

Who is financing the Nazis?

DURING the last ten or fifteen years, many countries have experienced a minor Nazi revival. Invariably, the question has been asked, "Where does the money come from?" Few people seem to be aware of the financial aspects of neo-Nazism. Nazi finance today cannot be compared with Hitler's backing in the early 'twenties. Then he was able to tap a number of German industrialists, who felt he would suppress the workers on their behalf; later, large sections of the German nobility and capitalist class felt that they could use or bribe Hitler by pouring money into his movement.

Few of Hitler's backers felt they got their money's worth. Nazism was not a solution to the social problem from their point of view, as although they suppressed the revolution, they became subordinate to the State machine. The capitalists who backed democratic methods did much better out of their dealing. Who, then, is backing the neo-Nazi movement today?

As will be shown later in this article, most of the money comes indirectly from Communist sources. It comes directly from the United Arab Republic.

The amount of money available to all Nazi movements has stimulated fascist activity from time to time. In order to qualify for a subsidy, one has to show a certain amount of activity; hence the necessity to daub a few swastikas about the place, preferably on an unattended synagogue so that the Press will give it major coverage. This explained the sudden outbreak of cemetery-daubing in Germany a few years ago. Immediately afterwards, there was a rush of applications to Cairo for subsidies, from neo-Nazi movements. It is always suggested by the Communist Party that these movements are backed by the Western German government, or at least, by former Nazi sympathisers in high places in Western Germany. There are, both in Eastern and Western Germany (actually, to a much greater extent in Eastern Germany), Nazi officials who turned their coats in order to get jobs in the new régime. However, none of them are known to have done anything for neo-Nazi movements. On the contrary, as they are doing so well in the new régime, they have everything to lose by anti-Nazi feeling being woken up again. Applications to them by foreign Fascists for financial help have

been turned down flat. While sections of the Spanish Falange have given substantial foreign help to Fascists elsewhere, this has never been enough to keep the various organisation going—moreover, it has usually been to Catholic-dominated organisations, thus excluding the direct Hitlerite Nazi type of party.

The United Arab Republic, however, subsidises in Cairo a large bureau made up entirely of Nazi officials, many of whom have escaped from trial for war crimes. The bureau specialises in anti-Semitic activity throughout the world; it is part of the anti-Israel campaign of the Nasser government, but by no means does it concentrate on attacks on Zionism. It simply echoes the Nazi type anti-Jewish propaganda, and agitates on the same lines as Hitler, Goebbels, etc. did. The bureau as supported by Nasser's "Foreign Fund". Speaking in Beirut last year, Capt. Mansoor denied that "vast sums" were wasted on Nazi agents. In reply to a newspaperman, he said, "Over 80% of the Foreign Fund goes directly to Arabist organisations"—referring to Algerian Nationalists, etc., most of whom complained that they saw

nothing of this agitational aid. Assuming this to be true, nearly 20% must go to Nazi "non-Arabists"—Capt. Mansoor made the significant point that "the non-Arabists have the same cause as we at heart regarding Israel". To whom else could he be referring? He was asked if the Russians, who were beginning to pour money into Egypt, did not object to the support of Nazis. "The Russian Ambassador has never so much as by a word objected to the method in which we spend the Foreign Fund," he said, adding significantly, "Neither for that matter has he asked for the release of Egyptian Communists".

The Russian Ambassador in Cairo has presumably only to say a word to have the Nazis throughout the world suppressed. He has only to say a word to have the Egyptian Communists released. But he does not say the word to his paid ally. Why should he? The Egyptian Communists are "expendable". The Nazis are equally useful. It transpired in Bow Street Police Court that Mr. Jordan wrote to Col. Shakly for £15,000 for a transmitting station and other material aid. Mr. Jordan has woken up British Fascism by his sheer audacity in openly parading as a Hitler

supporter, where Mosley and Fountayne have been trying to put a gloss on it. He considered himself, it would appear, eligible for a subsidy. Hence the attacks on Jews. Nasser is not, to do him justice, interested so much in attacks on Negroes, which the British neo-Fascists have been playing up as a trump card.

The British Communists make a hullabaloo every time any minor Fascist appears. They want to evoke memories of the 'thirties and marching against Fascism, when the Communist Party appeared in its best guise and fooled most people. They are in the forefront of asking for the political suppression of Fascism. If it leads to the political suppression of anyone else, they do not really mind. But if its members are sincere, they are in a unique position to put pressure on the Fascist Party. Let them deduct 20% from their party contributions until the Russian Ambassador in Cairo "says the word" that will lead to Col. Nasser withdrawing the subsidy paid to the "non-Arabists", in other words, Nazis, whose bureau is financing the world revival of Nazism in a purely supporting role.

INTERNATIONALIST.

The following letter is one of the few we have received following our Editorial on *Propaganda and Everyman III*.

To the Editor, FREEDOM.

DEAR SIR,

Would not FREEDOM be better employed in putting its own house in order rather than criticizing the propaganda value of *Everyman III*, which will no doubt be considered by more people in a few weeks than *Anarchy* has in fifty years. One suspects that this is the reason for the "sour grapes" which proves that FREEDOM should consider its own often thoughtful analysis of our society, i.e. that capitalism causes amongst other things, jealousy, wars, and a very second-rate way of life.

Unless FREEDOM can remember that we are all conditioned and brain-washed by the society in which we live and that therefore we will be no nearer Anarchy when the last person dies of atomic or germ warfare unless we drop this stupid partisanship "my team right or wrong" attitude.

May I suggest that all the hard work which goes into FREEDOM should not be wasted in futile criticism of those who have the same ideals as FREEDOM, but are attempting to achieve a sane society by other activities than writing for FREEDOM. Unless those who understand the causes of war can work together, there no longer seems any point in producing your journal.

Should not we realize that society is so corrupt and our minds so conditioned that it would be impossible to go straight from Capitalism to Anarchy therefore FREEDOM should encourage CND to hold mass rallies of its members where future action could be discussed. Here is where your writers could really do some useful work.

NOVEMBER 2
Keep this date
clear for the
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a question of priorities . . . Further Reflections on *Everyman III* & Anarchism

Unless this great movement of CND can get beyond the rough-and-tumble of sit-downs and prison, it will gradually die, these efforts are to be admired but would not careful thought of CND's future now be of greater value? Should not CND aim only to take action where it will show the flaws of our Society? Are there not enough causes for which CND could use as a policy in which to ask for support of the voters with Anarchy there to take a really useful critical attitude?

Yours faithfully,
W. H. MOOR.

East Molesey, Aug. , 62.

I

WE print and propose to comment on this letter because it seems to us typical of the confused, sloganised thinking prevalent today among well-meaning people, many of whom are quite prepared to give up time to take part in demonstrations of civil disobedience, and even to go to prison, or lose their jobs if need be. One noticeable feature of this age of mass communications and slick journalism is that few readers can cope with a long article or a sustained argument. This is shown quite clearly by our correspondent, half of whose letter is a wild attack on FREEDOM while the other half where he puts forward what should be done is a confused, undigested re-statement of the arguments FREEDOM has been putting forward all the time!

FREEDOM should be putting its own house in order, he says. This is what we are always trying to do, assisted by contributors both to this journal and ANARCHY. (Did our correspondent not read Bob Green's article in ANARCHY 17?). If he had

read *Propaganda and Everyman III* carefully he would have realised that one of the principle themes we sought to develop was that anarchist ideas would make headway to the extent that those who called themselves anarchists were committed to the propagation of those ideas by all available means.

Far from suggesting that writing for FREEDOM was the only way of achieving the "sane society", we stressed that in our opinion there were "hundreds of different ways of propagating ideas" all of them valid and valuable. If we believed with our correspondent that anarchist ideas would make more headway if they were launched from a boat, we would be the first to appeal to readers to contribute to purchase a boat! But what he is in effect saying is that "Everyman III" will receive more publicity in a few weeks than *Anarchy* has in fifty years. He may be right, but the argument is not really relevant since we are trying to convince people that anarchist ideas are good and important to their lives as well as to ours, and not to show them that we can sail a 14-ton fishing boat from London to Leningrad. After all, only recently a Mr. Chichester sailed a boat single-handed across the Atlantic, and this writer was the first to lap-up the "exclusive" daily reports in the *Guardian*! And when it was over? As a matter of fact, if we are not mistaken, Mr. Chichester is on his way back . . . but it is no longer news!

We want publicity for anarchist ideas, but experience tells us that the kind of publicity accorded by mass communications to revolution-

ary ideas is minimal, and for the very obvious reason that where it is not blatantly distorted, or built round a "personality" (and personalities must become clowns, millionaires, T.V. entertainers to remain in the "news"), what straight publicity is given is swamped by the daily brain-washing, (the crises, the disasters, sex-murders and space-reality). In the last few months we had our taste of the value of mass-communications, which included a half-hour discussion on Anarchy on the Home Service BBC plus two long thoughtful and sympathetic articles by Colin MacInnes in the *Queen*. We cannot of course assess the invisible results, but of the visible ones, twenty enquiries plus a number of free-lance journalists hoping to cash in on "who are the 'personalities' behind the anarchists" is all we can report. By contrast a perfectly straight 10-inch announcement in the *Times Literary Supplement* (circulation less than 100,000) of FREEDOM PRESS publications which cost less than a hundredth of the "Everyman III" . . . enterprise, resulted in subscriptions, orders and enquiries from all corners of the globe. Again, twenty or thirty Aldermaston marchers selling FREEDOM and ANARCHY in between discussions and resting sore feet, managed to reach more than 1,000 fellow-marchers with FREEDOM and nearly 500 with ANARCHY. And for those who have forgotten are are too young to remember, the active anarchist group in Glasgow during the war years and immediately after, thought they were doing badly if they sold less than 500 copies of each issue of the paper as well as large quantities of anarchist pamphlets. The same "success story" was

repeated in London, where at Marble Arch, as many as 750 copies of the paper were sold on a Sunday by a relay of sellers from mid-day to mid-night, Sunday after Sunday. Where are the relays of sellers today?

II

IF this question had to be put to the anarchists alone, one could argue that something had gone wrong with the anarchists. As a matter of fact we are convinced that there are more conscious anarchists at large in this country today than ever before. Our *Propaganda and Everyman III* was intended to make clear that there were fewer committed (relatively) to the propagation of the idea. On the other hand, there is no doubt that there are more anarchist "families" than ever

Continued on page 3

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ACCORDING TO Mr. Keith Robinson of the Aetherius Society, Mr. George King has been to the planet Venus three times. "Venusians are 6ft. 6in to 7ft. tall. Their eyes have no pupils. Their hair is pure white and their feet small." They live, says Mr. King, on solar energy. The American spacecraft, "Mariner II" may be able to confirm or deny this story since it will pass within 10,000 miles of Venus, not 600,000 miles off-course as was feared. The Russians will not yet know, since their rocket failed to go off. The Archeological Research foundation stated at a press conference that they had reason to believe that pieces of wood discovered in 1958, 14,000 feet up Mount Ararat in Eastern Turkey were pieces of Noah's Ark. In 1955 a near black piece of timber, seven foot long was uncovered from an ice-pack showing clear evidence of being tooled by men, it was probably 4,000 years old and of great hardness.

A CINEMA MANAGER in London beseeched an audience some of whom were coloured to 'play the white man' after unrest at film-breakdown, this led to further jeers. The Chief of Police in Albany, Georgia, closed down three parks and two libraries to stop negroes seeking to de-segregate public facilities. The Museum of Modern Art in New York has banned the loan of art-works to organizations practising segregation, the Metropolitan Opera Company and Actors' Equity Association have already taken similar steps. A coloured boy visiting Keswick with a Michigan choir was chased by a gang of teenagers when escorting a white girl. The wife of a Marine brigadier who organised the choir visit was horrified. "It was like something out of 'Gone with the Wind'" she said. Differences of feature caused trouble for Jeremy Evans, a 25-year-old insurance company trainee who resigned from his job when exception was taken to his beard which he refused to shave off; trouble too for Norma Sugg, a Co-op

chemist's shop assistant who was sacked for refusing to change her bouffant style of hair-dressing. John O'Toole, a labourer at ICI, turned blue in the face and yellow in the hands when working with chemicals. Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy caused some scandal in the U.S. through over-exposure of her epidermis in a one-piece, tight swimsuit. Sixty-nine clergymen were imprisoned in Albany, Georgia during a demonstration against segregation. Police-chief Pritchett said, "I have no desire to put you in gaol. Go, in the name of decency." Capetown University students' representative council elected a coloured student as head woman student. The student is one of the last coloured students to get in since the university is now "whites only." Johannesburg security police raided the offices of the multiracial Congress of Democrats and removed various documents. The Government of Sierra Leone prohibited Mr. John Hatch of Sierra Leone University from returning to the country following critical articles in the *New Statesman*.

COLIN JORDAN, John Tyndall, Ian Kerr-Ritchie and Dennis Pirie were committed for trial at the Old Bailey on charges under the Public Order Act, that they organised, trained or equipped persons in such a manner as to arouse reasonable apprehension that this was done to promote a political objective. The organization offered for sale a portrait of Julius Streicher as a *must* for your drawing-room wall. A letter was found offering for sale British-made S.S. kit. "A sword in a shiny black scabbard, black guard and picked out in silver with skull and cross—with a badge on the guard—a real A.I. job with chains to attach it to your belt"—the German S.S. daggers were selling at £10 each. Tyndall asked the principal scientific officer to the War Office how he would go about blowing up buildings such as the Communist Party headquarters, the magistrate said he need not answer the question. A witness stated that she saw about a dozen men near her cottage at

OUT
OF THIS
WORLD

Dorking. "They were on the hill opposite and were dashing in and out of the undergrowth. If they had been children I would have thought they were playing soldiers or cowboys and Indians. But they were grown men so they weren't." Jordan was later in the week dismissed from his teaching job. Kerr-Ritchie was sacked from the Automobile Association. Tyndall and Pirie have also, it is reported, been sacked from their jobs. Sir Oswald Mosley's meeting in Birmingham was banned, political processions in the London area were banned for Saturday and Sundays, September 1st and 2nd, thus debarring the anti-Common Market protest; the Connolly Association protest against the racism of the Commonwealth Emigrants Act (*Daily Worker*, front page, col. 1, 31/8/62) or to demand the release of political detainees in Ireland (same paper, col. 3); the Committee of 100 poster parade in Kensington; and Oswald Mosley's march through the East End. The *Worker* complains that "the Government . . . bowing to the tremendous wave of anger against Fascist provocations has simultaneously made an attack on civil liberties."

THE NEW YORK anti-pick-pocket squad claims that a small army of Latin-American pick-pockets trained in Colombia is invading New York City, these are highly-trained in the most modern methods. A woman sat on an office

safe at St. John's Wood to foil bandits. They pleaded with her to move, but she refused, and they drove away without it. Long Island police dragged Allen Gardelia out of his bed at 3 a.m. and 'roughed him up a little', since he did not want to come. He had failed to answer a summons on a dog-muzzling charge. A woman was evicted from her home at Romford, Essex, in order that a police station and courthouse costing £250,000 could be built on the site. The woman said, "The policewoman made me realize that I could not win. I suppose we will just have to stay with relatives." Leicester Square buskers were fined at Bow Street for obstructing the footway by their performance to entertain queues. The magistrate said, "If you perform in this way and cause a crowd to collect to watch you, you are wilfully obstructing the passage of the footway." A Nyasaland Court awarded £2 10s. to a "crocodile man" who agreed to murder a girl and failed to get paid the full amount of his fee. The police are now holding the man and his hire, Twelve jurers summoned for service at London Sessions failed to attend and were fined £5 each by Mr. R. E. Seaton. Mr. Seaton (best known to our readers perhaps, for his judgments in the cases of Clarke, Bell and Lock) also sent a 19-year-old boy to Borstal for house-breaking, the boy made an anti-Jewish and anti-coloured speech from the dock. Mr. Seaton said, "All kinds of people are born in this world, all colours and creeds, and if you study the history of this country you will find there is a policy of live and let live. I strongly advise you to be a little more pliable in your ideas." Mr. Charles Fletcher-Cooke, under-secretary to the Home Office said that spurious reports in newspapers of jail break plots at Dartmoor were resented by the prisoners as it gives them a bad name. New York municipal markets were being cleared of 'magic' potions of bat's blood, 'anti-satanised jinx-chaser' and 'Dragon's blood incense' as a drive against 'false advertising and misrepresentation'. "Spike" O'Donnell, former Chicago beer

baron died in his bed at the age of 72. Eight wigs have been stolen in New York by a window-smasher who raided beauty shops. The Panacea Society of Bedford, England, announced (as usual) that crime and banditry, distress and perplexity will increase until the bishops open Joanna Southcott's box of sealed writings. . . .

THREE MEMBERS of the Higham family in Sutton, Cambs, are all teetotallers and all keep public-houses. A nun of 22 left a convent stating that her ambition was to be a lion-tamer. A young man was found hanging upside-down by his legs from a coupling between the carriages of a train on the Bakerloo platform at Oxford Circus. He could give no explanation of how he got in that position. *The Sunday Telegraph* ran a story about a group of 'beachniks' (to use their immortal word) who are living on an 80-year-old Thames barge, to the scandal and concern of the inhabitants of a south-coast town. No precise details are listed except the usual offences—youth, long hair, immature beards, untidiness, unkemptness, uninhibitedness, CND sympathies and asking a reporter for a loan. A spokesman said, "As far as we know we haven't intruded on anyone else's privacy. We are only a nuisance because these people don't understand us. Really, they'd all like to be free like us. What do we do all day? Nothing. We don't work because we don't believe in work. We sit and think. If we get bored with sitting and thinking here we get a lift into Brighton and sit on the beach there and think. We think about the bomb and all that, and all the evils of society, which is nothing more than a rat-race. Some of us went to Aldermaston. The rest just sat here and thought about it". . . .

DR. DOUGLAS CROWNE, a psychologist at Ohio State University, said that tests among 110 university students showed that thirty to forty per cent of people will agree to something which they know to be wrong, just to conform. He said the urge to conform was stronger among women than men. JON QUIXOTE.

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LOOKING AT MAN

as if the human race did not exist."). But usually there is more to it than mere methodological considerations. An assumption is usually being made about the nature of social reality (e.g. Julian Steward: "Personality is shaped by culture, but it has never been shown that culture is affected by personality").

There is probably reluctance to admit that culture or society is always the independent variable; personality or the individual always the dependent variable. Yet the premise of the pure sociologists seems hard to refute: how can a variable, culture, be explained in terms of a constant, human nature?

Kardiner belongs to the second stream, though he doesn't come to grips with the premise I have mentioned. As he sees it, a gap had opened up by the 'thirties between anthropology, which treated society but left out the individual, and psychology, which treated the individual but left out society. Malinowski is given credit for doing something to bridge the gap. Kardiner's own concept of *basic personality structure* is also an attempt to throw a bridge across. By this term he is referring to the group of psychic and behavioral characteristics derived from contact with the same institutions. Basic personality is moulded in the early years through contact with the society's primary institutions, i.e. those concerned with child-rearing, and then proceeds to express itself in the secondary institutions, e.g. religion and art. In short, we have a causal chain: primary institutions—basic personality structure—secondary institutions.

Kardiner first advanced these ideas about twenty years ago; they don't seem to have changed in that time. The stock objections are that he places too much emphasis on child-rearing practices; that not only the experiences of early childhood are significant in personality formation; that secondary institutions also mould personality; that primary and secondary institutions can be related to one another without invoking the intervention of personality (unless of course one is a psychologist, in which case the effects of social phenomena on personality are of direct importance).

It might also be noted that little field-work has been inspired by Kardiner's concepts and theories. In fact, there has only been one application of them in the field: by Cora de Bois, whose *The People of Alor* was first published in 1944. Research, as Kardiner puts it, has "ground to a halt". This he attributes to the fact that a prerequisite of

such research is "an expert knowledge of psychodynamics" and to academic resistance. The latter, he correctly notes, "can be a powerful deterrent". There may be truth in this. A more perceptive interpretation might simply be that Kardiner's theories emerged at a time when interest was developing in the relation of culture and personality, under the stimulus of such writers as Mead and Benedict, and that they must be regarded as preliminary attempts to define that relation, rather than as contributions of permanent value.

Nevertheless, tools can be picked up and used after lying rusting and unnoticed. Someone may again test Kardiner's theories in the field, but somehow I doubt it. It is worth noting, though Kardiner and Preble don't, that du Bois, in the 1958 Harper Torchbooks edition of *The People of Alor*, seems a little sceptical of the continuing value of the conceptual framework into which she originally fitted her field data: "*The People of Alor* was a partial, preliminary and provocative sally into a broad, significant and inchoate field." I think we can leave it at that.

If Kardiner's failure to advance on his earlier position seems a little disappointing, it cannot be denied that *They Studied Man* has merit. It offers a good introduction to its nine subjects, some of whom are regrettably little read today. The only omissions about which one might quibble are Morgan and, perhaps, Radcliffe Brown. One might also quibble at the misprints, of which there are a few more than necessary. It is also a clear statement of Kardiner's psychodynamics, which are themselves of some historical merit.

But reading *They Studied Man* provokes other kinds of reflection than those above. Anthropological theory has a relevance to social action. Are we, who are anarchists or conservatives or liberals or socialists or fascists, no more than iron filings caught up in a magnetic field? Is man's control over civilisation an anthropocentric illusion? White makes both suggestions, and Durkheim and Khroeber would presumably agree.

It might be argued that the postulate of human efficacy is desirable, even if it doesn't quite fit the facts, but that scarcely answers our queries. Perhaps the reactionary, the reformer, the revolutionary and the man who contracts out are all acting out parts on a stage set by the cultural process.

But an acceptance of cultural determinism does not imply a relapse into defeatism. Even though the course of

cultural change may be outside conscious direction, we can still strive for certain goals. At one time men believed the weather could be controlled through the performing of appropriate rituals. Hence the rain-kings and rain-queens of societies remote from our own. Today we know better: we know that meteorological forces go their own sweet way without regard to the organisms posturing on earth below. Yet this knowledge is liberating. Now that the universe is known to be impersonal and indifferent, we can go about securing that which was once vainly sought by other means. Artesian wells are sunk, reservoirs constructed, irrigation canals dug. Instead of bringing the universe to our will, we bend to the universe.

Turning back to social and political action we can see how the proper course is to study cultural processes, and then adapt our behaviour accordingly. Politics continues, but it becomes "reality-centred" as Alex Comfort would put it. Although some anarchists seem as impatient of impersonal laws in society or culture as they are of laws enacted by authoritarian agencies, there are others who have approximated to the views expressed here. Both Bakunin and Kropotkin regarded the State and enacted law as products of a certain stage in evolution. The evolutionary process which had called them into being would one day make them irrelevant. The views of the Sydney libertarians (see Molnar's article in ANARCHY 4) are a response to a theory of the nature of social phenomena.

The same kind of view has been expressed in some of the "practical proposals" articles in ANARCHY. Thus institutions (see ANARCHY 4 and 9, for instance) of the old-fashioned prison, orphanage, etc. type are not merely repugnant to human values, but are failures even in their own terms. Prisons don't stop crime, orphanages twist and stunt their unfortunate human material and so on. ("Why do prisons make criminals?—Why do asylums make lunatics?"). Perhaps Colin Ward bears the same relation to the Prisons Department as a meteorologist to a rain-king. They all have an aim in common but Ward and the meteorologist are a good deal more likely to achieve their's, i.e. they are adopting means which happen to be appropriate to the end sought. Unhappily, we are still some distance from being as rational in our social attitudes as in watering our crops.

Which suggests that anarchism is relevant as a social and political attitude, but that the discipline of science must be accepted, not reluctantly but gladly. Anthropology can help in disciplining us. K.J.M.

FREEDOM

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A QUESTION OF PRIORITIES

Continued from page 1

before; there is more "anarchism" in the schools, and more sexual freedom (in spite of Bradford!) than in this writer's not-so-distant youth. To our minds *life is more meaningful, more rewarding for a greater number of people than ever before*, because a greater number of people are equipped to, and do, escape from convention, and the pressures of mass communications, to live out their lives as fully as they can according to values which do not rely on a football-pool "breakthrough" nor are determined for them by the Joneses. These are the unspectacular, day-to-day, but, for those concerned, real and revolutionary, steps which are being taken under the very noses of the Common-Market-centralisers and all the authoritarians of the Left, which *could* lead in the direction of the libertarian, the free, society. Whereas "Everyman III" can only carry a crew of 15, the anarchist Everyman launches his boat where he and millions of other folk have daily contact! For the sake of our correspondent and others may we quote from our allegedly "sour grapes" editorial?

If parents were to succeed in communicating to their children a deep love of freedom and a respect for all their fellow beings; if school teachers were to succeed in developing in the minds of their pupils an insatiable intellectual curiosity: if doctors not only relieved pain but sought to liberate the minds of their patients from the sexual and other taboos of our society; if every factory worker sought to create a feeling of brotherhood and solidarity with the men working on either side of him; if every intellectual used his gifts to communicate with, and inspire, the people rather than prostitute them to the highest bidder . . . within one generation there would be a new mood, and different values would guide our daily lives, in spite of the ruling social and economic superstructure of society.

Not only must anarchist propaganda aim at encouraging individuals to make their own "one-man revolutions"; it must at the same time emphasise the need for a feeling of community, encourage mutual aid and the creation of all kinds of organisations and associations based on common needs. For, apart from any other considerations, having made our one-man revolutions we are still faced with the authoritarian economic and social structure of the society we live in, and to destroy this monster will be possible only to the extent that the one-man revolutionists are united and have this sense of solidarity. We know that our Individualist anarchist friends deny this, and wince when we use such terms as the "people" or the "workers". But what is the alternative, apart from complete withdrawal from society? S. E. Parker in his able lecture "Revolution—Mass or Individual?" (FREEDOM Aug. 18), concludes:

What hope there is for a free life lies with free individuals—with those who, realizing that anarchism is a force for liberation which individuals carry *within themselves*, make the kind of insurrection of which Stirner spoke. For me, the real division lies not between the mass and its rulers, but between those who believe in liberty and those who believe in authority, between the anarchists and the archists.

So far so good. But then in what way will the believers in liberty manage to live as free men in a world in which the means of production, and the raw materials and the land are in the hands of the authoritarian minority? And he answers: "I counterpoise the concept of individual insurrection against that of social—that is, mass—revolution."

III

THIS concept of "individual insurrection", as a reaction to the faith of 19th century revolutionaries in the liberating mission of the "masses" is understandable, but, it seems to us, hopelessly unrealistic. The cult of the individual is as unrewarding as the cult of the masses. There is no such animal as the individualist. Even the hermit, the arch-individualist, when he withdraws to his cave even assuming he is not equipped with the material tools of the society he despises, carries in his mind ideas and knowledge which but for his contact with that society he would never have acquired. And from the purely practical point of view there are not enough islands, or acres and cows on this planet for everyone to practise, let alone demand, the right to, individualism! We are anarchists because we want to be free men among free men; we are propagandists because we do not believe it possible to live on an island of freedom surrounded by a sea of slavery and unhappiness, and ignore, or not be incensed by, the injustice around us. Anarchists are in the main neither "misfits" nor are they "mixed-up", because, in fact, they know what they want out of life, and seem to be well equipped to cope with the day-to-day business of living. So much so, that few anarchists have ever been professional revolutionists. And this may also explain why anarchist propaganda and activity has, on the one hand spontaneity and the freshness of improvisation, while on the other, suffers from the absence of an organisation to follow-up favourable openings for an intensification of its propaganda.

The pacifist movement, probably because its pacifism has always been essentially Christian and not political, could make its appeal for material support to a large number of pacifist-capitalists without unduly disturbing its patrons' conscience about their capitalist activities! As a result, the pacifist movement was in a position to set up a whole variety of organisations, all with paid staffs to bear the brunt of administration and promote the objectives, of their respective organisations. Knowing a number of the "old hands" as sincere, unambitious and poorly-paid, we cannot but have feelings of esteem and admiration for their devotion to a cause. But the number of posts they fill is only a small proportion of those available, and which are occupied by an unending succession of people who come and go, or rather, who move from one to another. And it seems to us that Parkinson's Law applies just as much to the Anglo-American Peace Movement as it does to any business organisation. Each organisation must justify itself by initiatives which catch the eye and appeal to the pockets of,

its supporters. The new initiatives create new jobs which can be filled by the personnel from other initiatives which have been completed, and so on. "Everyman III", for instance, is the dream-child of the World Peace Brigade for Non-Violent Action, which itself was the dream-child of some other conference (was it the War Resisters?). This mania for building organisations is revealed in a paragraph on the Peace Brigade in *Peace News* (Aug. 17):

The seven months since the founding of the World Peace Brigade for Non-Violent Action have necessarily been devoted largely to setting up the machinery of the three Regions where at present its main support is located. (Our italics).

(No wonder the speakers at the Peace Brigade Meeting we attended, discussed Nazism in London, sit-ins in America's South, student demonstrations in Spain and India-Pakistan relations . . . everything but the Peace Brigade!).

Does the foregoing justify our correspondent's charge of "sour grapes"? We answer "No!" not only because we did not write our Editorial out of envy but also because we do not believe that the solution to the dilemma so far as more effective anarchist propaganda is concerned lies in seeking to emulate the organisation-building of the pacifists.

IV

AN American comrade in our correspondence columns last week declared that

at the moment pacifism is a living vibrant entity, whereas anarchism is only a corpse. Therefore it is up to us—*anarchism's remaining maggots*—to approach the pacifists, not *vice versa*.

Our comrade goes on to point out that "we have an entire body of knowledge, theory and experience which we must put at their disposal". Is he suggesting that we are withholding it? We quote our comrade because his reactions to what we call the propaganda "stunts", is just what we object to about them! He refers to "Everyman III" as "an excellent instance of propaganda of the deed, a brilliant non-violent attempt". We hope he will forgive us the outburst, but "Everyman III" has as much to do with all these as the vegetarians' nut-cutlets have to do with a lamb-cutlet! Indeed he will perhaps tell us what the skipper of "Everyman III" will do if the British authorities refuse to let him sail, or the port authorities all along their route refuse to let them tie-up.

But apart from these observations, in passing, what makes our

comrade refer to "pacifism as a living vibrant entity" and anarchism as "a corpse"? He does say "at the moment", but we do not wish to take advantage of this qualifying remark, because if we did, we would feel obliged to show that his remark was not true! It is clear to us, and his emotional approach confirms our view, that comrade Morton, no less than friend Moor, feels that anything other than words *is* action, and that only action will halt the crazy arms race towards annihilation. We too believe in action but only when we have a chance of winning; unless, knowing that we will lose, it is our opinion that our cause will prosper.

"Everyman III" is a propaganda gimmick; in this case, that the "risks and sacrifice" of 15 militant pacifists will add force to the arguments they propose to put to the people they meet. We reject this *emotional* approach for the same reasons that we follow the "martyrdom" of Colin Jordan and his Nazi friends at the hands of employers and State, with horror and apprehension. That is, winning over people to a point of view by an emotional rather than a reasonable approach. Cannot our pacifist friends see that it is not only they but every would-be crack-pot dictator, racist, flat-earther and what-have-you who are trying to cash-in on the organs of mass-communications, and that all have an equal chance with a mass-public? And, we would add, of disappearing as soon as the spotlight is turned elsewhere!

The anarchist "corpse" somehow refuses to attend its burial service! It is true, we have not overthrown capitalism; which political party has? We have not abolished war; which pacifist movement has? We still aim at persuading our fellow beings to do all these; which political party still does?

V

COMRADES MORTON and Moor seem to suggest that we should go cap in hand to the pacifist movement because they are *acting* while we simply *talk*. Apart from the fact that we believe that thought should precede, and inspire, action, we do not see how we anarchists serve the cause of peace by following in the wake of "Everyman III" or of a peace movement which not only collapsed when war broke out (inspite of its million pre-war signatures "renouncing war, etc."), but which was resuscitated only when a section of it adopted some of the tactics advocated all along by the anarchists! If any committed non-violent-direct-actionist seeks to

draw profit—rather than score points by quoting us out of context—from what we have written over the past eighteen months, they will appreciate that our overriding consideration has been how best the inspiring flood of good-will released by the Committee of 100 Movement could best serve the cause of social revolution. Social Revolution? Yes! What else can a movement of conscious social disobedience serve?

We have attacked them and supported them; we have tried to make them "sit-up" on all kinds of issues and at the same time we have sat-down with them as comrades. Whatever our correspondent may believe, we have no interests in adopting the "stupid partisanship 'my team, right or wrong' attitude". We have no vested interests in FREEDOM or anarchism—no jobs to hold down, no electors to bamboozle, no patrons to account to—we are anarchist propagandists—and here, *pace* Otter! *We* means this writer—because we believe that the ideal which gives meaning to life is as important as the means which sustains it; and that both *are equally worth defending and working for*.

Because we are, in the last analysis, accountable to ourselves for our thoughts as well as our actions, we are uninterested to impress others with our militancy, our consistency, our courage or our defiance. We publish a paper in order to reach people with ideas which we hope they will accept and adopt as part of their lives, because their reason and their feelings combined accept them; not because so-and-so, whose grandmother had an affair with Bakunin, and whose father went - to - prison - in - the - first world - war, said so! The peace movement, it seems to us, is trying to put over its case, by a form of brain-washing: the movement is supported by eminent scientists, philosophers, M.P.s, military startegists, as well as willing martyrs. *Martyrdom may well be the ace-up-the-sleeve of the new non-violent-tacticians*. The fact is that while the masses in Amritsar, and Sharpevill are mown down by machine-gun fire, the Gandhi's never die on a hunger protest and the Luthuli's live to receive the Nobel Prize for Peace!

We are opposed to personalities and martyrs. The free society will be made up of heroes and cowards, geniuses and idiots; it will only come into being when enough people value the freedom of their fellow beings as passionately as they value their own. To hell with personalities!

Holy, Holy, Holy

"THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE" by Rosalynde Ainslie (2/- Anti-Apartheid Movement, 15, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1)

THIS pamphlet leaves one in a rueful mood. The tracing of the connection between South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, The Central African Federation and Katanga with the Suez lobby in this country and Salazar's dictatorship in Portugal leaves a grim impression of consolidated and resolute power. Power that represents the gravest threat to humanity personified by Salazar, Verwoerd and Welensky.

We are given an excellent account of Southern Africa with relation to those groupings who have achieved control over this land—the financial and economic interests with fingers in all the profitable pies. It is, indeed, a useful account to have. The fearful build-up of arms in South Africa provides an alarming picture, and the involvement of this country in this vile fascist régime is clearly depicted. The arms for Verwoerd are, in part, manufactured here.

The only weak note in this valuable pamphlet is the rather pathetic belief in the United Nations. Where Unesco is one thing, poitical UNO is another, and to rely on an assembly of nations to combat what amounts to the growth of neo-fascism is ludicrous—especially as one wonders on which side the majority of nations really stand. The pamphlet ends with exhortations for democratic government for the Africans. It does

not indicate how one should implement an arms embargo against Salazar and Verwoerd except by voting at the UN for economic sanctions. Appeals are made to nations not to people—calls for action, not for direct action.

What is needed is direct industrial action, and it is becoming clear that rank and file activity in this country must combine strike action against the Bomb with similar action against the Unholy Alliance. The strikes in sympathy with nurses have shown that the workers of this country appreciate the importance of the social strike. If the facts concerning nuclear weapons and apartheid were fully appreciated among the rank and file, direct action would follow and the workers would appreciate their power to mould the world around them. This pamphlet serves a useful purpose in setting out the facts in such a readable fashion. It is a credit to the Anti-Apartheid movement. J.W.

American 'Everyman' Trial

DEAR FRIENDS,

I think a letter is in order as you people are such an inspiration to our still microscopic (but growing) peace movement.

In June the anarchists and direct action pacifists in the Bay Area joined forces and assaulted the Federal Government. Our boat (the "Everyman") built by the

San Francisco anarchist group and kindred souls set out to publicly embarrass the Government by sailing into the region of international waters closed off by "our State for the purpose of conducting their nuclear testing. As might be expected, our boat was stopped (many miles into international waters off the California coast). About two hundred of us marched down to the Federal Court Building and sat down until the crew was released. For nine days a 24-hour demonstration continued inside and outside the building. The trial of the "Everyman" crew dragged on. They were sentenced to 30 days and the Government at the same time lost patience with the demonstrators who had spent their time militantly picketing, sitting in, folksinging, holding street-corner debates with high spirits. We were given notice to get out . . . cease and desist . . . at the threat of a year in jail. About 40 of us stayed and "got busted" . . . not for a year but for a couple of days.

The story is not ended . . . another boat, the "Everyman II", set off from Hawaii and was stopped and the crew hauled through the courts where they received fines. The "Everyman I" was returned and set sail again. The crew and two CNVA committee members (the sponsoring organisation) are serving 6 month sentences.

Yours for a GENERAL STRIKE against war production and authoritarianism.

ALAN GRAHAM.

Berkeley 9, Calif., U.S.A.

Would you let the button push you?

THE GAS CHAMBERS were simplicity itself, yet they were planned with diabolical ingenuity. Each chamber had the appearance of a public bath, and was so represented to the victims. In the dressing-rooms there were signs, in all the principle languages of Europe, instructing prisoners to tie their shoes together and fold their clothes neatly to avoid loss. Hot coffee was promised after the bath. From the dressing rooms the way led directly to the "bath" where hydrocyanic acid gas was admitted through the shower heads and ventilator outlets as soon as the doors had been closed. Death took as long as four or five minutes, depending on the amount of gas available. During this time the most dreadful screams could be heard from the men, women, and children inside, as their lungs were slowly ruptured.¹

I WAS THE COMMANDER of the lead plane, named the *Straight Flush*. It was my job to reach the target of Hiroshima, which was the primary target, to get information on the weather and determine if we have any resistance from enemy aircraft and ground fire. I flew over the target area for approximately forty-five minutes to study the group of clouds which partially obscured the target, a bridge between the military headquarters and the city of Hiroshima. Some fifteen Japanese aircraft were flying at 15,000 feet, but made no attempt to come to my altitude of 29,000 feet. These planes soon disappeared. As to the weather that day of 6 August, 1945, there were scattered strata cumulus clouds over the city of Hiroshima at an altitude of 12,000 to 15,000 feet. The clouds seem-

ed to be moving towards the city of Hiroshima at a speed of 10 to 15 miles per hour. The time of the observation was about 7.30 a.m. The real target was clear. As I said before, the target was the bridge where it would do the most damage to the Japanese military headquarters. The weather seemed ideal to me—the city would be obscured and saved and the dropping of the bomb on the military headquarters would cause the military to realize the strength and destructive force of the bomb, thus convincing the Japanese military that they should sign a peace treaty and end the terrible war. I sent my coded message which was the final 'go ahead' to the bomb-carrying plane to bomb the primary target.

What I wanted to happen did not happen. The clouds over Hiroshima diminished and scattered. The bombardier on the bomb-carrying plane missed the target some 3,000 feet and destroyed the city of Hiroshima.²

DR. SASAKI AND HIS colleagues at the Red Cross Hospital watched the unprecedented disease unfold and at last evolved a theory about its nature. It had, they decided, three stages. The first stage had been all over before the doctors even knew they were dealing with a new sickness; it was the direct reaction to the bombardment of the body, at the moment when the bomb went off, by neutrons, beta particles and gamma rays. The apparently uninjured people who had died so mysteriously in the first few hours or days had succumbed in this first stage. It killed ninety-five per cent of the people within half a mile of the centre and many thousands who were farther away. The doctors realized in retrospect that even though most of these dead had also suffered from burns and blast-effects, they had absorbed enough radiation to kill them. The rays simply destroyed body cells—caused their nuclei to degenerate and broke their walls. Many people who did not die right away came down with nausea, headache, diarrhoea, malaise and fever, which lasted several days.³

AT THE TIME OF the explosion of the first American H-bomb at Bikini the fishing boat No. 5 *Fakurya Maru* (the *Lucky Dragon*) was about eighty to ninety miles east of Bikini, and outside the warning area. The crew were fishing and it was the early morning when they saw far off the fireball of the bomb. Two or three hours later fine dust—like talc—began to fall on the ship. Captain Tsusui said: "Some fell into my eye and began to burn. The ash got into my nostrils. I blew my nose, took off my straw hat and tried to brush it away and off myself." The wireless operator, Akichi Kuboyama, described how on the first night while sailing for home "we were unable to eat our supper. We tried drinking some *saki* (rice wine) to improve our appetites but our appetites would not improve. We were very depressed and some of the crew grumbled. *Pikadon* [atomic bomb] but others said it could not be." Another member of the crew, Matsuda, said he began to itch and noticed that those parts of his body which had not been covered at the time of the explosion and the ash-fall were worst affected. Other fishermen began complaining of headaches and nausea, and then they began to itch. Matsuda said: "We had washed the dust—the ash—from our bodies but we forgot that we had regularly been handling our nets and the ropes and they had not been washed. The itch became almost unbearable and began breaking out with huge irregular blisters. They were terribly painful."⁴

THEY [THE INHABITANTS of Easter Germany] were ejected forcibly from their homes, pushed out by blows with rifle-butts and with kicks. The small amount of luggage they managed to bundle together was either stolen or wantonly destroyed during the repeated encounters they suffered on the way. To the physical torments and fatigues they suffered was added mental distress; nearly all the women and girls had very often to pay 'body toll' on the rout. Many of them thus contracted venereal disease.⁵

IN THE WAR THE ENGLISH bombed the dykes of our province Zeeland, an island where nobody could escape anywhere to. Where the whole population was drowned, children, women, farmers working in the fields, all the cattle, everything, hundreds and hundreds and we were your allies!⁶

SOURCES:

- (1) *The Theory and Practice of Hell*, Eugene Kogon (1950).
- (2) *Burning Conscience*, Claude Eatherly & Gunther Anders (1961).
- (3) *Hiroshima*, John Hersey (1946).
- (4) *Fall Out*, edited Antoinette Pirie (1957).
- (5) Probst Gruber in *The Friend*, 12/10/45.
- (6) From a letter quoted by G. E. M. Anscombe in *Mr. Truman's Degree*.
- (7) *Bomber Offensive*, Marshal of the R.A.F. Sir Arthur Harris, G.C.B., O.B.E., A.F.C. (1947).
- (8) Jean-Paul Sartre in preface to *The Question*, Henri Alleg (1958).
- (9) *Half-Term Report*, William Douglas Home (brother of Lord Home).
- (10) *Law Reports of the Trials of War Criminals*, Vol VI (H.M.S.O.).
- (11) Evidence of Field-Marshal Wilhelm Keitel at Nuremberg.
- (12) Adolf Eichmann in *Life*, January 1961.
- (13) Report of Old Bailey Official Secrets Trial 12/2/62.
- (14) From Leaflet of 'White Rose' anti-Nazi group; writers Christopher Probst (aged 24), Hans and Sophie Scholl (25 and 22) executed by the Gestapo for 'high treason', 22nd February, 1943.
- (15) Eisenberg, a tailor before the G.P.U. as reported by Alex Weissberg in *Conspiracy of Silence* (1952).
- (16) *The Man Outside* Wolfgang Borchert (1952).

SEVENTY GERMAN CITIES were attacked by Bomber Command. Twenty-three of these had more than sixty per cent of their built-up areas destroyed and forty-six about half of their built-up areas destroyed. Thirty-one cities had more than five hundred acres destroyed, and many of them vastly more than five hundred; thus Hamburg had 6,200 acres, Berlin six thousand, four hundred and twenty-seven, this includes about one thousand acres of destruction by American attacks—Dusseldorf, two thousand and three, and Cologne one thousand, nine hundred and ninety-four. Between one and two thousand acres were devastated in Dresden, Bremen, Duisburg, Essen, Frankfurt-am-Maine, Hanover, Munich, Nuremberg, Mannheim-Ludwigshafen, and Stuttgart. As an indication of what this means it may be mentioned that London had about six hundred, Plymouth about four hundred, and Coventry just over one hundred acres destroyed by enemy aircraft during the war.⁷

DURING THE WAR, when the English radio and the clandestine Press spoke of the massacre of Oradour, we watched the German soldiers walking inoffensively down the street, and would say to ourselves: "They look like us. How can they act as they do?" And we were proud of ourselves for not understanding. Today, we know there was nothing to understand. The decline has been gradual, imperceptible. But now when we raise our heads and look into the mirror we see an unfamiliar and hideous reflection: ourselves.

Appalled, the French are discovering this terrible truth: that if nothing can protect a nation against itself, neither its traditions nor its loyalties nor its laws, and if fifteen years are enough to transform victims into executioners, then its behaviour is not more than a matter of opportunity and occasion. Anybody, at any time, may equally find himself victim or executioner.⁸

Why don't YOU order extra copies and sell them?

FACED WITH WHAT I considered to be an immoral order, I must either obey it and abandon what I had conceived to be the humanitarian fight that I had waged so long—thus proving myself afraid to practise what I preached, or I must disobey it and face the unknown fate that would be mine.⁹

THE DEFENDANT HAD pleaded that all his acts had been carried out on superior orders either according to general or special directives. The Lagmannsrett, however, found that as the defendant had been aware that his acts were in violation of international law, superior orders could not be invoked in exculpation.¹⁰

"AS A GERMAN SOLDIER by inclination and conviction," he rapped out, "I believe it my duty to take full responsibility for what I have done, even if it should have been wrong"—and he went on to admit that many of the orders bearing his signature "deviated from international law". "But you are not only a soldier," prompted his counsel, Dr. Nelte, "You are a personality with a life and conscience of your own. You must have had thoughts when an action you might have thought was unjust was planned." "I grew up in a traditional military environment, and we were not concerned with right or wrong" was the answer.¹¹

"IN ACTUAL FACT I was merely a little cog in the machinery that carried out the directives and orders of the German Reich. I am neither a murderer nor a mass-murderer . . . not to be guilty in the sense that I am accused."¹²

PAT POTTLE: IS THERE ANY official order you could not accept from the government . . . ?

AIR COMMODORE MAGILL: It is my duty to carry out any order that is given to me.

POTTLE: Would you press the button you know is going to annihilate millions of people?

The Air Commodore hesitated. MAGILL: If the circumstances demanded it, I would.¹³

IF EACH ONE OF US waits for the other to begin, the messengers of avenging nemesis will draw closer and closer until the last victim has been thrown in vain into the jaws of the insatiable monster. Therefore each one of us must accept his responsibility as a bearer of Christian culture and defend himself at this eleventh hour with all his strength, he must work against this scourge of the human race, against Fascism and every related system of absolute government. Practise passive resistance—*resistance*—wherever you are! Obstruct the further functioning of this godless war-machine before it is too late, before our last cities are heaps of rubble like Cologne, before the last young men of our nation have bled somewhere for the selfish arrogance of this sub-man! Remember that every nation deserves the government it endures.¹⁴

"I AM AN ANARCHIST, and I always have been, but I am not a counter-revolutionary, and I never have been. I have fought and worked for the Revolution all my life. But I am an enemy of the State. I am an enemy of all states, including your State. The State and its representative system is the cause of all social evil. When the State disappears the people will be able to breathe freely for the first time in history."¹⁵

YOU, MAN AT THE machine and man in the workshop. If to-morrow they tell you you are to make no more water-pipes and saucepans—but to make steel helmets and machine-guns, there's only one thing to do:

Say NO. . . .

You. Pilot on the aerodrome. If to-morrow they tell you you are to carry bombs and phosphorus over the cities, then there's only one thing to do:

Say NO. . . .

For if you do not say NO if YOU do not say no mothers, then; then. . . . then . . .

then the last human creature, with mangled entrails and infected lungs, will wander round unanswered and lonely under the poisonous, glowing sun and wavering constellations, lonely among the immense mass graves and the cold

idols of the gigantic concrete-blocked devastated cities, the last human creature, withered, mad, accusing, cursing—and his terrible accusation: WHY? will die away unheard on the steppes, drift through the splitting ruins, seep away in the rubble of churches, lap against the great concrete shelters, fall into pools of blood, unanswered, unheard, the last animal scream of the last human animal—

all this will hapuen to-morrow, to-morrow perhaps, perhaps even to-night, perhaps to-night, if—if—you do not say NO.¹⁶

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

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(Leicester Square Tube)
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SEP 9 Jeremy Westall:
Think of Others—Especially Me.

SEP 16th Brian Leslie
An Anarchist's View of Social Credit.

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