

This file archived at UnionOfEgoists.com.

Union of Egoists

This item was scanned by UoE from Libertarian Microfiche Publishing Peace Plans films. John Zube's LMP project preserved thousands of documents that would otherwise be lost.

More information can be found at our website under "contributors."

-Kevin I. Slaughter

What is a UnionOfEgoists.com?

This is an informational resource provided by Kevin I. Slaughter of Underworld Amusements and Trevor Blake of OVO, initiated in February and publicly launched April 1st of 2016. The website initially focuses on providing historical, biographical and bibliographical details of a few their favorite Egoist philosophers. It is also integrating the archives of egoist website i-studies.com, the former project of Svein Olav Nyberg, and the EgoistArchives.com project of Dan Davies. Further, it will be home to Der Geist, a Journal of Egoism in print 1845 – 1945. UnionOfEgoists.com will be the best resource for Egoism online.

What is a Union of Egoists?

"We two, the State and I, are enemies. I, the egoist, have not at heart the welfare of this "human society," I sacrifice nothing to it, I only utilize it; but to be able to utilize it completely I transform it rather into my property and my creature; i. e., I annihilate it, and form in its place the Union of Egoists."

- Max Stirner, *The Ego and Its Own*

What is Egoism?

"Egoism is the claim that the Individual is the measure of all things. In ethics, in epistemology, in aesthetics, in society, the Individual is the best and only arbitrator. Egoism claims social convention, laws, other people, religion, language, time and all other forces outside of the Individual are an impediment to the liberty and existence of the Individual. Such impediments may be tolerated but they have no special standing to the Individual, who may elect to ignore or subvert or destroy them as He can. In egoism the State has no monopoly to take tax or to wage war."

-Trevor Blake, *Confessions of a Failed Egoist*

Vol 4

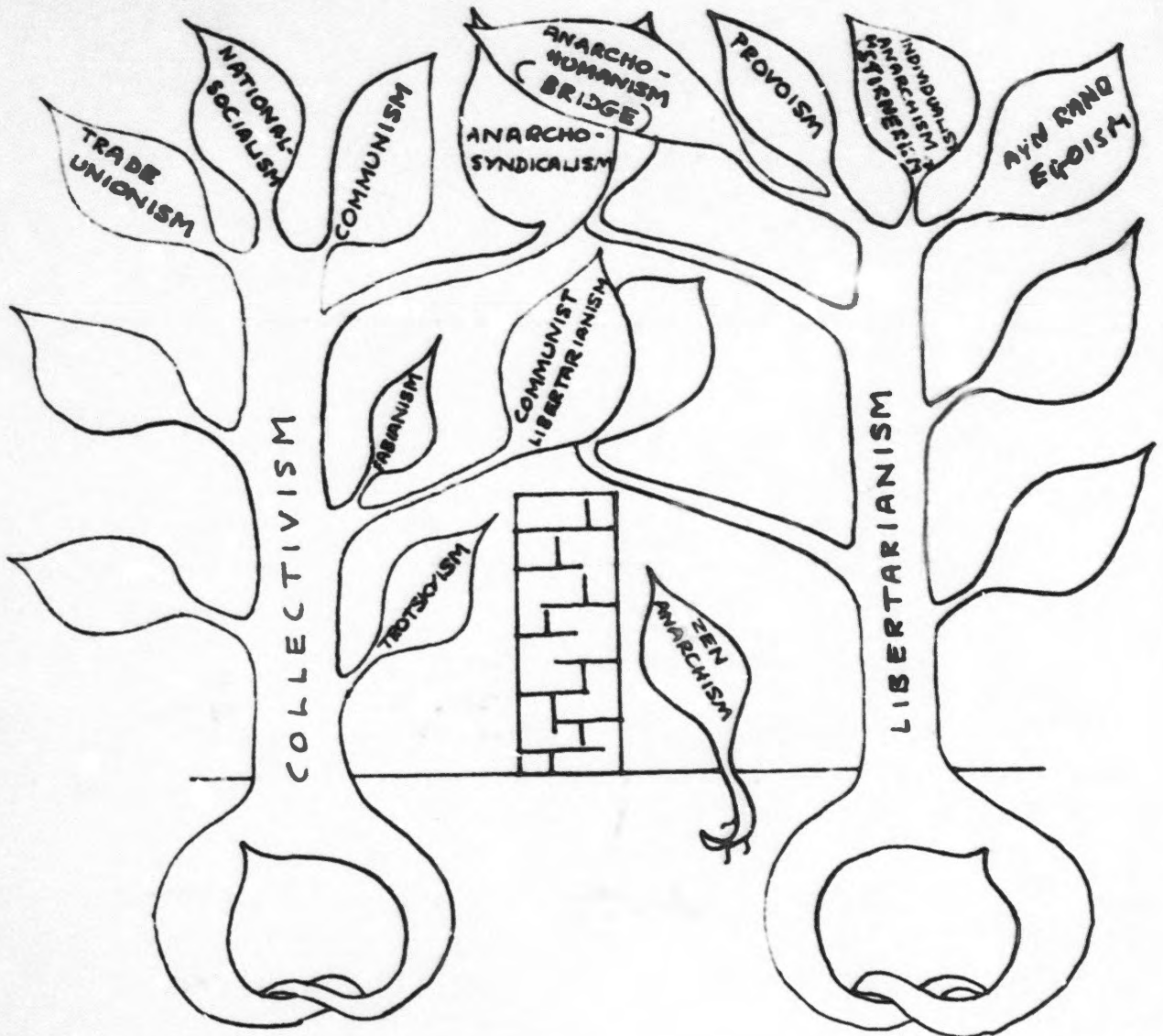
MINUS ONE

PRICE EIGHT PENCE

FIFTEEN

SEPT/OCT

1966



8810

J.P.S.
0185

MINUS ONE...

S.E.Parker

MINUS ONE is three years old. When it was born I wrote:

"For how many years now have anarchists been demonstrating the iniquities of governments, been showing how authority denies individual freedom and crushes individuals into anonymity? Appeal after appeal has been directed at the masses to throw off their chains. But the crowd is still the crowd, the masses continue to obey and the chains remain, even if, here and there, they are of a metal so light that the wearer denies their existence. Indeed, it almost seems an organic need for most people to have a master of one kind or another.

This "fear of freedom" is a very real thing and no amount of wishful thinking will dispose of it. Too much has happened in human history for the idea that everyone, or even the majority, yearns for "freedom" to be convincing any more. The fact must be faced that anarchists have always been a small minority and are always likely to be. New comrades, in the flush of their first enthusiasm, may proclaim the need to get the masses on our side, but the masses will not come - and if they would they would be of no use, since anarchism is concerned with the individual, not the mass. As was said years ago: 'We do not want a mass; we want a league of thinking in individuals.'

But because anarchists are socially 'impotent' it does not mean that individually they are power-less. Against the subordination of the individual to the collective, individual affirmation is the one way that does not lead to a new enslavement. If anarchism is not individualist, then it becomes a hodge-podge, half-way house between socialist and democratic myths and the impulse to individual sovereignty. There is no need to compete with the peddlers of social and political panaceas - we are not in the same line of business.

If the masses have not tumbled to the social lie by now - so much the worse for them! Let us leave them to their clock-faced citizenship. The fatuity of a handful of dissenters publishing appeals to the masses in tiny-circulation papers that the masses would not read even if they knew of them, is patent to anyone who does not have his head stuck in some nineteenth century tarbucket. Let our explosions of disgust against a nightmare world be authentic, individual reactions, not stale word-rituals about the perfidiousness of politicians repeated out of habit in the hope that the multitude might hear. To hell with the 'people want this', 'the workers want that'! Let us be ourselves, live our own lives, follow our own interests!

Individualist anarchists are people who do not want to be "a plus one in the statistical millions". They have counted themselves out from the herd and their anarchy lies in their strength to affirm themselves. Here is one of their voices. Its call goes out to individualist anarchists everywhere."

The issue of MINUS ONE that carried this proclamation numbered

seventy copies and had six pages of material. Today the number printed has more than quadrupled and its pages have tripled.

Since that tiny first issue, however, the change has been more than physical. Looking through fourteen issue it is possible to see developing an increasingly stronger awareness that "if anarchism is not individualist it becomes a hodge-podge, half-way house between socialist and democratic myths and the impulse to individual sovereignty". In other words, no anarchism at all. I am convinced that most people who call themselves "anarchists" are no more than anti-parliamentary socialists whose "anarchy" amounts to a kind of democratic, federalist utopia shorn of capitalist and State privilege, but not of authority. One has only to go to a few of the meetings in central London held at the "Lamb and Flag" to prove the point. If the "ban-the-bomb" outburst of the last few years has swelled the membership of the "anarchist movement" it has not strengthened its clarity of thought. On the contrary, confusion and ignorance are the rule and it is no wonder that left-wing marxist sects are trying to fish in these muddy waters.

I hope that future issues of MINUS ONE will develop still further this awareness of the gulf between individualism and socialism. In particular, the fundamental conflict between the individual and Society needs to be spelt out more thoroughly and the relevance of conscious egoism made clear. The pages of MINUS ONE will continue to be open to both advocates and critics of these ideas and also to the poet, short-story writer and satirical humourist. Nothing is sacred to its writers, not even individualists!

It is usual to conclude such a piece as this with some words of exhortatory optimism about the future. I have none. What I wrote about the "masses" three years ago I stand by. All one can meaningfully talk about in connection with individualists is survival - survival in a world more and more sold on collectivism in one form or another. As Ammon Hennacy - no individualist! - once said: "The problem today is not how to change the world, but how to stop the world from changing us." In Italy Enzo Martucci publishes his "numeri unici" of his monthly paper, in France there is the possibility of a duplicated bulletin being published in the near future, in Britain there is MINUS ONE. I know of no other specifically individualist anarchist publication anywhere else. Individualist anarchists are literally only a handful. I am no longer worried by this fact. What else can one expect? But we will go on "not because of, but in spite of," as the first individualist I ever knew used to say to me, his eyes alive with a smile.

The might (defensive) of extraterritorially autonomous volunteer communities & that of volunteer militias for the protection of individual rights, as well as that of free banking & of financial free zones - has still to be unfolded. J.E. N. 8. 88.

In the last analysis there is no right but might. Such is the common ordinary rule of every-day life, from which there is no escape, even were escape desirable. Any attempt to overthrow or circumvent or even dispute the exercise of this prerogative of the mighty is but to assert or oppose a greater might. Expediency always dictates how might should be exercised. Politically, I hold that non-coercion of the non-invasive individual is the part of wisdom. The individual is suprema, and should be preserved as against society....

Clarence L. Swartz.

0188

ANARCHISTS AND POLITICS

"Cedric Fauntleroy"

A well-known and highly respected American academic named Harold Lasswell once wrote a book on the subject of politics, entitled "Politics: Who Gets What, When, How". He was not an anarchist.

On the contrary, he was writing a serious work about the nature of politics in the modern State - and he believed that the State was not necessarily a bad thing. That is to say, his moral judgments are not the same as ours.

But since this is true of the greater number of our contemporaries, and is likely to remain true for some considerable time to come, it is worth letting the initial surge of righteous horror subside while we consider what this man was talking about. As always with emotion-laden subjects, it is worth stopping to look at the words we use, and seeing what in fact they mean. The Greek word "polis", from which our word is derived, meant something between "nation" and "community". The "polis" was the city-state, in its aspect of a body of people, living together under certain institutions and bound together by certain social relations. "Politics" is an abstract word, referring to the general subject of how the "polis" - the community - operates. A politician is one who is concerned in the affairs of the polis as a major interest - he is a professional politician when this is his main occupation.

Now there are two senses of the word "politics". It can refer, in its narrower sense, to the administration and governing of a state; or it can be used in a wider sense, of all things which are "political", or pertaining to the polis. It then includes theories of the state, how politics operates in different states, and it includes the critique of law, state, and social institutions. It is in this wider sense that we are using the term when we talk of anarchist political ideas, of anarchist political activity, etc.

However, it is the narrower sense of politics - day-to-day debate and activity concerning the operation of the society we have - that applies to political parties, and such phenomena as elections, lobbying of M.P.s, and the manipulation of organs of public propaganda, information and opinion.

Political theory/science/philosophy (or metapolitics, if you want to be flash) deals with the critique of ideas about political institutions. Politics on the other hand is a practical activity - it is concerned with power, and the uses of power; that is, it is about the distribution of power and the spoils of power.

Another way of putting this is to say that politics is the business of compromise - x, y, z, all have conflicting interests and claims; politics is the reconciling of these conflicts - the

process of bargaining, of horse-trading, of trickery, of treaty-making - with no-one powerful enough to take all, each manoeuvres to take as much as he can.

Now you can if you like take the holy-joe sectarian anarchist position, and, drawing your skirts aside, say "I want none of this". Fair enough. But consider your motives. Is it moral repulsion from shady processes of compromise? Careful - that way lies moral absolutism and fascism. Is it that you believe such politicking to be ultimately futile? Indeed, in our terms it may be (authoritarianism being a permanent feature of society) but the television sets by the millions, the churches of the hundred and one warring christian sects, the synagogues of the ex-continental jews, the still-declining incidence of infant mortality - these are all the products of politics. To a person who does not care much about the abstractions of Authority and Freedom, who counts a bird in the hand as worth ten in the bush, politics makes sense.

What then should be the attitude of anarchists to politics? There is no way to divorce oneself from politics entirely. When one calls oneself an anarchist - utopian or permanent protest variety - one necessarily influences the behaviour of people who have sympathies with anarchism. The way in which their behaviour is modified is a direct influence of anarchist ideas on the process of politics, and indeed this kind of influence in the past has had a lot to do with the gaining of political freedoms in some measure or other. Again, when one convinces people that it is futile to vote, one is in fact persuading them to opt out of the bargaining process (or at least one part of it) - and in effect giving more power to those who do not.

Should anarchists vote then?

Of course, comrade readers, you all in shocked chorus clamour: No!

But why not? On principle? For tactical reasons? For fear of sullyng one's revolutionary purity?

Let me refer to the case of the Hull bye-election. Gott, the Radical Alliance candidate and his supporters, were condemned for participating in the election. If Gott had swung enough votes and caused the defeat of the Labour candidate, it would have been a humiliating rebuff for the Labour government and its Vietnam policy. If, by some incredible accident, he had been elected, he could either have refused to sit in parliament (with interesting consequences) or he could have eagerly clutched his MP's salary and snuck back into the Labour Party when he thought no-one was looking. And no harm done; a text-book illustration that there ain't no good in (political) man would have been provided. But instead of taking account of any of these eventualities, the anarchists just sat on their arses and carped about the delusions of voting. If a vote can be used against the system, why not use it? You don't have to believe in voting as the key to the kingdom of heaven, but neither do you have to believe that marking that little bit of paper will send you to hell.

There are good reasons for not voting, but they are of the nature of personal distastes, they are not an essential part of any anarchist doctrine. It is the rule of the majority over the minority that is objectionable, as a form of authority; voting as such is only a device, which may or may not be used to facilitate this. Anti-election campaigns are doubtless great fun, and enable one to get an ersatz thrill doing a bit of fly-posting, but the energy could be better spent thinking of ways of sabotaging the election itself.

Nor is voting the only kind of politics towards which many anarchists have an excessively precious and sectarian attitude. To attack the CND as it is today - moribund, ossified and degenerate - is one thing; to forget that at its peak it was probably the most significant mass movement in this country since Chartism (and the closest, in its spontaneous development and breaking out of existing channels of political authority, to anarchism) would be foolish; and ungrateful, since the anarchist movement owes the desperately needed new blood it has received in recent years to the educative role of the CND and the Committee of 100.

Reformism has been a dirty word to the revolutionary left and to anarchists ever since Eduard Bernstein noticed at the end of the last century that the German workers were more interested in eating than in getting themselves starved or killed for the sake of installing a new set of masters; Bernstein thought they had something there. The prospective new masters were understandably annoyed. But there is no need for us to be the slaves of their counter-propaganda. It is perfectly obvious that reformist activities in the twentieth century have achieved a lot greater improvement both in living and working conditions, and in personal liberty, than have any revolutionary activities. Given another hundred years, the reverse might be the case; but by then we will all be dead. And what has posterity ever done for us? It is possible for us to see the absurdity of those gentle liberals who look for a steady upwards movement culminating in eternal bliss; instead we can look forward with some equanimity to an unending struggle against the encroachments of the State and other authoritarian forces, a struggle which will sometimes falter, and can never succeed. But in this struggle we will be playing politics, co-operating with people who think that liberty is important, but not so important as other things. It is politics when we defend the right of children to a piece of waste-land to play on.

So the next time you are having an orgy of moral superiority in front of the television set, it might be well to reflect that Mr. Wilson, Mr. Heath and the Editors of "Freedom" are all in the same business. (1)

(1) (Editorial note: This article was originally submitted by its author to "Freedom", which refused it. I doubt if everything Cedric Fauntleroy says will be to the personal taste of individualists - it is certainly not to mine - but I publish his views as a lively challenge to the sacred dogmas of what he calls the "anarchist movement". S.E.P.)

POEMS from PROFUNDIS REX.....

Kerry Thornley

ENTRADA

(for Gayon)

I stood, on nights of lightning, under roofs of trees
as old as every tropic thunder in the scope
of sky beyond. Invoking Hindu words
to scribble broken notes across my soul, I sang
and put a blazing rain against the sheets of sun;
it made revelations fade and visions cool.
Across the world - a year from that infolding stroke
of whispered self, recording every word my god
demands - I sit in tender winds that push along
the early dust of summer. And here the draft of my
entelechy unfolds upon a twisted wreath
of jungle and the world,
a rugged wreath of roads.

OUTSET

(for Loy)

Alone, the night is mine.
O how I tried to share
the hours after dark!
And once or twice I did —
but did so with regret;
so now I stand and watch
the lights along the road
and see the night as one,
unable to divide.

SOME NOVEMBER NONSENSE

O the hummin' birds
and the cattle herds
sing along together
that life is good
in the Whittier wood
no matter how the weather.
And the cattle herds
and the hummin' birds
have the springtime itches,
but since it's fall
we know they're all
lyin' sons of bitches.

Letter from America

Kerry Thornley

TWO COMMUNITIES IN LATIN AMERICA

X
As the estimated number of laws in the United States passes the fifty-million mark, more anarchistically-inclined Americans begin to look elsewhere for places to live. And the most obvious place to look is among the diverse republics to the South, where central governments can at least be bribed to leave the individual in peace and where primitive land areas make State control difficult.

✓
In the British Honduras both conditions were manifest enough to attract the Keristans. Kerista, a new religion founded by one John Presmont, or Jud the Prophet, contains elements in accord with the philosophies of anarchism and egoism. Keristans praise voluntary association and damn laws; they preach that man has a duty, that this duty is to himself, and that it is to "be merry, have a ball." They hold that mystical enlightenment can only be gained not by rejecting, but by accepting, the senses. The basic ethical principle, or agreement, that exists among Keristans is that each has the right to any action that will not inhibit or restrict the right of any other to any such action. In practice, sexual freedom — fully developed — and sensitivity to the world of ideas are the most common traits of the Keristan. It is sad to discover that such admirable virtues do not produce harmony, apparently, among men and women living together in a community. For, according to all reports this writer has received, the Keristan community which was initiated in B.T. some months ago is in a state of decline — due principally to quarrels between its members in which the dictatorial approach of Jud, the leader, is usually blamed. As one Keristan put it at a gathering in California recently, "Jud is a hell of an intelligent guy; and he is the sweetest cat you'd care to know; but he's also a pain in the ass."

Actually the trouble in the Keristan community probably runs deeper than a mere clash of personalities. For in roughly fifteen years of experimental "community living" (mostly in city apartments shared by "families" of Keristans) opportunities for experimentation with the kind of economics needed to deal directly as a community with nature have been rare. Some community Keristans probably have agricultural experience — one was previously successful at raising bees in the British Honduras — but how many of them understand the social aspects of community economics is another question.

T
For example, the history of community economics in the past of the United States, from the Pilgrims onwards, demonstrates over and over again that shared property is a cause of dissension — ready made. If one stops to define the ownership of property as the control and right to dispose of a material item, the reason for this becomes obvious. Two, or more, individuals can actually

only share property when their values happen to coincide — when all want to control the property to the same end and/or want to dispose of it at the same time in the same manner. If I and two other individuals all own a house together, and if the other two want to burn it to the ground and I do not, and if the other two get their way — then I have been deprived of whatever ownership I might have thought I had. The cause of dissension then, of course, is really the illusion that two or more individualists can ordinarily own anything in common. Regardless of who or how many "share" the Keristan colony in B.T., in all likelihood it is — or was at the last report — owned by Jud, for he it would seem is the one who's running things.

MAPKA is another organisation of voluntarily associating individualists active in Latin America. It is a business structure patterned by a man who sceptically refuses to believe that the State can create a person — and who therefore, and for reasons like those outlined above, rejects the pattern of the corporation. Each member of MAPKA is in business for himself, controlling his own tools of production and supervising no more than ten individuals at a time. The innovator behind this rather complex association held together by mutual self-interest is Bill Manning.

Manning is what some people would call an "enlightened" egoist. His concept of justice, which is very important to him, is that each has an equally exclusive right to his own person, to the material products of his thought and labour, and to an equal portion of the land and natural resources — or their economic worth. He seeks to establish a community based on this concept in the San Blas Gomarca of the Kuna Indians of Panama.

"This is an autonomous Indian reservation," Bill reports, "of 365 small tropical islands...and 2,000 square miles of mainland.... There are 20,000 Kuna Indians who are clean, intelligent, and hard-working and who admire Americans because most of us who have been there have not tried to take advantage of them."

I have made an agreement with Ignacio Coleman, an Indian who is the grandson of a famous chief of the Kunas, and who had had 14 years of American education, for us to associate equally in the development of San Blas and MAPKA."

More information on Kerista can be obtained by sending a small donation to the Kerista National Headquarters at 806 Islington St. in Silver Spring, Maryland, U.S.A., along with a request for a copy of the KERISTA SWINGER.

More information on MAPKA and San Blas can be obtained from Bill Manning, MAPKA, 1113 Sanger Street, New Braunfels, Texas 78130, U.S.A.

0195

Have you taken out a postal subscription to MINUS ONE yet? Six issues cost 5/6. MINUS ONE is the only specifically individualist anarchist journal in the English language.

Two Views

Francis Ellingham:

The tragedy about these three short pieces (which have already appeared in recent issues of MINUS ONE), is they say so much that is true and important, and yet one cannot possibly recommend them. The author proclaims that all idealism is futile; that it is harmful to suppress one's natural inclinations; that moral value-judgements cannot be based on intellectual grounds; that conscience is merely a product of education and conditioning; that, in politics, the real power behind the scenes is always public opinion; and that society, in the sense of a permanent and voluntary institution, is always the implacable enemy of the individual. Though they may not be new, all those great truths are worth repeating endlessly in the kind of world we live in; and therefore it is almost possible to understand why S.E. Parker has seen fit to publish this pamphlet. But not quite. For the author makes two disastrous mistakes.

In the first place, despite the fact that he litters his work with quotations from "The Ego and His Own", the author has completely failed to understand Stirner's doctrine of "conscious egoism". Since it is harmful to suppress one's natural inclinations, the author concludes that any man who becomes conscious of that fact must turn into an utterly selfish pleasure-seeker, "an Epicurean in the most pejorative sense of the word". That conclusion is an obvious non-sequitur, because there is no proof that all our natural inclinations are for pleasure. (True, we always get at least some pleasure from following our natural inclinations, but that is quite a different matter) The author's conclusion is also quite inconsistent with Goethe's line (which he himself quotes) which Stirner made his motto: "Ich hab' Mein' auf Nichts gestellt". Literally, "I have set my affair on nothing" - not even, that is to say, on pleasure.

meine Sache ?

Secondly, the author considers human nature to be so base that Man's pleasure must consist, at least partially, in being cruel and violent. He claims that the latest research in sociology and psychiatry shows the truth of this gloomy view. However, to say that Man is innately cruel and violent is merely to pass a moral value-judgement on him, and (as the author himself knows very well) scientific research cannot "show" value-judgements. Stirner not only never passed adverse moral judgements on human nature, he even warned against doing so: "Do not call men sinners, and they are not: you alone are the creator of sinners..." ("The Ego and His Own", Libertarian Book Club, p. 360) True, Stirner called all men "egoists"; but not in the usual pejorative sense (as I tried to show in an earlier series of articles in MINUS ONE)

12
RIGHT WING INDIVIDUALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Lyman Tower Sargent

4

Barry M. Goldwater and William F. Buckley, Jr.

Goldwater and Buckley have both recently stood for or, as American usage puts it, run for election to major offices; Goldwater for President, Buckley for mayor of New York City. Both were badly defeated. It must be admitted that Buckley did not seem to treat his candidature seriously. Asked what he would do if elected, he said, "Demand a recount." Both represent the largest and most respected segment of right wing thought. Also, both have written books describing their political thought. (1)

Goldwater's first book, "The Conscience of a Conservative" (2), is a short, simple exposition of the right wing approach to contemporary politics. In a sense it fulfils this function admirably. It is certainly short, 127 pages, and it is so simple that one is tempted to describe it as simple-minded. In the light of these "virtues" it can easily be used to illustrate the ideas and, even more clearly, the problems of popular right wing individualism.

A discussion of the Conservative view of human nature provides the basis for Goldwater's political thought. He argues that:

1. Each member of the species is a unique creature.
2. The economic and spiritual aspects of man's nature are inextricably intertwined.
3. Man's development, in both its spiritual and material aspects, is not something that can be directed by outside forces. (11-12)

On the basis of this view of human nature, he contends society must be structured and that politics is the "...art of achieving the maximum amount of freedom for individuals that is consistent with the maintenance of the social order" (pp. 10, 13.)

After this brief statement of the bases of his thought, Goldwater deals with a number of specific problems and policies that he considers to be particularly significant for the conservative. In this he includes a ten page diatribe against big government in general, a seven page defence of state's rights, a brief commentary on civil rights, chapters on freedom for the farmer and labour, a defence of an equal tax system, i.e. - "government has a right to claim an equal percentage of each man's wealth, and no more," (p. 63) attacks on government spending, the welfare state, and government interference in education. He concludes the book with a thirty-nine page chapter entitled "The Soviet Menace."

The statements on particular policies give few clues to his position on individualism, but the programme outlined in the final chapter shows where he places his emphasis. He establishes as a standard for action the question, "Is it helpful in defeating Communism?" (p. 121). Also, he suggests the following:

The combined result of these two errors is that we are asked to admire, as the perfect individualist, a kind of monster, who not only aims to cram his life with as much pleasure as possible, but also derives at least some of that pleasure from deliberately hurting others. Fortunately, such a person simply could not exist, because the moment a man really sees that he is hurting others, he stops. The trouble with people normally condemned as "cruel", is not that they consciously set out to hurt others, but that they lack the sensitivity, the imagination, and the human understanding to realize exactly what they are doing (in other words, they lack intelligence in the true sense of the word).

The author of this pamphlet has fallen into an extremely common trap. Seeing that our education and conditioning have a harmful effect, he uses that fact as a means of justifying certain types of behaviour which we have been conditioned to condemn. But to react against one's conditioning in that way is still to be a slave of conditioning. If it is harmful to resist natural inclinations, it is no less harmful to justify them. Only when one realizes the futility of all justifications, when one is no longer concerned with "right" and "wrong" in any way whatsoever, so that life just goes on naturally, spontaneously, and creatively - only then is there real freedom from conditioning. Only then can one truly say, "Ich hab' Mein' Sach' auf Nichts gestellt".

S.E.Parker:

For many years what has passed for anarchism in this country has been the brand of "anarcho-socialism" propagated by Freedom Press, or the economic marxism of the revolutionary syndicalists gathered around "Direct Action". Jean-Pierre Schweitzer's pamphlet takes anarchism away from both evangelical utopianism and radical "social engineering" and places it firmly where it belongs as an individual aspiration and activity. It has certainly ~~made~~ ^{made} the sparks fly, even among professed individualists.

Like all pamphlets attempting to deal with a fundamental and complex theme, "O Idios" tends to be too brief, especially in the sections on psychology and ethics. Some paragraphs are little more than short notes which can lend themselves to misinterpretation by the careless reader, particularly those whose hearts still beat for the Ideal Man. But there are no real grounds at all for the assertion that the author advocates cruelty or "selfishness".

To recognize that such impulses exist in human beings is not the same as holding them up for admiration. One can only make the author's individualist into a bogey-man by twisting his remarks from their context. As he says: "Selfishness, violence, cruelty, untruth, prejudice, are neither right nor wrong, they are all part of human nature and as such we must accept them as we must accept our skin whether it be white or black." *So the torture victim must accept the torturer & torture as "natural"? Jg.*

"O Idios" is welcome as a well-aimed shot in the perpetual battle for the individual.

1. The key guidepost is the Objective, and we must never lose sight of it. It is not to wage a struggle against Communism, but to win it.
2. Our strategy must be primarily offensive in nature.
3. We must strive to achieve and maintain military superiority.
4. We must make America economically strong.
5. In all our dealings with foreign nations, we must behave like a great power.
6. We should adopt a discriminating foreign aid policy.
7. We should declare the world Communist movement an outlaw in the community of civilized nations.
8. We should encourage the captive peoples of the world to revolt against their Communist rulers.
9. We should encourage friendly peoples that have the means and desire to do so to undertake offensive operations for the recovery of their homelands.
10. We must - ourselves - be prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes. (pp. 121-125)

The constantly recurring "we" refers, I assume, to all Americans or all conservatives and illustrates the problems involved in any attempts to combine individualism and patriotism or nationalism. The moment that the I of the individual becomes the we of the nation or the group individualism is abridged if not completely lost.

This same theme is continued in Goldwater's second book "Why Not Victory?", (3) and in it he also points out the worth of the individual human being. He argues for victory over Communism on the basis of three assumptions:

1. The objective of American policy must be to protect the security and integrity of Americans and thereby help establish a world in which there is the largest measure of freedom and justice and peace and material prosperity.
2. Attainment of the largest possible measure of freedom, justice, peace, and prosperity is impossible without the prior defeat of world Communism.
3. It follows that victory over Communism must be the dominant, proximate goal of Americans. (p 27)

He then explains this last assumption as follows:

"Peace is a worthy objective but if we must choose between peace and keeping the Communists out of West Berlin, then we must fight. Freedom...is a worthy objective, but if granting self-determination to the Algerian rebels entails sweeping that area into the Sino-Soviet orbit, then Algerian freedom must be postponed. Justice is a worthy objective, but if justice for Bantus entails driving the government of the Union of South Africa away from the West, then the Bantus must be prepared to carry their identification cards yet a while longer. Prosperity is a worthy objective, but if providing higher living standards gets in the way of producing sufficient weapons to be able to resist Communist aggression, then material sacrifices and denials will have to be made." (p.27)

I think this needs no further comment.

Turning to William F. Buckley, Jr. one finds a similar outlook, but perhaps a slightly more objective approach. Buckley's three books, "God, and Mar. at Yale", "McCarthy and His Enemies", and "Up From Liberalism" are all attacks on the liberal establishment in the United States. Often humorous, Buckley recognizes that the conservatives in this country are also guilty of the same errors as the liberals. Primarily, he attacks the liberals for doing exactly the same things that they accuse the conservatives of doing, such as name-calling and tale-telling. He does not, unfortunately, expound at any length on the positive aspects of conservatism. In fact, he admits that "at the political level, conservatives are bound together for the most part by negative response to Liberalism.." (4)

When he attempts to outline a positive programme, he falls into such generalities as "...our challenge is to restore principles to public affairs" (p.210) and "freedom, individuality, the sense of community, the sanctity of the family, the supremacy of the conscience, the spiritual view of life" (p.214) Obviously these don't tall one much. On the next to the last page of "Up From Liberalism" he does outline a "course of action" which he labels a "No-Program", which does, I think, place him solidly with Goldwater. He says that the conservatives course is:

1. To maintain and wherever possible enhance the freedom of the individual to acquire property and dispose of that property in ways that he decides on.
2. To deal with unemployment by eliminating monopoly unionism, feather bedding, and inflexibilities in the labour market, where residual unemployment persists, to cope with it locally, placing the political and humanitarian responsibility on the lowest feasible political unit. (p. 218)

Put very generally, it would seem that conservatives of the Goldwater-Buckley ilk see individualism as identified with decentralization in an hierarchical society. They seem to get caught between a mire of sentimentality for family, community, and the spiritual view of life on the one hand, and the feeling that individualistic solutions of daily political problems are impossible on the other. In addition, they attempt to reconcile individualism with a form of patriotism that abrogates any possibility of individualism.

- (1) Goldwater's books were written for him by a variety of people, but the ideas expressed are Goldwater's or are at least acceptable to him.
- (2) New York: Hillman Books, 1960.
- (3) New York: Macfadden Books, 1962.
- (4) "Up From Liberalism" (New York: Hillman Books, 1961), 209.

The libertarian believes that to live for others is to slave for others' sake, and slavery in all its forms is degrading. So he teaches, Live for yourself - first, last and all the time.

Charles T. Sprading.

0200

I do not understand Dave Coull's letter to Sid Parker (MINUS ONE 14). The last time I discussed individualism with him he claimed to be a "Stirnerite" Anarchist Individualist, in fact he also claimed all the other Scottish Anarchists were in the same boat (a fact most have since denied, or the ones I have talked to). He also claimed to be a Syndicalist (though I didn't hear him claiming any individualist views at Syndicalist meetings). A very muddled thinker.

I suggest he thinks, reads, listens and then digests before he opens his critical mouth to damn one or other group of anarchists as he does with great regularity over the movement's press. Then he might save us so much trouble reading him, after all we are surely more important than titles. These are merely conceptual ways of looking at ourselves in categories and are very loose approximations to truth. We should not be expected to live up to them. However, if titles do help to distinguish ourselves from others of more distant views, and we all know what we mean, what is the harm? After all Coull is not misled by the definition he criticises us for using, and neither is anyone else. What is all the fuss about?

Peter Neville

In MINUS ONE for July/August my article "A Refutation of Individualist Anarchism" appeared, with a criticism of it by S.E. Parker. If he had read the article more carefully he would have seen that my point was that a federation of syndicates or a Commune would own the property of the community, but would lease it out to individuals or groups. They would not assume a managerial role in controlling men at their work like capitalism or communism, therefore they would not "crush individuality" economically.

Such a society would not be an individualist anarchist one, but it would be far more freer than the present status quo. Libertarians do not "weave dreams about an ideal state in which the interests of the individual and society will be harmonised". Obviously there will always be a conflict between the individual and society which is necessary to avoid stagnation, as Mr. Parker rightly says; but it is possible to create a society in which the great social evils of unemployment, economic domination of men over men, war, etc., can be abolished. ~~Although Mr. Parker has given up struggling for a free and better society, others of us have not.~~

Roger Tite

("Libertarians" do weave dreams about harmony between the individual and society. E.g. Kropotkin, quoted in "Anarchy 67": "...we are persuaded that the great majority of mankind, in proportion to their degree of enlightenment, and the completeness with which they free themselves from existing fetters, will behave and act always in a direction useful to society." (my emphasis) - S.E.P.)

MINUS ONE - an individualist anarchist review, is edited and published by S.E.Parker, 2 Orsett Terrace, London, W.2., England. Price per copy 8d. Six issues 5/6, inc. postage.

MEETINGS

are held the second Sunday of each month at 10, Churton Street, Victoria, London S.W.1. (Off Vauxhall Bridge Rd.) at 7.30 p.m.

October 9: J.B. Coates - "Personalism and Individualism".

November 13: Simon Watson Taylor - "Anarchism and
Pataphysics". *Paraphysics?*

December 11: S.E.Parker: "James L. Walker and the
Philosophy of Egoism".

LITERATURE

All
prices
inc.
post
-age

E. Armand: "Anarchism and Individualism" - 1/3

S.E.Parker: "Individualist Anarchism - An Outline" - 3d.

Jean-Pierre Schweitzer: "O Idios - Three Essays on
Individualist Anarchism" - 1/3

Lysander Spooner: "No Treason - The Constitution of No
Authority". Introduced by James J.
Martin. 10/6

Max Stirner: "The Ego and His Own" - 15/11

Readers knowing Italian should read the monthly individualist anarchist review published and edited by Enzo Martucci. The latest issue, LA SFERZA, is now available from Enzo Martucci, Via Carducci 98, Pescara, Italy. Price 50 Lira.

Received for review: "Le Cours d'une Vie" by Louis Lecoin. Edite par l'autor. 12NF. A review will appear in the next issue of MINUS ONE.

Fraternal Footnote. Pilate's answer to Alfred Reynolds' "Pilate's Question".

Jesus: I was born to bear witness to the truth.
Pilate (scornfully): What is truth? Every so-called truth has its antithetical truth, equally valid in logic. The salt of life is humour, the realisation that - praise to the Gods - nothing really matters.

Robert Graves - "King Jesus".