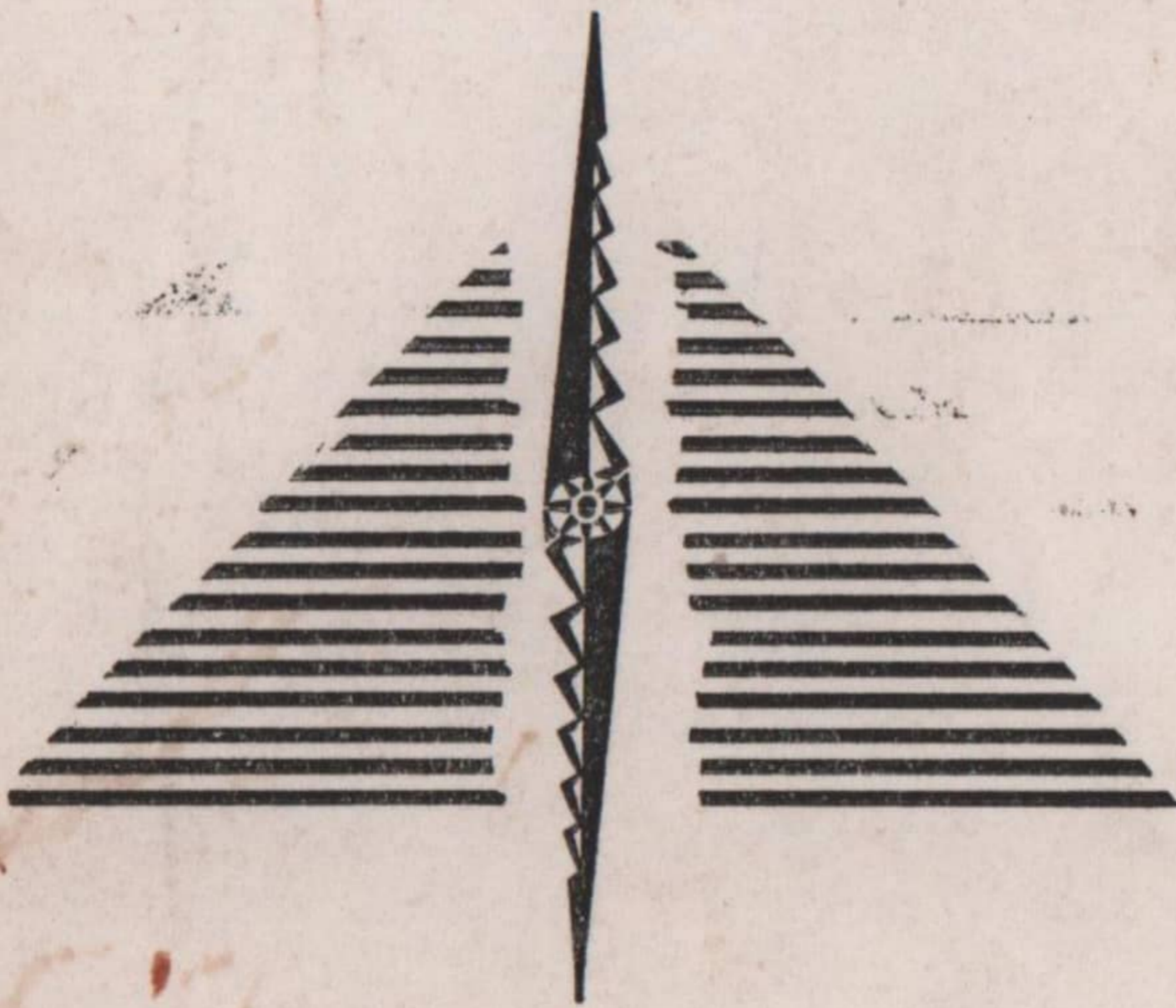
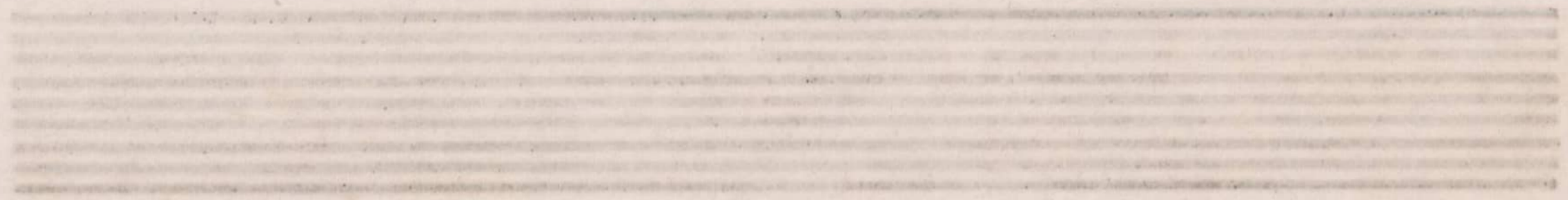


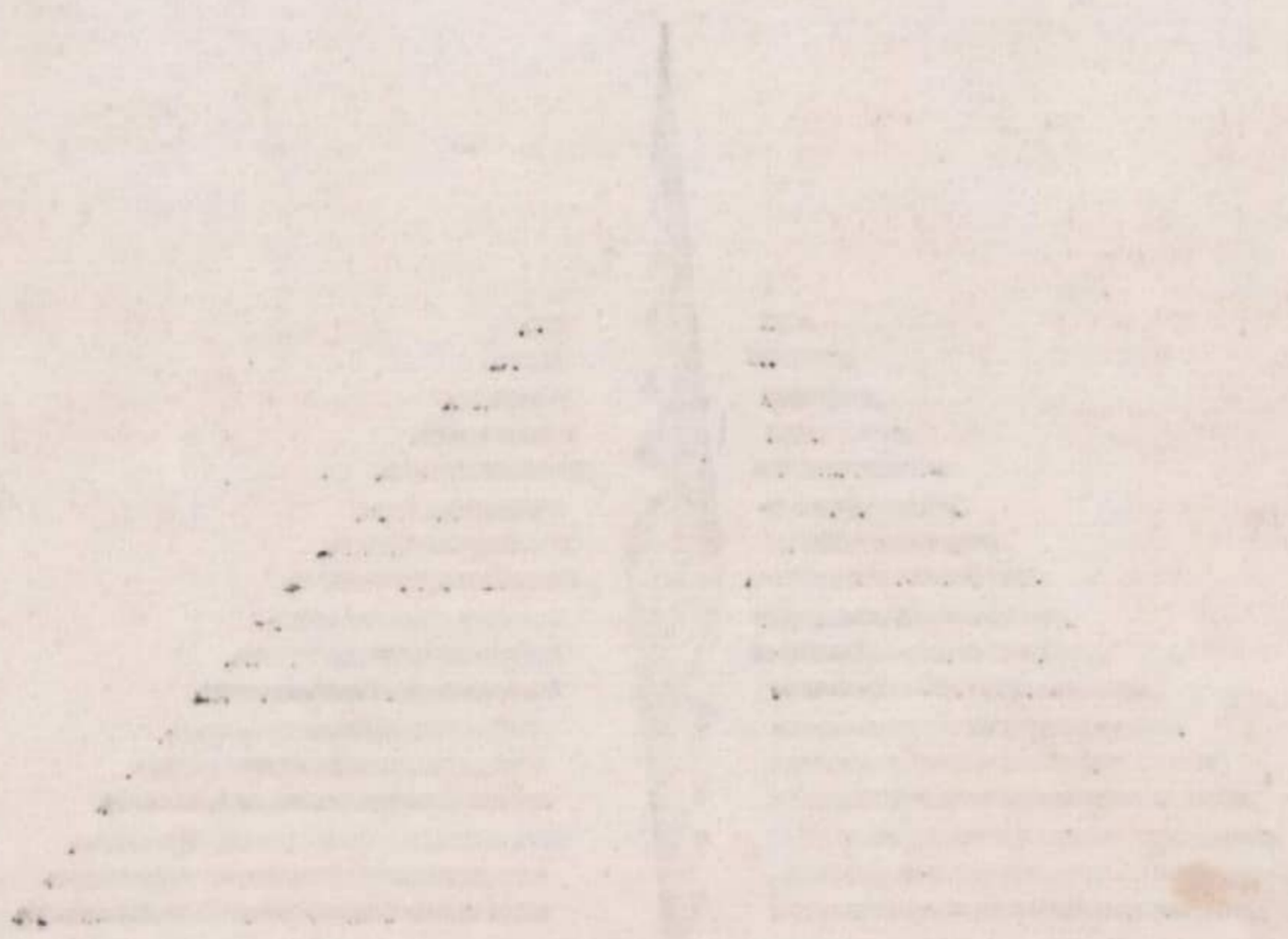
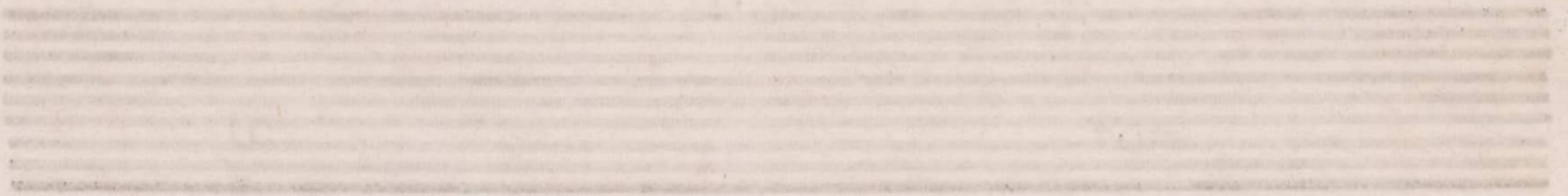
THE ANARCHIST



VOL. 1, NO. 2



THE
ANARCHIST



VOL. 1. NO. 2

EDITORIAL.The postponement of the January conference.

All that a smooth functioning authoritarian society requires of people is that they do as they are told. By contrast, for a libertarian society to be a success ordinary people must show initiative and responsibility to a high degree. Similarly the fundamental difference between a political party and an anarchist movement is that the former demands of its supporters merely a vote every five years, while the latter requires wholehearted support if it is to make headway.

Therefore for an anarchist society or movement to be a success there must be a great deal of effort, responsibility, patience, consideration, co-operation etc. All the old fashioned virtues that most left-wingers tend to despise. This writer thinks that insufficient emphasis is laid in anarchist propaganda on the great developments that must occur in human attitudes and relationships BEFORE an anarchist society comes into being. If such changes do not occur few ordinary people will agree to move into the unknown country of anarchy. The majority of anarchists, however, seem to think that if only government can somehow be booted out, then a glorious libertarian society automatically arises and everyone lives happily ever after. I know that no propagandists have actually said this but it is the impression many of them manage to give.

For instance we hear a lot about free access, but hardly a word (except from syndicalists) about the production of the goods we are to have free access of. Lots of talk about taking - none about giving. Lots of talk about freedom - none about responsibility. Lots of talk about how nice anarchy will be - none about the great effort needed to achieve it and make it work. The emphasis is always on the easy things, the attractive things, the nice things, when that is, it is not on the negative things.

Everyone knows that anarchists are anti-state, anti-bomb, anti-election, anti-Franco. But they don't know that there is a positive side to anarchism because hardly anything of a positive nature ever happens. I know that there is poetry reading, a film club and a theatre club, but these are nice things, the sort of pleasurable voluntary spare time activities millions of people take part in without calling themselves anarchists. Few people know that living and working together without authority is possible. It looks like they never will. Where are the results of initiative and responsibility? Hardly anywhere. No shared living, no communities, no clubs, only one bookshop, the press run on a shoe-string and about twenty comrades doing all the donkey work. Anarchism should not be something you just dream about or write about, but something you actually do - NOW - under capitalism in so far as it is possible to do anything. If

the only thing you are capable of is to send a ten shilling postal order to Freedom Press once a year then you should do it.

Even if your anarchism necessitates the growth of a militant working class or mass non-violent action or some inexorable historical law to come into play as though capitalist states wither away as mysteriously as Marxist ones are supposed to - whichever it is there is no reason why you should not live as anarchistic a life as possible while you are waiting for these things to happen. And the better the example you set the more likely people are to follow you. Words should be translated into deeds.

A clear example of the inability or unwillingness of many anarchists to do something positive is the pitiful response shown by most of the provincial groups to the letters sent out by the L.F.A. regarding the the proposed January conference, which was to have discussed the idea of a British Federation. Such a pitiful response in fact that the idea has been put into cold storage. At the summer school great enthusiasm was shown by most of the provincial delegates for the idea of holding this conference. Well I suppose it is easier to talk about things than to do them. What happened was this. Certain of the provincial groups and federations (about two thirds to be exact) believe that ordinary people can and ought to be responsible for the running and smooth functioning of massive, complicated industrial societies. And yet these precursors of the sane society, these idealistic pioneers, these heralds of freedom are themselves too bleeding lazy to write a letter and drop it in the pillar box. And too mean apparently to contribute towards the cost of organising the conference.

When is the British anarchist movement going to get its finger out ?

JEFF ROBINSON.

o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o

THE FUNCTION AND FUTURE EDITORSHIP OF THE ANARCHIST.

At the summer school last year it was decided to launch this journal and that it would have a two-fold function. Firstly to provide an opportunity for discussion of theoretical subjects i.e. non-violence **and** productivity and secondly to act as an open forum for people's views on co-ordinating **the** activities of the various groups.

It was also decided that a different group or federation would be responsible for producing each separate issue. London Federation have produced the first two and offers regarding future issues are urgently required. The continued publication of The Anarchist will mean that the number of libertarian periodicals will soon be eight, probably for the first time. Freedom, Anarchy, Direct Action, The Bridge, Anarchist Youth, Anarchist

International, The Anarchist and a literary journal which will be appearing shortly.

Editing involves:

1. To arrange and to prepare for publication articles and letters received. It was agreed that editors would not have power to alter or cut contributions and if a large number of contributions was received some should be held over to the following issue.
2. To publish information relevant to the British movement i.e. conferences, new organisations, new journals etc. To stencil, duplicate and distribute sufficient copies so that every group can have a few. It is estimated that 200 copies should be enough. Stencilling and duplicating facilities exist in London if the editing group does not have them, similarly the silk-screened red and black covers are obtainable in London.
3. Finance. As a different group will be responsible for each issue it would be difficult to put the financing on an efficient subscription basis. Therefore the best way is for each group to pay for the edition for which it is responsible. Probably not more than £5 and much of this will be offset by donations and cash orders.

Offers to edit The Anarchist and articles and letters for publication should be addressed to: Jack Stevenson, 6, Stainton Rd., Enfield, Middlesex.

xoxoxoxoxoxox

PROPOSED AGENDA FOR THE ANARCHIST CONGRESS

Formulated at a meeting of the Bristol Federation of Anarchists on Wednesday 20th November 1963.

1. Welcoming speech to all delegates (by a member of the L.F.A.)
2. Selection of Chairman.
3. Reports:-
 - (a) Report by the provisional National Secretary.
 - (b) International Correspondence Secretary.
4. Declaration of aims and principles.

5. Organisational Basis

- (a) National Secretary.
- (b) International Correspondence Secretary.
- (c) Conferences.
- (d) Finance

6. Reports by the Federations and Groups.

7. Future activity.

- (a) Demonstrations
- (b) Speakers to other groups and outside organisations
- (c) Pamphlets
- (d) Anti-Parliamentary campaign.
- (e) Anarchist International
- (f) Summer Schools

8. Future relationship with Freedom Press.

9. Relations with other libertarian bodies.

- (a) Report on the SWF conference.

10. Election of National Officers.

11. Any other Business.

MOTIONS:

I. Bristol Federation moves that the Proposed British Federation be solely confined to the co-ordination of anarchist groups and individuals and for disseminating anarchist propaganda.

II. M.J. Walsh moves that the proposed federation be named The Confederation of British and Irish Anarchists.

III. (a). Bristol moves that the National Secretary be appointed from the time of one national congress until the assembly of the following congress. Also that the National Secretary may not hold the post in consecutive terms or concomitant with any other office of the proposed Confederation.

(b). That the same ruling as that applying to the National Secretary shall apply to the International Correspondence Secretary and to the office of Treasurer if the conference deems the creation of this post necessary.

(c). Conferences shall be held annually or in exceptional circumstances by agreement of not less than five of the Federations.

IV. Bristol Federation moves:- That Freedom Press be requested to either be controlled by the British Federation or organise itself so that it is more representative of anarchist thought in the country. As the personal control of the only anarchist weekly paper by capitalist means can hardly be justified.

EDITOR'S NOTE:

Whoever framed and passed motion IV of the agenda proposed by the Bristol Federation for an anarchist Conference seems to be almost totally ignorant of the organisation, control and function of Freedom Press. They produce no evidence to support their accusations of mismanagement by Freedom Press editors and there can be no doubt that if their motion was proposed at an anarchist Conference it would be almost unanimously thrown out. Let us examine in detail their main points.

Firstly they state that Freedom Press is under personal control - it is not stated how many persons exercise this control. Now, there is a team of editors who run Freedom Press, they are persons, and therefore it is logical to say that they exercise personal control. But how can a paper or indeed any other enterprise be run if it is not controlled by persons? Do Bristol Federation think it can run itself by some magical means without human intervention? If, as Bristol suggest, control passed to the proposed B.F.A. it would still be controlled by persons - those persons within the B.F.A. who had the ability and were prepared to make the effort to do the donkey work. It is such people who have kept Freedom Press alive for the past 78 years.

Perhaps Bristol think that the persons in control are a clique using the paper to put over some particular line or to suppress some other line. Presumably this is what Bristol mean when they say that Freedom Press should be more representative of anarchist thought in this country. A glance at the paper will show the absurdity of this accusation. It reflects every shade of anarchist thought from extreme individualism through communism and on to syndicalism. Pacifists and people who would as a last resort use violence, simple lifers and productivistists atheists and religious anarchists, beatniks, get-away-from-it-allyers, permanent protesters and assorted gripers - all get their say. The editors print anything which is relevant to anarchism and is of a reasonable literary standard. Would editors who were riding some private hobby horse and using the paper to press some particular line permit such a wide variety

of viewpoints, many critical to themselves, to appear in a paper they control? What anyway is the private line they are supposed to be flogging? At the summer school the Freedom Press representative made it quite clear that the editors would be only too pleased to receive more contributions to the paper. If Bristol comrades would like to write something it will, providing it is relevant and coherent, be published.

The accusation that Freedom Press is run on capitalist lines can mean one of two things. Either that it is run to make profit for some private persons or that, as it is a legal entity under English law (which is framed for capitalism) in the same way as business houses are legal entities, and that it uses money, keeps accounts etc., it is therefore ipso facto capitalist.

If Bristol means the first, and I hope they don't, then one simple question makes nonsense of such an accusation. Is it likely that persons greedy for profits should use as their means of getting them, a small publishing house down a back-street, which maintains a precarious existence from both a legal and a financial point of view and which depends for its support on people who are not exactly the most affluent section of the community? Is it likely?

If Bristol are worried because Freedom Press is a legal entity they need not be. In an anarchist society things need not be owned - it is sufficient that they exist and are controlled for the common good. The legal concept of ownership will be obsolete. But we are not living in an anarchist society and Freedom Press has a legal existence for the obvious reason that if it didn't it could not function and its premises, equipment fixtures and fittings could be seized by anyone on a finders keepers basis. Idealistic concepts of property relationships belong to idealistic societies. Freedom Press does not function within such a society and so it is organised on a realistic and not idealistic basis.

I have tried to answer Bristol's points in so far as I understand them. If anyone still isn't satisfied with Freedom Press then perhaps they will start their own propoganda organs.

0-0-0-0-0-0-0-0-0

M O R E O N T H E C O N F E R E N C E .

East Kent Federation of Anarchists wishes to affirm its desire to participate in a conference for an anarchist federation next year. Items to be included in the agenda are suggested as follows:

- (a) That there should be an outline programme for getting anarchist ideas over to the general public everywhere in Britain.

- (b) That anarchists should use scientific methods in their campaigns, especially this applies to the design of leaflets etc.,
- (c) That all anarchists should co-operate in demos. in Britain when they are necessary, on a regional basis.
- (d) That anarchist groups should be organised like C.N.D. i.e. convenor systems, collection of subs for "Freedom" etc. and subs for an Anarchist Central Office somewhere in London, co-ordination where possible of all work in one region.
- (e) That week-end schools for social psychology should be organised, and in conjunction with this, surveys of youth and the people on working class estates should be made by groups.

/0/0/0/0/0/0/0/-

We members of the L.F.A. feel that owing to continued lack of active response from interested comrades, the time is not yet ready for the calling of a conference to form a Federation. We are in agreement with the idea of Federation in principle.

R. Ward. M. Stevenson. J. Stevenson. A. Uloth. Jeff. Robinson.
P. Turner. Jack Robinson. M. Keith.

not in agreement: W. Hicks

At a meeting of twelve members of the L.A.G. it was unanimously decided to await further developments of a more positive nature before supporting the idea of a conference.

REPORT OF PROVISIONAL CO-ORDINATING SECRETARY

Bristol, as you can see, sent a complete agenda. East Kent made some suggestions. I have also had letters from Bath, Hereford, Notting Hill, S.W.F., Student Federation, Tunbridge Wells and four individuals from, London, Oxford, Surrey and Rochdale, respectively. All these letters confirm that the senders are in favour of a Conference (in London). The F.L.A. the L.A.G. and one individual from Birmingham have written against the idea of having a Conference in the near future. The remainder of the twenty-six groups with which I have contact, throughout the country, have passed no opinion!

No one has yet offered to run, help, or finance the Conference in any way!

With the support of 8 groups (one of which is now defunct and another consists of 2 people) I do not feel justified in organising a Conference. Enthusiasm artificially engendered is a waste of time.

REPORT OF STUDENT CONFERENCE.OXFORD. DECEMBER 1963.

A student conference was held in Oxford on Dec. 8th 1963 to discuss the formation of a federation of anarchist students.

Delegates from Newcastle, London, Cambridge and Oxford were present. In spite of the poor representation, a Student Federation was formed and its aims and activities discussed. A secretary was delegated to deal with communications and organisation.

The aims of the Federation are:

1. To unite all libertarian students throughout the country, whether as members of a university or college group or as individuals.
2. To establish an efficient communication service between such groups and individuals.
3. To further the interest in anarchist ideas amongst students and young people in this country.

It was decided that its activities should include:

1. The sending of speakers to C.N.D. and Y.C.N.D. groups.
2. Cooperation between groups in the exchange from one to another of speakers who addressed their meetings, details of which are to be printed in a regular news page in 'Anarchist Youth'.
3. The organizing of a national meeting to be held regularly in different places.

Conference unanimously agreed that:

1. A British Federation of Anarchists was desirable and that the secretary should send a letter to Jack Stevenson affirming their support of it and the desire to participate in any conference called to establish it. The Student Federation has no intention of being a rival to such a federation but is eager to affiliate to it.
2. That in order to maintain efficient communication of news between groups in the Federation, details of meetings held throughout the country should be sent from the secretaries of groups to the editors of Anarchist Youth for inclusion in a regular news page.
3. That a list of speakers prepared to address meetings should be obtained from the L.F.A.
4. That copies of 'Anarchist Student' and 'Anarchist Youth' should be sent to the British Museum as they requested.
5. That a national meeting should be held in London to coincide with the C.N.D. activities going on at Easter, at which it

is hoped that comrades representing many more student bodies will be present.

6. That the International Libertarian Camp should be supported by as many people as possible and especially so by students who have longer vacations and can travel more easily.
7. That the proposal to hold an Anarchist Ball was a good one since it was a means of uniting people and that its organization should be discussed at the next meeting.
8. That all views on the Student Federation and its decisions from people not present at the conference would be very welcome and that these and any suggestions for the agenda of the next meeting should be sent to the secretary, Kate Sanders, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

??????????????
 00000000000000

MY SORT OF INDIVIDUALISM

If the powers that be of an Andalusian village, the Trobriand Islands or an Eskimo settlement were to suddenly drop dead of plague, then the people would organise their affairs on a basis of mutual well-being and life would continue unhampered by authorities. If the same fate befell the rulers of a sophisticated, industrialised country the result would be either chaos or bewilderment until a new authoritarianism took the place of the old. The reason is that people in simple societies, although they are often physically oppressed usually have their minds free on social issues because efficient propaganda techniques (popular press, radio, television) do not exist. Also there is a well established pattern of life which people know and instinctively follow.

In industrial countries there are no well established patterns of life (how can there be when industry is constantly changing the activities and living places of the people?). Also the people have been subjected for decades to propaganda which stifles initiative and individual thought and the people are as greedy as their masters and often more stupid. There does not seem to be any likelihood whatsoever of a change for the better. Due to the population explosion and the needs of capitalist industry to produce at a faster and faster rate it is an even bet whether in a century's time the world's surface will be ten feet deep in humans or ten feet deep in motor cars. Such a state of affairs will only be prevented by war or some all-embracing, ruthless world authority to control and discipline people. Both these things are the absolute antithesis of libertarianism.

People think that individualists must be near to despair when they see the great roaring mass society which surrounds them. Those anarchists who look forward to a mass free society are the

ones who should be despairing for the mass society of capitalism shows no sign of becoming the mass society of anarchism. It must be disheartening to be a syndicalist when the bulk of the workers happily accept capitalism or a pacifist propagandist when nations march blissfully to war. But individualism is something which can be done now, for the mass society of capitalism is not yet all embracing and it is still possible to make some sort of a life in spite of bombs and governments.

One week-end last summer I was the sole occupant of 200 sq. miles of magnificent Scottish country. Most of it was infertile but even so what a paradise for an individualist with hermit tendencies. Not that they are all solitaries yearning for some desert island or Walden Pond.

An individualist is one who has the intelligence to realise and the honesty to admit that the driving force of people is self-interest - which does not mean selfishness. This is my definition although I expect there are as many definitions as there are individualists. Once people admit that self-interest is their motivating force, then the relationships within society will be on a sound logical basis of rock bottom reality and harmony will ensue. Disharmony in society inevitably arises when false unrealistic ideas prevail and attempts are made to twist society and the individuals who comprise it, into unnatural patterns on behalf of those ideas. If we all knew what we are, where we stand with each other and behaved accordingly - co-operating or minding our own businesses as occasion demanded, then society would be on a sensible basis.

It is commonly but wrongly thought that individualists (specially those who get their ideas from Stirner) are selfist arrogant people, riding roughshod over others to get their own way and that a society with many individualists would be turmoil. Individualists are not, except a few mistaken ones, would-be Nietzschean Supermen, bitter introverts or irresponsible layabouts. Self-interest is surely best served by co-operation and fellowship than by competition. Some people who are very concerned about themselves have realised that self i.e. mind and body are best served by disciplining and if possible eliminating the ego. Where can gentler, more inoffensive people be found than in a Buddhist monastery. The individualist is not just the slave of his ego and appetites. There is no reason why he should not have a family, be a member of a work team, or fully participate in social activities.

The mass of men might lead lives of quiet (unquiet?) desperation, but a person with insight and energy need not.

INDIVIDUALIST.

A SHORT STORY

Once upon a time in the big city of London there was a tiny group of people. This tiny group of people believed in such things as humanity and liberty. They wanted a better world than the one there was. A world where all men could work together for the good of all. Where no one man could live on the fruits of other men's labours.

The little group of people could not do much to bring these things about as they were very few, but they held meetings and went on demonstrations together and though they could not change the world they were quite happy because, as they said, they tried to live their anarchism together. Oh! I forgot, this little group had a name. It called itself the London Anarchist Group.

There was also another little group in London called the Freedom Press Group. This little group published a weekly newspaper which was called 'Freedom', a good name, for this was what they all desired. Well, the two little groups worked quite well together: one bringing out the little newspaper and the other running meetings where it was sold and they told other people of the ideas that they had.

Whether it was through the actions of the little group or of the little newspaper we shall never know (it doesn't matter anyway) but the ideas were taken up by more and more people. It became quite the fashion and on one of the big marches the group decided to have a banner, to show that they were there and to see what would happen.

After this, many more people came to the meetings and it was decided by some people that it would be a good idea to abolish the original little group, and set up a Federation in London, of all the little groups that had grown up out of the propaganda that the original little group had made.

The first meeting of the Federation was held and some of the original little group didn't think it was too good. So, at the second meeting, two of them put forward the idea that the original little London Anarchist Group should keep its identity and just be one member of the new Federation of little groups. At this, one of the new people threw a tantrum and it was said by some, that the old group was being elitist. Some of the original little group, to their shame, didn't know what this word meant, but it sounded like a bad word and so they agreed to disband their little group.

Some of the new people, once this was done, began to attack the other little group (the one that ran the little paper) but this group was more experienced in these matters and took no notice. The members of the original little group found that they

were siding with the group which ran the little paper and wrote letters saying so. Some of the newer people did not like this, but they said nothing in reply because they did not want to spoil the movement, which was now growing.

After this the people all remained fairly friendly and went on demonstrations together. They never marched together though, and referred to each other as 'them' and 'us'.

So the original little group, who were still friends, decided to set up their little London Anarchist Group again, because it was better the old way. They will send delegates to the Federation meetins as they had suggested in the first place.

Jack Stevenson

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

STIRNERITES PLEASE NOTE:

Heaven is lasting and earth enduring.

The reason why they are lasting and enduring is that
they do not live for themselves ;

Therefore they live long.

In the same way the wise man keeps himself behind and
he is in the front ;

He forgets himself yet he is preserved.

Is it not because he is not self-interested
that his self-interest is established ?

LAO TSE.

TAO TE CHING. (Chapter 7)

o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o

WE REGRET THAT WE WERE ABLE TO PRINT SO FEW COPIES OF THE FIRST ISSUE OF 'THE ANARCHIST', DUE TO THE AMOUNT OF MATERIAL AND LACK OF FUNDS. WE HAVE NOW COVERED OUR MAIN EXPENDITURE THROUGH DONATIONS AND CAN RUN OFF MORE COPIES OF NO. I. IF THERE IS SUFFICIENT DEMAND.

EIGHT QUESTIONS FOR ANARCHISTS:

1. Revolutionary anarchists:- What happens when 80% of the population want to live on a libertarian basis and the other 20% refuse to co-operate? Or do you think that when the bulk of the people are anarchists the rest just follow suit? If not would you coerce the reluctant 20%.
2. People willing to use violence:- How could any violent conflict with authority, other than a punch-up with a copper in an alley, possibly result in victory for the anarchist cause? How can you fight nuclear weapons, jet planes, napalm, germ bombs and still win? Why talk of violence if this is the case?
3. Syndicalists:- Do you just support anything that workers do, irrespective of whether it has anything to do with anarchism? For instance the aim of a transport strike is to inconvenience the travelling public and not the Transport Boards or the government. Do you think that capitalists travel by bus? Why not urge the transport men to continue to run services but to non-co-operate with the transport authorities by refusing to collect fares? Or don't you mind if industrial tactics play into the hands of the bosses by causing antagonism between different sections of the people?
4. Individualists:- Obviously the old, the weak and the sick cannot live individualistically. Who then looks after them? Properly qualified people you say. Have you ever heard of such people who are also individualists?
5. Technological society type anarchists:- If a motorway was proposed between Bristol and Manchester do you really think that all concerned - builders, users, local inhabitants etc. would ever agree to co-operate in such a mammoth undertaking? Or don't you think that people in libertarian societies have disputes, or that they have them, but they are easily resolved by a little rational discussion? Remember that you have to get thousands of people to agree unanimously on questions of route, time of building, methods of construction and so on. Do you really think it is possible?
6. Syndicalists:- It is obvious that if the whole world is to live in harmony and amity, then the naturally richer and more developed parts must help the poorer. Yet the wealth of say Western Europe increases, while that of say South East Asia decreases. Are you prepared to tell British workers that they must VOLUNTARILY reduce their standards of living?
7. Anarchists generally:- Anarchism urges people to solve their own problems either as individuals or as groups. Why then do anarchist demonstrations occur outside government buildings, the house of the Home Secretary, embassies and the like? Surely the

anarchist way of solving the housing shortage is to ask the building workers to build houses instead of offices and luxury dwellings and not to stand outside Newington Lodge.

8. Do you think that someone who asks questions like the above can possibly be in good faith? Do such questions make you think?

M.E.

????????????????????????????????

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E

Dear Comrades,

Some points regarding Jack Stevenson's article on Anarchism and Syndicalism in Freedom 14.12.63.

1. 99% of the syndicalists in this country are anarcho-syndicalists, in other words they feel that although control at the point of production is essential to achieve a free society, it is only one essential : anarchism needs total rebellion, as much against the authoritarian parent and teacher as against the boss, the military, police - spiritual and temporal etc.

2. My experience is that some anarchists tend not to act in as an anarchic way as possible at work; syndicalists try to redress the balance.

3. Because, as I have pointed out, syndicalists know that the struggle at work is only one side of the total struggle that they are particularly keen to form an anarchist federation, so that the syndicalist movement does not become a narrow clique. We believe that the syndicalist and anarchist movements are at least complementary - see the editorial in November's 'Direct Action'.

4. As for the S.P.G.B. etc. I think Jack has confused us with solidarity, who after all are marxists, so understandably direct some of their propaganda to other marxists.

5. If the S.W.F. is anything to go by, an anarchist conference would be very useful and even successful. S.W.F. meetings seem to me to be a model of the outward-looking, non authoritarian, fraternalism that one expects of anarchism. The argument and discussion between pacifist and 'violent' syndicalists has at all times lacked the rancour and cattiness that we have seen on the back page of Freedom, and consequently have been more fruitful for both points of view.

P.R.

