective evaluation of our situation; and on a practical level here and now that means fighting the jargon, the bullshit, which in moments of weakness we all tend to use as an easy way out, an alternative to thinking.

The A.A. at Warwick used to have a very healthy attitude towards this. Now the long nights in the Sean Hosey with friends from other political groups are beginning to take their toll. Friends who used to begin sentences with "I think....." now say, "My analysis of the nascent situation is.....". Suddenly we've become "petit bourgeois individualists" where we used to be called "idiots", and (horror of horrors) "democratic centralists" where we used to be "organised". My friends are turning into "contacts" before my very eyes. Take warning friends - what we used to decide once in other groups is fast becoming our crustimoney proseedcake.



I WAS A TEENASE TORY! ONE WOMANS TRUE CONFESSION



As a former member of the Federation of Conservative Students, I was struck by the difference between the Anarchist Association and any other political society when I joined it a few months ago.

For a start there are no designated 'officers', for example the Chairperson is different every week which ridicules the fuss made by other societies when electing members to fill various offices. The system in the A.A. seems to operate well enough. There are no special committees which place themselves above the rest of the group. This means that there is a greater degree of participation in affairs and members should be aware of what is going on instead of hearing it second-hand or perhaps not at all.

There is no organisation of political views to form a 'party line', within the Association there are widely diverging opinions, though obviously there are some areas of common agreement. I have found that this encourages the development of a personal viewpoint rather than one that is stifled by what is expected by the hierarchy of some party. In an organisation such as the F.C.S. each member is supposed to embrace certain ideas or at least pay lip service to them. Contrary to their ideas of freedom of the individual, free thinking is not actively encouraged. I joined the A.A. because their ideas seemed to merge theory and practise. I believed that I should be free to manage my own affairs without interference and be able to think for myself without being bound by any form of authority. Anarchism is the only philosophy that sets itself against this form of pressure.

For me, another important aspect was that Anarchists do not pretend to represent any particular element of society nor do they indulge in forms of hypocrisy to gain support; an Anarchist Society has room for everyone. This can be compared to the blatant hypocrisy of certain political groups who claim to treat everyone as equal and to be interested in breaking down social barriers. Privately these same people mock the under-privileged and appear to wish to only perpetuate restrictions; the further away they are from them the better. Anarchists can achieve so much in all sorts of areas by working to break down these barriers, preparing the way for a completely new society.

In larger societies it is easy to become lost and never really become involved or even required to take part in their activities. The Anarchist Association at Warwick is still small and while this has the obvious advantage of easier participation, it can be offputting for those who are not used to the more personal and informal atmosphere. New members should be prepared for this. I think that the Association would also benefit from more women joining, at the moment they are in a distinct minority and this does make them feel self-conscious at meetings. Once a few more have joined it will make it easier for further women to come on their own and not feel uncomfortable. There is no pressure for members to participate actively in each meeting. It is recognised that some people are perhaps not sufficiently confident to speak or feel that they lack a detailed knowledge of the subject under discussion. It is obvious that silence does not indicate lack of interest and that pressure to speak will only embarrass and alienate people.

A. ROCHE

LISTEN MEN....

The sexual revolution is yet to come. No matter how much legislation gets through a parliament (or even a soviet for that matter) women will still have to fight long and hard for recognition of their equality in the eyes of the heterosexual male.

Even on the revolutionary left a good deal of the men have very unliberated attitudes towards women. You can find them waxing lyrical about women's liberation at meetings but when it comes down to their personal life their outlook becomes completely changed.

"SHE does the cooking, SHE washes up, SHE tidies the house, what's SHE doing throwing rocks at fascists, that's a job for the MEN."

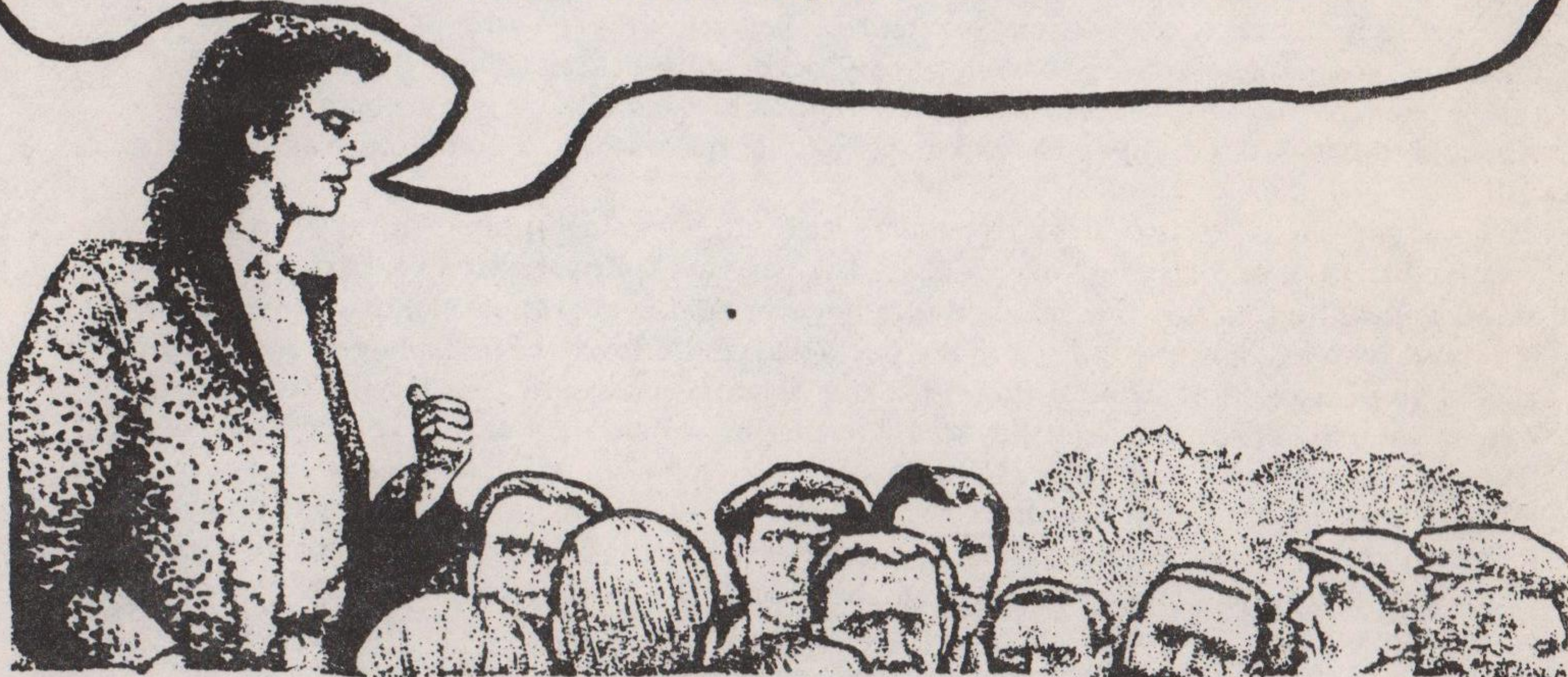
Your revolutionary theory is kept as theory, your practice is that of the self-centred bastard you are.

Why are you a revolutionary, do you really believe in the equality you claim is everyone's right? What's your stake in Socialism, do you dream of being Lenin, Trotsky or Guevara? Bet all the women fancied Guevara, didn't they? All this polemic of yours just serves to boost your own ego, you can talk, but that's all we ever get from you.

Admit that you're just as confined in your dominant masculine (sic) role as the next man and you'll be making a step in the right direction. Question your motives now and again, don't say "after the revolution....." as a magic spell to make feminists disappear.

This problem is here and now and is not one to be put off until after the revolution, for the oppression of women is fundamental to this society, you wish to destroy (or say you do). Feminists have enough problems as it is without having to fight chauvinism within the ranks of their supposed allies.

And as long as this difference between theory and the attitudes of so-called revolutionaries exists, the revolution they fight for will be incomplete.



OF MAN AND REVOLUTION

I decided to outline one strand in Anarchist theory (at risk of being too 'heavy') mainly to dispel falacies such as that (for instance) it has no significant theory at all, or that it is 'organising to be disorganised.' On the contrary, it is concerned with a high degree of non-bureaucratic organisation. It is important to note that there are other 'tendencies' in Anarchist theory: individualism for instance but I feel this is not the place to mention my (often profound) disagreement with them.

THE ORSOLESCENCE OF CAPITALISM

Capitalism's motivating factor in economic growth is profit (or surplus value) rather than material need. In 'developed' countries there is a recognition of need as a secondary factor in extreme cases, and hence the existence of social security and medical schemes as an adhoc addition to capitalism. These play an important role as an economic and social stabilizing measure. In under-developed countries we see the result of a world capitalism interested only in its profits. Capitalism is incapable of solving its problems because the only problem it can see is declining rates of profit and its only policies are those of increasing rates of exploitation and keeping down wages. Human beings are just so much offal to be trodden under foot. Furthermore,

capitalism is not even capable of maintaining its rates of profit: it is doomed to periodic crises and its lot is more and more an economic and cultural stagnation, the only recourse to which is imperialist war or fascism. To this Mephistophelian system we pose an alternative: Anarchism.

The jump from capitalist to Anarchist society is too great to make over night: we must take as our starting point from what we are historically given, and consequently anarchism is inevitably bound up with a transitional stage which we refer to as socialism at risk of confusion with the parody which so called 'labour' parties or the tyrants of present day capitalist Russia or China and their running dogs call by the same name.

SOCIALISM AS A FIRST STEP.

Economically, socialism is concerned with the establishment of a planned economy which eliminates the crises that occur periodically in capitalism to break out of economic stagnation, and allow free economic development, especially in the third world. Production for profit is replaced by production for basic human need.

Socially it is concerned with the elimination of unequal relations of production. Factories are run by elected and revocable workers committees whose members are immediately responsible

to those who work there. Unacceptable working conditions are to be eliminated. That part of the social product remaining after the renewal of worn-out plant and the like is to be distributed equally. This is achieved by making industrial plant, land and housing public property; this does not mean nationalisation within the capitalist state, which consists of amassing property under the centralised control of a state in turn dominated by the bourgeoisie. The required degree of economic planning can be achieved either through trade union type organisations, or by workers councils, or a combination of these.

Finally, in the political sphere it is characterised by a total democratization of all aspects of life with the principle of recall added to that of election: i.e. if people are elected to perform some function,

they are responsible at all times to those who elected them and are liable to be replaced if they fail to carry out their mandate. This applies not only to those few remaining quasi-governmental activities in the worker's councils and congresses of worker's councils, but also in armed defence, policing activities, courts, economic life, education, and so forth.

But socialism is not an ultimate aim: the equality of distribution is in reality an inequality. People are not the same in physical or mental attributes or social situation (for instance one person may have more children than another). Thus only when people are free to consume what they feel they need will we have true 'equality'. Of course this state of affairs requires a slow evolutionary approach to make it socially feasible, even in the developed countries where there is the necessary wealth to make it economically feasible. In under-developed countries it requires vast assistance both of an educative and material nature from their erstwhile exploiters to make even socialism feasible. But in the developed countries it would be possible in a relatively short time to make a certain standard of housing, food, clothing, medical facilities, heat and lighting open to free consumption. Obviously, the rate and extent of the transcendence of the bounds of socialism is a matter to be determined by everyone at the appropriate time.

The other aspect of socialism which falls short of anarchism is the existence of state-like structures in economic and social organisation and it is not until all functions previously usurped by the state are dispersed thoroughly and uniformly that we will have a truly anarchist society.

Finally we can say that revolutionary socialism as outlined above has been tested in practice: for at least a year - in some areas longer - during the revolution in the 'republican' camp of Spain the entire mechanism of the capitalist state was a mere impotent shadow: 'state power was in the streets'.

ANARCHISM

ANARCHISM, SCIENTIFIC AND UTOPIAN.

Socialism as a utopian idea is useless until it is demonstrated that there is a feasible method in the real world to reach it. Unfortunately there is no 'painless' method. Whether in the West or in the so called 'communist' countries, the ruling groups are unwilling to renounce their power just

because the oppressed classes are mature enough to take it - indeed the controlling interests of capitalism are forever giving examples of the lengths to which they will go in preserving the status quo. Capitalism is prepared to tolerate any inhumanity of man against man: German capitalists were prepared to support Hitler by massive financial contributions and by the political deals they could swing when they decided a 'democratic' republic was not giving them the profits they wanted, and it would be wrong to think of this as an exceptional act.

The key to the road to socialism is the capitalist state: the state is the vice in which capitalism holds its human fuel - it can restrain you, stop you from struggling or crush you. The essential characterisation of the state is special bodies of armed men - usually a regular army and police force. The state as an organisation is in the vast majority of cases in the direct or indirect control of the economically dominant class in society. Analytically therefore, it is a tool of oppression, although it is

only in times of intense conflict that the oppressive nature of the state becomes crystal clear - in times of general strike activity or actual constructive revolutionary activity when worker's organisations are smashed by armed force.

Hence it is inconceivable that the legislature of the state - parliament - could implement socialism by passing laws: even were it possible for it to act independently of the rest of state apparatus and with the acquiescence of the executive and army, implement truly socialist reforms, these would be doomed to failure. In the world economy, an individual nation implementing policies other than those based on profitability while still working within capitalism will fail to be competitive and thus suffer economic crisis. In addition to technical arguments, it is a nonsense to suggest that socialism can be legislated, because the whole machinery of the capitalist state is at best useless, at worst actively hostile, to socialist organisation, requiring as it does the sweeping away of the old institutions of control and oppression and their

replacement by thoroughly democratic organs of co-ordination by the action of the vast majority of the population.

It is, then, only by an abrupt break with the old relations of production and old organs of capitalist society - in short by smashing the state machine - that socialism can be introduced. While people's control over their own life is given back to them (in the factory, office, school and all other areas) there is still a need for united and coordinated action - especially in the immediately post-revolutionary period when a dispossessed bourgeoisie and its representatives are struggling to re-impose their rule. This task of co-ordination is most naturally achieved in the early phase of socialism by workers' councils in each locality and congresses of workers' councils over larger areas. These are by and large spontaneous phenomena which have appeared

in most proletarian revolutions. (They first appeared in St. Petersburg in 1905 when, incidentally the Bolshevik party at first regarded them with intense suspicion as rivals to the party!) However,

the danger of the abuse of democracy in these bodies cannot be over emphasized: one of the crucial mistakes the Bolsheviks made was to suppress democracy in the workers' councils (Soviets) and it was this more than anything else, which paved the way for Stalinism. Hence we stand strongly for open democracy within soviets and within revolutionary parties and strongly against covert measures that safe guard the political power of distinct groups within soviets by censorship, secret political police, ballot rigging and the like.

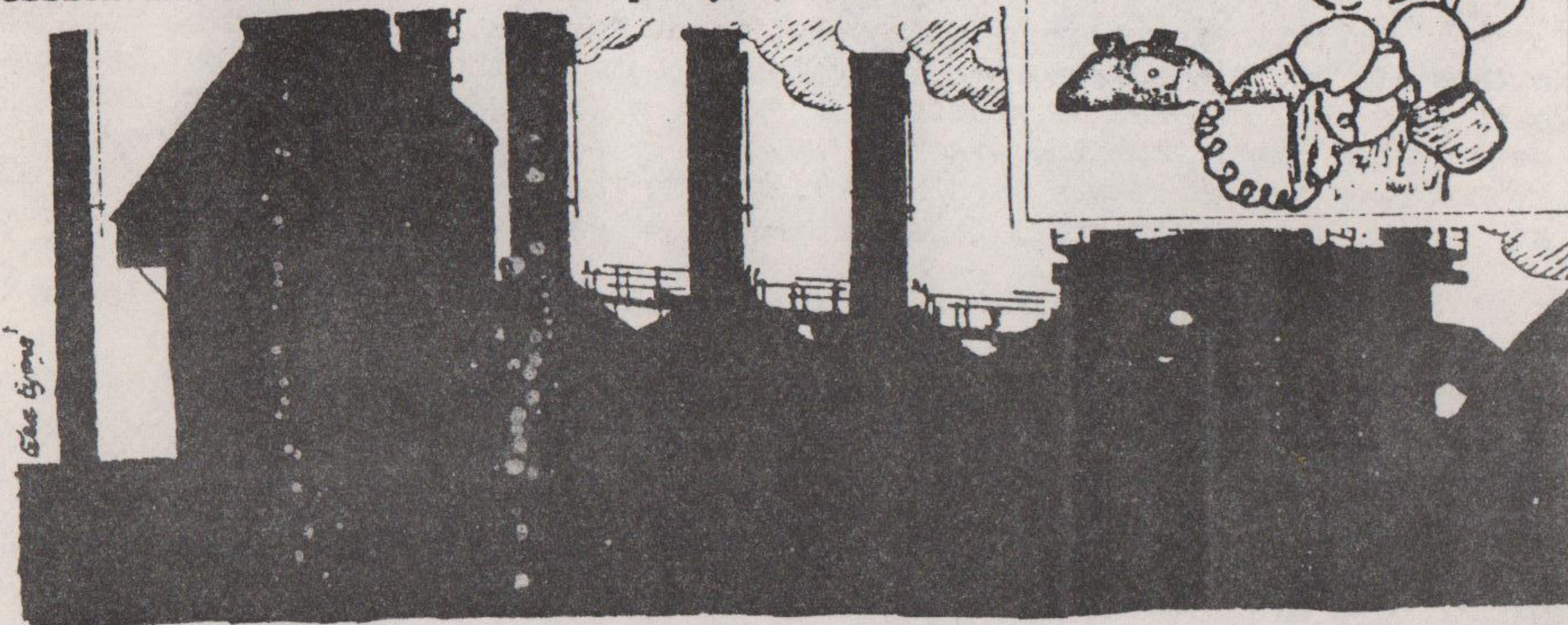
This then, is a brief outline of the strand of Anarchism (an Anarchist would probably call this something like 'libertarian communism'). Unfortunately in an article this short it was impossible to argue each point fully, let alone bring supporting material to bare, but I hope the reader finds it of some use in gaining a general understanding of this particular branch of anarchist thought.

J.F. LINCOLN



NICKED FROM BLACK FLAG AN EXCELLENT PAPER BUY IT!

'STOLEN' FROM BLACK FLAG CHEERS TO PHIL RUFF



ANARCHISM

The concept of society without government is essential for an understanding of the anarchist attitude. In reflecting government, the true anarchist does not reject the idea or the fact of society; on the contrary, his view of the need for society as a living entity becomes intensified when he contemplates the abolition of government. The pyramidal structure imposed by a government, with power proceeding from above downwards can only be replaced if society becomes a closely knit fabric and an organism; one is built and the other grows according to natural laws. Metaphorically one can compare the pyramid of government with the sphere of society, which is held together by an equilibrium of stresses. Anarchists are much concerned with equilibriums, and two kinds of equilibrium play a very important role in our philosophy. One is the equilibrium between destruction and construction that dominates their view of the ideal society. But order is not to be imposed from above. It is a natural order, and is given expression by self-discipline and voluntary co-operation.

Anarchism has never been represented by a political party, because its followers have wished to retain their freedom to react spontaneously to concrete situations and have regarded political parties as showing the same faults as governments. As for constitutions, the anarchists have continued to regard them as fixed and guaranteed political systems which rigidly the state and institutionalise the excessive of power; neither of these effects is acceptable to libertarians, who believe that the organisation of community life on a political level should be replaced by its social and economic organisation on the basis of free contractual agreement between individuals.

The anarchist is really a natural disciple of the Greek philosopher Heraclitus, who taught that the unity of existence lies in its constant change. 'Over those who step into the same river, the waters that flow are constantly different.' (Heraclitus). The image is a good one for anarchism, as it has been and as it remains, since it conveys the idea of a doctrine with many variations, which nevertheless moves between the banks of certain unifying principles.

The necessary basis for any transformation of society, is the breaking down of the gigantic impersonal structure of the State and of the great corporations that dominate industry and communications. Instead of attempting to concentrate social functions on the largest possible scales, which progressively increases the distance between the individual and the source of responsibility even in modern democracies, we should begin again from the smallest practicable unit of organisation, so that face to face contacts can take place of remote commands, and everyone involved in an operation can not only know how and why it is going on, but can also shove directly indecisions regarding anything that affects him directly, either as a worker or a citizen.

Within the Anarchist Association at Warwick, there could be more of an attempt to explain some more complicated aspects of their ideals, but the A.A. here does work and can work better. A closer feeling of genuine friendship could be obtained but it has to work both ways. If some of the barriers could be broken down and there was less hypocrisy then the Anarchists here could become the strongest, most influential group of people at Warwick.

My personal philosophy is that the beginning of wisdom is silence and this perhaps reflects my behaviour.

LIZ BLACKBURN



WE DONT JUST WANT MORE CAKE -
WE WANT THE BLOODY BAKERY!

ANARCHY: some personal ponces

Ignore the next hundred and eighty or so words if you want sense. Firstly it may be useful to start with some sort of introduction.

Kevin Ennis is my name. I am an anarchist.

Well, I aspire to anarchist ideals, as far as I am aware that is.

I will continue by trying to historically analyse what may be some of the more relevant aspects of this insignificant blot of my own existence.

I was born, through no fault of my own, into the bourgeoisie courtesy of my non-extended parents.

I am a traitor to my class.

Mind you, not all lefty students will admit this, though I suppose some are.

One sunny blue skied day the magic smoke appeared and disappeared. I found myself a part of a magnificent shiny scaffolded spectacle. University. The smoke once more appeared and disappeared. I found myself in an entirely different situation. The red and black death watch beetle began its work. It wasn't long before the rot set in.

One day I found myself an actor. I had a small part to play.
its title:

The History of all hitherto existing society is the history of the class struggle.

Seriously though, I came to this place to 'do mathematics' a department which seems to attract its fair share of Marxists, Trots(Trotskyists) anarchists and other odd-bods. I will come clean and admit that I was a liberal when I first came here. I thought that the Students' Union was a host for the cancerous growth of socialism(I wonder what could have given me that idea, could it have been the capitalist press?) Hence I became interested in curing cancer.

History changed me.

It didn't take long before I developed this cancer. It didn't take long before I became a labour voter. By the end of the second year I became a Socialist and joined the Socialist Society, affectionately known as the Trot sock, but sadly they never talked to me. Soon I realised I had developed some tendencies. I realised that my view was slightly more libertarian than theirs.

After a long time of considering anarchist ideas I decided to become an anarchist, but I didn't want to join the Anarchist Association. I disliked certain elements amongst them, and on the whole got the impression that the A.A. was no more than another cliquey drinking club.

And on the first day of the first term of my last year it came to pass that I joined the A.A. I decided to take

the political plunge and swallow all my prejudices. I have never looked back since that sunny blue skied day. I was immediately accepted by my comrades. My prejudices immediately vanished in the smoke. I became a fully paid up card member of the Anarchist Association. Anarchists like a drink, but they do a bit more than that. By the end of the term I had enough of University (at least for the time being). I then became an unpaid political activist and Social Security Scrounger.

Enough of the bullshit. Now to talk about the subject of this writing.



Anarchy is not a state of chaos, a duet, a religion, or a means of riding a motor scooter. If someone asks the question: What is Anarchy? I tell them that the word 'anarchy' comes from the Greek (not that I am a Greek Scholar) meaning without government or authority. They can then ask themselves the question: Is anarchy possible, if so what would it be like and how would we achieve it?

The answer to this simply phrased question causes all the trouble. For those who cannot conceive of a society where we are all of equal importance, no-one has the arrogance to inflict their ideas of what is good for us and what is not, a society where there is dignity, justice and above all freedom, it is unfortunate. Such a society I not only deem possible but highly desirable. Why else would I be anarchist

I only have a vague idea what anarchy would be like and how we are to achieve it. Despite these quite major limitations I would like to set down my viewpoint on other aspects of being an anarchist I consider important.

My ideology is basically marxist. Some anarchists are more orthodox. Marxists claim that it is impossible to be both an anarchist and a marxist. Marx and Lenin (I am not a marxist-leninist) said that once the means of production were in the hands of everyone then the state and its oppressive nature would have no need of existence, since there was no need to perpetuate class differences. One class being a wage slave to the class that owned the means of production. Thus the state would wither away. I shall not go into an explanation of the finer points of marxist ideology as I'm not sure whether I understand them myself.

The non-marxian anarchists main objections seem to be that marxism is anachron-

istic, too much of a theory, too authoritative and socialism cannot be scientific. These all stem from the interpretations of the theory. As far as I can see, the dialectical materialist way of looking at society is as valid a means of examination as any. The material interest of what you consider to be the proletarian class are in direct conflict with the class that owns the means of production, the bourgeoisie. This conflict inevitably leads to revolution, whereby the bourgeoisie is disposed of and the proletariat seize the means of production (dialectical Materialism at work).

This leads us to another point. Some people seem to think that a Marxian revolution is necessarily violent, this to me does not seem necessarily so. This leads us to contentious issue number two.

I am a pacifist by nature, the thought of 'physical' violence abhors me. Despite this, I would not consider myself a pacifist (if somebody were to hit me and I was capable of hitting back, I would!)

Being a Marxist I try to analyse conflicts in society on a material level, a level which we can attempt to be scientific. This makes idealistic and spiritual ideas irrelevant in trying to understand the class struggle.

I am a devout atheist, I am quite content to think and believe that society only exists on a material level. Matters of belief are personal. If, however, man

does exist on a dualist level (there is no logical scientific way of disproving this). I would think that there would be no interaction between the materialist and idealist levels of existence (otherwise this dualism would not exist) This assumption thus makes idealist considerations irrelevant in a materialistic analysis of society. However, in spite of my tolerance of personal belief I do strongly dislike organised and hierarchical religions which have played a historic role in exploiting the proletariat, telling them to accept their God-given poverty and misery.

Since I think that it is only relevant to examine the world on a material level, man must assume the importance (or lack of importance) that gods once assumed. So man is all important in this world. The way in which we treat man causes a divergence of opinions. Man can be considered as a collection of individuals, where the individual assumes the role of prime importance or whether the collectivity of man is of prime importance. My viewpoint is somewhere in between these two extremes. One extreme leads to a state of chaos the other to a totalitarian rule of the majority over the minority.

The statement 'I exist' is the only one I can make with some kind of certainty. So there is me and everyone else. For me what makes life pleasurable is the interaction with the self and the nest of society. Happiness for me can only be shared.

So the individuals in my opinion are of equal importance. For me there is no natural meaning to my existence. However, I am so endowed with the capability of experiencing pleasure (whatever that is). Since this is nice (whatever that means) my self made purpose is to experience this pleasure. The only way in which everyone can achieve this state is in an anarchist society.

I have not finished my piece of self-opinionated self-indulgent pseudo intellectual masturbation. (In true student fashion). I hope I don't go blind. No doubt some of you will disagree with what I have said and how I have said it. Even if it is only inflicting their bourgeois ideas of spelling, grammar and sentence construction. I feel that all anarchists should have mutual tolerance if not respect for divergent ideologies. (as long as they don't diverge too much).

You may think I am a headcase for possessing such ideas, I probably think you are a headcase for reading them.

This is dedicated to all my comrades (whether they agree with me or not). Long live Love, Peace and Freedom. For those not yet anarchists I hope we all live to see, hear, taste touch and live anarchy.

K.G.ENNIS

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This world is a strange place where only the dead have a right to their inheritance and the world is slowly running down (for gods sake trotsky you are supposed to have the key, wind the bugger up again). I am king of the donkeys and a white cone is the key to success. God purge you, you rat swindling rainers of black fire. Well you see I was born at a time when the skys might have been green though the earth was not and Warwickshire undisputed centre of the earth is open for anarchy. Though the rain it raineth every day Brailes hill and Priors Marston call out to me. Do not knock the pylons for they and their cooling tower friends are art of our century and electricity does not come from fascist windmills. No, we must smash some things and there are factories which must die in order for employment to continue but the poor of the country must seize the land and build their towers to the high heavens. When I can ride from Long Compton to Brum with every pub an open one, empty pocketed and fill my gut with cider not a pig save for the pork industry and Itchingtons chimney sokes dope at a thousand tons a time then can we start to read our marx and laugh like the trees that have no leaves but of metal. Where else can you get this but from me and no laws exist where you can disembowel your neighbour and still find a welcome at the bar where you can piss from the dome of St. Pauls and find yourself a heroic figure. For in our county we are all heroes, descended from the standing stones of rollright where every pylon stands alone and our flag is green where the earth is brown and the N.F. can do no harm if they live still for to be free is to be of Warwickshire. Then shall all the world see and collapse into a ball of flame as Western civilisation is anarchanethetised by the incence clouds of Warwick skies and the bescootered horde who sing and burn. Is this nonsense? Not to me because I can see it. Can you well join the Anarchists and burn the fascist buggers that call themselves libertarians for without people who understand my words how can we be free.

