

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat War, and To Speed Commonweal.

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GLASGOW'S "SOCIALIST" LORD PROVOST

DOLLAN: THEN AND NOW

"Hoots, he's nae worth the heedin', that lad. He's anybody's dog for a biscuit."

In these terms of contumely and derision, the old Scot's saw defines the political opportunist. It expresses the limit of rural contempt for the type of man who uses radicalism as a stepping stone to a seat in the House of Lords, and Socialism as an excuse to become Prime Minister in the Westminster National pool. The phrase is used in times of crisis to point scorn at John Bunyan's Mr. Facing Both Ways. Lord Provost Dollan must have employed it more than once in those days, when, as "Myner Collier" he became an outside contributor to the columns of the *Forward*. To-day, reviewing his attitude during the Great War, as a conscientious objector; and his conduct now, as Lord Provost and recruiting sergeant; many Socialists recall the phrase and apply it to him.

Writing in *Forward* for April 22, 1939, Walton Newbold drew attention to the war-time attitude of Emmanuel Shinwell and Herbert Morrison, and also to the caption that appeared in the *Daily Herald*, for April 15 last:—"Biggest Show By Military Since War." Newbold was prompted by this headline

"to enquire whether the Lord Provost, who is stated to be acting as 'co-ordinating officer,' is any relation to P. J. Dollan. If I remember aright, he must now be well over military age, but I have an idea that, some twenty-two years ago, he was seeking exemption from military service."

Since his election as Lord Provost, Dollan has been most active, reviewing territorial units, and recruiting for national service. *The Evening Times*, Glasgow, for Monday, May 29, 1939, published a small paragraph as follows:—

"SINGING FOR RECRUITS.

"Sir Harry Lauder Does His Bit.

"Famous Scots comedian Sir Harry Lauder is the latest National Service recruiting sergeant. When Lord Provost P. J. Dollan, of Glasgow, was addressing a National Service meeting in the Lorne Cinema, Kinning Park, last night, he saw Sir Harry in the audience, and insisted that he come to the platform. "Then Sir Harry made his appeal in his own way. First of all he sang 'Put your faith in the Motherland.' Then he made a few typical Lauder remarks in which he told the Lord Provost to continue his work for National Service and 'Keep right on to the end of the road.' Then Sir Harry sang the song which he has made famous throughout the world."

Harry Lauder sang for recruits during the Great War. He also sang for conscripts. In those days, Thomas Johnston was busily engaged trying to persuade Socialists that George Barnes had not "sold out." When Barnes denounced "class-consciousness," and announced his willingness to leave the Labour Party, and identified himself with Lloyd George, Carson, Curzon, Milner, and Bonar Law, Johnston announced, in *Forward*, for September 1, 1917, that he felt it "almost as a personal blow."

In the same "War Points," Johnston attacked Cunningham Graham who, in the *Glasgow Herald*, declared that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is licking stamps for "his German friends." What wit! Johnston listed and ridiculed the Labour leaders who had been made Commanders of the O.O.T.B.E. for recruiting:—

"J. T. Brownlie and R. Young, of the Engineers; A. Bellamy, of the Railwaymen; Miss Margaret Macmillan, James Sexton, and (as sure as death!) Havelock Wilson, Jimmy Brown, and David Gilmour (of the Scottish Miners); F. Chandler (of the Carpenters and Joiners); E. L. Poulton (of the Boot and Shoe Operatives); W. C. Robinson (of the

Beamers, described as 'a Labour candidate'); Stewart Bunning (of the Postmen); and Ben Turner (of the Textile Workers)."

Johnston culled from the *Daily Telegraph* some of the Statutes and Ordinances of the Order. The Labour Commanders were entitled to wear "upon all great and solemn occasions a purple riband and badge of the breadth of one inch and three-quarters passing from the right shoulder to the left side. 'The medal of the Most Excellent Order is to be silver, having on the obverse a representation of Britannia within the circle, and motto of the Order, and on the reverse Our Royal and Imperial Cypher, and shall be worn on the left side suspended by a ring to a purple riband of one inch and one sixteenth of an inch in width'."

And so Johnston felt that these persons were in the same category as the Roberts, the Thomases, and the Hodges. To-day, he does not seem to be in a much better category himself! Dollan was in a different category entirely.

The story was told partly in *Forward* for September 8, 1917, in the "War Points":—

"Everybody knows that the Glasgow Town Council Labour Party is being steadily and effectively cleared out. Dollan and George Smith are in jail: others are in the army: others again, like Angus McDougall, are in work of 'national importance.' Some of the Labour representatives—P. J. Dollan and George Smith, for example—are temporarily absent through no fault or laxity of their own. . . .

"As we expected, the Court of Session has turned down Councillor P. J. Dollan's appeal against the importation into his military exemption certificate of a stipulation that he must find work 50 miles from Glasgow, or in other words, that he must get himself so far off that he will be unable to harry Town Clerks, Lord Provosts, Profiteers and the like. "The trial is adequately summed up in the 'Glasgow Herald's' paragraph:

"The Court without calling on counsel for the respondent, dismissed the appeal, with seven guineas' expenses."

"And the lawyers are £100 or thereby the richer, and the I.L.P. £100 or thereby the poorer, and Dollan hies himself off again to jail or to some work of national non-importance under a Home Office Committee. Until the war is over, the local Capitalists are relieved of his presence, and as a sort of final send-off the local Magistrates prohibit a public meeting of protest."

At this time, Harry Lauder was busy boosting the war, in company with the then Lord Provost of Glasgow, now dead and forgotten. When we read John S. Clarke's article, urging war, in the *Glasgow Evening News* for April 28, 1939, we recall the attacks he made on Lauder during the war years. Clarke continued his attacks when the war had concluded. In the *Worker* for October 9, 1920, before he had sold out to the Capitalist class via the Town Council and the House of Commons, Clarke denounced Lauder as

"The Knighted Clown"

and attacked the Glasgow papers for printing "nearly a whole column of the senseless drivel that Sir Harry Lauder vomited at his presentation in the Grand Hotel last Friday."

Clarke's comment continued:—

"Harry resembles a Labour fakir in lots of ways. Both are types of the working class who have used that class as a stepping stone into the class above. One pretends to represent the worker in the House of Commons or as a union official, and makes use of both positions to become absolutely bourgeois at the workers' expense."

"The other tickles the ears of the pious by preaching in various pulpits, and charms the impious by stimulating drunken debauchery on the stage ('I'm fou the noo') in order to do precisely the same. Both succeed, and succeeding, scorn the people to whom they owe their 'success.'"

"Both flatter themselves that they have 'got on' by virtue of their own amazing brilliance (compare the brag of J. H. Thomas, for instance, with Lauder's assurance that 'all the good things of life

wouldn't have come to him had he not deserved them'), and both cherish the belief that any twaddle they care to utter is accepted as the deepest of wisdom. Look, for example, at the callous self-sufficiency of a man who, after the bloody savagery responsible for millions upon millions of deaths, and in a time when millions upon millions are hungering in Europe, when a sordid, furtive war is being carried on against Ireland and Russia, when angry murmurs of complaint are arising from the industrial world and the poor of earth are poorer than ever they were, can talk like this:

"Harry concluded with a 'warm welcome' to his old friends to look him up at the Glen. He painted a glorious word picture of the pool where the water is as clear as crystal, and 'man, the world's a bonnie place'."

"Man, the world's a bonnie place.' What a host of comfort there is in such words to the broken ex-service men who followed Lauder's advice and fought for the 'bonnie place.' 'God's in his heaven, all's right with the world.' Sir Harry might live to see the day when he'll lose more than his hair."

The first Saturday in July, 1926, thousands listened in to Harry Lauder broadcasting. Introducing topical subjects, he regretted the miners' dispute and expressed the hope that it would soon end, as there were thousands of miners anxious to get back to work. Lauder forgot to mention the fact that the mine-owners were preventing the miners from working, because they refused to pay them sufficient wages to keep body and soul together. The mine-owners were responsible for the strike, not the miners. Harry, being a theatrical artist, and as such, an extreme reactionary, did not face this point. His sympathies were with the owners, although his theatrical success had depended upon the patronage of the workers. To them he owed his livelihood and the Glen!

This is the man whom Dollan, being Lord Provost, salutes at a public meeting and invites to the platform.

Says the *Evening Times* for May 29, commenting on its own news item:—

"When the Lord Provost, along with Sir Alex. Swan and Sir Harry Lauder, who were the speakers, left about 10 p.m. they were cheered by crowds in the streets."

"Mr. Dollan told me to-day that this was the most popular demonstration that has been witnessed during the A.R.P. campaign. But, he added, Kinning Park still needs 230 wardens to fulfil its quota."

There were no A.R.P. wardens then, but substantially, this is the kind of patriotic rallying that the then Lord Provost of Glasgow did in 1914, and during the years of the Great War in which Mr. Dollan refused to serve. At that time exactly the same arguments were waged in support of organising the maximum defence for the Clydeside as are put forward to-day by the present Lord Provost in the columns of *Forward* and on the various platforms on which he speaks. It is for Mr. Dollan to explain how he was right in scorning the defence of the country in 1914-18 whilst to-day he is so stern on the necessity of doing so. Either he is right to-day or he was wrong in 1914-18. There is another explanation, namely, that it is impossible to become the Lord Provost of a city, even a "Socialist" Lord Provost, without being caught up in the network of Capitalist Imperialism.

SOLVED IN WEST FIFE.

Willie Gallacher, not yet M.P., wrote in his "Political Notes," contributed to *The Worker* (No. 302) for September 6, 1924, with a parade of big type:—

"THE BIG QUESTION.

"The all-important question before every little creature who is parading around with a bellyful of shoddy politics is, 'How to get a constituency and a seat in Parliament.'"

And now—the all-important question for Willie is how to keep that seat!

CONSCRIPTION—WITH CIGARETTES!

Down With The Conchies — New C.P. Line

The new C.P. slogan is: "Cigarettes for Conscripts." This is the neo-Leninist programme for a democratic army. Step by step, the Communist Party has moved towards its goal of a conscript army. Whereas Lord Roberts and the Anti-Socialist Union used to urge conscription, and the Socialists were opposed, to-day a Labour Party in Opposition, aided by Communist Party jingo propaganda, has driven the National Government forward to conscription. To-day, Conscription is on the Statute Book, and the Communist Party solemnly assures that it is opposed to conscientious objectors, and that its policy is cigarettes for our boys, the conscripts! The Stalinist rendering of: "Workers of the world, unite!"

In the Soviet Union, the Bolsheviks crushed all factions of the Socialist movement and murdered the Anarchists, that they might establish a Conscript Army, and stamp out Communism. In Italy, the Third International hirelings betrayed and sabotaged the Syndicalist struggle. In China, they recognised Chian-Kai-Shek, after he had murdered thousands of Communists in cold blood. In Germany, the official "Communists" allied themselves with National Socialism, and only opposed Hitler when it was too late to be effective. Back in the Soviet Union, having exterminated by murder and exile all other Socialist groups, the Communist Party went heresy-hunting in its own ranks. It passed from Leninism to Stalinism, and treated Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Bukharin, Rakovsky, etc., as Marx would have liked to have treated Bakunin. Properly Stalinised, the Party murdered its own leading members, men who had pioneered the revolution and served the party faithfully and laboriously for many years, in prison and in exile. Every murder was applauded by Gallacher, Pollitt, McShane, and the other hired hacks in Britain. In France, the C.P. United Front betrayed the workers in their strikes, and the Moroccans in their struggle towards freedom. The Spanish Revolution, despite all the rhetoric about the International Brigade, was sabotaged and betrayed directly by Moscow. The thousands who died in Spain, the masses now herded into French concentration camps, owe their situation to the cowardice and treachery of Moscow and its hirelings. The Soviet Union supplied oil to Franco, and supplied war material to Italy and Germany, knowing that these countries were actually conducting a Fascist and National Socialist invasion of Spain. The triumph of the Fascism they assisted was turned by the Communists into a pretext for a campaign in Britain for economic and military sanctions, a campaign bound to end in conscription. In the first years of the Russian Revolution, we had urged "Hands off Russia," meaning war against Capitalism in Britain in defence of the Soviet Union. The latter-day "Communists" replaced this with a cry for a "Peace Pact with The Soviet," knowing that conscription must result in Britain.

In the *Weekly Worker* for January 9, 1932, William Gallacher endeavoured to justify the C.P. disrupting the Glasgow Free Speech Council. The Anti-Parliamentarians wanted to organise this body into a genuine Council of Action. The effort was sabotaged by the "Communists" and their bogus organisations. Gallacher declared that "all the rottenest opportunists and parasitic elements in Glasgow got associated with this Council," meaning the Anti-Parliamentarians, who pioneered it, and the I.L.P. Since he and his colleagues afterwards attempted to form a united front with the I.L.P., actually he meant the Anti-Parliamentarians, whose aim was to establish a "constitution."

Gallacher did not want a constitution, because that would have meant organised working-class democracy, and have prevented the trick domination of the C.P. through fake sports organisations. He proceeded to denounce the Anti-Parliamentarians as being "of necessity enemies of the movement." Gallacher added that "when they saw they were going to be involved in a serious movement, the parliamentarians (meaning the I.L.P.—

Ed.) and the anti-parliamentarians left the conference," etc.

The truth is Willie Gallacher and his colleagues feared that a serious movement would be established, and proceeded to destroy it by attempting to organise a purely bogus movement. The bogus Council was self-evidently bogus and passed out. It served the purpose of disgusting the workers with struggle.

Willie Gallacher is a degenerate time-server and careerist. Ever since the foundation of the Communist Party, under cover of violent language and revolutionary phraseology, he had done nothing but advance the cause of Fascism. His revolutionary understanding led him to applaud and canvass for Mosley, against the latter's wishes even. To-day, Gallacher's time-serving reaction is apparent to every student of the social problem, to every thinking worker in the struggle. John MacLean estimated Gallacher rightly.

In March, 1934, the *New Leader*, organ of the I.L.P., described Willie Gallacher as the "Professional Fierce Man of the Communist Party" and accused him of being unable "to state a case for his political views without wholesale lying." The writer suggested that it was hopeless to expect Gallacher ever to suffer "from the horrid disease of intellectuality." Commenting on the distance Gallacher would "travel for the sheer pleasure of telling another lie," the writer declared: "Inability to get within one hundred miles of the truth has always been one of his weaknesses."

John McGovern attacked Gallacher in the columns of the *New Leader* for September 20 and 27, 1935. In the first article, McGovern asked: "Will Willie Join Up?" This heading is of particular significance now.

McGovern declared that the Communist Party believed in action being taken by a collection of Capitalist Governments that called themselves a League of Nations. Since this League had no army, navy, nor air force, Britain would have to supply these forces and close the Suez Canal, if military sanctions were adopted against Italy, as demanded by the C.P. This meant war. In this event McGovern wanted to know:—

"... will the members of the C.P. be advised to join the British Army, and will Harry Pollitt and Willie Gallacher offer to serve in the British Army?"

McGovern declared that Gallacher "and his fellow Communists are compelled to back this outrageously anti-working-class policy of collaboration with Capitalist Governments." He then asked Willie three questions and demanded a straight answer to each. The first two questions enquired if the C.P. wanted the National Government to apply sanctions against Italy, and to make and continue war, if sanctions resulted in war. The third question read:—

"3. If so, does the C.P. intend to advise its members to join up in the British forces, and will Harry Pollitt, Gallacher, and other C.P. leaders offer their services to the Power or Powers making war on Italy?"

Accusing the C.P. of trying "to put a Hallowe'en false face upon its policy" of war, McGovern declared that "before the end of the war, there will be no Communist Party in this country." He explained to Gallacher:—

"Whenever I speak I do you and Pollitt credit by saying that your war policy was not decided by you or your members, but was dictated to you from outside, and that I believe you must know it to be fundamentally wrong. Surely I could not be fairer than that."

McGovern was quite right to say that the C.P. policy was dictated to it from outside. In February, 1928, the *Manchester Guardian* published a message from its special correspondent at Moscow, Arthur Ransome. He reported the decision arrived at by the Plenary Session of the Executive Committee of the C.I. at its meeting on Saturday, February 17, instructing the C.P.G.B. to run Communist Party candidates in opposition to Labour Party and T.U. candidates at parliamentary elections. The *Times* reported that, "the British delegates, Mr. Campbell and Mr. Brown

guaranteed that the 'Ikki' (the Third International Executive) would not be disappointed, and Mr. Gallacher promised to be loyal and energetic."

This instruction, which was carried out, was opposed entirely to the policy pursued at that time by the C.P. in Great Britain. The then current issue of *The Communist* contained a long statement, "the thesis of the Central Committee of the C.P.G.B." which, after much quotation from Lenin, and dialectic against the sham "left elements of the Wilkinson, Maxton, Lansbury type," concluded that the party must not oppose but support even MacDonald, Thomas, and Henderson. The British Executive said it must support these Right Leaders to command popularity among the workers. To-day, the C.P. supports Conscription for the same reason, and has evolved its masterly slogan: "Cigs for Conscripts!"

In Moscow, Bukharin would have none of this: and as he had not then reached the execution stage, Gallacher, Campbell & Co., promised to obey him, and to pursue a policy which their contemporary monthly declared "will strengthen the reformist leaders against the Communist Party." What a party!

Gallacher attempted a reply to McGovern by declaring that the C.P. demanded "that Britain becomes an effective part of a collective peace system."

McGovern translated this reply, in the *New Leader* for September 27, 1935, as meaning that Gallacher stood for Imperial war. He warned Gallacher:—

"Be very careful of the road you are travelling, Willie. It is a dangerous, slippery path that will lead to disaster. I cannot believe that your rank and file will follow you on it. . . ."

"You are lining up behind the National Government, the League of Bandits, the T.U.C. leadership, the Labour Party and the Archbishops in demanding sanctions and war against Italy. You are therefore supporting Capitalists in a war which will be conducted for their aims and ends, and not yours. . . ."

"If the Communist Party continues to pursue its line of sanctions and war, I am afraid that, if they are logical, J. R. Campbell, Aitken Ferguson, Harry McShane, Peter Kerrigan, George Middleton, and many other C.P. spokesmen who served Capitalism in the 1914-18 war, will require to face the Italian workers in this prospective war."

McGovern's reference to Campbell, whose war career and subsequent use of it when he was accused of sedition, were disgraces to the Labour movement—was a shrewd hit!

Gallacher took a further step on the road predicted by McGovern when he laid a stone, one fine Wednesday in 1938, on the Peace Pavilion Cairn, at the Empire Exhibition, Glasgow. Welcome to Gallacher was extended by Colonel John Johnston, Vice-Chairman of the Peace Pavilion Committee. The next day, the *Daily Worker* published a sob-interview with Gallacher, who explained that the cairn he laid was "not only a landmark in the history of Scotland, but a landmark in the history of the world. It is a symbol of peace in the midst of continually recurring crisis, crisis that brings the black shadow of war and dread across the face of Europe."

It would be a blasphemy against decency to reproduce the rest of the rubbish spoken by Gallacher and reproduced by the *Daily Worker*; sheer, nauseating, undiluted hypocrisy. All this time the C.P., with Gallacher as its parliamentary representative, was pursuing the policy leading up to conscription. Declaring its opposition to conscription, the C.P. intrigued to place it on the Statute Book.

"Down with Conscription," said the *Daily Worker* of April 28, 1939. But the Soviet Union has conscription. Lenin secured some rights for conscientious objectors in 1920, and mitigated the lot of Dhookobors, a Tolstoyan sect opposed to militarism. After Lenin's death, their persecution became terrible. The French Communists supported conscription in France and urged it in Britain. The French Communist paper *L'Humanité*, in its issue for April 27, 1939, published an article which said:—

"It is impossible to contest the far-reaching effect of the British decision. Until it was taken, the guarantees given by Great Britain to Poland, Rumania, and Greece were more symbolic than practical."

When Mr. Chamberlain quoted this in the House of Commons on the day of publication, Willie Gallacher said that he repudiated the French Communist who wrote the article. On the same day, when Colonel Wedgwood suggested that the Russian Government wanted conscription in Britain Gallacher said that "no matter what happens in any country I will stand by the workers of this country, and oppose conscription and oppose the Prime Minister."

At last conscription came!

In the *Evening Times*, Glasgow, for May 23, 1939, Harry McShane wrote from the local C.P. headquarters a letter to the editor, declaring that instead of resisting conscription, we must insist on the peace pact with the Soviet Union. McShane added:—

"Many of us who fought against the last war realise that the position to-day is very different from the position in 1914, and yet we find ourselves inclined to react as if nothing had changed. This accounts for the inclination to carry on the fight against conscription. Now that conscription is here it should be our job to make sure that the new Army becomes a force for peace and a check to the Fascist danger."

"I know that this will be looked upon as treason by some Socialists. Their attitude can only be explained by an under-estimation of the Fascist danger or a refusal to break with tradition. They cannot see that the future of Socialism is bound up with the struggle against Fascism. Some of them will never see it until they land in a concentration camp."

Another patriot! After all the C.P. pamphlets ridiculing and attacking the British Empire!

Of course, this was "the Party Line"! Pretending criticism of the National Government, the *Daily Worker* in its issue for May 27, 1939, declared in bold type:—"They are Our Boys." Which was obvious.

Quite an Horatio Bottomley touch—to boldly announce the obvious in rhetorical challenging terms of pride! Then came the advice: don't resist conscription but send the boys cigarettes! More Bottomley!

Let this powerful sagacious Communist editorial speak for itself:—

"Next Saturday the Youth who are liable for military training will register at the Labour Exchanges. A few days later many of them will commence training. . . ."

"The great mass of the British people should make clear to the Government that it cannot get away with any moves aimed to make these boys the tools of political reaction."

"Keep in touch with our lads," must be the slogan of the working class. Why should not every trade union and youth organisation have its committee which will keep in touch with the boys, send them cigarettes, books and papers, and give them all the news from the workshops, and from the organisations of which they are members.

"In this way the comradeship between the people and the conscript army will be strengthened, and the way of the reactionaries rendered more difficult."

In other words, accept conscription!

In the same issue of the *Daily Worker*, the Central Committee of the C.P. addressed a statement to the delegates to the Conference of the Labour Party, which opened at the Garrick Theatre, Southport, on Monday, May 29, 1939. This statement said:

"Further, the futile policy of individual resistance to conscription should be firmly rejected. . . . The Labour Party cannot support any policy which means the abandonment of the mass of the conscripts to the reactionary military machine. The paramount task to-day is to carry on the fight for the democratisation of the armed forces," etc. . . .

To oppose militarism, to refuse to fight for capitalism, to denounce war, is—to betray the working-class! To support war and militarism, and to call conscription a democratic army, is—to believe in the class-war and emancipate the workers! What logic! What Communism! What magnificent and what sorry reaction!

WALTON NEWBOLD EXPLAINS:

HIS SPEECH—HIS OWN:

HIS VOTE—MOSCOW'S!

[J. T. Walton Newbold, formerly M.P. for Motherwell, who resigned from the Communist Party in 1924, has replied to the article published in the last issue of "The Word," commenting on the strange fact that, whilst he denounced the Austrian loan in one of the most powerful speeches made in Westminster, he voted for the loan and announced his intention of doing so to a somewhat surprised House.—Ed.]

Dear Guy Aldred,

It was good of you to send me a copy of the second number of *The Word*. It was good because it is essential that you should not continue in error and attribute to Willie Gallacher actions and ideas which may injure him, and of which he is—as in so many other respects he has always seemed to me—innocent as a babe new-born.

First, let me revert to the curious episode that intervened between my speech in *opposition* to the Treasury guarantee of the League of Nations Loan to Austria and *my vote in its favour*.

Indeed, I am glad that you have raised the matter from the dead and given me the timely opportunity to expose one of the most shameful of the relations of the Soviet Government with international finance capital. It was the discovery of those relations which caused me to cock my ears about one month later when, for the very first time, I went to take my seat on the Presidium of the Comintern.

I had spoken most strongly against the giving of the Guarantee and, then, gone round to the head office of the Communist Party to see Tom Bell. In the street doorway, I met the *liaison* between the Trade Delegation—through which messages and money were transmitted for the Comintern to the Communist Party of Great Britain, viz., Andrew Rothstein. With him was one of the Inkpins and I told them of the business before the House of Commons. To my astonishment I was instructed by Rothstein to vote for the *Guarantee*.

Years elapsed and I was sitting in Vienna with one of the managers of the Austrian Credit Austalt. It was the summer of 1930. I was a member of the MacMillan Committee on Finance and Industry and travelling on the letters of reference of Philip Snowden and of the Bank of England. I had broached the same query I put that summer to bankers in fourteen countries from the manager of the Clydesdale Bank in Scotland to the Governor of the National Bank of Hungary. Could he see any sign of an alleviation in the crisis, any "let up" of the depression? He was one of the only two out of more than twenty who believed he could—and, next year by that time,

he was one of the more discredited directors of a house that had collapsed and that had come near to bringing down the biggest merchant banks propped up by the Bank of England.

He was most communicative about the big business and the complete satisfaction the house—controlled by Rothschilds—had in respect of financing trade with the Soviet Union!

To my certain knowledge—I lunched with the British *liaison* officer at his private house the day it re-opened after the crash of 1931—the Darmstadter Bank had extended huge credits at long term to the Soviet Union.

More than that. I was returning from Warsaw, via Bucharest, Istanbul, Athens, Belgrade, Vienna, and Prague in the weeks of the political crisis of August and September, 1931. I was doing so at my own charge and had with me letters of reference from eight banks in five countries, not to mention the good offices of two Government Departments in London and one in Paris and the foreign offices of all the members of the Little Entente and of Poland.

Two weeks before, Britain had gone off gold and the banking economists "threw a party" for me in Berlin. Ivan Kreuger's chartered accountant and myself got the economist of the Deutsche Bank in a corner and had a quiet talk. We found the amount that "Germany" had borrowed at three months and lent at five years to the Soviet Government.

When I got home I told the managing director of a banking house that was very hard hit by the collapse of the Austrian and German banks: "My friend! You have had your paws caught in the ice-box by the Bolsheviks!"

And, remembering Andrew Rothstein and his aunt, Zelda Kahn-Coates, wife of W. P. Coates, when I had a book to publish I invariably laid down the rule to my agent: "You must not take it to that very great publishing house." Its name need not be mentioned but it is said in the book trade to be in credit with the branch of the tribe that spread from Frankfurt to Vienna more than a hundred years before it financed the mass production of "Marxism."

Andrew had instructed me to vote a guarantee to the house of Rothschild and so to cheapen credit to the Soviet Union.

Andrew was a queer lad, but then so was his father, Theodore Rothstein. Very few of us knew that he was simultaneously Lenin's representative in London and Russian expert at the Foreign Office to A. J. (later Lord) Balfour.

Gallacher had nothing whatever to do with that vote of mine on the Austrian loan. Like me, he was very uncomfortable about it. But, then, Gallacher was always very uncomfortable about Rothstein, *père et fils*.

Now to another point. You write in all good faith but yet in the most profound error:—

"Newbold, at that time spoke and acted in the same capacity, as Gallacher to-day:

(1) He was amenable to the discipline of the Communist Party, controlled from Moscow."

The secret of my election at Motherwell in 1922 was one that it has all along seemed to me must have been self-evident to every intelligent observer in the West of Scotland. It was identical with that of the election at North Battersea of the only other member of the Communist Party standing then, and for long afterwards, who did not forfeit his deposit, viz., Shapurji Saklatvala when he responded to my invitation to come to Motherwell in November, 1918, that happened which put us both into the Imperial Parliament in 1922 . . . and made us anything but "amenable to the discipline of the Communist Party"—or of the Labour Party. MacDonald and Henderson found us both to be men with the means to persuade them respectively—one of us took the one and the other of us the other—of the desirability of not unduly hindering our return.

A very remarkable telegram was shown to the Secretary of the Motherwell Labour Party. It came from the National headquarters of the Labour Party and, whilst expressing inability to confirm the local party's endorsement, went on to say: "but do nothing to repudiate him."

That was good for three thousand votes. The balance of some five thousand was made up in the main by those who received something stronger than an assurance that my election would be acceptable to the President and Government of the Irish Republic. That message was communicated by a priest of the Church. Much the same thing happened at Battersea. Shapurji Saklatvala moved and I seconded in Imperial Parliament, the rejection of the Treaty with the bastard Irish Free State.

In 1924, J. H. Thomas became Secretary of State for the Dominions and was going to continue to negotiate for the Labour Party when in office with the Irish Free State. He was receiving too much attention from a lady in the county of Derby whose family had always sought to control the M.P. for the county town of Derby. As Lady Cynthia Mosley joined the platform party I reappeared on the floor of the Labour Party Conference from the High Peak of Derbyshire. Eighteen months later, I talked money to the Treasurer and the Secretary of the Labour Party, and in August (on successive Saturdays) I was unanimously selected as Labour Party candidate for the High Peak and sailed from Southampton to see Canada and the banks (not of Newfoundland but of New York) with a letter of recommendation from the member for Derby. Did I go forward for Derbyshire? No. In September, 1927, the Irish Labour Party and Sinn Fein failed by one seat to capture control of Dail Eireann and I dropped all attempts again to enter or influence the entry of others into your Imperial Parliament.

Now my address is in Eire.

Yours very truly,

WALTON NEWBOLD.

SO HORRIBLY UNTHINKABLE!

J. Ramsay MacDonald, speaking at the Inter-Parliamentary Union Congress, held in London, on July 23, 1930, said:—

"No nation can contemplate war and prepare for it. Science has subdued war by making the conditions of the next war so horribly unthinkable."

If by nation, Ramsay MacDonald meant the common people, this statement is quite true. The common people never contemplate war and never prepare it consciously. The common people simply drift and never think. But they work at munitions, serve reaction for wages, and so actually do prepare the way for war. Their actions are directed by the Governments, who do contemplate war and who prepare it callously and deliberately. Mostly these Governments are controlled by the armament firms, who organise a trinity of criminal error: they contemplate war; they propagate war; they prepare for war. The business of the armament firm, and the status of the statesmen under capitalism, are based on the promotion and propagation of war. These people are not deterred from their purpose by any contemplation of the horrors of modern war.

They know there is no glory in war. They know that war is not merely hell, but a foul indecent hell. They know the depths of that hell: culture and knowledge turned to crime; organisation devoted to murderous profit; mankind lower than swine; the brain of gods controlled and directed by the mind and vision of something less than beasts. War means filth—starvation—disease—crime. Death from science—by death rays! Death from torpedoes—directed by wireless! Death from liquid poison; from tanks and poison gas; from disease germs. Pestilences methodically prepared and deliberately launched on man and beast. Men, called savants, receiving wages for pursuing such depravity in the laboratories of civilisation's great countries, the Powers of Christendom. Blight to destroy crops; Anthrax to slay horses and cattle; Plague to poison whole districts and not just to defeat armies: such is military science, pursued by Governments, applauded by statesmen, defended by divines, and extolled and made possible by the money-lords of the armament ring.

The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, enemy of the Bolshevik Revolution, advocate of the 1939 Soviet Pact, knowing that wars mean this and are prepared for in this way, urged conscription to this end. Major-General F. D. Swinton described the invention of lethal rays to shrivel up and paralyse human beings, and accepted such preparation as normal, the natural lot, purpose, and destiny of humanity.

The United States Chemical War Service has discovered a deadly poison liquid, three drops of which on the skin, will kill a man, sending him to his grave after imposing on him a terrible agony. And then, of course, there are torpedoes, controlled by wireless, guided from the air, and able to change direction to follow victims.

Major-General Fuller, whom we knew in our *Agnostic Journal* days, when he was only a Captain, is a remarkable man in many ways. He is a student and a writer of force, as well as a soldier. For some unearthly reason he believes in war. But he has no illusions as to the meaning of war. He depicts the next war:—

"Fleets of fast moving tanks, equipped with tons of liquid gas, against which the enemy will have no possible protection, will cross frontiers and obliterate every living thing."

This is what war means. All horribly unthinkable! But contemplated and prepared. Ramsay MacDonald must have known that he was speaking nonsense when he pretended otherwise.

Captain Wright, sometime Assistant-Secretary to the Supreme War Council, wrote of Sir Henry Wilson, who was director of military operations at Army Headquarters when the war broke out:—

"Sir Henry had predicted and prepared for this war all his life. He had been over the ground upon which it was to be fought, time after time, on his bicycle, and, for example, had chosen the billets our headquarters were to occupy in one place."

Ramsay MacDonald found a place in his First Labour Government for Lord Haldane, as Lord

Chancellor. Haldane was War Minister in the Liberal Government of 1906. On pages 31-35 of *Before the War*, he described how the Great War was prepared in advance, having been fully organised and anticipated:—

"... Anyhow, we fulfilled our contract, for at 11 o'clock on Monday morning, August 3, 1914, we mobilised, without a hitch, the whole of the expeditionary force, amounting to six divisions and nearly two cavalry divisions, and began its transport over the Channel, when war was declared six hours later."

"... The navy was already in its war stations, and there was no delay at all in putting what we had prepared into operation."

The nation, meaning the ruling class, had contemplated and prepared for war.

The Glasgow evening press, on May 6, 1913, reported the speech made that day in Glasgow by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., to the City Fathers. Here is an excerpt:—

"I seem to see in the near distance the gleam of the weapons and accoutrements of this army of the future, this Citizen Army, the wonder of these islands, and the pledge of the peace and the continued greatness of this Empire."

To-day, "Bob's" dream of National Service is realised. Britain is a conscript nation. The conscription is not seriously opposed by the Labour Party, the Communist Party, or the Trade Unions. Lord Roberts was supposed by the reactionaries to have made a great speech. Actually, he expressed an ugly common-place anticipation of horror and oppression, ending through misery, in hopeless calamity—the calamity of war-preparedness after war, and conscription for unending wars. The common people, even the so-called Socialists among them, have accepted the horror as inevitable, even though the interval between Lord Roberts' speech and its realisation, treated the world to a war, which during its course, and in the process of its aftermath, presented such astounding contrasts of reward for services rendered and sufferings endured.

Here are two cuttings from the *Sunday Express*, for October 12, 1932:—

"Attending the D.C.M. League rally at Blackpool was a hero who is now living on 13s. 6d. a week. He is the oldest living holder of the D.C.M., ex-Corporal Harry Hampton, aged 78, of Leicester St., Bolton."

"Viscount Byng of Vimy Ridge is resting quietly at his Essex home at Thorpe-le-Soken. He received a gift of £30,000 in 1919 for meritorious war services."

This gift did not include pensions, or normal reward due to rank, at time of retirement from the armed forces. Byng did not stand alone in his enjoyment of a special gift over and beyond his ordinary emoluments. His name is to be found in a list, which includes other persons of rank. Each person named received, apart from, and in addition to, his pension, a sum free, gratis, and for nothing, as the special gift of a "grateful country." The sums each received range from £100,000 to £10,000. Here are some of Byng's colleagues in the financial honours list:—

- (1) £100,000—Admiral Beatty and Field Marshal Haig.
- (2) £50,000—Admiral Jellicoe and Field Marshals French and Allenby.
- (3) £30,000—Field Marshal Plumer and Generals Rawlinson and Home.
- (4) £25,000—Lt.-Col. Hankey.
- (5) £10,000—Admirals Madden and Sturdee; Rear-Admiral Keyes, Vice-Admiral de Roebuck; Commander Tyrwhitt; Field-Marshal Wilson; Generals Robertson and Birdwood; and Air Vice-Marshal Trenchard.

In addition to the special gift mentioned, and the ordinary pensions of rank, many of these persons received titles and other honours.

Now consider what plain Tommy Atkins, Kipling's "good 'un" received at the conclusion of the war. He was not ennobled. He received no special gifts. He received no capital sum; only a weekly dole, served out in shillings. Here is Private Tommy Atkin's financial honours' list, to find a

place in which he had to exhibit evidences of suffering:—

- | Shillings. | Disablement or Condition. |
|------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| (1) 40 | —Permanently disabled; totally paralysed; mad; blinded. |
| (2) 36 | —Lost right arm. |
| (3) 32 | —Lost leg; struck dumb. |
| (4) 28 | —Lost nearly all leg; struck deaf; lost left arm. |
| (5) 24 | —Lost half-leg; lost most of left arm. |
| (6) 20 | —Lost less than half-leg; lost one eye. |
| (7) 18 | —Lost toes above knuckles. |
| (8) 16 | —Lost right thumb or four fingers. |
| (9) 12 | —Lost left thumb or four fingers. |
| (10) 8 | —Lost two fingers; lost toes below knuckles. |

What a callous calculated gradation of compensation for misery! What finesse of brutality! In MacDonald's phraseology, so horribly unthinkable! But contemplated and prepared! Fact! For this doom are our conscripts being prepared.

MacDonald said no nation could contemplate a next war and prepare for it. Let us leave Britain out of our calculations and ignore all the Europeans who are contemplating and preparing for a next war. Let us consider the United States of America.

Take the post-war years, and note the increases:

Fiscal Year	War Department.	Air Corps.
1921	\$292,886,375	\$32,332,907
1930	\$327,363,054	\$59,981,778
1932	\$344,610,560	\$72,491,915
1936	\$382,654,083	\$85,836,332
1937	\$394,095,800	\$96,872,333
1938	\$393,460,400	\$101,851,424

What is this but contemplation of, and preparation for the horribly unthinkable?

If the world is to be redeemed from war, the peoples of the earth must rid themselves of statesmen and parliamentarians, who dabble in panics, that the horribly unthinkable might become commonplace, miserable, disastrous facts.

BART DE LIGT'S WORK

The last organisation Bart de Ligt started, in close association with his wife, was the International Peace Academy. The first Summer School organised by the I.P.A. in France suggested that there was much usefulness in this work. Mrs. C. L. de Ligt-van-Rossem is continuing the work, and is organising a new International Summer School in Switzerland. She hopes to have a good group present of English-speaking participants. The period is August 1st to August 12th.

The Château de Greng, by the Lac de Morat, Neuchâtel, has been chosen and the students will meet in lovely surroundings with splendid opportunities for exploring the beautiful country.

The aim of the Peace Academy is to discover what may be the general tendency of a new social order; how this tendency will express itself in the different aspects of social life; and what are the necessary conditions for the development of a new social order. The harmony of ends and means will form the background of the whole course.

"Towards a new psychological and social Outlook" is the subject given. Basic psychological, educational and moral factors will be dealt with, and also political, economic and social conditions.

The daily programme is very simple; and it is a fact that very moderate terms have been arranged for board and lodgings for the twelve-day course. There is accommodation for campers. Applications for enrolment should be made as soon as possible to: Mrs. C. L. de Ligt, Petit-Lancy, Geneva, Switzerland, or to Mr. R. H. Ward, 10 Abbey Gardens, London, N.W.5.

Bart de Ligt's work is being carried on through these Summer Schools and reaching out throughout the world as a result of the associations formed.

"THE CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE."

By Bart de Ligt.

Obtainable from the PEACE PLEDGE UNION, DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE, 6 ENDSLEIGH ST., LONDON, W.C.1.

Published at 7/6; now sold at 3/6

This magnificent and most complete work by the famous Dutch anti-militarist will be reviewed at length in the next issue of "The Word." Those interested in the anti-war struggle should secure a copy of this work at its specially reduced price.

CONSCRIPT CUTTING AND COMMENT

Baillie A. H. Porter presided over a meeting of individual members and affiliated organisations of the No Conscription League held in the McLellan Galleries, Glasgow, on Tuesday, May 16. The meeting was reported fully in *Forward* for May 20. Emrys Hughes, who made a splendid stand as a C.O. during the Great War, and received much brutal treatment, has offered a strong opposition to conscription in the columns of *Forward*. Recent issues of this journal merit close reading on this subject: and reports of Scottish N.C.L. should be sent to the editor. Organisations affiliated to the N.C.L. should develop a live fellowship and an active inter-group and inter-party campaign.

The *Daily Worker*, for April 2, 1939, reported a speech made by William Gallacher, M.P., as follows:—

"I am absolutely opposed to conscription and to those who are behind it. I am pleased to see that the Labour Party has decided to fight this issue with all the power it can command. It is the cruellest thing imaginable for fathers and mothers who sacrificed for years to give their boys education and apprentice training to find them being handed over to the 'brass hats.'"

Conscription being law, the Labour Party is for it, Gallacher's eulogies are wasted, and his party slogan is, as stated in another column: "*Support Conscription—With Cigarettes!*"

The Rev. G. R. Maland, writing from 223 West Wycombe Rd., High Wycombe, Bucks., makes this statement as to the attitude of the Church in *Peace News*:—

"Whatever may be said about the attitude of certain clergy and ministers during the last war, may I say this, there are many of us to-day who will stand by the conscientious objector to the utmost of our ability both in his refusal to render military service and any service which may be regarded as making for war preparedness."

We welcome this statement and shall be glad to publish declarations by any ministers or churches that definitely oppose war and conscription.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain once again evades the war issue. Since this party conducts so much excellent propaganda, it is a pity it reduces truth to sophistry and develops cold feet at every crisis. In a pamphlet, entitled *The Socialist and Conscription*, the S.P.G.B. repeats what was written in its official organ, the *Socialist Standard*, in February, 1916, about the party's attitude towards conscription, then being introduced:—

"... we are bitterly opposed to conscription. But what are conscription, war, unemployment, poverty, overwork and starvation wages but the direct results of capitalist class rule? What hope of any permanent amelioration so long as the workers are the underdogs? What hope, indeed, of even a paltry concession in this matter so long as the exploiters are masters of the State and feel their controlling position unmenaced? We, therefore, urge the workers to join in the real campaign against conscription; for conscription, on the part of the governing class, is only one item in the war upon the workers."

In a word, the S.P.G.B. is *not* opposed to conscription! Every Socialist, while realising the truth about economic conscription and the horrors of peace-time capitalism, must be opposed to conscription. To say that, because one understands Socialism, one must not resist conscription, is nonsense. Every Socialist should support the N.C.L.

Peter Kerrigan's report to the Congress of the Scottish "Communist"—meaning the dictated Stalinist Party of Hirelings—held in the City Hall, Glasgow, on the 25th and 26th February, 1939, is being sold as a penny pamphlet. On page 11, under the title "Combating Trotskyism," a bitter attack is made on *Forward* for maintaining the principle of the Free Press—an excellent principle to uphold in these days of stress. Here is an excerpt:—

"In dealing with the disruptive actions of Trotskyites and I.L.P.'ers it would be wrong to pass over the role of *Forward*. This paper has been going through a process of degeneration until now it is the first and generally the only journal to open its columns to Trotsky and his supporters. Its editorials contain each week a hotch-potch of spurious pacifism

which is directly helping the Chamberlain War Policy, and supports Hitler's and Mussolini's claims for colonies, while it divides the workers' forces. Linked with this is its anti-Soviet bias."

Note that phrase, *not* war: but the "*Chamberlain War Policy*." The only thing the C.P. objects to is that *Chamberlain* showed direct the war policy of British Capitalism. The director should be Willie Gallacher: and Pete Kerrigan should be the stay-at-home War Chief, dining in style, and very important whilst the rank-and-file go to the battle-fields.

Against the "Fags for Conscripts" policy of the C.P., *Forward* has defended resistance and the C.O.'s. Let Kerrigan produce his record of war-resistance; let Willie Gallacher tell us his munitions-work during war-time, varied by Marxist dinner-hour lectures; and then read about the magnificent stand made by Emrys Hughes. Here is an extract from *Forward*, for February 16, 1918:

"A conscientious objector, Emrys Hughes, has served consecutive sentences amounting to 23½ months. The other day he got an additional six months. At his last Court-martial he claimed that no further sentence could be passed upon him as the Secretary of State for War had definitely stated in the House of Lords that there were to be no further successive sentences on Conscientious Objectors. He was told that what Lord Derby said was not law.

"But surely it is seditious to say a thing like that!" We do not agree with Emrys Hughes' membership of the Labour Party, but we honour him for his war-resistance, his practising stand for a Free Press, and his fearless pen. We challenge his critics to compare, or contrast rather, records. Will their records stand the light of discussion?

Every C.O. should get our next issue. Reports will be published of N.C.L. activity from all over the country. There will appear an article, "*War Resistance: A Matter of Conscience*," by Annesley G. Aldred. Accounts of the Tribunals from the 1916 Conscription will be a feature. Also a reply to R. Palme Dutt's disgraceful and ridiculous *Daily Worker* article, "Marxism and Conscientious Objectors." How the betrayers of Italy, China, Germany, and Spain hate the Anti-Militarist! What enemies of the workers, what mean, contemptible reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries these C.P.'ers are!

TWO BABES WERE BORN

Two babes were born one happy morn,
They came with love divine,
And a mother smiled by the River Thames,
And a mother smiled by the Rhine.

These children grew, so brave and true,
Each mother said, "How fine!"
And hearts were glad by the River Thames,
And hearts were glad by the Rhine.

But one sad day, so people say,
Their rulers tried to shine,
And one heard the call by the River Thames,
And another the call by the Rhine.

These two brave sons, they raised their guns,
As they marched in martial line,
And a mother sighed by the River Thames,
And a mother sighed by the Rhine.

On the battle plain where the bullets rain,
These lads formed into line,
And hearts were sad by the River Thames,
And hearts were sad by the Rhine.

They took their sight in the bitter fight,
Their aim was really fine.
And a mother prayed by the River Thames,
And a mother prayed by the Rhine.

Two noble sons fell by their guns,
Their names in glory shine,
And a mother weeps by the River Thames,
And a mother weeps by the Rhine.

So the Thames so fine, and the River Rhine,
Flow into the same great sea,
And they seem to say as they kiss the spray,
"If men were as wise as we."

—FRED EASTON.

HYDE PARK MEETINGS

Local papers, and the ordinary London Press, boycotted the important case, affecting the right of propagandists and public speakers, that was heard at Marlborough Street Police Court, on Tuesday, November 15th, 1938. Only one report appeared—in the columns of the *Scots Daily Express*, Glasgow, for November 16th. This was as follows:—

Collection "challenge": Guy Aldred fined.

Lengthy quotations from a number of law books were made by Guy Alfred Aldred when he was summoned at Marlborough Street Police Court, London, yesterday for soliciting donations at Hyde Park on August 30, and for collecting donations.

Aldred, who was convicted and fined 20/- on each summons, said that his address was now 5 Baliol Street, Glasgow, and his London address Addison Gardens, West Kensington.

He objected to the relevancy and competency of the cases, pointing out that it had been held that a by-law must be reasonable. The by-law, he submitted, was unreasonable in that it made an offence of something which was not otherwise an offence.

The magistrate (Mr. J. B. Sandbach, K.C.) overruled the objections, and Aldred pleaded not guilty to the summonses.

Police Constable John Wyatt said he kept Aldred's meeting under observation, and spoke to him about the alleged breach of another regulation.

Aldred immediately got back on the platform and said, "I have just been summoned under Regulation 22 and I want all my comrades to rally round and subscribe to a fund to fight these regulations. You can give me the money here or outside."

In evidence Aldred said he was a journalist, secretary, and lecturer. He felt very keenly about the right to circulate literature and to make collections, but he found himself in conflict with the park regulations, which he criticised.

Told he would be reported, he said, "This is a matter of public importance." Three people handed him money—a technical challenge to the regulation.

This report does not do justice to the bureaucratic nature of the proceedings or to the impertinence of the Court. It must be acknowledged that, subsequently, in the formal arrangements leading to the appeal, much courtesy was shown by the Court officials. Our contention is that the public behaviour should be courteous and respectful to principles of democratic right.

The High Court proceedings were boycotted also in the London press. In a matter of supreme public interest to the common people of London, a matter of urgent democratic right, no report was permitted to appear in the London press. The Judges were the L.C.J. (Lord Hewart) and Justices Humphreys and Lewis. We shall deal with these judges and their court behaviour in a subsequent issue of this journal. We are determined to expose and to change the Hyde Park regulations.

No report appeared in the London press: but the case was reported in the Glasgow press. We have reports from *The Glasgow Herald*; the *News Chronicle* (Northern Edition); *Daily Record*; and the *Scots Daily Express*. All dated May 3, 1939. These reports can be held over to our next issue.

The Stated Case that was presented to the Court; the arguments; the Hyde Park Regulations concerned and the Park Acts governing them; the conduct and careers of the Judges will be dealt with fully in an early Free Speech Fighting number. Citizen rights of propaganda are being destroyed by complacent acceptance of invasion.

It is the right of every citizen to purchase or sell literature at public meetings.

It is the right of every citizen to announce literature at public meetings.

This Citizen Right is Denied by the Hyde Park Regulations! Change them!

United Socialist Movement

BAKUNIN HALL
29 CASTLE STREET, GLASGOW, C.4
(Opposite Royal Infirmary)

Group meeting Monday, 8 p.m.
New Members Welcomed.

For Glasgow public meetings and list of speakers, see announcements in Hall windows and street advertisements.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON:
Glasgow Green Old Bandstand 3 p.m.
SUNDAY EVENING: Albion Street 8 p.m.

Organisations in other cities are invited to arrange meetings. A united platform should be organised against conscription.

AS OLD AS THE CONSCRIPTS

We have before us as we write a paper that is of the same age as the conscripts, who have been called to the colours. It is the *Sunday Pictorial*, No. 180, for August 18, 1918. Above the title, on the front page, is advertised the chief article of the issue in question: "One Man—One Machine! By Horatio Bottomley."

Turning to the article, we note the sub-heading: "The Lesson of Our Splendid Victories in the West."

The editor explains in an editorial introduction to the article:—

"Drawing a moral from the lesson of the recent brilliant offensive of the Allies in the West, Mr. Bottomley makes a powerful appeal to the Government to expedite the production of Aeroplanes, Guns and Tanks—thus 'substituting iron and steel for human flesh.'"

At the end of the article, eulogising war, the editor promised:—

"Another powerful article by Mr. Bottomley will appear next week."

The war was Bottomley's hey-day. We know what happened to Bottomley when the war was over. In our opinion, Bottomley was less a scoundrel when he was sent to prison, and his career was ended in infamy, than during this period that he played the role of recruiting-sergeant and war-commentator, whether he actually wrote these articles to which he lent his name, or only signed them.

On the same page as Bottomley's article, is a "leader" which asks: "Will Omsk be Another Khartoum?"

This article denounces "the comparative smallness of the Allied exhibition in Siberia" and, eulogising "the Czecho-Slovaks in Western Siberia" who were "very hard-pressed" declares that "Omsk, the central rallying-point of these brave men, may become a second Siberia."

It never occurred to the *Sunday Pictorial* "leader-writer," its editor, or publisher, that the Czechs had no right to be at Omsk, and that the Allies had no business invading Russia.

The leader proceeded to attack "the Bolshevik leaders in Russia, who simply obey German orders" and declared that they "are nearing the end of their tether."

The tether, whether we like it or not, seems to have survived very well; and what about the German orders and the present Soviet Pact? The conscripts of to-day are supposed to believe the journalist-hacks, just like the conscripts of 1918 were supposed to do!

On page 5 of this precious paper, appeared an article, referred to in the "leader," written, said the "leader," by "Mr. John Albion, who knows what he is writing about."

Did he? We wonder—and leave it there, being of a polite disposition, and not caring to express oneself too vigorously.

John Albion's article was headed: "What We Must Do For Russia." To-day the cry seems to be: "What Russia Must Do For Us." The sub-heading was: "Open Letter to the British War Cabinet." Summarising Albion's article, the editor says that the writer "urges that far more troops must be sent to save the Czecho-Slovaks and to help Russian Nationalists." By "Russian Nationalists" was meant the Russian Whites, the Czarist counter-revolutionaries.

Here is an extract from the article, which merits being recalled to-day:—

"There was only one course for you to have adopted regarding Lenin and Trotsky, and that was to have nothing whatever to do with them, either formally or informally. Why did you ever palter with these men, whose hands are so indelibly imbrued with the blood of their countrymen? Whatever his professed motives may have been, Lenin is in effect a German agent, and has been one for years."

Historians will notice that Stalin did not appear in the picture at this time. The enemies were Lenin and Trotsky. They symbolised the Russian Revolution.

Later on this article declares: "that Germans and Austrians, aided by Bolsheviks, are forcibly recruiting the people of Siberia"; describes "Lenin, a German instrument"; and requests the War Cabinet to "give Japan a freer hand" in Siberia;

and to "send more English, Canadian, French, and United States troops to Vladivostok" to fight the Bolsheviks. All in the name of democracy!

The front page of the *Sunday Pictorial* carries two pictures of the banned Nationalist meeting at Omagh. Mr. Dillon, M.P., is shown entering the field for the meeting. Police and military are in the background. The second picture shows Mr. Dillon and his supporters retiring. There was no disorder. The meeting ought never to have been banned.

On the same page are pictures of "Famous Italian Poet's Paper Bombs on The Austrian Capital." One shows "the first of the eight machines to return from the famous raid on Vienna"; and the other, "Major d'Annunzio with General Bongiovanni."

Beneath the pictures appears the explanation:—

"Major Gabriele d'Annunzio, the famous poet and novelist, recently launched an effective 'peace offensive' when, as the Commander of a squadron of eight aeroplanes, he dropped a number of leaflets over Vienna."

When one recalls d'Annunzio's subsequent exploits on behalf of Fascism, the idea of the poet launching a "peace offensive" is somewhat Pickwickian.

Page 2 shows us that the class-struggle was a reality even in war-time. There was a bus strike recorded as follows:—

"WOMEN STRIKE FOR EQUALITY WITH MEN.

"Tram and Bus Stoppage Surprises Londoners.

"CONDUCTRESSES' DEMAND.

"Munition Workers Delayed—Holiday Folk Miss Trains.

"A tramway and omnibus strike developed unexpectedly yesterday delaying thousands of munition workers and business people in West London.

"The strike is an unauthorised one and has followed the demand of the women workers for an additional 5s. a week, similar to the advance recently granted to the men. . . .

"Last night it was reported that more omnibus workers were leaving their work, despite the telegrams of their union leaders that all should continue at work until the result of the conference on Monday with Sir Geo. Askwith at the Board of Trade."

We can leave the story here. Sufficient is told. Note how good Old Trade Unionism functioned in 1918!

The same page tells the story of four Australian V.C.s being decorated. It records the prosecution at Old Street Police Court, London, of Ida Carter, aged 19, of Lewisham, a clerk, employed by the Stepney Tribunal, who forged the signature of the clerk to the tribunal, and handed out 8,000 exemptions, including an absolute exemption for her brother! He did not seem to know how to use an exemption card, even though he had "secured" one!

On page 3, we have a long account of the experiences of three British prisoners-of-war, unnamed, intended to feed the war fever:—

"LIQUID FIRE ON OUR UNARMED MEN.

"Hun Officer's Foul Order to Man with Container.

"ORDEAL OF AGONY.

"Escaped Prisoners' Story — Britain's Protest to Berlin.

"The officer appeared to give an order, and the man with the container turned a stream of liquid fire straight down the trench in which we were standing. He could plainly see that we were unarmed."

"In these few simple words, a private in the Royal Highlanders tells the story of another German outrage on unarmed and wounded prisoners of war—a story of horror, which is authenticated by the sworn statements of the men concerned as follows."

We stop the record there.

In Germany, the Kaiser was doing his bit towards the same end. Also on page 3, we read:—

"THE GRIEVED KAISER.

"Denounces British Air Attack on Open Town of Frankfurt!

"The Kaiser, says the 'Cologne Gazette,' has sent the following telegram to the Mayor of Frankfurt.—'His Majesty the Kaiser and King deeply sympathises in the misfortune which has befallen the open town of Frankfurt as the result of the enemy air attack, which is contrary to international law, and claimed many victims, and requests you to convey to the

relatives of those who have thus fallen for the Fatherland and to the wounded the sympathy of the All Highest.'—Reuter."

On page 7, we have two pictures: "The Deformed Transformed." The first picture is the statue of "Germania" in New York, as she was. The second picture shows the same statue, transformed into "Columbia." The statue was provided with a new face, and the Stars and Stripes deposed and replaced the German Eagle on her shield. What nonsense such stupid alterations and mutilations are!

Then we come to page 8, "Nuts and Wine," being gossip for the after-dinner hour!

Here is an excellent wisecrack to recall to-day:

"History Repeats Itself. The Retreat from Moscow.

Alternatively Called—The Bolsheviction."

On page 10, we see what the ruling-class do for the working-class in wartime:—

"My Lady Paperhanger.—Pretty Mrs. Ian Macpherson, wife of the Under-Secretary for War, is staying in town to help Lady Markham with the fitting up of the new club for service girls. Because labour is almost impossible to get they are nailing up and making the chintz hangings, doing the painting and even some of the paperhanging themselves in the big Eaton-square houses they have taken."

On page 11, the *Sunday Pictorial* published an imposing announcement by the Government, entitled "Notes on Savings—No. 2—How to Save on Laundry Bills." This invited everyone to invest in War Savings Certificates. The strange thing is this advertisement carried a design of National War Savings, on a Swastika background.

PAMPHLETS FOR THE PROLETARIAT

By GUY A. ALDRED.

(1906-1936) are being re-published in popular form as the

SIXPENNY (6d.) REVOLT LIBRARY

Each volume includes several pamphlets, some revised and entirely re-written. The collection will be divided into Two Volumes. (For list of contents, see separate leaflet.)

Also, in this Library, will be published —BAKUNIN; WHY JESUS WEPT; etc.; and a revised and enlarged edition of AT GRIPS WITH WAR and RICHARD CARLILE, AGITATOR.

LOOK OUT FOR WALTER STRICKLAND'S ESSAYS AND HIS FOLKLORE TRANSLATIONS, CHEAP EDITION.

TO OUR READERS

We have reorganised the postal mission propaganda that we commenced in 1912. See the old *Herald of Revolt*. Our aim is to get *The Word* and our pamphlets into every English-speaking household throughout the world. Send us along the names and addresses of your friends; of anyone you know, who is interested in problems of peace and war, economic and cultural questions. We will mail free literature to every address received.

If you receive a copy of this paper, you are being asked to read it; to send us your opinion; and to help our work financially. Will you help us? Postal work costs money. So does the printing.

Send your opinion—and your donation—to the Editor personally at his private address to expedite attention:—

GUY A. ALDRED, 5 BALIOL ST., GLASGOW, C.3.

The receipt of this paper by any journal published in the Labour or Progressive and Radical interest (words used in the correct American and not cant British sense) is an invitation to exchange, and to quote.

WE HAVE RECEIVED COPIES OF:

THE A.B.C. OF MARXISM—A Study Course. 25 cents.

CONSTITUTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' LEAGUE. 10 cents.

THE NEGRO UNDER CAPITALISM. 5 cents.

(All published by Demos Press, Box 141, Alfred Station, Detroit, Michigan.)

CHALLENGE, a Libertarian Weekly, P.O. Box 177, Sta. D., New York, N.Y.

RAMSAY MACDONALD:

A Commentary.

The *Tragedy of Ramsay Macdonald* by L. McNeil Weir, M.P., is sub-titled *A Political Biography*. The author was for eight years Parliamentary Private Secretary to Ramsay Macdonald. He was appointed to that position when Macdonald enjoyed the sweets of office for the first time. He resigned it on August 24, 1931, when Macdonald planned to destroy the Labour Government and to become the leader of the National Government. From that time on, McNeil Weir became the bitter enemy of his former leader and his biography is a scathing denunciation of Macdonald, whom he regards as having been everything politically evil and undesirable. It would be easy to understand his denunciation of Macdonald for betraying the Labour Government and for forming and defending the National Government. It is not easy to understand his invective against the entire career of Ramsay Macdonald, both during the time that McNeil Weir was his secretary and also prior to their association, when Macdonald was a shining light of the Labour Party and the hope of the I.L.P. The denunciation of Macdonald does more than destroy Macdonald. It may even fail as a complete denunciation of Britain's first Labour Premier. If the denunciation of Macdonald is deserved, if McNeil Weir writes truly and usefully in his political biography, then his previous apologies for Macdonald in the columns of *Forward*, his studied denunciations of Macdonald's critics, and even his association with Macdonald for a period of eight years, condemn not Macdonald, but his political biographer and all those parliamentarians who rallied to Macdonald's defence when he was attacked by the anti-parliamentarians.

During the thirty years that the anti-parliamentary movement in Britain was pressing forward its criticism of Macdonald and of parliamentarism, its activities were ridiculed if not denounced by men like Thomas Johnston, who used the *Forward* to describe Ramsay Macdonald as being "the Covenanter, turned by a strange wheel of chance Prime Minister." To-day, McNeil Weir tells us, with the approval of Thomas Johnston and all those former parliamentary admirers of Macdonald, that Ramsay Macdonald never was a Covenanter, and never had any ambitions other than the ambition to arrive somewhere. His aim was to sell his birthright for a mess of pottage, to gain the whole world at the expense of his soul.

It is not my intention to analyse McNeil Weir's work, although it may merit analysis. I content myself with drawing attention to the author's description of a speech that Ramsay Macdonald made in Glasgow on Sunday, October 8, 1916, at a memorial gathering in honour of James Keir Hardie, convened by the I.L.P. McNeil Weir reports the speech at length and carefully examines it. He shows that Macdonald uses platitudes for eloquence; plays on the feelings of his audience, waits for its applause, says in general terms the things that the audience wants to hear; and concludes his speech actually having said nothing, yet leaving his audience feeling that a most important message has been delivered. In a word, Macdonald's speech on this occasion, like all his speeches during the war period, was so much charlatanism. Why did not the parliamentarians admit this at the time?

McNeil Weir gives us to understand that he knew how valueless were Macdonald's speeches, and that Ramsay Macdonald's parliamentary intimates were aware of their leader's careerism and demagogism all the time.

Assuming that McNeil Weir's picture is correct, and there is no reason to assume otherwise, then this most expensive book on Ramsay Macdonald serves no purpose except that of reminding us that parliamentarism is useless to the interests of the people. This is perfectly true. Parliamentarism has betrayed the working-class. If we look back to the end of the war and compare what has been achieved by parliamentary activity with the hopes that excited the people when they returned the Labour Party as the official Opposition and later as the Government, we must realise that parliamentarism has utterly failed the working-class. The

workers have secured no reforms and they have not achieved power. Their leaders have obtained security and state incomes. Even they have paid the price of loss of reputation. To-day these leaders are older than their years, the price that the radical or socialist has to pay for selling his birthright for a mess of pottage. It is said that Ramsay Macdonald stuttered after he became leader of the National Government. He lost his capacity for eloquence. If this is a sign of treachery then the parliamentarians of the Labour movement must all be traitors. Since their first return to Parliament they have learned to stutter and to-day they have no power with which to address the people, and no wish to address themselves to the people. They do not even aim to retire into private life. The hero of a great war for liberty might retire into private life naturally and easily. But these politicians cannot retire. They have achieved nothing which justifies retirement. In every case they have betrayed the movement that made them public characters. Their days have reached their end and their desire is to shrink into private life. They are finished. Parliamentarism has finished them and destroyed the socialism they once espoused so loudly.

SOLDIER THOMAS PARKER

During the war Thomas Parker enlisted in the Notts and Derby Regiment. He was under the lawful age. The fact was discovered. He was discharged. He persisted in re-enlisting, was successful. At the end of the war, he had served in France with the Northumberland Fusiliers, and was demobilised. He re-enlisted and served three years with the Grenadier Guards. *At the age of 22, he was returned to civil life, stranded.* The years he had given to a grateful king and country ought to have been spent learning a trade. The best he could do was to become a casual worker. He worked as a miner and navy. Mostly navy. He got little work.

In May, 1933, Thomas Parker, having slept in a workhouse, started to tramp to Tamworth in search of work, *with no money in his pocket.* In England, if you sleep out when you have money or a home you break no law. If you sleep out because you must, and if you are penniless, you defy the law. Thomas Parker, when night came, hungry and tired, crept in under a steam-roller by roadside. He slept on 6-foot by 2 of the surface of the land he had fought for. The police woke and arrested him. The magistrates at Colleshill were lenient. They could have sent him to prison for three months. They gave him 14 days. Thomas Parker was conveyed to Winson Green Prison.

What happened at Winson Green no one knows. Parker is dead. And dead men tell no tales.

The official account is that Parker refused to keep his cell-door closed. On the second night he kept shouting that he had done no wrong and that he must get out of jail, even if it was in his coffin. Parker was right in his facts and as to the manner of his exit.

At exercise next morning, Parker fell out. He said he was done. From then, say the officials, he behaved like a man in a frenzy. *The prison doctor certified that Thomas Parker was a fit man and in a fit condition to undergo solitary confinement.* Parker was sentenced to 3 days solitary confinement on bread-and-water by the Acting Governor.

On being sentenced, Parker solemnly held up his hand and said to the Acting Governor: "*This is my death card! How are my relatives to know that I am dead?*"

Thomas Parker was taken from the Governor's Room, and went, with two warders, on a short but fateful walk towards the silent cell which was to be poor Parker's death-house. Within a quarter of an hour he was dead.

(Continued at foot of next column)

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY!

Uncle Sam Censors Karl Marx

Central Office,
R.W.L. (U.S.A.),
Box 141, Alfred St., Sta.,
Detroit, Mich., U.S.A.
May 14, 1939.

Dear Friend,

Each issue of the REVOLT is held up in the Post Office pending a ruling by the Solicitor of the Department, Vincent B. Miles, as to its mailability. This follows a ruling declaring the January 7 issue unmailable.

On February 24 last, we received the text of passages in the January 7 issue, which the Post Office claims violate the U.S. Postal Laws and Regulations and Title 1 of the U.S. Code. According to the ruling all issues containing these passages will be unmailable. Until the Post Office is compelled to cancel this ruling, REVOLT can be mailed only with the approval of the Post Office censor, Solicitor Vincent B. Miles. The passages involved occur in two articles in the barred issue: an instalment in the Study Course, A.B.C. of Marxism; and the statement of principles and aims of the league, headed "WHAT WE STAND FOR," which was published prior to January 7, in the May 21 and June 24 issues, 1938; and since then, in February 5, 1939, issue.

In order to give a clear picture of the stupid character of the action of the Post Office, we draw attention to the fact that the Post Office did not object to certain passages in our statement of principles describing the lot of the worker under Capitalism; the reality of the class struggle; the need for proletarian dictatorship, the construction of communism and the establishment of a classless society based on collective work and ownership of the means of production; the establishment of a council or soviet form of administration; and the building of a revolutionary party, pioneering the Communist Fourth International.

The Post Office censored a paragraph stating our belief that the only solution for the poverty condition of the working class was a revolutionary one; and it censored another paragraph describing our revolutionary goal. It took objection to a third paragraph declaring that the league's policy would be that of revolutionary anti-militarism during an imperialist war.

The passage from the Study Course to which the Post Office objects, quotes the historic words of the closing paragraph of *The Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels, which boldly proclaims the refusal of the communists to conceal their aims and methods of attaining them.

We believe that this is a matter which concerns the Labour press of the world. Will you give this case publicity?

Fraternally,

CARL COWL,
Business Manager, R.W.L.

The two jailers walked on either side of him. They released his arms for a moment. At that second, they afterwards said, Parker took a flying jump forward down a flight of stone steps. He landed at the foot of the steps in a sort of spread-eagle fashion and then struggled up to his knees. The warders left him and locked the cell-door. A few minutes later, a warder looked through the peep-hole. Parker was lying in a crumpled heap on the floor of the cell, with a wound on the back of his head. He was dead.

At the inquest, the prison doctor admitted that Parker might have been suffering from claustrophobia, as a result of his war services. This is a nervous complaint which makes it impossible for the sufferer to submit to confinement in a narrow space. The Under-Secretary for Home Affairs told Brig-Gen. Spears in the House of Commons that any enquiry was not necessary nor desirable.

Thomas Parker "died" in jail, neglected, on June 2nd, 1933.

WALTER STRICKLAND'S MESSAGE.

The *Malton Messenger* has devoted considerable space to the life, work, and wishes of the late Walter Strickland.

In its issue for April 8, the *Messenger* published a letter from us, detailing the last wish expressed by Strickland, in relation to the struggle against war, which he described as "The European Menace."

In its issue for May 6, the *Messenger* published Strickland's last letter to us, dated Buitenzorg, Java, Asia, December 14, 1937. This is a very long and very interesting epistle and the *Messenger* placed it beneath the appended headings, spread across the page:—

SCIENTISTS AND SAVANTS
ALONE CAN END WARThe Late Sir Walter Strickland's Last
Letter—On International ProblemsAN APPEAL TO STOP
"THIS MARCH OF HOMICIDE""IS NOT YOUTH TOO GLORIOUS TO
BE MAIMED AND MURDERED?"

The editor of the *Messenger* introduced this letter with the following explanation:—

"The end of war depends upon the robustness of the men of science and of thought in every country," wrote the late Sir Walter William Strickland in one of his last letters. Written in Java in December, 1937, this letter, which we publish below was addressed to Mr. Guy A. Aldred, of Glasgow, an old associate of Sir Walter's, and by his permission we print it, as containing a great deal that touches on the international problems of to-day.

"A quarter of a century ago the late Sir Walter Strickland, life-long traveller and student of politics and contemporary thought that he was, foresaw and foretold the beginning of problems that would inevitably lead the world once again to the verge of war. This letter, one of the last penned by him, touches on the crux of modern problems."

Elsewhere in the same issue, the editor of our contemporary commented on "Sir Walter Strickland's Last Message":—

"In this issue we publish a most interesting letter written by the late Sir Walter William Strickland, the Yorkshire Baronet who became famous for his wanderings over the world. Sir Walter was more than a wanderer for the sake of wandering, he was a thinker and a student of peoples. A quarter of a century ago he saw that the Versailles Peace must inevitably lead Europe to the verge of another conflict, he then foretold that Germany would not for long be content to remain disarmed and dismembered.

"Sir Walter's letter, written in December of 1937 from Java, where he died, was almost his last message, and it contains a great deal of interest in the light of international events of the past few months. He believed that the world's scientists and scholars alone could bring about lasting peace, if they had the determination to do so. Sir Walter was never a lover of politics or diplomacy, and was forever asking that secret diplomacy should be abolished; otherwise wars were bound to continue."

In its issue for May 20, the *Messenger* published a "life" of Walter Strickland from our pen. All comrades interested in Strickland's thought and activity should write direct for copies of these papers to *The Malton Messenger, Messenger Office, Malton, Yorks.* Each issue costs 3d., post-free.

Strickland's last letter, slightly abridged, was reprinted in *The Varsity*, The Cambridge University Newspaper, for May 13, under the heading, "This March of Homicide."

WHEN DOLLAN RESISTED

The front page article records the result of Lord Provost Dollan's appeal—when he was a Councillor and a C.O.—to the High Court of Justiciary, at Edinburgh. From *Forward* for June 2, 1917, we call the following report of the police court proceedings:—

COUNCILLOR DOLLAN HANDED OVER.

Deputy Town Clerk's Interest.

"The trial of Councillor P. J. Dollan was robbed of much of its interest because of the refusal of the Stipendiary to pronounce upon the contention of the lawyer for the defence that the importation of a stipulation into Dollan's exemption that he must work 50 miles from Glasgow was illegal. That question is to be fought out in a higher court. Meanwhile Dollan is fined £2 and sent to the non-combatant corps at Hamilton Barracks.

"The trial was long and mostly technical, but there were some interesting intervals, as when Lieut. Young from Bath Street declared he had gone out to post the calling-up notice himself; and when Lieut. Sellar—no, plain 'Mr.' Sellar, Deputy Town Clerk, and Clerk to the Tribunal, admitted that he had written to London asking how Dollan's case stood, as he Dollan, was still attending Corporation meetings. He had written this letter because Dollan's presence in the Municipal Buildings after he had been turned down by the Tribunal was a matter of comment in the Municipal Buildings."

"And again, when Dollan, in giving evidence, spoke of some period during which he had been ill, Mr. Sellar was observed to signal over to a policeman and hand him a list of Dollan's municipal activities, which document was promptly taken up to the Fiscal. All this anxiety to secure Dollan's removal 50 miles from Glasgow surely proclaims the Municipal Buildings as a place from which every eligible has already volunteered. But we are none too sure of that. The Stipendiary, while finding that Dollan was technically an absentee, was doubtful if he had been properly arrested, but that in view of the military urgency, it was not desirable that proceedings should be narrowly construed. The Police Court was not competent to review decisions of the Central Tribunal. He agreed to a stated case for appeal."

CONSCRIPTION IN NEW ZEALAND

In 1912, the *Manchester Guardian* opened its columns to a very full discussion on "Conscription in New Zealand and Australia." The correspondence was published in the following issues:—June 19 and 26; July 1, 2, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 18, 20. The complete debate might be worth re-reading at the present time. Below are some points made against the Conscript Act.

INTERNAL PASSPORTS.

The Defence Act compelled the conscript to carry his Military Manual. This book contained the youth's history, age, birthplace, employment; his people's history, character. He could not leave the district in which he was registered anytime without first obtaining a passport from his chief officer. An offender against the conscript law could not get a situation, as he had to produce his Military Manual. Resisters, apart from suffering recurring imprisonment, lost their right to vote—for life, according to the first terms of the Act.

MORALS OF MILITARY TRAINING.

The moral aspects of military training should be studied by every woman. Books to read are:—*The Queen's Daughters in India*, by Dr. Elizabeth W. Andrew and Katherine E. Bushnell, issued by the British Committee for the Abolition of Vice; and *Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade*, by Josephine E. Butler, issued by the Friend's Purity Association. Also, study Cantonment Arrangements in Gibraltar and elsewhere.

NEVILLE ANTICIPATED.

Chamberlain's method of introducing conscription, after pledging himself to the voluntary system, was anticipated by Sir Joseph Ward, the Prime Minister of New Zealand. The *Evening News*, Christchurch, N.Z., on November 14th, 1911, published a long "leader," headed:—"Our Phantom Army." It quoted Sir Joseph Ward's opinion, "that the people of New Zealand would never stand Compulsory Military Training." The "leader" commented that, Sir Joseph well-merited the title given him of "The India-Rubber Prime Minister" as he subsequently introduced and carried the Defence Act, without a mandate from the people.

During the election at the end of 1911, which resulted in the defeat of the Ward Government, prosecutions under the Defence Act were dropped.

JUDGING CONSCIENCE.

The Defence Act provided that "those whose religion forbids them engaging in military service" might substitute some other form of public service.

Under this clause, a magistrate decided that a young man who objected to military service on religious grounds, as a Christian, was not a conscientious objector within the meaning of the Act, because some Baptist Ministers acted as chaplains to the forces. This excluded the Baptist religion and the objector went to prison.

NATIONAL SERVICE LEAGUE.

The Defence Act was a triumph for the National Service League. On page 174 of *The Briton's First Duty*, issued in 1901, this organisation avowed that its aim was the formation, under compulsion, of a "Pan-Britannic Militia, consisting of all able-bodied Whites throughout the Empire."

In the *Round Table*, for May, 1911, it was pointed out that the New Zealand National Defence League was modelled on the lines of the National Service League of Great Britain. The Australian National Defence League came from the same source.

IMMIGRANTS NOT TOLD.

Immigrant were not told. The free official circular issued by hundreds of thousands to the emigrants from Britain, said nothing on this question. The Emigration Information Department, at 34 Broadway, Westminster, was ashamed of over-seas conscription.

THE NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND COUNCIL
HEADQUARTERS—
S.S.P. Rooms, 70 Robertson St., Glasgow,
C.2.

Hon. Secy. — BERT VALLANCE.

Chairman — Bailie A. H. PORTER.

Hon. Treas. — D. MENZIES, 50 Craigie Street,
Glasgow, S.2.

This is a League of Individual Members and Affiliated Organisations to oppose Military and Industrial Conscription. Its members strive within the organisations to which they belong, and particularly within their political parties, for the creation of an individual and corporate opinion unfavourable to the continuation of Conscription by any Government.

THE NO-CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE appeals to all who are opposed to conscription and war to join its ranks.

IT APPEALS SPECIALLY to young men who are conscientious objectors and who come within the scope of the Military Training Act, with a view to assisting them in their resistance against this attack upon their liberty.

Finance is urgently required. Send donations to the Treasurer.

If you do not wish to spoil your copy of this paper, copy this form and send with a minimum subscription of one shilling (two shillings, if possible) to the SECRETARY, GLASGOW BRANCH, N.C.L., S.S.P. ROOMS, 70 ROBERTSON STREET, GLASGOW, C.2. Please enrol me in the No Conscription League.

I donate herewith: £ : : .

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

I will try to influence my organisation to affiliate to the League. (Give its name and address of Secretary.)

Branches of Trade Unions, Co-operative, Religious, Ethical, and Political bodies can affiliate to
THE NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE

Affiliation Fee, 2/6.

If you do not live in Glasgow and the West of Scotland, and do not belong to a body that is affiliated to the N.C.L., and are a conscientious objector and enemy of militarism and war, you write direct to the LONDON HEADQUARTERS: JAMES H. HUDSON, Hon. Secy., 17 Prescott St., London, E.1.