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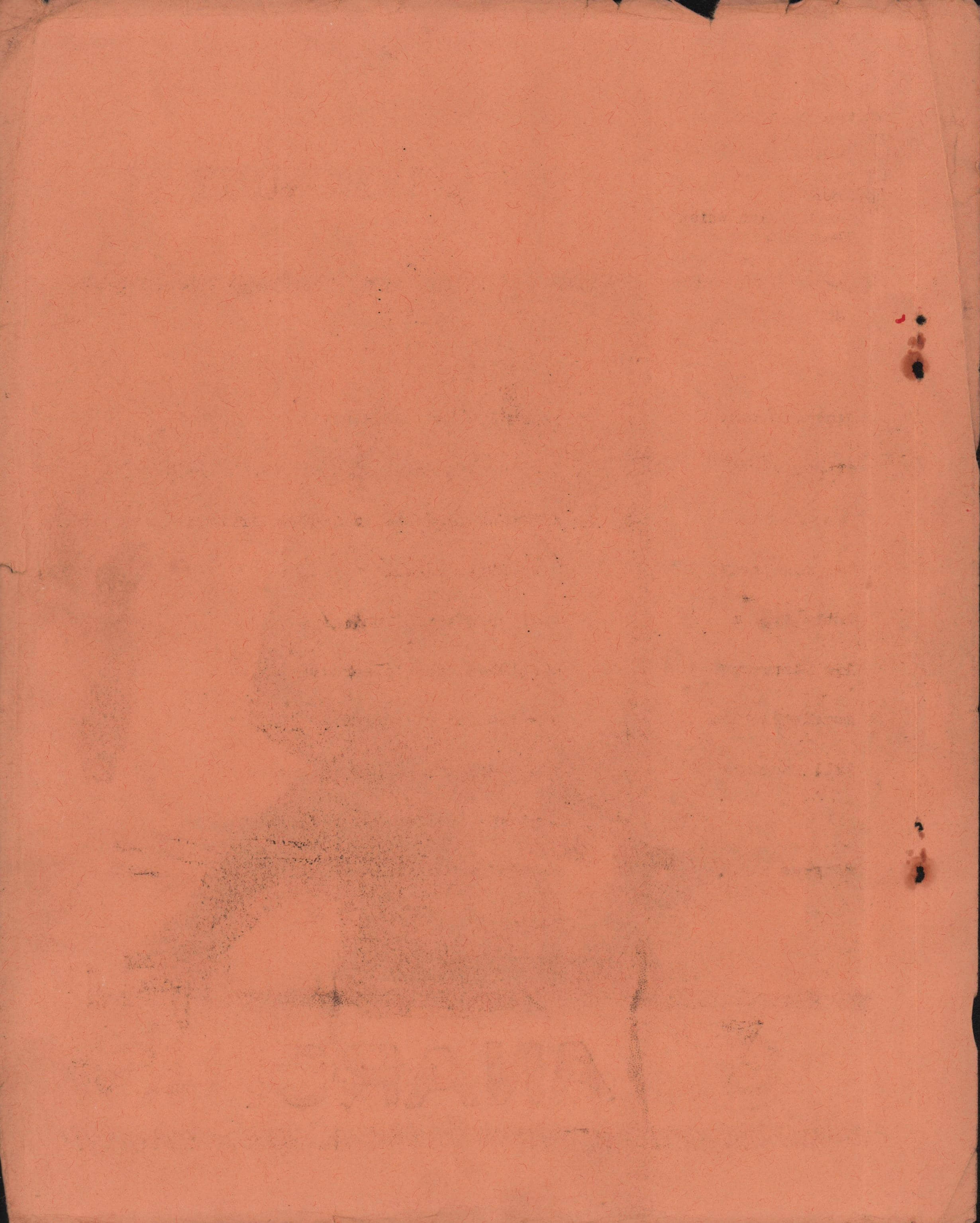


**THE  
ANARCHIST  
6**

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edited and produced  
by  
EDINBURGH ANARCHISTS  
13 Northumberland St  
EDINBURGH 3.

" Freedom and whisky  
gang thegither!"  
- Burns.

# THE ANARCHIST 6

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COVER: National Committee of 100 demonstration  
in Trafalgar Square, September 17th 1961.  
Reprinted for the benefit of posterity.



13 Northumberland Street,  
EDINBURGH 3,  
Monday, February 1st. 1965.

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Dear Friends,

This is our first attempt at producing a magazine, and we apologize to those who may have received smudged or indistinct copies. We would like to thank those few who sent us donations, subscriptions, and articles, and thank Lilian Wolfe in particular for her loan of £5.

"THE ANARCHIST-6" has cost us £12 10/- inc. postage. Donations and subscriptions from outside Edinburgh have so far amounted to 10/6d. We cannot overemphasise THE URGENT NEED FOR MONEY TO PAY OFF DEBTS. We are asking only 6d. for a magazine which cost approx. 1/- to produce. We urge you all, in England and abroad, to send your 6d, and if possible more. Is there no-one who can put aside 1/- a month for us? Is there no-one who can help us out of this dangerous situation by even the smallest amount?

Concerning future editions of "THE ANARCHIST", any group is welcome to produce it; this issue has been the work and savings of three inexperienced people, which shows that it is well within the capabilities of the smallest group. If, however, we receive no offers by February 14th. we are willing to have another go - providing of course, that sufficient money is donated.

Lastly we appeal for criticism, correspondence, and contributions, providing they are neither too lengthy or illegible. We ask our future contributors to bear in mind the cost of paper, ink, and stencils, and would appreciate if they would enclose some money to reduce these costs. All donations, letters, and contributions to Bill Jamieson at the above address.

Freedom, come all ye!

Fraternally Yours,

Edinburgh Anarchists



Monday, 1st. February, 1965.

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The transformation of the Anarchist Weekly and the competent revival of "THE ANARCHIST" by the Birmingham Group are reflections of a healthy trend in libertarian circles. A year has passed in which internal bickering came near to wrecking the whole movement. At a time when we should have been taking the initiative in the anti-bomb struggle and consolidating our gains generally, precious time was lost on age old wranglings which has done nothing to promote our ideas. If anything, it was a year in which we marked time when many opportunities for us to advance were lost.

In this we are all accomplices; we are all guilty, for since when has responsibility for the anarchist movement ceased to lie entirely in the hands of its adherents?

Recent changes and developments, however, have ensured that the movement entered 1965 in a far healthier spirit than it entered 1964. "THE ANARCHIST", created in last year's "winter of discontent" as an organ for in-group argument and debate, was born not out of our successes, but our failures. After four issues, it died. It was revived by the Birmingham Group in December, but the circumstances of its rehabilitation are far removed from those which gave birth to it. It is in recognition of these changed circumstances that we have given this issue as much scope and diversion as possible. We believe that "THE ANARCHIST" should no longer be regarded primarily as a shoulder for sectarian groups to cry on, but as a spawning ground for group ideas and activities.

"THE ANARCHIST" has a vital role to play not merely in strengthening the regional groups and Federations, but in providing debating space on topics of national or world importance. The angry words wasted over the creation of a London Federation, or the Individualist .v. Communist wranglings would have done more justice to the intelligence of their authors had they been directed against the threat of conscription or the war in S. Vietnam. It seems we have put the anarchist movement before anarchism, the shadow before the substance. Nicholas Walter put it this way: "What is important is not THE anarchist movement, but anarchist movement, not the Free Society, but a freer society. This process we are all more than capable of assisting.

the noo.



.....  
: ANARCHISM :  
: AND CO-OPERATION :  
:.....

I must plead the case for more  
co-operation among anarchists.  
It is my belief that anarchists  
are the only group, apart from  
what's left of the Committee of

100 who really believe in the old socialist ideals of a  
world commonwealth of people living in peace, freedom,  
and human brotherhood. These ideals are not soapy and  
Utopian, they are a necessity of mankind id to survive.

The social democrats and Communist parties of  
the world have played a very great part in crushing the  
ideologies they claim to represent. This has not been done  
because these parties are composed of dastardly rogues  
(though they've certainly had their fair share of these)  
but because they have the wrong idea of how to reach  
these objectives.

The only way to achieve a free and communist  
society is to go to the people, show them, educate them,  
help them to form free co-operative organizations to  
overthrow the State, and to do this you MUST BUILD THE  
NEW IN THE SHELL OF THE OLD. You must work on the slogan  
"An injury to one is an injury to all". There must be no  
attempts at short cuts such as seizing power, which lead  
back to the starting point again. It cannot be done  
by throwing everybody suspected of having an original  
thought into a concentration camp and creating a world of  
"yes-men". Neither can it be done by watering down your  
policies to get votes as the Labour Party has done.

After the election of the last Labour government  
the libertarian left became stagnant and didn't make any  
capital out of the crimes and mistakes of the socialists  
it just languished. After all the Labour Party is (unlike  
the Tories) supposed to have some ideals, so we must all  
work (not leaving it to others) to propagate our ideals,  
and to show how little they live up to theirs.

Groups should publish leaflets and pamphlets and  
if they are really good, money could be raised to reprint  
them. Thinking logically, if you have a thousand anarchists  
and sympathizers, you should be able to raise £1000 quite  
easily. The comrades would like a club, a meeting room,  
a shop, a printing press. If the desire is strong enough  
money is no problem.

I think if we really co-operated and tried hard  
we could run quite big anti-election campaigns in some towns  
next time.

There could be a craftsmens' co-operative where



comrades with certain skills could work for each other and the movement. We could raise enough money to buy a large building in London to house the press, a shop, offices, and perhaps living accommodation for COMRADES who were in town, or a social club like the old "Malatesta". This is not a dream; it could really happen. That is, if the anarchists are really constructive and communistic.

We must enlarge our resources if we are to grow to a really large amount of people, and this can only be done by a lot of hard work (which some people put in now), and a lot of co-operation. Freedom Press and the AFB must not be left in debt all the time and the groups must really co-ordinate if they are to make the impact they must.

The way to make "Freedom" a better paper is to write and make news for it and sell it on the streets. The way to make the AFB work is to co-operate and co-ordinate, help the secretariat with suggestions and hard work propagating the ideas. Work should be shared more and then comrades wouldn't burn themselves out like they do.

Next time you're feeling like a conscious egoist think of someone who has lots of jobs like leafletting, selling "Freedom", poster-work, etc. every week. Personally I think "Bill Sticker" deserves a bloody medal for the work he's put in this year, and he's not the only one. Help by taking some of the hard work.

I have seen some very good anti-election leaflets, particularly those of the anti-election committee and Nottingham; the one Edinburgh was sticking up too was quite good. There will be another election soon, SO LET'S PREPARE FOR IT NOW - everybody, that is.

Plan your campaign, draw up a plan of sites for posters, send your ideas that can be used nationally to Bill Sticker, and keep looking for local issues you can make use of, get ready press releases for your local rag etc.

If the anarchists and libertarians work hard NOW, we can grow by inspiring and giving fresh hope to those socialists who will become disillusioned with the Labour Party, and giving direction to those dissatisfied with the present system.

If it's a free society you are wanting there's only one way to get it. Preach the word and show that it can become a reality.

WHAT BUILT BIG MOVEMENTS OF THE PAST WAS BLOODY HARD WORK.

What are we waiting for?

Jack Stevenson.



As I am still getting letters addressed "The Secretary, LFA", I think it only right to explain briefly what the situation really is.

The London Federation was set up at the end of 1963 (or the beginning of 1964) owing to the unmanageable size to which the old London Anarchist Group had grown. I was chosen to be the secretary of the new body, perhaps because I have no very definite line - syndicalist, individualist or communist, and could therefore be acceptable to all.

I took up my duties with some slight misgiving. I am pessimistic by nature and am rarely disappointed when things go wrong. I half expected to happen what in fact did.

Meetings were to be held monthly, and each group affiliated to the Federation was to send one or two delegates. After the first meeting, the Spaniards (FIJL) dropped out, and were never seen or heard of since. Subsequent meetings tended to get smaller and smaller, and finally it was decided to hold them once every three months, because there was so little to discuss.

Then came the Stuart Chritie affair. I called a meeting of the Federation and this happened to fall on the same day as the inaugural meeting of the Christie-Carballo Defence Committee. By the time I was told it was too late to cancel this meeting (of the LFA). No-one had thought it worthwhile notifying me, I was only secretary of the London Federation!!

The result was that the Fed. was attended by two delegates from Edgware who were personal friends, a member of the AFB secretariat, and the wife of one of the Edgware delegates who was not even an anarchist.

Despite this, or rather, because of it, it was quite a sensible meeting, but we could not do much and after some discussion went to the Christie-Carballo meeting which was a seething and noisy chaos.

After this fiasco I wrote round to various groups of the Federation. The date for the three monthly meeting was drawing near. Did they, or did they not want to have a meeting? Although one or two people said to me that they did when they met me in the street, I received NOT ONE LETTER.



I then wrote again saying that in view of the lack of interest shown, I would close the Federation down if I got no reply within a reasonable time. Again there was not a squeak out of anybody.

"Where have all the rebels gone  
Long time passin' ?  
Where have all the anarchs gone  
Long time ago ?"

As far as I am concerned there is no longer a London Federation, and, as my spies credibly inform me, the British Federation is now down to one man, while the various federations in the provinces have melted away.

Yours Fraternally,

Arthur W. Uloth.

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STUART CHRISTIE..... REMEMBER HIM ?

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Last summer a good friend of mine called Stuart Christie was imprisoned for twenty years in CARABANCHEL JAIL, MADRID. You may say: "Yes, I know, but..." There are no buts; I personally don't know whether Stuart was innocent or guilty, although I do know from my own knowledge of him that he is inclined to get hotheaded at times. That, however, is no proof of his guilt.

The thing that annoys me is that those who ran about at the time of the crisis shouting "Down with Franco!" or "Free Stuart Christie!" have done fuck all to help since the press stopped treating the spokesmen to front page publicity. WHY? Is he only a comrade when you get your name in the papers for saying so? At a recent visit to our folk song concert runners (YCND) I asked why nothing was being done for him. "He wasn't in CND" was the reply, or "Christie? He's history now." This group was tripping over itself to get a line in the papers last summer: "Oh yes, I knew Stuart, he's a mate of mine. My name is such-and-such with an 'H'".

Let us have some action for Christs (Christie's?) sake! DUNDEE are having monthly demonstrations for him. What about the same in Glasgow and Edinburgh? Or do we only use this victim of fascism for a piece of personal publicity and then forget? All interested in some action to help him please write to JOE EMBERTON, c/o MUNRO, 89 Elderslie Street, GLASGOW.



.....  
: CITY-SHITILIZATION. :  
:.....

There have been no civilizations without cities, but what about cities without civilization?

The present day symbol of civilization is the big city - and the bigger the city, the more civilized it therefore must be. More labour-saving gadgets and doses of instant culture are supplied to the public regularly and the feather mattress of luxury gets softer and more comfortable every day. Just how "civilized" can we get? The supply of canned civilization certainly seems infinite. But is this what it really is, or is it a word which has to be synonymous with our life? Are the words city and civilization interchangeable? I do not think so. In fact they seem to be inversely proportional to each other - enlarge a city and you reduce its civilization.

The big city with its aura of unity, culture and greatness is really barbarous, brutal, harsh. It cannot possibly harbour community spirit; there is no normal life of unselfishness. Not so here the "religion of humanity"; not so here a happy home-life to produce and nurture in children an understanding of the world. Instead each man adds his personal contribution to the rat race.

As early civilizations were obliterated by barbaric invasions, so has that of the city been overrun by the advertisement and craving for material gain. We are unconsciously absorbing the world of advertisements and so paving the way for a complete distortion of life. Our lust for possession new commodities is constantly fed by the production of new and varied commodities which are calculated to break down after a certain time, thus forcing us once more to buy buy buy. This planned obsolescence is the product of a diseased imagination, made so by the public craving for more more more.

Civilization? How can these people be interested in cultural advances and the stimulation of the mind? What chance has someone who, once finding himself caught up in this whirlpool of depravity, wants to escape and find himself again? - as much as the person who hopes to make a successful life in the city but meets only loneliness and an incomprehensible society. Men here are all part of a bitter struggle to better themselves, and if possible, in the process to kick the next man into the gutter.

Just as the Christians were thrown to the lions in the barbarous times long ago so to thrust someone unawares into the city and expect a sane civilized human being to emerge is an act of barbarism, for cities are not necessarily the breeding grounds for civilization.

Liz Semeonoff.

x

Edinburghgroup made a balls up here!



.....  
 : BIRTH CONTROL :  
 : OF UNIONISM :  
 : .....

In most of the large factories at present there is a political struggle going on besides an industrial one. The two principle faeterie factions which are manoeuvring for control of the trade unions are the Communist Party and the Catholic Action Group. The control they seek is for disciplining the workers for their own olitical schemes.

Anarchists and syndicalists are not interested in capturing the trade unions they are interested in capturing the means of production and distribution and encourage the formation of workers committees for this aim.

The politicians realize that the trade unions are an integral part of the existing state machinery, hence they wish to enrol it since they wish to control the State.

The Anarchists and Syndicalists oppose the State because they realize that exploitation of labour in the last analysis rests with the support of the State, and are not interested in capturing any part of the State they are only interested in the abolition of the State which may be replaced by voluntary industrial and social organizations.

If the trade unions could be captured we would find that we had gained a sailing ship to race in the age of the d-iel diesel engine and the gas turbine .

In the early days of handi-crafts when men may have produced a single commodity with his own tools the trade unions have been effective in defending the craftsmens interests. In modern times with the huge capital investuent in machines and the socially necessary labour to operate them trade unions in the present structure are obsolete. To match organized capital, labour has to be organized according to its interests. Since the trade unions divide and subdivide workers in a particular factory producing socially a particular commodity a new form of unionism must replace them.

In producing commodities with united effort the respective workers should recognize their common interest and organize themselves as workers. This would mean industrial industrial unions. All workers in one industry being in one industrial unioncrashing craft and other barriers. But anarchists and syndicalists are not content with industrial unions as such. Some employers and union officials are begin ing to advocate industrial unionism - i.e. their brand of it. They want to eliminate restrictive practices



to render greater efficiency for making profits. The kind of industrial unionism we wish to see is unionism with decentralized control, control in the grasp of the workers themselves. There is no room for back seat driving in our form of unionism, either by politicians or large ~~sz~~ salaried officials.

There is no freedom of choice when someone else controls the means by which you live.

Every increase in productive power, every innovation in our society has increased the power of a few who have been in control of our affairs.

CONTROL IS WHAT MATTERS.

Forward then to an industrial unionism with workers direct control from their birth.

Bobby Lynn.

.....  
: EDUCATION: :  
: SOME OBSERVATIONS :  
: ..... :

Educating a child begins almost as soon as it is born. From the first words parents must be careful to treat it without introducing adult conceptions

of right and wrong in its infantile world, and disapproval based on these standards. That is presuming that they accent that children are basically good. Nowadays great value is placed on how grown-up a child is at an early age and this often induces parents to force children too early to conform to adult society. Thus feeding and bedding timetables are used and babies are often made to eat or sleep when they have no desire to do so. In this way even babies are made to put duty before pleasure.

From the first a child is forced by words and not allowed to develop naturally to maturity. He is told to 'grow up' and 'not to be such a baby', and this may lead him to think that adulthood is preferable to childhood, whereas it should be realized that both these are stages in man's development, and neither is better in any way. Parents complain about their precocious teenagers who have deserted the playgrounds of childhood before their time. How can they criticize these children desperately striving to reach out for the adult world - when they will be accepted as humans and not inferiors?



By pushing these children into premature adulthood, they have caused them in many cases to be self-critical and self-centred. These children have been prevented from living out their childhood and have been denied of a great deal of carefree happiness.

Many parents from a child's earliest days appear shocked at his questions on sex or his curiosity about his body he cannot help realizing this attitude and adopting it himself. He will grow up, like so many, afraid and overinterested in sex and unable to live in his late teens and early twenties a balanced life in which sex is a single aspect of a relationship and not the main one.

Around adolescence boys and girls can have many valuable relationships and it is important that they should not be separated at this age and prevented from developing an unembarrassed attitude to those of the other sex. In boys public schools for example, they develop in an entirely masculine environment and find it difficult not to think of women either purely sexually or as a subordinate form of life, but to think of them as people. The denial of relationships with women is not only the most uneducational act committed by some educational authorities, it is an entirely wrong basis on which to construct a future happiness and stability. The public school accent falls not so much on happiness in later life, but unthinking servitude for "King and Country," a servitude which encourages an unnatural attitude towards women. It is interesting to note that the Spartans, well known for their warlike attitude thought so little of woman as to abandon some female daughters at birth.

I do not think that schools should force any pupil to study set subjects but should merely provide facilities to develop their interests whether academic or not. Such emphasis is put on academic success that an unacademic child could be made miserable and feel inferior by continued failure in an academic subject. People should not be evaluated according to their intelligence or education, but by their kindness, generosity and love. We should be tolerant of individuality - in fact actually encourage it as a way of making life more varied and interesting. Present educational systems tend to produce stereotyped ways of thinking only to make the wheel of technological advance revolve more smoothly. We are not born to think and act like automated robots. Science is created for the benefit of man, not man for the benefit of science. The road to happiness lies through this.

Liz Storry.



.....  
 : ONE BRANDED RELUCTANT :  
 : or :  
 : why i am an unconscious :  
 : anarchist :  
 : .....

On my arse there is a name  
 -anarchist. And I can't  
 help it said the man in the  
 crockery shop as the bull  
 trod carefully.

It's been scalded on by this brilliant society, which I  
 do not condemn. No, I love them. Their Jesus is my turna-  
 -bout saviour:

Out of the ashes will rise.....

Out of their destruction will flower.....

Yeah, and all that jazz.

So I am an anarchist, but a reluctant one. My reluctance is  
 based on the correspondence columns of 'FREEDOM', on the  
 initial reason for the publication of 'THE ANARCHIST', on  
 labels of all kinds, brands, stamps, invisible water-marks;  
 the wasteful bickering and arguing which stem from these  
 labels; the uninfallibility of indigestion pills and the  
 stupidity of ideological intellectuals and their literature.

With this label on my arse I could have written about  
 individualism, co-operative anarchism or the sex-life of  
 Edinburgh beetles in June. I am not, for the simple reason  
 that I am speaking to comrades.

Brothers and Sisters around the Freedom Flag.

Whatever I would have written would have been O.K. to me.  
 My ideas would be stemming from the locality I live in, the  
 people I work and live with. These ideas would be super-  
 -ficial to you. You already believe in individual freedom  
 and in small community living. So that therefore you believe  
 in the individuals own capacity for self-anlysis and social  
 responsibility. You believe that no person should be co-  
 -erced or forced to do anything that that person doesn't  
 want. So therefore it would be rather useless of me to  
 insult your individuality by giving you anything idealistic.  
 Idealistic literature - gentle coercion, friendly persuasion.  
 I, for one, think so. Real constructive ideas must come  
 from yourself and the people you live with. How the south  
 of England thinks is totally unique from the way Scotland  
 thinks; and if you try to hurry civilization along by  
 suggesting your no doubt plausible ideas to Scotland, then  
 this present society will emerge - which of course it bloody  
 well has.

Every individual has unique problems, stemming from the people  
 around him and the locality he lives in. Every locality has  
 it's own distinct problems. It's own. So obviously the only  
 answers to these problems must come from the individual and  
 the locality. How Edinburgh organises is totally unique  
 from the way Glasgow organises; and you may go up from the  
 individual to national scale. You will find this true.



Sometimes I wish that the word had never been written. People I would think would be a lot further towards a free society. They would have found that personal conversation and discussion were more interesting and enlightening than an impersonal communication. Of course in this present society we need the written word, but to my mind all the philosophers, the idealists, the would-be saviours, the crusaders, politicians etc, conscious anarchists, and all writers of the written word could be conglomerated in a deserted antheap; and I would be the first to brush it asunder, so that a primrose could feel the sun.

Why do you read? Why bother yourself? Why am I writing this? Who really cares what Peter Kropotkin thought in the nineteenth century, or what Bakunin had for breakfast in Spain one day last century?

Immediately I felt the anarchist brand on me I became bored with ideological literature, disinterested with the anarchist 'greats', and fed-up to me bleeding eye-brows with anarchists ranting and raving at each other across important propoganda papers.

Many anarchists prefer to read ideals in their den rather than go out and speak to Joe in Jim's cafe on the corner. Which is fair enough. But if you do both, you are closer to whereeveryouwanttogo. If you only speak to Joe, yet are as liberatarian as anybody ever can be, then you are really and truely whereeveryouwant togo. I respect you. You are a true brother, friend, comrade, lover rolled into one beautiful human being.

Have you ever wondered why you have seen the proverbial light and not Joe? I say to myself - am I more intelligent? If so, then I am stupid. To forsee a free society where evry human being is intelligent is to forsee the ridiculous utopia. No, I am more aware than intelligent. And what made myself more aware? A libertarian up-bringing, anarchist friends - hardly? I became aware through purely personal reasons. I could not fit myself into this present society. I had something in my personal make-up which didn't fit the State. I wasn't normal to society. So I therefore became aware of the abnomalities around me, the greed, envy and hate which exist. I became an outsider. Now, stretching my neck, I believe this to be an anrchist predicament generally. To be aware you have to have unusual personal make-up - unusual, that is, to the present society. And this is the stumbling block to the 'conversion' of the people, who are, according to this society, quite normal. Which should show that mass idealistic propoganda is a load of balls, and that it is quite useless knocking our heads against brick walls.



Propoganda should be on a local scale, it should be saying something constructive about real problems of living in small communities, to protest and criticize creatively in a frame of mutual tolerance and understanding, to be reality on a personal scale, as if written from Jim to Joe, even though Jim went to Public School and Joe Muggins to Friar-tucks Secondary Modern.

Now idealistic mass propoganda converted me. It began turning a near-rusty wheel in my head, which in conjunction with revolved wheels which I had never dreamt about. So although I believe now that this form of propoganda is pigswill - to me, I still believe in it as a form of self-realization to the people looking for it. But once these other wheels begin turning the anarchist should drop off the leeches of other peoples ideals, his label and other knick-knacks and stand, and remain one individual, one wet dripping unconscious anarchist, naked, unfettered, totally free.

So I advocate that an unconscious anarchist should support mass propoganda with one hand, while using the other to more practical benefit. I think that many anarchists today are only using their idealistic hand, leaving the reality hand to rot away in the shitty gutter. Smash with the right, build with the left, smash with the left, build with the right. Yeah, and so on.

Conscious anarchism immediately sets you apart from the people. You become grouped in a sect. This anarchism calls for the Brotherhood of Mankind:

We believe, We know, We, We, We do believe...We...We...We.. And the people sneer at all this goodness that is churned out. And I can't really blame them. They are pissed off with people saying that they have the answer to their problems. They are only interested in the here and now. Practical reality. Wow!

#### The anarchistic community centre.

Many anarchists call for some sort of community to be set up so that it's success could be shown as an example for the future free society. This has happened in the past, and the communities which have been organized purposively have all ended up in, pardon me, destructive anarchy. Many of the participants had high-flown ideas, and probably good intentions, but which they found were difficult to put into practise. Which illustrates that brotherhood cannot be forced into existence. Spontaneous, worldly love, the social love that human beings have for each other - no matter what their personal ideas are, their position in society and general superficiality - cannot possibly be born overnight by people calling themselves libertarians, anarchists, communists,



socialists, fascists-anarchists or some other buckshee label. Every living sod on this earth came from the sod, the one sod, the evolutionary sod. So we're all part of the sod. Strip the other few millions of sods and what do you get maties - housey, housy - yeah - you, one glorious individual sod. All, once stripped of their forced environment, are yourself. All. Jim and Joe, Quentin and Mrs. Fanny Daisyplickinov, Mr. Freeman your Company Director, Jack the gas-meter collector and of course Mary the whore. The importance of the individual lies in the fact that Joe pisses at seven O'clock in the morning and I do at ten o'clock, that Murdoch the farm-worker can write better poetry than Dereck the blacksmith, and that Xanthea is slightly better in bed than Mary-Ann Smith. The unconscious anarchist is an intelligent savage. He recognises only the basic in the people around him, the true selves of the individuals, and he acts mutually in accordance with his own basic impulses.

Anarchists should be the most understanding of all idealists. They should understand peoples environment, therefore their apathy and corruptness. It is really bloody easy. Isn't it? But many anarchists are still 'buggers'. They jump head first out of society and scream abusities at it, and give nothing in return except wavy-blue ideals. O.K. I agree that it is a very naughty society. You have all the right in the world to try to tear it down with your words, but where is the understanding of man's evolution, the constructiveness, the basic social love for all humanity? Missing.... sadly.

In the present day, and in the past, the nearest organizations to an anarchist society are, and were, totally unconscious to high-flown ideals: tenants associations, the kibbutz system in Israel, the village co-operatives in Italy, Jugoslavia and Egypt, the early Swiss villages around the lakes and etc. The most successful anarchists in Spain couldn't even read or write. The natural growth of constructive reality will appear only when ideals are lacking. But ideas in the small communities will flourish, ideas which are confined to the individuals around you. Ideas of reality. No mass, no sweeties about the freedom to come, no labels, no destructiveness without construction.

To the unconscious anarchist good signs are appearing on the misty horizon. Glasgow have organised a Libertarian League on a non-sectarian basis, and news is filtering down from Dundee of another non-sectarian centre. These are anarchistic but not anarchist. To many anarchists this will seem a sign of defeat, that the old anarchist groups were down to near-starvation and they are therefore casting their net wider. I don't think so. I think that under these anarchistic community centres will arise the beginning of ..... well, youknowwhat?

D.T.



.....  
 : THE ANARCHISM :  
 : OF ALDOUS HUXLEY. :  
 : .....

"The nation is a strange deity.  
 It is loved because it panders to  
 the lowest elements in human nature,  
 and because men and women like to

have excuses to feel pride and hatred because they like to taste,  
 even at second hand, the joys of criminality."

Such a remark we might attribute to Thoreau, Kropotkin, Stirner or Alex Comfort, but few would trace it to the pen of Aldous Huxley, Etonian, critic, ascetic, author of "Chrome Yellow", "Doors of Perception", "Brave New World", and "Ends And Means". It is this last book especially, and one or two of his essays which would be of most interest to libertarian thinkers.

"Ends And Means" was written in 1937, a year when the likelihood of a European bloodbath was fast growing in the shadow of fascism, a year - one of the years - of the Stalin purges, and a year of reappraisal in the Socialist camp. These factors were the sperms which fertilized "Ends And Means".

Huxley begins with an outline of the Modern State. Marx pointed out that the State was an instrument by which the landowners, plutocrats and bourgeoisie have defended their privileges. Huxley goes further in saying that the existence of the State is symptomatic of any minority or privileged rule. He viewed with alarm the essentially anti-democratic trend in the extension of the power of the State, and the drainage of power and responsibility from people and provinces and its centralization in the interests of a privileged few.

He goes on to establish the link between the centralized State and war. "No society" he wrote, "which is preparing for war can be anything but highly centralized. Unity of command is essential where power and authority has been concentrated in the hands of a few it is far more likely to wage war than a country where power is decentralized and the population genuinely governs itself." To ensure the efficient functioning of the State, passive loyalty and obedience must be maintained. Discipline and Huxley regards loyalty and passive obedience as latent forms of discipline, is intensively propagated as a virtue. It is precisely this discipline which, by throwing democratic government to the winds, has paved the way for militarism, and eventually, war.

"War is the health of the State", wrote Randolph Bourne. Huxley sees war and violence as the natural and inevitable expression of centralized power. The people are united in the war effort by the State it depends upon the instinct of self-preservation in society itself. "The ruling class", he observed, "feed the flames of national vanity and reap their reward in the gratitude of millions to whom the conviction that they are the participants in the glory of a divine nation brings relief from the gnawing consciousness of poverty, suffering, and social unimportance." As a result, the people are deceived as



to the real reason for war, the underprivileged of one country are led against the underprivileged of another. The first world war provides an excellent example: the workers (the ruled) fought for their respective governments (the rulers) against other workers.

Huxley argues that the militaristic character of the state runs counter to the natural aspirations of the people. I think Simon Weil expressed this better: "Just as Marx found that in the era of unrestrained capitalism, competition between employers, knowing no other weapon than the exploitation of the workers, was transformed into a struggle of each employer against his own workmen, and ultimately of the entire employing class against its employees, so the State uses war and the threat of war as a weapon against its own population. Since the directing apparatus has no other way of fighting the enemy other than sending its own soldiers, under compulsion to their death - the war of one State against another State RESOLVES ITSELF INTO A WAR OF THE STATE AND THE MILITARY APPARATUS AGAINST ITS OWN PEOPLE."

Huxley was, first and foremost a pacifist, but his pacifism was not merely a negative attitude towards war; he recognized that the only way to abolish war was to replace it. His pacifism was in fact not an attitude, but a way of life. From his examination of the militaristic nature of the State, he argues that "the road to a better society is the road of decentralization and responsible self-government." "No reform which leaves the mass of the people wallowing in slothful irresponsibility of passive obedience to authority can be counted as a genuine change for the better. Like Colin Ward, he held that the task of demilitarization was part of a larger task, in Ward's words "that of turning the mass society into a mass of societies." He goes on to examine the psychological distinctions between group control and mob rule. Then follows an interesting chapter on the decentralized society in which he outlines how self-government can be applied in industry and in everyday life. He cites examples of workers control in industry from the book "A chacun sa chance", by the French economist Dubreuil, and puts forward some interesting suggestions as to the functioning of decentralized government in both rural areas and cities.

Is self-government compatible with industrial efficiency? Huxley reminds us that the efficiency we have so far been accustomed to is military efficiency, efficiency that has reaped huge profits for the ruling class. Self-government, by authoritarian standards, would be decidedly inefficient. He refers to instances quoted by Dubreuil, where workers control in factories has proved more efficient than authoritarian management. Efficiency is a relative term; industry will be efficient only when productivity is directly related to the interests of the people.



A central co-ordinating body is necessary, Huxley argues, to ensure proper distribution of trade and commerce with foreign countries. But what is to prevent this body from turning into a ruling clique? "In our present society", he wrote, "men are paranoically ambitious, because paranoic ambition is admired as a virtue... dictators and Fuehers will cease to plague the world only when the majority of its inhabitants regard such adventures with the same disgust as they bestow on swindlers and pimps." The proper attitude towards the Hero is not Carlyle's, but Bacon's. "he doth like an ape", wrote Bacon of the tyrant, that the hygher he clymbes, the more he shewes his ars."

"The end", wrote Huxley, "cannot justify the means, for the simple reason that the means employed determine the nature of the end produced." He held that the real transformation came when people as individuals changed. It is not good enough to be "a patron of virtue" once every five years at an election; one must be virtuous all the time. "The concrete realities of politics", said Huxley "are individual human beings living together in national groups. Politicians substitute abstractions for these concrete realities, and having done this, proceed to invest each abstraction with an appearance of concreteness by personifying it.. politics can become moral only if its problems are thought of, and snoken about, in terms ... of persons." Compare this to what Alex Comfort said: "Responsibility to our fellow men as individuals transcends all other allegiances - to local groups, to nations, to political parties. All these subsidiary allegiances, which are so numerous, are substitutes for human beings. For us as individuals, the only immediate defence against official delinquency lies in our own action... this something no party or government is going do for you. You have to do it yourself, beginning tomorrow." Back to Huxley: "No human society can become conspicuously better than it is unless it contains a fair proportion of individuals who know that their humanity is not the last word, and who consciously attempt to transcend it... not be evolutionary growth, not in some remote future, but here and now, by the use of properly directed intelligence and goodwill."

Huxley believed in Ghandhi-type non violent civil disobedience, accompanied with the contraction of new relationships, and putting our ideas of self-government into practice on an evergrowing scale. For Huxley, the road to progress is the road of charity. He views the Bolshevik revolution, the develonment of a monolothic bureaucracy and the Stalin purges as an example of how good ends have been ruined by uncharitable means. "Regard the problem of reform exclusively as a matter of politic s and economics, and you must approve and practice liquidation."



Such a short article can do little justice to Huxley, and I urge anyone who has not yet read "Ends And Means" to do so. What he has to say is no less relevant in 1965 than it was in 1937, and his theories on war and the growth of the two monolithic systems of government. The book is especially interesting to read in the light of events in the peace movement over the past six years. Just as we have seen how the war of one State against another State resolves itself into a war between the State and its own people, so conversely the struggle against war resolves itself into a struggle against the State and the military apparatus. The road to progress is paved with disobedience "the only methods by which which a people can protect itself against the tyranny of values possessing a modern police force are the non-violent methods of massive non-co-operation and civil disobedience."

"What Huxley thinks to-day" wrote Bertrand Russell, "England thinks to-morrow." I urge that Huxley should be given a corner of the anarchist bookstall he so richly deserves - otherwise what Huxley thought yesterday might, with disastrous consequences for mankind, be all too easily forgotten to-day.

Bill Jamieson.

(condensed from a talk given to the Edinburgh Anarchist Group, 21st. December, 1964.)

<p>.....        : VIETNAM:        : "FREEDOM" .V. "LIBERATION".        : .....</p>	<p>As the war in South Vietnam between Western "Freedom and National Liberation" enters its twentieth year, the desire to "seek power and to lose liberty" is not quite so strange as Bacon would have us believe. Military coups d'etats are becoming as regular and institutionalized as Bank Holidays. From Saigon, they reverberate round the globe like chimes from a great clockwork doomsday machine ticking steadily away. How has this situation come about? It would be useful to examine the principle events in S. Vietnam since the war started.</p>
<p>.....        : 1945 :        : .....</p>	<p>The Viet Minh, a coalition of all political parties and groups was set up to end French rule in Vietnam.</p>



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 : 1947 :  
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 The United States tried to convert this struggle into an ideological war between rival left and right wing factions. A double strategy was involved; the US tried both to help defeat the revolutionary Viet Minh, and to force the French to grant formal independence to a conservative Vietnamese faction. This policy failed because it was contradictory; the more aid was given to the French against the Viet Minh, the less likely were the French to relinquish their hold on Vietnam.

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 : 1949 :  
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 Ho Chi Minh, leader of the Viet Minh, finally received assistance from Communist China, but it was a mere trickle compared to the avalanche of aid that the French and their puppet government got from the US - over a billion dollars worth of military aid. This aid merely prolonged the agony and added to the casualty lists of both France and Vietnam. IT SOLVED NOTHING.

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 : 1954 :  
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 The French, having become reluctant to continue the fighting because of suspicions that the US was trying to displace them in Indochina, and weary of the heavy loss of French life in America's anti-Communist crusade, called a conference at Geneva attended by all the great powers. The Viet Minh leader made significant concessions to stop the war; these concessions centred round the PROVISIONAL partition of Vietnam along the 17th. parallel. Two reasons motivated this concession, i) the US had offered France the Atomic Bomb; and ii) the partition was supposed to be TEMPORARY. Also. French troops were to be withdrawn, and the provisional governments (Ho Chi Minh in the North and Diem in the South) had to give way to a new all Vietnamese government freely chosen by nation wide election supervised by the International Control Commission. Only the US refused to recognize fully the Geneva Accords.

American policy of permanent division of Vietnam with not even trade between north and south has created two weak countries instead of one strong one. North Vietnam needs surplus rice from the South, and South Vietnam needs industrial raw materials from the North. Thus the total divorce of North and South has forced each half to turn elsewhere for trade and aid, N. Vietnam to the Communist bloc, and S. Vietnam to the U.S. It is these links with the two great power blocs which has given the Vietnam Question world wide proportions. Without trade relations with the North, S. Vietnam is chronically dependent on the US, and as a result, the leaders from Diem on have had to bear a double cross, that of American puppetry, and responsibility for the continued partition of the country.



The attempts to create a sanitized anti-Communist bastion of the "Free World" have necessitated a ruthless purge of the Viet Minh's adherents in the South. Even religious groups have fled to the jungles and organized armed resistance. Is resistance to US strategy entirely Communist orientated? To quote Philippe Devillers, a French authority on Vietnam: "...the insurrection existed before the Communists decided to take part... even among Communists the initiative did not originate from Hanoi (capital of N. Vietnam) BUT FROM THE GRASS ROOTS, WHERE THE PEOPLE WERE LITERALLY DRIVEN BY DIEM TO TAKE UP ARMS IN SELF DEFENCE." (my capitals)

Poison chemicals, napalm bombs, and long range artillery supplied by the US has been used against the Viet Minh. Even the villagers have been bombed, and children, Buddhists, women, Catholics and aged have all been victims. These tactics suggest that the government gave up long ago any hope of "winning" the people to its side.

..... Widespread opposition to the Diem tyranny in S.  
 : 1960 : Vietnam resulted in a coup d'etat by dissident  
 : ..... army officers. The failure of this encouraged yet more Vietnamese to join the guerillas. December of that year saw the creation of the National Liberation Front, similar in character and attitude to the Viet Minh. The Front has grown to contain 80,000 full or part time fighters, and between four and five million supporters. They advocate neutralism, the resumption of trade relations with the North, and ultimately, negotiations with a view towards re-unification.

American commentators claim that N. Vietnam has been committing acts of aggression. Is this so? New York Times report, March 6th., 1964, said this: "No capture of N. Vietnamese in the South has yet come to light." After an official breakdown of a cross-section of weapons, only one in fifty came from the Communists. Some of the tactics of the Liberation Front have been hilarious if ineffective. Thousands of monkeys have been let loose in Saigon wearing vests depicting caricatures of General Khanh and Johnson. Since the population is Buddhist, the monkeys cannot be shot, and as a result they are free to roam causing much amusement at the expense of Government morale. In the country, Government troops advancing with the latest American weapons frequently stumble over trip wire which disturbs a great heap of beehives. Defenceless against thousands of angry bees, the troops drop their guns and run. The guerillas descend later to collect their literally give-away spoils.

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 : 1962 : Military coup d'etat fails. War continues.  
 : .....  
 : 1963 : Military coup d'etat succeeds. War continues.  
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 : 1964 : Five military coups d'etat succeed. War continues  
 : .....  
 : 1965 : One military coup D'etat so far (jan 27th)  
 : .....  
 War continues.

Each military clique has announced its wholehearted support for the American position. The relationship between each S. Vietnam government and the US has been that of a parasite to its host. The war is costing the US \$1 million a day, and 21,00 "military advisers" (bee fleers) are stationed there. The Diem tyranny was followed by the military junta which was followed in turn by the dictatorship of General Khanh, described by "Life's" correspondent as "a hell of a fighter. He is the kind of leader who goes out into the field with his men and kicks them in the rear."

There are 28,000 political prisoners in S. Vietnam who have not even been given a fair trial. Under Diem the elections were rigged; under Khanh the secret police have been revived. More and more villages have gone over to the Front WHICH ADVOCATES A RETURN TO VILLAGE AUTONOMY. THE FRONT WANTS TO ACCEDE TO THE VILLAGERS' DESIRE TO ELECT THEIR OWN OFFICIALS, INSTEAD OF HAVING AN ARMY OF GOVERNMENT CIVIL SERVANTS FOISTED ON THE VILLAGE FROM ABOVE. Helen Lambs' Article "The Tragedy of Vietnam" from which these observations are made, reveals that the National Liberation Front is not as Marxist orientated as its name might suggest. The tribesmen who live in the mountains are not fighting for freedom in the sense of a two party system; they want concrete safeguards for their way of life and seek ethnic and cultural autonomy. This the Front has promised.

What lies behind the US refusal to negotiate an overall settlement? There are four main reasons:

- i) The preservation and extension of foreign markets in S.E. Asia vital to Capitalism
- ii) Withdrawal from Vietnam would weaken and humiliate the Johnson government both internal and in international affairs as well.
- iii) S. Vietnam is being used as a laboratory for trying out new weapons and equipment and tactics with which to fight guerilla uprisings everywhere.
- iv) S. Vietnam is of strategic naval importance to the US not only in relation to China, but the whole of S.E. Asia and Indonesia in particular.

This last reason for continued US presence is an equally strong motive for China, in alliance with N. Vietnam, to brush aside the Front's demands for neutrality. S. Vietnam and the port of Saigon would be of tremendous military advantage in event of hostilities between Indonesia and Malasia.



The Front has proposed as a compromise a new coalition government with elections of universal suffrage. It has advocated neither Communist or Capitalist economic development. Similarly it proposes that ALL foreign troops should leave Vietnam.

"Freedom" has chalked up too many IOU's on its slate. Whatever the outcome of negotiations, THIS WAR MUST STOP. Government casualties have risen to the figure of 1000 per day thousands are made homeless, without adequate food or clothing; others are tortured, beaten up, or thrown in jail. It has led to increased tension between the two great power blocs, A TENSION WHICH IS LIABLE TO SNAP AT ANY MOMENT.

Every humanitarian, whatever his politics, must help make these facts known and ensure that the Vietnamese achieve a neutrality and independence which alone can reduce suffering and tension, not only in Vietnam, but throughout the world.

Bill Jamieson.

.....  
: CARPENTER, MILLER,  
: AND REXROTH: SOME SLICES.  
: .....

MILLER: The dreamers  
dream from the  
neck up, their bodies  
securely strapped to the

electric chair. To imagine a new world is to live it daily, each thought, each glance, each step each gesture killing and creating, death always a step in advance. To spit on the past is not enough. To proclaim the future is not enough. One must act as if the past were dead and the future unrealizable. One must act as if the next step is the last, which it is. Each step forward is the last, and with it a world dies, one's self included.

REXROTH: Nobody bothers anarchists any more.

CARPENTER: Will you continually deny yourself, you? Will you ever turn aside? These are not the times, remember, or canary birds - when the thunder growls along the horizon.

REXROTH: My father died and my aunt took me to Chicago to live. The first thing I did was to take a streetcar to the stockyards. In the winter afternoon, gritty and fetid, I walked through the filthy snow, through the squalid streets, looking shyly into peoples faces, those who were home in the daytime. Debauched and exhausted faces, starved and looted brains,



faces like the faces in the senile and insane wards of charity hospitals. Predatory faces of little children. Then as the soiled twilight darkened, under the green glass lamps, and the sputtering purple arc lamps, the faces of the men coming home from work, some still alive with the last pulse of hope and courage, some sly of bitter, some smart and silly, most of them already broken and empty, no life, only blinding tiredness, worse than any tired animal. The soured smells of a thousand suppers of fried potatoes and fried cabbage bled into the street. I was giddy and sick, and out of my misery I felt rising a terrible anger and out of the anger, an absolute vow. To-day the evil is clean and prosperous, but it is everywhere. You don't have to take a street car to find it, and it is the same evil, and the misery, and the anger, and the vow are the same.

MILLER And, now, ladies and gentlemen with this little universal can-opener which I hold in my hands, I am about to open a can of sardines.

MILLER Imagine you have nothing on your hands but your destiny. You sit on the doorstep of your mother's womb and you kill time - or time kills you. You sit there chanting the doxology of things beyond your grasp. Outside. Forever outside.

CARPENTER I hear the sound of the whetting of scythes.

REXROTH We were comrades together, we believed we would see with our own eyes the new world where man was no longer wolf to man, but men and women were all brothers and lovers together. We will not see it.

MILLER And now I take leave of you and your holy citadel and go now to sit on the mountain top.

CARPENTER Out of the litter and muck of a decaying world,  
Lo, even so  
I saw a new life arise.

\* \* \* \* \*

CARPENTER was an anarchist in the early socialist days, but is now almost unknown in anarchist circles.

REXROTH is an American poet and anarchist. His only published work in Britain is "In defence of the Earth" published by Hutchinson. But his "New Directions" publications can be obtained from good bookshops - e.g. Charing C. Road.

MILLER His 'black Spring' is still unobtainable, but Paris publishes English editions. It is a fine record of Miller and his thoughts as he watches the second world war developing.

I have had to put some of Rexroth's poetry into prose, thereby losing a lot of essential clarity. I apologize.

D.T.