

\*Not for profit\*

This edition published April 2026



# **GENTLEMEN, YOU ARE MAD**

## **MANKIND AND THE STATE**

### **THE MORALS OF EXTERMINATION**



More history and current events:  
[historyiswhat.noblogs.org](http://historyiswhat.noblogs.org)

Lewis Mumford  
Marcus Graham

## **Gentlemen, You Are Mad, by Lewis Mumford (1946)**

*From 'The Saturday Review of Literature', New York, March 2, 1946*

We in America are living among madmen. Madmen govern our affairs in the name of order and security. The chief madmen claim the titles of general, admiral, senator, scientist, administrator. Secretary of State, even President. And the fatal symptom of their madness is this: they have been carrying through a series of acts which will lead eventually to the destruction of mankind, under the solemn conviction that they are normal responsible people, living sane lives, and working for reasonable ends.

Soberly, day after day, the madmen continue to go through the undeviating motions of madness: motions so stereotyped, so commonplace, that they seem the normal motions of normal men, not the mass compulsions of people bent on total death. Without a public mandate of any kind, the madmen have taken it upon themselves to lead us by gradual stages to that final act of madness which will corrupt the face of the earth and blot out the nations of men, possibly put an end to all life on the planet itself.

These madmen have a comet by the tail, but they think to prove their sanity by treating it as if it were a child's skyrocket. They play with it; they experiment with it; they dream of swifter and brighter comets. Their teachers have handed them down no rules for controlling comets; so they take only the usual precautions of children permitted to set off firecrackers. Without asking for anyone's permission, they have decided to play a little further with this cosmic force, merely to see what will happen at sea in a war that must never come.

Why do we let the madmen go on with their game without raising our voices? Why do we keep our glassy calm in the face of this danger? There is a reason: we are madmen, too. We view the madness of our leaders as if it expressed a traditional wisdom and a common sense: we view them placidly, as a doped policeman might view with a blank, tolerant leer the robbery of a bank or the barehanded killing of a child or the setting of an infernal machine in a railroad station. Our failure to act is the measure of our madness. We look at the madmen and pass by.

Truly, those are infernal machines that our elected and appointed madmen are setting. When the machines go off, the cities will explode, one after another, like a string of firecrackers, burning and blasting every vestige of life to a crisp. We know that the madmen are still making these machines, and we do not even ask them for what reason, still less do we bring their work to a halt. So we, too, are madmen: madmen living among madmen: unmoved by the horror that moves swiftly toward us. We are thinking only of the next hour, the next day, the next week, and that is further proof that we are mad; for if we go on in this fashion, tomorrow will be more heavy with death than a mortuary.

Why has this madness seized us? Do not ask now; it is here. Have we then no sanity left that will give us strength to cry out against the madmen and contend with them? Have we not the power to stifle the infernal machines they have created and to baffle their preparations for the casual suicide of the human race? Has no one raised a hand to halt the madmen? Yes: here and there, in the gutters, on the rooftops, pushed through a grating, or slipped under a door by a silent hand, are the scrawls of a message, a frantic series of messages, addressed to all of us. These messages have been written by the greatest of the madmen, the men who invented the super-infernal machine itself; the men who, in the final throes of their dementia, were shocked back into sanity.

The shocked ones, the awakened ones, are the only people who show a normal awareness of danger, and the proof of this fact is that their frantic signals are dismissed as madness. The louder they shout to us, the more inaudible their voices become. The moment they awakened to the cosmic evil they had brought

penalties could hardly be worse than those our government meekly accepted in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Korea, at a time when we still hugged the illusion of wielding absolute power through our monopoly of nuclear weapons? While sober judgment need not minimize these transitional difficulties and possible losses, one must not underestimate, either, the impact of a new policy, wholly concerned to re-establish the moral controls and political cooperations necessary to enable mankind to halt the threatening misuse of the extraordinary powers that it now commands.

Even in a purely military sense, this changed orientation might produce the greatest difficulties for those Communist governments who misunderstood its intention and sought to turn it to their private national advantage. Russia would no more be able to escape the impact of our humane plans and moralized proposals than it was able to avoid the impact and challenge of our nuclear weapons. If we rallied the forces of mercy, human-heartedness, and morality with the vigor with which we have marshaled the dehumanized forces of destruction, what government could stand against us and face its own people, however strong its cynical suspicions and misgivings?

This is not the place or the moment to spell out a new policy which would start with the complete renunciation of weapons of mass extermination and go on to build constructive measures addressed to all those tasks which the Cold War has caused us to leave in abeyance. Fortunately, George Kennan, the only official or ex-official who has yet had the courage to admit our earlier miscalculations, has already sketched in, with some boldness, the outlines of a better policy, and his proposals might be amplified and enlarged in many directions once we had overcome our official obsession with Russia and our fixation on mass extermination as an ultimate resource.

But the key to all practical proposals lies in a return to human feelings and sensitivities, to moral values, and to life-regarding procedures as controlling factors in the operation of intelligence. The problems our nation has tried to solve by mechanical weapons alone, operated by a detached and de-moralized mechanical intelligence, have proved insoluble by those means. A great leader would know that the time has come to reinstate the missing human factor and bring forth generously imaginative proposals addressed to mankind's survival and working toward its further development.

\* \* \*

no belated confession of error, no repentance and absolution.

Under what canon of sanity, then, can any government, or any generation, with its limited perspectives, its fallible judgment, its obvious proneness to self-deception, delusion, and error, make a decision for all future ages about the very existence of even a single country? Still more, how can any one nation treat as a purely private right its decision on a matter that will affect the life and health and continued existence of the rest of mankind?

There are no words to describe the magnitude of such insolence in thought or the magnitude of criminality involved in carrying it out. Those who believe that any country has the right to make such a decision share the madness of Captain Ahab in *Moby Dick*. For them Russia is the White Whale that must be hunted down and grappled with. Like Ahab in that mad pursuit, they will listen to no reminders of love, home, family obligation; in order to kill the object of their fear and hate they are ready to throw away the sextant and compass that might give them back their moral direction, and in the end they will sink their own ship and drown their crew. To such unbalanced men, to such demoralized efforts, to such dehumanized purposes, our government has entrusted, in an easily conceivable extremity, our lives. Even an accident, these men have confessed, might produce the dire results they have planned, and more than once has almost done so. To accept their plans and ensuing decisions, we have deliberately anesthetized the normal feelings, emotions, anxieties, and hopes that could alone bring us to our senses.

No one can guess how a sufficiently wide recovery of moral responsibility and initiative might be brought about. Neither can one predict at what moment our nation will see that there is no permissible sacrifice of life, either in experimental preparation of these vile weapons or in a final conflict whose very method would nullify every rational end. Certainly it seems doubtful that popular pressure would bring about such a change in government policy, except under the emotion of a shattering crisis, when it might well be too late. But great leadership, exerted at the right moment, might clear the air and illuminate the territory ahead. Until we actually use our weapons of extermination, there is nothing that we have yet done that cannot be undone, except for the existing pollution of our food and our genetic heritage with strontium 90 and carbon 14. But we must make a moral about-face before we can command a political forward march.

Yet if once the American nation made such evaluation of the morality of extermination, new policies and appropriate decisions would quickly suggest themselves. This would do more to effect an immediate improvement in the relations between the two powers now committed to preparing for mutual extermination than endless parleys between their heads of government.

A moral about-face does not demand, as those whose minds are congealed by the Cold War suppose, either a surrender to Russian Communism or a series of futile appeasements; neither does it mean any increase in the dangers under which we now live: just the contrary. Those who see no other alternatives are still living in the pre-nuclear world; they do not understand that our greatest enemy is not Russia but our treacherous weapons, and that our commitment to these weapons is what has prevented us from conceiving and proposing the necessary means for extending the area of effective freedom and, above all, for safeguarding mankind from meaningless mutilation and massacre.

No dangers we might face once we abandoned the very possibility of using mass extermination would be as great as those under which we now live; yet this is not to say that a bold change of policy would be immediately successful, or that before it had time to register its full effects in other countries it might not tempt Russia to risk measures to extend over other areas its own monolithic system of minority single-party government. But need I emphasize that these possible

about, the awakened ones were bound over to silence by the watchful agents of the uniformed madmen. So they send us their messages in scattered fragments, or they whisper it to private ears in passing, since their keepers will not permit them to speak aloud in such a fashion that every man, woman, and child would understand their story and act for self-preservation.

The ruling madmen do not dare to let us read the whole message of the imprisoned ones, lest we be suddenly jolted into sanity. The President, the generals, the admirals, the administrators are afraid that their own madness might become more evident if the scattered words the awakened ones send us were to be put together and read as a single sentence. For the President, the generals, the admirals, and the administrators have lied to us about their infernal machine: they have lied by their statements and even more they have lied by their silences. They lie because it is no longer an infernal machine, but hundreds of infernal machines: presently no longer hundreds but thousands: these unrestrained madmen will soon have enough power to disembowel, with a push-button command, all the living spaces of mankind. Day by day the stockpiles of chaos grow larger.

The power that the madmen hold is power of an order that the sane alone know that they are not sane enough to use. But the madmen do not want us to know that this power is too absolute, too godlike, to be placed in any human hands: for the madmen dandle the infernal machine jauntily in their laps and their hands eagerly tremble to push the button. They smile at us, these madmen: they pose for fresh photographs, still smiling: they say, being madmen, "We are as optimistic as ever," and their insane grin is prophetic of the catastrophe that awaits us.

Lying to us about the secret that is no secret, the madmen also lie to themselves, to give their lie the further appearance of truth, and their madness the outward garb of sanity. Not knowing any other use for their machine but destruction, they multiply our capacities for destruction. Their every act is an act of madness; even now, in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, they plan a further madness, with a monkey-like curiosity to discover a new secret that is no secret. One mad act has led to a second mad act, the second to a third: and the end will be a morbid compulsion to achieve the last irretrievable act of world-madness — in the interests of security, peace, and truth.

The madmen act as if nothing were happening, as if nothing were going to happen: they are taking the madman's usual precautions with the madman's usual confidence. But the awakened ones, those who are still the madmen's prisoners, know better than this. The pleading words they have guardedly sent us have been lying around for months, and only our paralyzed bodies and our dead minds have kept us from picking the fragments up and piecing them together. Let us read their plain message: it is the only warning we will ever have.

Here is the message of the awakened ones:

"The madmen are planning the end of the world. What they call continued progress in atomic warfare means universal extermination, and what they call national security is organized suicide. There is only one duty for the moment: every other task is a dream and a mockery. Stop the atomic bomb. Stop making the bomb. Abandon the bomb completely. Dismantle every existing bomb. Cancel every plan for the bomb's use; for these clever plans are based on stark madness. Either dethrone the madmen immediately or raise such a shout of protest as will shock them into sanity. We have seen the infernal machine in action, and we hold that this action is not for man to invoke.

"We know there is no quick way out of this madness, for the cooperation of mankind cannot be purchased cheaply by terror; but the first step, the only effective preliminary step, is to put an end to the atomic bomb. You cannot talk like sane men around a peace table while the atomic bomb itself is ticking

beneath it. Do not treat the atomic bomb as a weapon of offense: do not treat it as a weapon of retaliation: do not treat it as an instrument of the police. Treat the bomb for what it actually is: the visible insanity of a civilization that has ceased to worship life and obey the laws of life. Say that as men we are too proud to will the rest of mankind's destruction even if that madness could for a few meaningless extra moments save ourselves. Say that we are too wise to imagine that our life would have value or purpose, security or continuity, in a world blasted by terror or paralyzed by the threat of terror."

So reads the message of the awakened ones.

While the whole world writhes in a spasm of madness, let us in America be mad with a method, mad with a purpose. Let us say No to the atomic bomb rather than say No to life itself. Let us awaken the sleeping sanity of the peoples of the world by calling them together and showing them our guilty hands, our hands already stained with a madman's blood, still clenched in a madman's purpose, and then let us say these plain words:

"We have awakened. We are men once more. You have nothing to fear from us. We will dismantle our atomic bombs and allow you to put a guard over our stockpiles: America's sanity today shall be the world's sanity tomorrow. Whoever seeks to be sure as to our good intentions, let him come into our country, go where he pleases, and examine the most secret laboratories and factories. We have nothing to hide, except that which only madmen would continue to hide. With this act of faith, we have awakened from the nightmare of the infernal machine and our sleepwalking progress toward annihilation. Wake up! men and brothers on every continent. Let us all cease thinking that the cosmic power we hold is only a child's skyrocket. The atomic bomb is not for any of us to use — ever. Let us put it aside, as if it were unconceived and inconceivable. For we have nothing to fear from each other but our normal madness: the madness of those who would calmly bring the world to an end simply by dotting their i's and crossing their t's as they have always done. On any other terms but this common faith in our common cause, mankind is doomed."

Meanwhile, the clockwork in the infernal machine ticks and the final day draws near. The time has come for action: the compulsive automatic motions of the madmen must be sternly halted. Let the awakened ones be unengaged, and let one of them be placed at the elbow of every man holding high public office, as the priest was once at the elbow of the king, to whisper the words "Humanity" and "One World" in the leader's ear, when he slips into the dead language of tribal isolation. The secret that is no secret must be laid open: the security that is no security must be yielded up: the power that is annihilation must give way to the power that is birth.

The first move toward sanity lies with us. Abandon the Atomic Bomb! Give it up! Stop it now! That is the only order of the day. When we have performed this duty the next step will be visible, and the next duty will add a new safeguard against the smooth automatism of the madmen. But we must be quick to overcome our own madness. Already the clockwork is ticking faster, and the end — unless we act with the awakened ones — is closer than anyone yet dares to think.

\* \* \*

and distorted world. The sum of their combined judgments is still an unbalanced judgment, for moral criteria have, from the start, been left out of their general directives.

Is it any wonder that even in the narrow segments of science where they claim mastery our nuclear officials have made error after error? They have again and again been forced to reduce their estimate of the "permissible" limit of exposure to radiation, and on the basis of knowledge already available they will have to reduce these estimates still further. Thus, too, they made an error that startled themselves, in their under-calculating the range and the lethal fall-out of the hydrogen bomb, and they sought to cover that error by concealment and calumny, at first denying the plight of the Japanese fishermen they had injured. Some have even used their authority as scientists to give pseudo-scientific assurances about biological changes that no one will be able to verify until half a century has passed. Furthermore, in matters falling within their province of exact knowledge, the judgment of these authorities has repeatedly proved erroneous and mischievous.

All this should not surprise us: neither science nor nuclear energy endows its users with superhuman powers. But what should surprise us is the fact that the American nation has entrusted its welfare, safety, and future existence to these imprudent, fallible men and to those who have sanctioned their de-moralized plans. Under the guise of a calculated risk, our nuclear strategists have prepared to bring on a calculated catastrophe. At some unpredictable moment their sick fantasies may become unspeakable realities.

Does anyone really think that, unless a miracle supervenes, there can be a more favorable outcome to the overall policy we have been pursuing? If this policy had a color of excuse before Russia had achieved her first nuclear weapon in 1949, it became thoroughly discredited in Korea in 1950 and became suicidal as soon as Russia's superiority in rocket missiles was established. The fact that Russia now has equal or better weapons of extermination and has joined us in these same insane preparations doubles our danger but does not halve our original guilt. Neither does it nullify our willful stupidity in now clinging to an obsolete, discredited strategy, based on a negation of morality and a defiance of common sense.

The only possible justification of our continued reliance upon weapons of total extermination would be that they do not present harm and would never be used by either side under any extremity of provocation. Can any mature mind comfort itself with either hope? Even our experimental explosion of nuclear bombs, at a rate of more than two for Russia's one, has poisoned our babies' milk, upset the delicate ecological balance of nature, and, still worse, defiled our genetic heritage. As for the possibility that nuclear weapons will never be used, our children in school know better than this every time they are put through the sadistic mummery of an air-raid drill and learn to "play disaster." Such baths of fear and hostility are gratuitous assaults against the young, whose psychological damage is already incalculable; their only service is to bar more tightly the exits that would permit a real escape.

There are people who would defend these plans on the grounds that it is better to die nobly, defending democracy and freedom, than to survive under Communist oppression. Such apologists perhaps exaggerate the differences that now exist between our two systems, but they err even more seriously in applying to mass extermination a moral standard that was defensible only as long as this death was a symbolic one confined to a restricted number of people on a small portion of the earth. Such a disaster, as in the bitter-end resistance of the Southern Confederacy, was still relatively minor and retrievable; if the original resolve to die were in fact an erroneous one, in a few generations it could be corrected. Nuclear damage, in contrast, is cumulative and irretrievable; it admits

imaginative leadership two other, admirable American proposals came forward, UNRRA and the Marshall Plan. Both these agencies had great potentialities, for at first we had the intelligence to offer their benefits even to Communist countries.

Had we followed these efforts through, they might have permanently increased the whole range of international cooperation. In wiser executive hands, these initiatives would not have been prematurely terminated. Rather, they would have been employed to reduce world tensions and to win general assent to a program for giving all nations the prefatory exercises in magnanimity and understanding essential to the re-establishment of moral order and the control of our demoralizing weapons. But even in their brief, limited application these agencies did far more to fortify the assisted nations against oppressive Communist dictatorship than all the billions we poured into NATO and SEATO to build up futile armaments for wars neither we nor our allies were capable of fighting. Witness our long series of backdowns and letdowns: Czechoslovakia, Korea, Vietnam, Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Egypt.

In our commitment to the strategy of extermination, under a decision made when General Eisenhower was Chief of Staff, the United States rejected the timely warnings of the world's leading scientists and the common counsels of humanity. Instead of holding a series of world conferences in which the dangers of nuclear energy could be fully canvassed, not alone by physicists but by thinkers in every threatened field, our official agencies deliberately played down these dangers and used every available mode of censorship to restrict the circulation of the knowledge needed for such an appraisal. In this obstinate desire to exploit nuclear power solely for our national advantage, our government relied upon insistent publicity and indoctrination to build up a false sense of security. Instead of regaining our moral position by ceasing the reckless experiments whose mounting pollution justified a world-wide apprehension, we flatly denied the need for any such cessation and allowed Russia, after it had come abreast of us, to take the moral lead here. Even at a recent United Nations conference, which clearly demonstrated the dangers, our own representatives helped vote down the Russian preamble to the conclusions of the conference, which called for a cessation of all further nuclear testing.

To explain this obstinate commitment to the infamous policy of mass extermination one must understand that its side reactions have proved as demoralizing as its central purpose. Within a bare decade, the United States has built up a huge vested interest in mass extermination, in the weapons themselves and in the highly profitable manufacture of electronic equipment, planes, and missiles designed to carry them to their destination. There are tens of thousands of individual scientists and technicians engaged in nuclear, bacteriological, and chemical research to increase the range and effectiveness of these lethal agents, though we boast we already have a stockpile of nuclear weapons capable of wiping out the entire planet. There are also corporate bodies — the air force, the Atomic Energy Commission, great industrial corporations, and extravagantly endowed centers of research — whose powers and presumptions have been constantly widened along with their profit and prestige. While the show lasts, their careers depend on our accepting the fallacious assumptions to which they have committed us.

All these agents now operate in secret totalitarian enclaves, perfecting their secret totalitarian weapons, functioning outside the processes of democratic government, immune to public challenge and criticism or to public correction. Whatever the scientific or technical competence of the men working in this field, their sedulous restriction of interest and the limited conditions under which they work and have contact with other human beings do not foster wisdom in the conduct of life. By vocational commitment they live in an under-dimensional

## **Mankind and the State, by Marcus Graham (1946)** *From 'Freedom: Through Anarchism', April 20 to June 1, 1946, London, UK*

### I

Believers in the State, including the liberals, claim that this institution has as its chief aim the protection of human life and welfare. How true is such a claim?

Historically speaking, as far as its record shows, the State has faithfully lived up to the fundamental basis upon which it was founded: to protect the aggrandizement of the few at the expense of the many. Such protection has always rested solely upon threats, violence, suppression, imprisonment and wars. That this kind of forceful protection could only be carried out by a total disregard for the sacredness of human life goes without saying.

The role of the State institution as regards to human life has never, however, in modern history, revealed itself with such frightful forcefulness as in the course of World War II.

In the period between World War I and World War II, mass persecutions and outright murder of rebels who opposed Fascism and Nazism became a common everyday occurrence.

The two leading "democratic" States, Great Britain and the United States, which concocted the "Four Freedoms" propaganda formula, didn't make the "discovery" of this ugly fact until they had brought their respective countries into war with Nazism and later also with Fascism, whose chieftain they had failed to bribe in becoming their ally, as they did in World War I.

Likewise, the mass persecution and extermination of Jews in Germany was only too well known to the thinking world. In fact, it began with the very inception of the reign of Nazism in January, 1933. One need only read the diary of the late U.S. Ambassador Dodd to Germany, during that period, in order to fully realize how well informed the "democratic" U.S. Government was kept as to the abominable acts that were being perpetrated by the inhuman Nazi régime. The British ambassador no doubt likewise kept his government equally informed upon this phase.

Yet, as the record shows, neither the United States, nor the British Government made any effort to expose the criminal acts of the Nazi régime. On the contrary, diplomatic as well as commercial relationships were kept up intact. Not only that alone.

Nazi Germany was encouraged and aided in re-arming for war. Furthermore, with the full knowledge of their governments, the financial world of France, Great Britain and the United States aided Nazi Germany not only in establishing itself, but equally so in making possible its prolonged existence, as well as the subjugation of the German people.

(The very same thing has taken place in the establishment and entrenching of an oppressive totalitarian State of Fascism in Italy, long before Nazism came upon the German scene, in the years 1923-24.)

The late Chamberlain's sell-out of Czechoslovakia to Nazi Germany was enacted as late as September, 1938.

And last, but not least, when Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany openly and brazenly formed battalions to aid the butcher Franco in drowning in blood the social revolution gloriously initiated by the people of Spain, and inspired by the ideal of anarchism — it was during that period that the Governments of France, Great Britain and Russia formed an infamous "Non-Intervention Committee" whose chief function served to shield the assassin-cooperation rendered to Franco by the Nazis and Fascists.

Furthermore that Committee at the same time deliberately hindered the people of Spain from being enabled to buy arms for their defence from abroad. (The

now deceased F. D. Roosevelt, although the U.S. Government was not a participant in the “Non-Intervention Committee,” as President of the U.S., nevertheless contributed his share of knifing in the back the people’s struggle in Spain, by placing an embargo upon arms to Spain, and lifting the embargo the instant Franco was, thanks chiefly to the duplicity of the “democratic” States, victorious.)

When Nazi Germany was becoming an increasingly formidable competitor by invading the world markets, it was only then, and not before, that Great Britain declared war against Germany. (See “Issues in the Present War”.)

The ease with which the “democratic” States are ready to join hands with any State that serves their mercenary interests was again demonstrated in their attitude toward Bolshevik-ruled Russia. When Stalin joined in the bloody partnership with Hitler, the “democratic” States were only too willing to expose the fact as to how little regard the Bolshevik régime had for human life.

But no sooner had Stalin become a partner of the “Four Freedoms” Alliance than the tune was immediately changed to suit the new marriage of convenience.

To the everlasting shame of the Socialist movements of the world, and to the idea of marxism in particular, it should never be forgotten that it was the first avowed marxian State that in our times initiated the practice of mass persecutions of political opponents, wholesale executions and re-establishment of Czarist concentration exile camps. (The late demagogue, Mussolini, sardonically credited Lenin with being his teacher in these practices. Hitler might very well have done likewise.)

Total disregard for human life is by no means limited to the Bolshevik, Nazi and Fascist States. It is equally true within the realms of every State, including the “democratic” ones as well!

In the wake of the so-called “official” end of World War II one finds nearly every imperially subjected country throughout the world rising in rebellion, in an attempt to hold to account the vague promises embodied in the “Four Freedoms” made by by the “democratic” States.

But why, may not one inquire, should any of these uprisings be made necessary, if the Allied Powers’ spokesmen were really sincere when they promulgated the “Four Freedoms”?

The venality of these glib-tongued statesmen is being fully attested to right in front of our very eyes.

Dutch, French and British troops and even erstwhile “enemy” Japanese troops, are engaged in a ruthless campaign of crushing every uprising within their colonial domains, and the fullest use is made of “lend-lease” war materials from the U.S. Government by the three Imperialist powers against the very same people who were mobilized to help them win the war.

In China, where the greater part of the peasantry, led by the Communists, refused to submit to the reactionary reigning régime, war was waged with the direct intervention of the U.S. Army. Only with this difference: U.S. troops did not directly participate in killing Chinese rebels. But, U.S. planes carried Chinese Governmental troops, acted as instructors and “advisers” for military operations, and allowed “lend lease” war materials intended for fighting the Japanese to be used against the Chinese people.

And the lot of the Chinese rebel peasantry was not made any the easier by the secret pact that the Bolshevik Government had made with the Chinese régime.

The Bolshevik Government is a past master at such acts of duplicity, as was demonstrated by its attitude towards the anarchist-inspired uprisings in Italy before Fascism’s rise to power, with Lenin’s order to the Italian communists to “keep their hands off the revolution” — thereby aiding in its failure. Likewise, they let the Spanish Revolution down in 1938 at the very critical moment when aid was needed most.

condoned it. It is precisely as if the Secretary of Agriculture had licensed the sale of human flesh as a wartime emergency measure and people had taken to cannibalism when the war was over as a clever dodge for lowering the cost of living, a mere extension of everyday butchery. Many of our professed religious and moral leaders have steadily shrunk from touching this subject; or, if they have done so, they have naïvely equated mass extermination with war and have too often given their blessing to it, for reasons just as specious as those our government has used. It is in relation to this gigantic moral collapse that our present devotion to nuclear weapons and their equally dehumanized bacterial and chemical counterparts must be gauged.

When we abandoned the basic moral restraints against random killing and mass extermination we enlarged the destructive capacities of our nuclear weapons. What was almost as bad, our pride in this achievement expressed itself in an inverted fashion by our identifying our safety and welfare with the one-sided expansion of our weapons system. Thus we surrendered the initiative to our instruments, confusing physical power with rational human purpose, forgetting that machines and weapons have no values and no goals, above all, no limits and no restraints except those that human beings superimpose on them.

The one thing that might have rectified our government’s premature exploitation of atomic power would have been a public assize of its manifold dangers, even for wider industrial and medical use. As early as the winter of 1945-1946 the Senate Atomic Energy Committee made the first full inquiry into these matters, and the physicists who appeared before this committee gave forecasts whose accuracy was fully contained in the tardy hearings that have just taken place before a joint congressional committee. Almost with one voice, these scientists predicted that Soviet Russia would be able to produce a nuclear bomb within five years, possibly within three. On that basis, the nations of the world had three “safe” years to create through the United Nations the necessary political and moral safeguards against the misuse of this new power.

There was no salvation, the more alert leaders of science wisely pointed out, on purely national terms. Naturally, Russia’s totalitarian isolationism and suspicion made it difficult to arrive at a basis for rational agreement, but our own sense of holding all the trump cards did not lessen this difficulty. All too quickly, after the Russian rejection of our generous but politically unsound Baruch proposal, our country used Russian hostility as an excuse for abandoning all further effort. Even before we had openly committed ourselves to the Cold War itself — a now obsolete pre-atomic military concept — our leaders preferred to build a threatening ring of air bases around Russia rather than to pursue with patient circumspection a course directed toward securing eventual understanding and cooperation. So the difficult became the impossible.

As late as 1947 this situation, though grave, was not disastrous. Our very mistakes in turning to mass extermination were capable, if openly and honestly faced, of leading both ourselves and the world back to the right path. Up to then, our totalitarian weapons system had not yet consolidated its position or threatened our free institutions; the organs of democratic society, invigorated rather than depressed by the war, had not yet been enfeebled by official secrecy, repression, suspicion, craven conformism, or the corruptions of absolute power, shielded from public criticism. Meanwhile, unfortunately, the strategy of mass extermination, which did not bear public discussion or open assessment, was rapidly taking shape.

For a brief moment, nevertheless, our leaders seized the political initiative, though they were handicapped by ambivalent intentions and contradictory goals. Our contribution to organizing the United Nations, though it had been originally proposed by the United States, was as cagey and inept as Russia’s, for the frustrating Council veto was an American conception. Under a more

Plainly, the acceptance of mass extermination as a normal outcome of war undermined all the moral inhibitions that have kept man's murderous fantasies from active expression. War, however brutal and devastating, had a formal beginning and could come to an end by some formal process of compromise or surrender. But no one has the faintest notion how nuclear extermination, once begun, could be brought to an end. Still less can anyone guess what purpose would be accomplished by it, except a release by death from intolerable anxiety and fear. But this is to anticipate. What is important to bear in mind is that atomic weapons did not bring about this first decisive change; they merely gave our already de-moralized strategy a more effective means of expression. Once extermination became acceptable, the confined tumor of war, itself an atavistic pseudo-organ, turned into a cancer that would invade the blood stream of civilization. Now the smallest sore of conflict or hostility might fatally spread through the whole organism, immune to all those protective moral and political restraints that a healthy body can mobilize for such occasions.

By the time the atom bomb was invented our authorities needed no special justification for using it. The humane pleas for withholding the weapon, made by the atomic scientists, suddenly awakened to a moral crisis they had not foreseen while working on the bomb, were automatically disposed of by well-established precedent, already three years in operation. Still, the dramatic nature of the explosions at Hiroshima and Nagasaki threw a white light of horror and doubt over the whole process; for a moment a sense of moral guilt counteracted our exorbitant pride. This reaction proved as short-lived as it was belated. Yet it prompted Henry L. Stimson, a public servant whose admirable personal conduct had never been open to question, to publish a magazine article defending the official decision to use the atom bomb.

The argument Mr. Stimson advanced in favor of atomic genocide — a name invented later but studiously reserved for the acts of our enemies — was that it shortened the war and saved perhaps more than a million precious American lives. There is no need here to debate that highly debatable point. But on those same practical, "humanitarian" grounds, systematic torture might be employed by an advancing army to deter guerrilla fighters and to blackmail the remaining population into accepting promptly the torturer's terms.

That only a handful of people ventured to make this criticism indicates the depth of moral apathy to which our countrymen had sunk in less than a dozen years. Those who used this illustration, however, were not surprised to find that the French, themselves the victims of Hitler's carefully devised plans of torture and mass extermination, would authorize the use of military torture in Algeria a decade later. Our own country had forecast that depravity by our national conduct. This conduct still remains without public examination or repentance, but, unfortunately, retribution may not lie far away. Should it come, Civil Defense estimates have established that it will at once wipe out forty million American lives for the one million we once supposedly saved.

Let us be clear about cause and effect. It was not our nuclear weapons that committed us to the strategy of extermination; it was rather our decision to concentrate on the methods of extermination that led to our one-sided, obsessive preoccupation with nuclear weapons. Even before Russia had achieved a single nuclear weapon, we had so dismantled our military establishment that we lacked sufficient equipment and munitions to fight successfully such a minor action as that in Korea.

The total nature of our moral breakdown, accurately predicted a half century ago — along with the atom bomb — by Henry Adams, can be gauged by a single fact: most Americans do not realize that this change has taken place or, worse, that it makes any difference. They have no consciousness of either the magnitude of their collective sin or the fact that, by their silence, they have individually

The role of the present Socialist Government of Great Britain in crushing the uprisings of the colonials just as would have any Tory or liberal State but completes the picture as to the nature and purposes of any State, no matter what label may happen to be attached to it.

One cannot help but reach the conclusion that there is not a single State in existence that one could point at as being — in actual practice — an exemplary institution functioning, as its defenders claim, for the protection of human life, well-being, or human dignity.

By its very nature, as anarchists have pointed out again and again, every State, sooner or later, must reveal itself as an enemy of that greater part of mankind that dreams and hopes, strives and struggles for genuine political and social emancipation of all races, colours and creeds.

## II

So far, it has been outlined, briefly, how the principal States demonstrate, by their activities, that not only do they fail to serve, as is being claimed for them, in being protectors of human life and welfare, but on the contrary, display a most brutal and total disregard for both.

This evil role of the State becomes even more dramatically apparent whenever its real, but invisible, masters who control economic life, find it expedient as well as most profitable, to have their errand lackeys declare wars of people against people.

Thus one finds the so-called "democratic" States hiding behind the cowardly and dishonest shield that World War I was "to end all wars and make the world safe for democracy," and World War II was once more intended to "end all wars and destroy fascism and nazism".

World War II proved how lying were the claims made for the aims of World War I.

And the "Victorious" allied powers in World War II didn't keep anyone waiting long in order to realize how equally false were the claims for waging this second World war.

In Italy, the British Empire did its best, as it is still doing, to retain the monarchy that prevailed under fascism. In Greece, supposedly its "ally" of but yesterday, the same British Empire has engineered bloody pogroms against the people of Greece in order to force them to continue the old pre-war totalitarian régime. In Germany, the allied victors picked out the nazis for the leading governmental posts.

The counter-revolutionary bloody activities of the Dutch, French, British and U.S. Government's military forces against all colonial subjects that has already been pointed out herein — but completes the picture of the duplicity revealed by the "democratic" States in their claim to hold any regard for human life and well-being — as far as these constituted part of the claims in waging World War II. This though, is but only a small part of the criminal record of the State, in particular — the "democratic" ones.

World War II furnishes a most amazing series of crimes that every State alike, involved in it, had perpetrated against the interests and welfare of the very peoples over whom they reign, supposedly as the latter's "servants".

The State propaganda, grinding out poisonous hate and distrust by means of "atrocities" of the "enemy" is only too well known. For, without such a lying propaganda machine, no wars could be carried on for long, if at all.

But, it is not with this criminal phase of the State's evil role in war time that mankind is being confronted with now.

At the very same time that the "Four Freedoms" Alliance was engaged in the campaign of attributing every conceivable crime to the enemy, and the chief

emphasis was always laid against the indiscriminate bombing of non-combatant civilians, two of its leaders, Mr. Churchill and the late President Roosevelt, were secretly engaged in directing the construction of the most monstrous war weapon ever conceived by man — the atomic bomb.

A war weapon which, by the single application of two bombs has all but completely wiped off the face of the earth two largely populated cities in Japan, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, whose death-roll included tens of thousands of non-combatant men, women and children. Even those who have survived, escaping immediate death, have either been subjected to subsequent terrifying painful deaths, and those still left alive are suffering from all sorts of emasculating diseases, with the only prospect of eventual death.

The most amazing revelation about the “democratic” States’ employment of the atomic bomb is to be found in a book written by one of its constructing scientists, Henry DeWolf Smyth, ‘Atomic Energy for Military Purposes,’ and published by the Princeton University Press. According to the Book Reviewer of *The Christian Century* for November 21, 1945, this volume gives full data as to the atomic bomb’s development. And the “first transfer of U.S. government funds to the atomic project was recommended on November 1, 1939.”

That is: two months following the inception of World War II, and two years prior to the U.S. government’s official entrance into the war!

Could rank hypocrisy sink then any lower than the pretentious fulminations of the “democratic” States against “indiscriminate bombings” than this revelation openly stamps them to be?

The protest by the Japanese Government that the use of the atomic bomb was contrary to every concept of established international law, coming, as it did, from another State, cannot be taken seriously for the obvious reason that no State involved in past wars has ever been known to have lived up to the rules of killing off people as laid down by international law. And even if any State were ever to live up to such an international law code, we, as anarchists, would still hold that the very prescribing as to how one may or may not engage in the killing of human beings — is in itself an indefensible crime!

What we are though concerned with is to point out the fact that this greatest of all war atrocities in the history of warfare was enacted by the very State powers that lay claim to being the nearest perfected expression of the “will of the people,” the so-called “democratic” States.

First, we have the crime of perfecting such a monstrous weapon of destruction without any knowledge, let alone consent, of the people whose funds were used in making the atomic bomb realizable.

Second, we have the indefensible crime of all those guilty of ordering, constructing and applying the two atomic bombs, knowing very well that its employment cannot help but leave with the survivors among the vanquished a spirit of hatred and revenge that will be returned in kind at the first opportune time.

The consternation and fear that the very same creatures who are responsible for the construction and employment of the atomic bomb — now gives such vociferous expression to — furnishes the best evidence of their guilty conscience in having enacted one of the most atrocious and indefensible crimes of all ages against innocent men, women and children.

And the opportunity for such a vengeance is most certainly bound to occur so long as man continues to allow his destiny to be ruled by capitalism and its death-dealing protector, the State.

Third, and most important of all phases in the criminal use of the atomic bomb lies in another, not as yet fully realized direction, and it is this:

Was it at all needed to apply the atomic bomb in order to force Japan to surrender?

like our own Major Seversky, that a small air force could take the place of a large army by confining its efforts to mass attacks on civilians and undermining the national will to resist. This reversion to the vicious Bronze Age practice of total war was a natural extension of fascism’s readiness to reintroduce terrorism and torture as instruments of government. When these methods were first carried into action, by Mussolini in Abyssinia, by Hitler in Warsaw and Rotterdam, they awakened horror in our still morally sensitive breasts. The creed that could justify such actions was, we thought correctly, not merely antidemocratic but antihuman.

In the midst of World War II a moral reversal took place among the English-speaking Allies, such a transposition as happened by accident in the final duel in Hamlet, when Hamlet picks up the weapon Laertes had poisoned in advance in order to make sure of his enemy’s death. The fascist powers became the victims of their own strategy, for both the United States and Britain adopted what was politely called “obliteration bombing,” which had as its object the total destruction of great cities and the terrorization and massacre of their inhabitants.

By taking over this method as a cheap substitute for conventional warfare — cheap in soldiers’ lives, costly in its expenditure of other human lives and in the irreplaceable historic accumulations of countless lifetimes — these democratic governments sanctioned the dehumanized techniques of fascism. This was Nazidom’s firmest victory and democracy’s most servile surrender. That moral reversal undermined the eventual military triumph of the democracies, and it has poisoned our political and military policies ever since.

Civilized warfare has always been an atrocity per se, even when practiced by gallant men fighting in a just cause. But in the course of five thousand years certain inhibitions and moral safeguards had been set up. Thus, poisoning the water supply and slaying the unarmed inhabitants of a city were no longer within the modern soldier’s code, however gratifying they might once have been to an Ashurbanipal or a Genghis Khan, moral monsters whose names have become infamous in history. Overnight, as it were, our own countrymen became such moral monsters. In principle, the extermination camps where the Nazis incinerated over six million helpless Jews were no different from the urban crematoriums our air force improvised in its attacks by napalm bombs on Tokyo. By these means, in a single night, we roasted alive more people than were killed by atom bombs in either Hiroshima or Nagasaki. Our aims were different, but our methods were those of mankind’s worst enemy.

Up to this point, war had been an operation conducted by military forces against military targets. By long-established convention, a token part, the army, stood for the greater whole, the nation. Even when an army was totally defeated and wiped out, the nation it represented lived to tell the tale; neither unarmed prisoners nor civilians were killed to seal a defeat or celebrate a victory. Even our air force, the chief shaper of our present policy, once prided itself on its pin-point bombing, done in daylight to ensure that only military targets would be hit.

As late as the spring of 1942, as I know by personal observation, a memorandum was circulated among military advisers in Washington propounding this dilemma: If by fighting the war against Japan by orthodox methods it might require five or ten years to conquer the enemy, while with incendiary air attacks on Japanese cities Japan’s resistance might be broken in a year or two, would it be morally justifiable to use the second means? Now it is hard to say which is more astonishing, that the morality of total extermination was then seriously debated in military circles or that today its morality is taken for granted, as outside debate, even among a large part of the clergy.

More than any other event that has taken place in modern times this sudden radical change-over from war to collective extermination reversed the whole course of human history.

## The Morals of Extermination, by Lewis Mumford (1959)

*From 'The Atlantic', October 1959, Boston*

Since 1945, the American government has devoted the better part of our national energies to preparations for wholesale human extermination. This curious enterprise has been disguised as a scientifically sound method of ensuring world peace and national security, but it has obviously failed at every point on both counts. Our reckless experimental explosion of nuclear weapons is only a persuasive salesman's sample of what a nuclear war would produce, but even this has already done significant damage to the human race. With poetic justice, the earliest victims of our experiments toward genocide — sharing honors with the South Pacific islanders and the Japanese fishermen — have been our own children, and even more, our children's prospective children.

Almost from the beginning, our investment in nuclear weapons has been openly directed against a single country, Soviet Russia. In our government's concern with the self-imposed problem of containing Russia and restricting by force alone the area of Communist penetration, we have turned our back on more vital human objectives. Today the political and military strategy our leaders framed on the supposition that our country had a permanent superiority in nuclear power is bankrupt, so completely that the business probably cannot be liquidated without serious losses.

As things stand now, we are not able to conduct even a justifiable police action, as a representative of the United Nations, with the backing of a majority of the nations, without the permission of Russia and China. When they refuse permission, as they did in Korea, the limited war our strategists fancy is still open to us turns into an unlimited humiliation, as the painful truce that continues in Korea should remind us, for every original issue remains unsettled. But if we challenge that veto, our only recourse is to our absolute weapons, now as fatal to ourselves and the rest of mankind as they would be to Russia and China. The distinguished army combat generals who have publicly recognized this state of impotence have been forced out of the armed services.

This situation should give us pause. While every scientific advance in nuclear weapons and intercontinental missiles only widens to planetary dimensions the catastrophe we have been preparing, our leaders still concentrate the nation's efforts on hastening these advances. Why, then, do we still listen to those mistaken counsels that committed us to the Cold War, though our own military plans have wiped out the possibility of war itself and replaced it by total annihilation as the only foreseeable terminus of the tensions we have done our full share to produce? By what standard of prudence do we trust our lives to political, military, and scientific advisers who have staked our national existence on a single set of weapons and have already lost that shortsighted gamble, even if they become desperate enough to use these weapons or remain blind enough to believe that they can conceal that loss by not using them?

What was it that set in motion the chain reaction of errors, miscalculations, delusions, and compulsions that have pushed us into the impossible situation we now occupy? Every day that we delay in facing our national mistakes adds to both the cumulative dangers that threaten us and the difficulty of undoing them. The first step toward framing a new policy is to trace our path back to the point where we adopted our fatal commitment to weapons of mass extermination. This moral debacle, it is important to remember, was not a response to any threat by Russia or by Communism; still less was it imposed by Russia's possession of similar weapons. Actually, the acceptance of extermination antedated the invention of the atom bomb.

The principles upon which the strategy of extermination was based were first enunciated by fascist military theorists, notably General Douhet, who believed,

From what has so far been revealed it is already established, without any denial by the U.S. Government, that Japan had sued for peace eight months before her surrender offer was accepted! Furthermore, that the terms were identically the same as originally offered to Japan, and that General MacArthur had advised their acceptance, but his advice was turned down by Roosevelt and Churchill.

The people whose "servants" these two "illustrious gentlemen" pretended to be, never, of course, revealed to their subjects that there was such an offer made, and therefore, never needed to ask the people for approval in rejecting it. As a matter of record though, the newspapers printed categorical denials by the two chiefs that any kind of such an offer has been made! Since lying and deceit are a part of the game of every political State, such duplicity by the Churchills and Roosevelts cannot cause much surprise. (See the denials regarding secret treaties concluded at Yalta.)

Still this does by no means lessen the criminal act involved, for some of the severest battles in the Pacific war had been waged during the period of those closing last eight months of the War! A period in which tens of thousands of American and allied forces, and as was claimed, twice that many of the "enemy" — the Japanese — were killed and crippled for life.

Who else but the institution of the State (in this instance again the "democratic" ones), can and should in full justice, be held solely responsible for this deliberate and wanton needless sacrifice of human life?

Yet this crime, too, still does not at all fully complete the crimes that must be charged up against the "democratic" States in their record of World War II, involving the use of the atomic bomb.

General MacArthur and his associates admitted two months after having concluded peace with Japan, that: Japan was beaten long before the atomic bomb was employed!!!

Accepting such an admission as true, one is led to ask the most natural question: Why then were these two ill-fated sites Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with their populations deliberately and cold-bloodedly wiped off the face of the earth?

In seeking an answer to this question one finds the reason to be of such a nature that all the crimes already cited against the institution of the State, pale into insignificance by comparison.

The first atomic bomb used in destroying Hiroshima was far different from the second one employed against Nagasaki. The latter was far more powerful in its effects.

Both atomic bombs were employed chiefly as an experiment, for future uses in war, and not at all in order to bring about the defeat of Japan which was already vanquished and ready to sign any kind of terms months and months before the atomic bombs were hurled against her!

That experimentation was one of the chief reasons for using the atomic bombs against Hiroshima and Nagasaki is fully evidenced by the U.S. Government's immediate dispatching (after the acceptance of the surrender of Japan) numerous atomic bomb scientists to survey the exact extent of the devastation caused by their (?) "crowning achievement." In addition to this, the army of the U.S. Government has already conducted atomic bomb experiments with seized Japanese ships, and with scheduled similar experiments yet to be made on submarines.

Another criminal reason for employing the atomic bomb against an already beaten enemy came to light on November 16, 1945, via the radio. The well-known Commentator, Mr. Raymond Gram Swing, made on that day a most startling revelation: When the atomic bomb was completed, the scientists presented an appeal to President Truman not to order its employment before the Japanese Government could be asked to witness a demonstration of its destructive powers. Mr. Truman turned down the request.

Mr. Swing, who has been the acknowledged unofficial spokesman of the U.S. Government during the war (and whose broadcasts were the only one of any news commentator to be used also by the British Government-controlled Broadcasting Corporation), suggested that perhaps the sole reason as to why President Truman had refused to accede to the appeal of the scientists was due to his knowing the secret agreed date given to him at Potsdam by Stalin for Russia's entrance into the War against Japan. And since Japan was known to him to have already been beaten, Russia's entrance would have effected Japan's complete collapse even without the use of any atomic bomb. But, to have allowed this to happen would have only strengthened Russia's already established powerful military, and in turn, its political power in the chess-game of world politics.

If one is to accept this very plausible reason for employing the atomic bomb, alongside of the one of it having been employed as an experimented weapon for use in future wars — the moral and physical crime enacted by the "democratic" States, stands out as one that even surpasses the criminal designs and acts perpetuated by the fascists and nazis.

The use of the word surpasses is made advisedly. For the pretentious "democratic" State has always been wrapping around itself the hypocritical and sanctimonious cloak of decency, morality, "god-fearing", and of consideration for the sacredness of human life and welfare.

The nazis and fascists never attempted to fool anyone by such methods. They called their ugly deeds by their real names. The common man didn't have to figure twice before realising what a deadly enemy he was facing. The manner in which that charlatan Mussolini was killed and spat upon by the people of Italy gave ample proof as to what they really thought of fascism. No doubt the German people would have meted out the same treatment to Hitler had they had a chance to do so.

But the common man is, thanks to the evil use made of the press and radio, easily misled in supporting their equally and far more insidious State, chiefly as a result of the sinister, but meaningless, lip-service that demagogues like Roosevelt and Churchill render to this adroitly fostered belief.

The revelations about the "democratic" States' construction and ultimate employment of the two atomic bombs that alone caused the deliberate murdering of several hundred thousands of innocent men, women and children ought to dispel once and for all time any illusion that the common man ever held of the "democratic" State having any more regard for human life and welfare than the fascist, nazi or bolshevist State.

From whatever angle one examines the State, democratic or monarchic, fascist or bolshevist, the record declares in no uncertain terms that it is the deadly enemy of the true interests of human life and welfare.

The State is the powerful established enemy of mankind.

### III

Mankind is witnessing just now one of the most tragic as well as most comical performances in man's history.

The very same "democratic" States that had cast aside all the so-called "international laws" of warfare by constructing and using the monstrous atomic bomb, pretends not to know how and by whom this frankenstein, which it has itself given birth to, should be controlled.

Since the chief culprits responsible for the actual creation of this diabolical weapon of warfare, the scientists, have come forward to participate in this verbal battle and chess-game of secret manoeuvrings for world power domination by the newly-risen imperialistic world power, the United States, it is quite proper first to digress upon the role of the scientists as such, so that we may have a clearer

complete destruction of every war weapon in existence is immediately carried out.

And the next direct step to make impossible the very inception of any future war is: that every call for military service by any Government should be met by a complete refusal to obey it.

For, if war comes to be looked upon — for what it really is — a moral and physical crime, then what reason remains for any sane and honest human being to allow himself willingly to be taught the art of criminal inhuman murder of his fellowmen?

Since centred around the newly diabolical frankenstein creation of the scientists' atomic bomb, and its being used in any future war, and it is admitted that by its very use it threatens the existence of the whole of mankind, then what can be more direct, logical and effective than the plan we have just sketched in making any kind of future wars impossible?

Yes, indeed! Mankind can and is in a position to meet the challenge of Life and Death that the institution of the State, the world over, has hurled at it.

Has mankind the necessary fortitude and courage to meet this challenge as we have pointed out that it may and can?

In the manner in which mankind accepts or ignores our suggested plan for meeting this challenge lies the answer that is now uppermost in the minds of every thinking person: shall it be the ushering in of a safe and sane life for each and all of us in the near future or the grim and unavoidable doom of total extinction?

You and I, all of us can and ought to spell out the answer in such a clear-cut and determined manner that all the existing rulers and exploiters throughout the world shall understand that at last mankind has risen and accepted their challenge and is ready to meet it in such a way that will spell life for everything that is humane and just, good and beautiful, just as it shall, as a concomitant, bring an end to everything that is inhumane and unjust, evil and ugly.

When mankind has at last risen to understand the power that it has, but never made use of as yet until now, wars shall no longer menace its very existence.

And with wars eliminated what logical reason remains there for mankind's continued sufferance of the ruler and exploiter of man over his fellowmen?

None whatsoever.

The road of statism is the road that has led, as everyone can now plainly see, to the very brink of the destruction of the human race.

The road we suggest, voluntary co-operation and federation between man and fellow man, spells ultimate and complete social and political emancipation for every human being, race and colour.

Our road, is the sole road that leads to freedom and happiness for the whole of mankind.

\* \* \*

its “democratic” State, despite the fact of having just come out of World War II as a victorious partner of the “Four Freedoms” Alliance, is nevertheless feverishly engaged in continuing its secretive manufacturing of atomic bombs.

And it is likewise known that the Governments of nearly every other country are, thanks to the willing co-operation of the scientists of all such countries, equally engaged in perfecting the same monstrous frankenstein war-weapon that now menaces the very existence of the whole of mankind.

Under such circumstances is it at all safe to follow the suggestion advanced by nearly all political schools of thought, as well as by the scientists, that this newly devised world-menacing war weapon should be entrusted into the hands of a super-State power?

As was pointed out, the State as an institution, has by the very construction and employment of the atomic bomb, forfeited any further right to be trusted by mankind.

The feverish continued activity by every State on the field of perfecting and manufacturing of the atomic bomb only emphasizes the fact no kind of State should be trusted any longer.

And any contemplated super-State or Federation of States into a World Power — be the name what it may — in whose hands this new weapon will be placed, will, in actuality, be placing it in the hands of the most powerful States.

In turn, if mankind should ever allow this to happen, such a super-State would become a deadly blackjack against any oppressed people, and an insurance policy for the continued domination and exploitation by the imperialist cliques of the world.

In short, such a super-State would become the greatest counter-revolutionary force against everything that the inherent spirit of mankind has always hoped and dreamed, laboured and sacrificed for: social and political emancipation.

For mankind, at this time, to accept the super-State idea as a possible method of safeguarding its very future existence, would, in the end, prove to be suicidal.

Is there then no hope at all left for mankind to find a way out in meeting this challenge of Life or Death that the State has everywhere confronted it with?

We are firmly convinced that mankind can meet this challenge, but in a far different manner than has as yet been suggested by any other social school of thought.

Mankind cannot save itself through the formation of any kind of a political organization composed of States.

Mankind can assure its future safety and well-being only by and through its own determination to immediately set to work in acting in a far-flung direction that will make this possibility become a reality.

First and foremost: in every nook and corner throughout the world where human beings dwell, a full realization should come into being that war in itself is both a moral as well as a physical crime against each and all humans alike.

Second in importance follows as a logical consequence of the first realization just spoken of, and that is, to wit: only mankind alone has the sole and real means whereby it can make any kind of future wars impossible.

How is such a task to be accomplished?

Once mankind has begun to look upon war as a moral and physical crime, it follows then that it cannot do anything else but henceforth refuse to participate in any kind of labour that contributes towards the production of any kind of war weapons.

But, in the meantime, there remains the already stored up war weapons in the secretive warehouses of every State, that remain a deadly menace to the safety of mankind.

What is to be done about that?

There can be but one logical answer to this: mankind must see to it that the

perspective as to the huge challenging task that now confronts the very life and well-being of mankind.

Addressing the scientific staff that had constructed the atomic bomb, one of those present at this gathering, wrote a report in the New York Times of October 7, 1945, which states, in part:

“Never in the history of science were so many scientists recruited to perform one task . . . All the scientists realize what the bombs would mean in another war. They have wings of conscience . . . Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer specifically stated that he would not say one word to alleviate the fears of those of us who might feel that we had actually done a terrible thing and indicated that this should remain a problem to be solved by our conscience . . . He felt that we owed a great deal to the people of this country, and that, at least as a short term view of things, we had to some extent paid our debt.”

Dr. Oppenheimer’s (the chief of the staff) statement is destined to become a “classic” in the infamous construction of the atomic bomb.

Standing out first in importance is the brutal frank admission that they, the scientists, were fully aware of the murderous weapon that they constructed for the use by the State against the human race!

The most preposterous part of Dr. Oppenheimer’s statement lies in his attempt to offer an alibi for their criminal act — that by doing what they did, they had paid “a debt” to the people of the United States!

No more dastardly falsehood, deliberate or otherwise, could have been advanced.

Dr. Oppenheimer, and his staff of foreign and native associates, know only too well that the people of the U.S. were not consulted in any manner whatsoever about the Government’s embarkation of financing this monstrous project, just as their assent to employ this weapon was never asked. Furthermore, Dr. Oppenheimer knew only too well that every person associated with this diabolical project was sworn to the utmost secrecy from the people, as well as constantly surrounded by agents of the Government to assure its enforcement.

And finally, when the day of vengeance will come about, as it is most likely bound to, it is none other but the people of the U.S. that will be made to pay the same horrible price, as did the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Had Dr. Oppenheimer cared to be at least straightforward in attempting to offer an alibi, he could simply have stated that the U.S. Government had forced the scientists to perfect their own self-conceived frankenstein that they, themselves, had brought on a platter to it. Of course, it would still remain a dubious alibi, since, if they really had held any consideration for the welfare of mankind, they could simply have proven this by not submitting the plan to the government in the first place!

From any angle that one may wish to view it, the role of the scientists in the construction and employment of the atomic bomb will forever remain one of the most abominable acts ever perpetrated against the human race.

The fact that as far as it is known to date, not a single scientist is known to have refused participating in the construction of the atomic bomb is, in itself, one of the most dishonourable aspects of the whole project.

(No one has a moral right to cast aspersions, or upbraid radicals, artists, writers or scientists who escaped from their respective countries when their lives were in jeopardy. Such action did not harm directly one’s fellow men. Indirectly, it may be argued that it did affect the struggle against the prevailing tyrannies from which they have fled. At its worst though such action need only be accounted to one’s own conscience.

In a most remarkably frank article by Prof. Karl Brandt, “Germans Are Human Too”, in The Progressive of October 22, 1945, he wrote, in part:

“A day after Hitler came to power, terror was in effect . . . I saw very clearly that I

could land and end very quickly in a camp. However, being a coward and no hero, and clinging to this little bit of life for myself and my wife, I chose to leave everything behind . . . But millions of the best Germans neither had the opportunity to emigrate, nor did they want to give up what they loved . . .”)

The inhuman scientists, as well as their apologists are today busily engaged in suggesting that this monstrous creation could also be used for the benefit of mankind.

The same defence was made for the scientists’ introduction of gunpowder, the submarine, and the airplane.

Yet it is more than questionable, if one should examine the toll that man has been paying for the introduction of gunpowder, the submarine, and the airplane, as to whether mankind would not have been far better off without them.

(Deaths in the American Revolution were 4,044. In the war of 1812 — 1,877. In the Mexican war — 1,721. In the Union side of the Civil War — 110,070, and in the Confederate side — 74,524. In the Spanish American War — 345. In the First World War — 50,000. Incomplete estimate of death in the Second World War — 300,000. A total of 543,00 in 170 years of existence of the United States. In contrast to this, the automobile alone in less than half a century has caused approximately 1,000,000 deaths!)

The concern and uneasiness that the unloosening of the atomic bomb has brought upon the world speaks for itself.

Realizing their guilt in making possible the creation of the atomic bomb, the scientists are now making an attempt to cover up their criminal deed by coming forward to advise mankind as to who should be entrusted with this terrible diabolical weapon that they have created.

In the Saturday Review of Literature for October 13, 1945, there is a statement by ‘The Association of Oak Ridge (Tennessee) Scientists, at Clinton Laboratories,’ wherein it is said, in part:

“ . . . We, as scientists who knowingly contributed to the development of atomic power, feel keenly the responsibility we accepted in helping to create this force . . . We submit that anything less than a single world policy with regards to atomic power and weapons can result only in catastrophe . . . We feel that participation by every nation in some plan for a single world control of atomic energy is an inescapable conclusion.”

The suggested plan of the scientists is only matched by their crimeful creation: the atomic bomb. And it therefore behoves everyone to become most deeply concerned in examining their suggested plan for a world power of all nations — a super-State.

What is the foundation upon which such a super-State is to be constructed?

And who are those powers that will constitute such a super-State, and into whose hands may this menacing weapon which threatens the whole of mankind safely be entrusted?

Whilst the “Four Freedoms” Alliance was engaged in staging a United Nations Conference of all “peace loving nations” at San Francisco, two of its chief members, the United States and Great Britain, were long before (years in fact) secretly aware of their own sinister and criminal design and engagement in the creation of such a powerful monstrous war weapon that would make, as they now openly and shamelessly admit, the creation of a United Nations organization, obsolete.

Russia, one of the leading three powers, has already accused the other two of using the atomic bomb as a blackmail weapon against all other nations.

Before the atomic bomb was employed every one knew that these three powers have secretly carved up their eventual spoils of victory by dividing the world into spheres of influence, or balances of power.

Whatever these three world powers have decided upon during the entire war as

well as since their “victory” has been done not only without any knowledge or consent of the peoples over whom they reign, but in complete secrecy from them.

Since in any conceived super-State these three leading powers would play the deciding role, how could then the atomic bomb scientists sincerely come forward and lend their support to build a new world power upon such a self-evidently rotten foundation?

These scientists may not be fully aware of it, but to support the creation of such a super-State will not only fail to assure the future safety and existence of mankind, but will actually accomplish the very opposite purpose.

Assuming that the three leading “victorious” powers will eventually patch-up (for the time being) their secretly arranged divisions of the spoils of war, and the “peace” which follows it, can any sane and well-intentioned person conscientiously pretend that such a triumvirate ought to be entrusted with the future fate of mankind?

If for no other reason but that of the total secrecy that has accompanied every one of the ‘Four Freedoms’ Alliance conferences, including the formation of the so-called United Nations organization, this unholy new triumvirate has forfeited its right to be trusted by the people, not only of their respective countries, but equally so, of the whole world.

But by far the most important reason why mankind can no longer entrust its very existence to such hands, lies in the manner in which the two leading “democratic” States have, in total disregard of their own people, and mankind as a whole, been directly responsible for the creation, construction and employment of the most diabolical war weapon ever devised by man, the atomic-bomb. And last but not least, that: the two atomic bombs were employed without any semblance of justification, since the “enemy” against whom they were employed was long before known to have been defeated and pleading for peace!

The inhumane scientists’ suggestion of entrusting the employment of the atomic bomb in any sort of a super-State would spell suicide for the human race.

And to entrust this lethal weapon to a world power that has already forfeited any moral right to be trusted by mankind is doubly suicidal.

There can be but one answer to this dangerous as well as insidious suggestion put forward by the inhumane scientists: from the voices and hearts of the peoples in every nook and corner throughout the world must resound a thunderous emphatic NO!!

Mankind is today confronted with a challenge never equalled in importance in the history of man: It is the challenge of Life and Death for itself, the human race!

And it lies within the manner in which the peoples everywhere meet, in common unison, this challenge hurled at it by the State — the world over — that the answer will be given as to whether mankind is to survive at all.

#### IV

The inhumane scientists’ bringing into the world this new diabolical war weapon — the atomic bomb — has, rightly, alarmed thinking people the world over to an extent never equalled before.

The very same scientists who have thrown the whole of mankind into this epoch-making crisis admit that any future wars will actually spell the end of mankind, thanks to their “successful achievement” in perfecting the atomic bomb.

Many religious mendicants are cashing in on this crisis, by furthering their beliefs about the “prophecies foretold in the Bible” of man’s ultimate doom, and appealing to man to turn to “god” ere it’s too late.

Completing the black picture is the open boast by the President of the U.S. that