

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

# THE WORD

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

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## AIR RAID

Fire your guns, crash out your sudden death;  
Pursue your ends, your self-destructive destiny.  
What matters life—or love—or hope  
Of Beauty that the world was shaped to bear?  
Belch forth your flames, convulse the night  
With demonstrations of your maniacal strength.  
Enjoy your time—what matters else—  
Save noise and fire, the agony of Hell.

Follow on you bombs, release your racks,  
Rain down upon your victims numberless.  
Stay not your hands from sentimental thoughts  
Of desolated homes and military objectives missed.  
Why pander to these stupid shibboleths?  
The end's the same, and man deserving of no other  
fate.  
Give rein to your sadistic spleen and wreak  
Your hideous pleasure on us all.

Crash out you guns, devastate you bombs,  
Continue with your dreadful revelry;

Yet remember this,  
From out the smouldering ruins and broken hopes  
Will come a consciousness from suffering born,  
A flaming hate—implacable and stern  
'Gainst all you represent of Power and Greed.  
From pain and bitterness the weapon will be forged  
To smash in turn the might of those you serve.

FREDERICK LOHR.

## THE WAR ISSUE

### Immediate Anti-War Socialist Government Wanted

By The Rt. Hon. F. W. JOWETT  
(First Commissioner of Works 1924  
Labour Government)

[The following essays were published by our comrade Jowett in the "Bradford I.L.P. News" for Friday, March 27 and June 12 respectively. Jowett's indictments of Imperialism should be studied and acted on by the entire Labour Movement. He is Labour's most powerful voice of sanity during the present crisis.—Ed.]

#### (1) DEFEATING HITLER.

##### We Shall Not Defeat Hitler by Supporting Churchill.

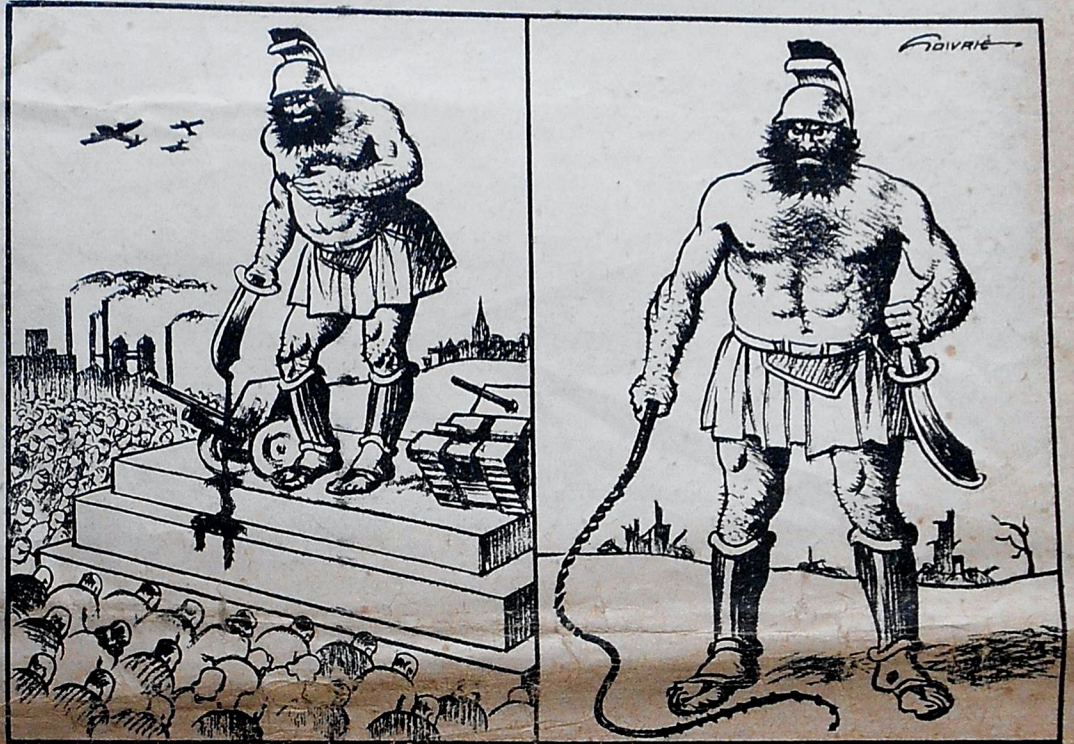
"We must support the war to defeat Hitler," say many of the British socialists who are supporting their Government in this war, although they were whole-heartedly in agreement with the I.L.P. in opposition to the last war.

In this article I want to say why, in my view, those anti-war socialists who believe that by supporting the Government in this war they are helping to defeat Hitler are wrong.

But before I begin I wish to state clearly that I speak as an anti-war Socialist, not as an absolutist pacifist believing in the policy of non-resistance.

I still hold the view which was expressed in the officially endorsed policy of the British Labour Party, until it swung over to the policy of military alliances in the alluring name of "collective security," in the year 1935. For 35 years the British Labour Party, although anti-imperialist and opposed to military alliances, agreed to the provision of whatever military equipment appeared to be necessary for defence.

## SLAVES OF MARS



[Specially drawn for "The Word" by "Gowrie."]

All Power to Thee, O God of War!

WHAT! My Slaves Late to Work? I'll Teach Them to be Late to Work

Frequently, the party opposed increases of armaments, but always it was on the ground that the Party was opposed to *The Imperialist Foreign Policy* for which they were intended, and not on the ground that defence of the homes and lives of our people was unnecessary or wrong.

The first question those who say "we must support the war to defeat Hitler" need to ask themselves is: *Are we, in truth, helping to defeat Hitler by supporting the war?* A question that cannot be answered without first of all taking account of the fact that supporting the war means supporting the Government in this war, so far as the people of this country are concerned. And supporting the Government to defeat Hitler is a futile policy because it ensures support from the German people for Hitler.

The Government's declared intention is to dictate terms to a defeated and disarmed Germany, which is therefore to be kept disarmed by military force of foreign powers for a period estimated by the British Foreign Secretary Eden at *twenty years*. Is it likely that the German people will cease to support Hitler with such a prospect before them in the event of defeat, with the memory of terrible privation and humiliation under the dictated peace after defeat at the end of the last war?

How can it be possible for any anti-war Socialist who has not been deceived by war propaganda to believe it is possible to defeat Hitler by supporting the war policy of a Government, the aims and objects of which cannot be trusted by the German people.

What in heaven's name is there in the present

military situation to give the slightest encouragement to belief in military victory to which alone the Government is pledged?

The war which, when it began, was the result of a clash between two chief rival imperialisms—the British and the German—was from its first beginnings bound to spread as the combatants sought new allies and strategic bases and as other imperialist powers came in to fight for a share in the spoils of an imperialist war.

Every extension (save one, and that the least desirable one from the point of view of the most influential and powerful members of the British governing class, namely Russia) has brought with it a new crop of difficulties for British imperialism.

The British Empire is in process of rapid liquidation. Humpty Dumpty has fallen and can never be put together again. As "Observer" in *Peace News*, says:

"The Japanese have conquered Java. Rangoon has gone. . . . The Burma Road has been effectively cut. That is to say that the whole of the Far East is now in Japan's possession; and the possession is secured by natural defences which, when developed by Japan will be practically impregnable."

In this situation nothing in my opinion could be less realistic than to support the Government in the hope or expectation of a military victory to defeat Hitler.

In this situation, more clearly than ever, it has become of vital importance to deprive Hitler and his Nazi Government of support which fear of consequences of defeat with another dictated imperialist peace has induced.

In the war of unimaginable duration to which Churchill and his Government are calling us, and

Hitler is calling the German people, there is hope only that common cause in common suffering may bring the peoples of both these nations into the mind for peace.

And the first step to this indispensable approach to peace born of belief in a common cause that we who are anti-war British Socialists can, and must, take if we do not belie our faith, is to get a Government that will challenge the world to a new Social Order by its example.

A Government willing voluntarily at long last to accept liquidation of the British Empire, and to issue a call for peace recognising the right, and agreeing to the distribution of the world's resources for the mutual benefit of all peoples.

## (2) THE IMPERIALIST DIE-HARD FOLLY

We have not yet won the war and the day of its ending seems to get further away the longer we go on with it.

Speeches such as that of Lord Halifax, given world-wide publicity in the daily press last Tuesday (June 9th) make an early ending impossible and they also make it practically certain, in the light of past experience, that even if we win the war we shall lose the peace.

Speaking to America and the world at large as British Ambassador to the United States, Lord Halifax declared for the Vansittart policy of punishing the German people as well as its Nazi Government and Hitlerism. So Nazi Germany's chief propagandist, Dr. Goebbels, after making effective use of Lord Vansittart's warning to the German people of the fate which awaits them if they allow Hitler's Nazi Government to lose the war can now put special punch into this war propaganda by quoting the Prime Minister's most trusted overseas Minister, Lord Halifax.

Lord Halifax, like Lord Vansittart, says that when the Allies have won the war they must not treat the German people so well as they did after the last war! Also, in agreement with Lord Vansittart, Lord Halifax assumes as confidently as if the question had already been considered and settled, that the Anglo-Saxon world (that is to say, Britain and the United States) "will be the guardians of peace after the war." Not Britain and France, chiefly, with Belgium and Italy as junior partners, as on the last occasion when the German people were held in subjection after defeat, but Britain and the U.S.A. only.

Others of the Allied nations, including Soviet Russia and China, whose peoples have suffered most and who are the most hopeful of all peoples as future peace-builders, are not thought worthy of notice by Britain's Ambassador, Lord Halifax, in this connection.

Even the *Yorkshire Observer* (June 9th, 1942) expresses serious concern as to the effect of Lord Halifax's speech, and goes as near to calling for its repudiation by the Government as could be expected by a highly respectable pro-war organ of partisan Liberal non-conformity.

"In 1918," says the *Yorkshire Observer*, "Government and people were alike swept away by the cry of vengeance which arose in the first intoxication of victory. The cry will be much fiercer now and will have much more substance behind it."

The effect of this mad policy of lumping the whole German people with their Kaiser-headed militarist Government to the conditions of peace imposed on the German people by victorious powers at the end of the last war, and the certainty with which that policy led to another and worse war, can best be understood by referring back to experience and warnings placed on record at the time.

There is evidence recorded by a cloud of witnesses which were accurately prophetic of the sad experience of these days. I will give two examples whose evidence is quoted in current issues of weekly journals. One is the evidence of Mr. A. G. Gardiner, a journalist of the highest character and reputation who went into Germany and Austria shortly after the last war to get facts concerning post-war conditions. The other is that of Mr. J. L. Garvin who denounced,

before it was signed, the Treaty which was forced upon the German people by the Halifaxes and Vansittarts of that day and foretold its inevitable result in this war.

How, having regard to this knowledge of the consequences of such madness, Mr. Garvin has become a regular staff writer for the *Sunday Express*, is a matter for Mr. Garvin himself to explain. There are many, however, who, like myself, cannot do so.

For this is what Garvin's *Sunday Express* said last Sunday:

"The real feelings of this country were voiced by Viscountess Simon the other day when she stood on a public platform and said 'I WANT GERMANY WIPED OFF THE FACE OF THE EARTH.'"

"That is my view, too," said Garvin's colleague, John Gordon, and proceeded further to reveal himself in the following manner:—"Pernickety minds," reluctantly Mr. Gordon admitted, "might point out that such extermination is impossible. I agree with them as well. BUT IT IS AN IDEAL. AND I WAS TAUGHT TO STRIVE FOR THE STARS; EVEN IF I COULD NEVER HOPE TO REACH THEM." (F.W.J. is responsible for giving Gordon's own aspiration in capitals).

And here I will bring to witness what A. G. Gardiner wrote 24 years' ago, of the results of that dictated peace, won by successful war strategy of starvation blockade and propaganda culminating in the devilish prostitution of President Wilson's Fourteen Points. Here is A. G. Gardiner's unquestioned evidence, recorded at the time, of what decent people can be induced to do to each other when a vicious hate propaganda has been carried on for years:

"For five years," wrote Mr. Gardiner of German and Austrian children—"that is for almost the whole of life they remember—they have been starved. They were never worse starved than during THE NINE MONTHS' BLOCKADE THAT FOLLOWED THE WAR. . . . The fortunate ones die (50 per cent. more infants died in Berlin alone during 1919, a year of 'peace,' than in 1913) the rest are starting their life with a physical and mental inefficiency that will make life a burden. The 'English sickness' (rickets) alone, the result mainly of post-war blockade, has claimed hundreds of thousands."

"Tuberculosis, in all its variations, has swept the child like a plague. In Leipzig there are 8,000 tuberculosis children, in Cologne 10,000, Berlin 30,000. The mortality of older children has gone up by 85 per cent.—nearly double."

"What I saw in Germany," by A. G. Gardiner. Quoted in "Peace News," June 5, 1942).

And this is what J. L. Garvin said at the last dictated peace which followed a starvation blockade war and vicious war propaganda. It was prophetic. *We are paying the price foretold now.* This is what Garvin then said of the last victory-dictated peace before it was actually signed:—

"If the Germans are wise, they will sign, of course."

"But if they signed and sealed it twenty times over, they, like any other race in their place, would determine to seize every opportunity of mitigation or repudiation AS THE INEVITABLE TROUBLES AND DISSENSIONS OF THE REST OF THE WORLD ARE QUITE CERTAIN TO PROVIDE."

"The root vice of the whole Treaty is that it leaves the German race NO REAL HOPE EXCEPT REVENGE—no matter how long the revenge may have to be deferred. In the whole Treaty there is no glimmering perception of the constructive necessities of Europe as a whole. UNIVERSAL AND ABIDING ANTAGONISM TO IT WILL GIVE THE GERMAN PEOPLE A FRESH BASIS OF COMMON INTEREST. AFTER PASSING NO DOUBT THROUGH CONFUSIONS AND CONVULSIONS THEY WILL BE SOLIDIFIED AND FORTIFIED BY ADVERSITY. IT IS NECESSITY THAT MAKES MEN STRONG, SUCCESS THAT USUALLY BLINDS THEM." (Quoted in 'Forward,' June 6th, 1942—My capitals—F. W. J.).

How truly spoken is the second half of that last short sentence in the light of our own British experience. *The British Empire is in progress of compulsory liquidation!*

## PAX CHRISTI

(THE PEACE OF CHRIST)

(A new policy for Christendom To-day)

By Rev. Albert D. Belden, B.D., D.D.

Published by Allen and Unwin, London, at 3s. 6d., postage 3d. extra. Obtainable through the Strickland Press.

## "COMMUNIST" WAR CHARLATANISM

Chapter XVI. of Part I. of *Socialism and Parliament* deals with Communist Parliamentarism and relates the political charlatanism of William Gallacher.

Since this pamphlet was issued, we have collected a few more entertaining facts concerning this unscrupulous "Communist" careerist.

On Thursday, June 26, 1941, announcing the intended withdrawal of the Communist Party candidate from the Greenock by-election, William Gallacher said:

"The big question is co-operation between Britain and the Soviet Union in the interests of the peoples of both countries. Therefore we will support the British Government in any steps it takes to advance and further that co-operation. . . ."

"We have always opposed a peace or a 'sell out' of any kind. We have nothing to do with the peace by negotiating party. I admit in some of our documents we did not make that sufficiently clear."

We deny absolutely that the present governments of the warring nations represent the interests of the peoples of the countries they govern. Hitler does not represent the interests of the German people. Stalin does not represent the interests of the common folk of the Soviet Union. Churchill does not represent the working-class of Britain.

Gallacher's reference to a "sell out" peace is undiluted scoundrelism and worthy of the political gangsterdom to which he belongs. The truth is that, so long as the Hitler-Stalin pact existed, Gallacher and the Communist Party opposed the war and defended a German peace. One can understand a genuine militarist. One can understand a genuine pacifist. But one cannot understand, except in the terms of hiring corruption, this zig-zag militarist-pacifist capitalist opportunism, dictated by the foreign policy of the Kremlin, and not by any proletarian principle or idealism.

In the *Sunday Mail* for November 23, 1941, Gallacher's message to the Clydeside was reported under the heading: "*Communist M.P.'s Victory Call.*"

Our contemporary said:

"Mr. William Gallacher, West Fife's Communist M.P., has issued a message to Clydeside workers urging them to support the troops in Libya in 'their brilliant offensive' by increasing production."

It then reproduced two paragraphs from Gallacher's message. We quote one, describing the "Libya offensive":

"The offensive will, I am sure, have a tremendous effect on the people of the occupied countries of Europe," he says, "It will give them new hope, inspire them with fresh courage, and urge them to greater acts of daring against the invader. . . ."

This statement of opportunist pretence and pseudo strategic knowledge requires no comment. Gallacher knows as much about military struggle as he does about anti-militarist integrity and Socialist thought. All he understands is how to trade in verbal falsehood for the sake of Gallacher's personal emancipation *within Capitalism.*

The *Scottish Daily Express* for November 23, 1941, gave another version of Gallacher's message under the heading "*Gallacher urges 'loyal enthusiasm.'*"

Beneath this heading, the letter-press read:

"Mr. William Gallacher, Communist M.P. for West Fife, has issued a message to Clydeside workers urging them to redouble their efforts to increase output in support of the troops taking part in the Libya offensive."

"In an appeal to all shop stewards to attend Lord Beaverbrook's meeting at Glasgow next Sunday he asked them to make it a mighty demonstration of enthusiastic loyalty to our lads in Libya and for the alliance with the Soviet Union, an alliance Lord Beaverbrook is working so strenuously to implement."

Anyone who has seen the film reproduction of Beaverbrook's meetings, or read the *Express* verbatim reports of his speeches, will know that

the man is an ignoramus. As an orator, he is a disgrace to the public platform, as a thinker, he ranks somewhere between the ape and our pigmy aboriginal ancestors. That a great people like the English speaking races, with their famed tradition of speech and writing, should be represented in the hour of crisis by this financial war-lord of the press, who slays in safety on the public platform to the tune of manufactured plaudits, spreading disaster among the human family, is an added calamity to the suffering of our time. Gallacher appealed for public support for this ignoramus, this builder-up of Hitlerism, this consistent pre-war slanderer of the Soviet Union. What a farce!

The Beaverbrook press repays the compliment.

The *Sunday Express*, June 28, 1942, in its "To-day in Scotland" column, written by Albert Mackie, says:—

"When I met Britain's solitary Communist M.P., Willie Gallacher, he was indulging in an extra pipeful of that strong tobacco he smokes, and beaming with paternal pride.

"His son, Paul Donald, young graduate with honours in philosophy, has just been capped at Gilmorehill."

Is this why the Fife miners turned against Willie Adamson and voted Gallacher into Westminster? That his adopted son might go to the University and receive the Capitalist degree of philosophy. Are their sons likely to be capped with anything except a fall of coal? Is this pursuing the class struggle? What a knave and hypocrite the man is. Recall his manifestoes and denunciations of "the bourgeois I.L.P.," "the bourgeois Anarchists," his attacks on the Free Speech fight; all his climbing assumption of revolutionary speech and approach, and then—reflect! His son is capped at Gilmorehill in the third year of a world war in which the workers, men and women, from the youngest to the oldest, are being conscripted either to death or to arduous tasks, which sap their health and destroy their lives. The proud father's adopted son plays at philosophy in Gilmorehill!

Willie Gallacher turns from his proud nursing to go forward, this over-age militarist, to press for a second front, with Harry Pollitt, Harry McShane, etc. Not one of these hirelings, who have forgotten about the hunger-marches they monopolised for their career's sake, intend to go to the Second and Third fronts themselves. They will remain at the back of the various fronts directing! Instead of chasing these political rogues for their lives, the common folk, here and there, fall for them.

Recall these people's attack on King George V.'s jubilee. Recall their anti-war attacks on the coronation of George VI. All the hot-air that secured the exciting support of the unemployed and the ex-soldier. And it comes to this: in war-time, support Beaverbrook, be militarist, be more militarist than the Government. If some Socialist, who is a Socialist, denounces "Capitalist war," accuse him of helping to spread Fascism round the world. Of, course, the Hitler-Stalin pact did not help Fascism!

To-day, Gallacher, and his satellites, Pollitt and McShane, having burned their past pamphlets and manifestos, as all political charlatans must do to save their faces, by a peculiar logic pretend that there are only two choices before the common people of the world: the imperialism of Hitler or the imperialism of Churchill allied to Stalin.

What has become of their Marxism, of those dinner-hour anti-war economic lectures Willie Gallacher conducted during the last war, as a conscience-sandwich to the manufacture of munitions? Does he not realise that Fascism or Nazism is the last desperate attempt of the Capitalist system to utilize demagogically the social discontent of a dispossessed middle-class to establish an iron dictatorship.

A genuine anti-Fascist war cannot be waged by a government that supports the shoddy platitudes of the Atlantic Charter. It can be waged only by those who support a programme

of social justice, who stand for genuine revolutionary Socialism. A genuine programme of Socialism and world peace would break the tie between Hitler and the German people. The business of Socialism, and of the Communists, is not to pursue militarism and destruction, but anti-militarism and reconstruction: to turn national or independent wars into civil wars: to liquidate civil wars into the struggle of ideas: and to restore vision to poor, war-blinded, charlatan-misled working, suffering humanity.

## THE BEDFORD PROGRAMME

Reviewed by MICHAEL DE LA BEDOYERE.

[Reproduced from "The Catholic Herald," London, May 15, 1942.—Ed.]

It is a pity that the Duke of Bedford should be almost exclusively publicised as a pacifist and an advocate of a negotiated peace with Germany. And it is an even greater pity that his little booklet, *Why Blunder On?* should begin with arguments in favour of peace on almost any reasonable terms at the earliest moment possible.

This is obviously a highly controversial question, and the vast majority of the British people will have nothing to do with it. Nor do the Duke's arguments in this respect carry very much weight. They are largely based on his personal belief that we cannot win the war outright, and about the totally unknown war conditions of the future his opinion is worth no more than that of the next man.

It is a pity, then, that this material should be linked up with the Duke's plans and programmes for political, social and economic reconstruction, for many of these are most interesting and highly worthy of discussion apart from the results of the war. In any case, his challenge to the vested interests of Right and Left—the money-power of the few and the money-grabbing of the many—is unlikely to be given a hearing in any powerful organ of press and publicity. But joined with his war-views it stands no chance whatever, and those who have other reasons for refusing to listen can ease their conscience by saying that they will have nothing whatever to do with a "defeatist."

What is the plan? It is a long one, the summary of which cannot even be printed in these reduced columns, still less the commentary that follows it.

But one thing at least seems to me to stand out from it all—and that is that the Duke's reforms seem in no way to clash with Christian and Papal doctrine, but actually embody in practical fashion the social and economic points made by the present Pope and the leaders of the Churches in Britain.

Here are some points:—

**DISARMAMENT.**—If total is unobtainable, the maximum to which nations will agree, provision being made for further progressive disarmament.

**FOREIGN POLICY.**—World interests should be considered even before national interests; a survey of world resources to be made, with wealthy countries assisting poorer ones; no enforcing of international authority decrees, but all-round education to see the point of voluntary co-operation for the good of all.

**HOME POLITICS.**—Abolition of Party system; occupational franchise; Ministers elected by Parliament; Parliament to have right to dismiss either Government or Ministers; Referendum on special issues. New Second Chamber, representative of Churches, education, culture, industry and distinguished servants of the State.

**LOCAL GOVERNMENT.**—Work to be performed by Corporations, such as Medical Corporation and Transport Corporation.

**INDUSTRY.**—Corporations of employers, workers and consumers with Government arbitration for disputes.

**EDUCATION.**—All children to have equal opportunity up to eighteen, with emphasis on importance of manual training.

**PRESS.**—Obligatory publication of name of principal owner; no hostile statement against foreign countries without Embassies having right to reply; liability to prosecution for false news deliberately published for private interest.

**CHURCH.**—Disestablished, but given adequate income for work.

Of course, this brief summary of a summary gives but bare bones, and the real interest lies in the further elucidations. Moreover I have purposely left out the heart of the Duke of Bedford's reforms which are monetary.

His view is that all taxation for revenue and national debt should be abolished, the new money required annually being created by the State, the amount needed by the State being earmarked for its own use. Taxation would be exclusively for the purpose of preventing inflation. The distribution of money would be according to real needs, always taking into account the country's ability to produce or import the goods which the money will be able to purchase.

It is true enough that radical reforms of these kinds, whether intrinsically desirable or not, have little real meaning unless they can be related to what is practicable in the light of what the public, so to say, will stand for. Reformers, like the Duke of Bedford, are too apt to think in a social vacuum. But it is very profitable to look at the matter from time to time from the wrong end of the telescope and—if the metaphor may be changed—work backwards. That way there is much less danger of confusing what the public will stand for with what the vested interests of the country will permit them to stand for.

### CIVIL LIBERTIES.

The National Council for Civil Liberties is organised to defend the essential liberties of the people, such as:

- The civil rights of the individual.
- The rights of democratic organisations.
- Freedom of speech and the press.
- The right of trial in open court.

The Council makes its appeal to those who know that:

- (i) The well-being of the individual is dependent on the enjoyment of full civil rights and liberties;
- (ii) These rights have been dearly won in the past;
- (iii) They will last only if they are maintained and fought for now;
- (iv) It is more than ever necessary to ensure that the forces of reaction do not use the war situation to achieve their traditional purposes.

The Council owes allegiance to no party, religion or creed, but is pledged to defend the equal liberty of every individual and every organisation.

The Secretary and Treasurer of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch is James R. B. Christie, 4 Hampden Terrace, Glasgow, S.2.

### UNITARIAN CHRISTIAN CHURCH,

62 Kingston Crescent, Portsmouth.

Minister—CHARLES H. COLE.

Services Sunday at 6.45

We preach that Religion's job is to carve the image of Jesus, the Elder Brother, into the human race—to humanize, and Christianize our society.

### CHURCH OF THE SAVIOUR (Unitarian),

SOUTHAMPTON.

Minister: Rev. F. H. Amphlett Micklewright, M.A.

The services are held in The Little Chapel of the Avenue Congregational Church, The Avenue, Southampton. Entrance through the Spencer Hall.

Sunday Evening 6.30 p.m.

### UNITARIAN CHURCH

Hope Street, Liverpool.

Minister—Rev. SIDNEY SPENCER, B.A.

### SOUTH PLACE ETHICAL SOCIETY.

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

SUNDAY MORNING AT ELEVEN

A collection is made at each Meeting to enable those present to contribute to the Society's expenses.

New York readers of "The Word" should attend

### THE INGERSOLE FORUM

1st Sunday, each month, 8 p.m., at The Pythian, 135 W. 70th Street, just east of Broadway.

Questions. Discussion. All Heretics Invited.

Are you reducing our deficit? Original November 1940 Appeal is short over £60 Since 1940 the monthly deficit has grown steadily. HELP!

## The Mockery of Parliamentary Careerism

Thomas Johnston Indicts Himself

[... As will be seen from the reports of our 1921 trial published in recent issues, MacRobert, K.C., was the Counsel who prosecuted us in the 1921 trial. When these trials are issued in collected book form, this essay will find a place in the appendix. Meanwhile we publish it as a separate essay. It is one of Johnston's many indictments of himself for his present-day associations.—Ed.]

In *Forward* for January 16, 1926, Thomas Johnston devoted three columns to an indictment of MacRobert, beneath these headings—spread across the three columns:—

### RECORD OF MACROBERT, K.C.

**His Votes for the Rich: His Votes Against the Poor, the Widows, the Orphans, and the Unemployed.**

Beneath these streaming headings, the letter-press stated:—

We have received several inquiries about the voting record of Mr. MacRobert, K.C., the Tory candidate for East Renfrewshire. Below we give a list of the most important divisions since the Tory Government went into office with Mr. MacRobert's record in each.

Then followed the record. MacRobert did not vote on certain questions where the Labour Party forced the issue, like Women's Vote at 21; Improved Workmen's Compensation; Singapore Dockyards; Widows' Pensions, Ordinary and War. On other issues he voted against the humane or progressive policy. He showed himself either indifferent to the wrongs of the poor or opposed to them.

MacRobert *voted against* the motion or the amendment in the following issues and so showed himself against the miners, against the poor, against the unemployed, and on the side of the profiteers. The headings are Thomas Johnston's as are the records. We have omitted from each paragraph the words "*Mr. MacRobert voted against.*"

#### HOUSING POLICY.

On December 16th, 1924, the Labour Party moved the following amendment to the King's Speech:

"But humbly regret that your Majesty's advisers are committed to a policy of leaving the solution of the housing problem mainly to private enterprise and the operation of occupying ownership, thus ignoring the importance of carrying out a long-term scheme of building houses to be let at rents within the means of the working classes, and failing to take advantage for increasing employment in the building and auxiliary industries."

#### ON THE SIDE OF THE PROFITEERS.

On March 4th, 1925, the Labour Party moved:

"That the composition and the proceedings of the Royal Commission on Food Prices are not such as to inspire public confidence, and this House is of opinion that action, legislative or otherwise, based upon the large mass of evidence already available and designed for the protection of the public against profiteering in the sale of food, should be undertaken without delay."

#### MUNICIPAL COAL.

On March 24th Mr. Beckett, on behalf of the Labour Party, moved:

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to enable municipal authorities to act as retail distributors of coal; and for other purposes incidental thereto."

#### DEAR COAL.

On March 25th the Labour Party moved the following motion:

"That this House calls upon the Government to prosecute measures to prevent excessive charges for coal supplied to household consumers."

#### AGAINST THE MINERS.

On March 25th Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P., on behalf of the miners, moved the Coal Mines Minimum Wage Bill to give the miners a living wage.

#### THE DEATH PENALTY FOR SOLDIERS.

On April 1st the Labour Party moved an amendment to the Army and Air Force (Annual Bill). The purpose of this motion was to restrict the death penalty for soldiers to cases of treachery.

#### SOLDIERS AND STRIKES.

On the same day the Labour Party moved a new clause to prevent use of military in certain duties during trade disputes.

#### AGAINST MOTHERS' PENSIONS.

On April 1st, 1925, the Labour Party moved the following motion:

"That in view of the urgent necessity that, wholly apart from the Poor Law, pensions adequate for the proper upbringing and maintenance of

children should be provided by the State for all widows with children or mothers whose family bread-winner has been incapacitated, this House calls for the introduction this Session of the required legislation."

#### THE EIGHT HOURS DAY.

On May 1st the Labour Party introduced an Eight Hour Day Bill.

#### LEGAL MINIMUM WAGE.

On May 13th the Labour Party introduced a motion in favour of a Commission to inquire into and report upon legal minimum time rates of wages.

#### FOR DEAR SUGAR.

On 16th June the Labour Party proposed to repeal sugar duties.

#### AGAINST EARLY OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

On July 14th the Labour Party moved an amendment to bring the Old Age Pensions into operation six months earlier than the date proposed by the Government.

#### DEPENDANTS OF EX-SERVICE MEN.

On the same day the Labour Party moved an amendment to secure pensions under the Bill for dependants of ex-service men.

#### PENSIONS AND COMPENSATION.

On the same day the Labour Party moved an amendment to omit clause 25, which discriminated against children receiving workmen's compensation in respect of the death of a parent.

On July 22 the Labour Party moved an amendment to allow pensions in cases where the widowed man dies and children receive compensation under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

#### A HARD DAY'S WORK—UNEMPLOYED NOTE.

On July 30th, on the Unemployment Insurance Bill, the Labour Party put down a motion to omit Clause 1 (discretionary power given to Minister of Labour with regard to payment of extended benefit).

On the same day the Labour Party put down a motion to postpone operation of the Clause until April, 1926.

On the same day the Labour Party moved an amendment to give persons unable, though willing, to find work a better chance of receiving Unemployment Benefit.

On the same day the Liberal motion that regulations made by the Minister of Labour under Clause 1 shall be submitted to Parliament.

On the same day the Labour Party moved a motion to omit Clause 3 (waiting period extending from three days to a week).

On the same day the Liberal motion to postpone operation of Clause 3 until December, was defeated.

These paragraphs and headings are as set out by Thomas Johnston. Each paragraph, in the original, carried the chorus:

"Mr. MacRobert, K.C., voted against."

Johnston varied the chorus in his account of the following divisions, although the import of his record was the same:

#### TAXING SILK STOCKINGS.

On May 11th the Labour Party moved an amendment to the Budget Resolutions against artificial silk duties.

Mr. MacRobert, K.C., voted for the Tax on Silk.

#### FOR DEAR TEA.

(June 9th.) On the clause in the Finance Bill putting 4d. a lb. on tea, the Labour Party moved to substitute 1d. for 4d.

Mr. MacRobert, K.C., voted for the 4d.

#### FOR THE SUPER RICH.

On 15th June the proposed remission of super tax was opposed by the Labour Party.

Mr. MacRobert, K.C., voted for relief for the super rich.

#### MORE MONEY FOR WAR.

On July 29th the Labour Party moved to reduce the Supplementary Estimate as a protest against the new cruisers.

Mr. MacRobert, K.C., thought we could afford more cruisers and voted for them.

Let the workers remember this indictment was penned by Thomas Johnston.

By such indictment of MacRobert Johnston, who has never suffered a moment's inconvenience or imprisonment or victimisation for his alleged Socialist principles, attained his present status as an administrator of capitalist society. His present association with the colleagues and successors of MacRobert notwithstanding, Johnston's indictment stands. It classifies MacRobert.

Does any worker believe that we ought to have suffered sixteen months' imprisonment during 1921-22, while MacRobert was climbing to the position of Lord Advocate? The man only escaped becoming a Senator of the College of Justice through the intervention of death. Does anyone believe that a man with such a record, a puny creature of a lawyer, was a lover of law

and harmony, an upholder of social justice, a loyal servant of commonwealth? Does any sane citizen believe that we, who opposed the MacRoberts, were the seditionist and that MacRobert was the true exponent of jurisprudence?

How then does parliamentarism elevate the Johnstons to the camps of the MacRoberts?

One point in Thomas Johnston's 1926 indictment of MacRobert makes as strange reading to-day as the above cruiser quotation:

#### SINGAPORE.

On March 25th the Labour Party moved to reduce the Naval Estimates as an opposition to the Government's policy for intending dockyards at Singapore.

Mr. MacRobert, K.C., did not vote.

To-day, without any apology, by due process of parliamentary opportunism, Johnston is Secretary of State for Scotland in a poorly diluted Tory Government that said, "Singapore must be defended." The Government was right, according to the canons and requirements of Capitalist Imperialism; but how does Johnston explain the propaganda that helped him to rise to position in it as an apparent parliamentary semi-anti-militarist? How does he explain these 1926 tit-bits about the cruiser and Singapore votings. How does he explain his present careerist silence about the Truman Commission Report, the dollar-a-year men corruption, and the general incompetence of the Government to which he belongs?

In our imprisonment we were standing for Socialism not only against the MacRoberts but also against the Thomas Johnstons. We were standing not for violence but for Socialism and Peace. So we were jailed for alleged sedition and viewed with horror by the very folk who had been driven into a servitude of misery and despair since—some even to their graves after an intensified horror of unnecessary suffering—by the anti-social conspiracy of those who jailed us that they might flourish and ape greatness. What shameless hypocrisy!

Our legislators of the parliamentary Socialist movement like their Tory colleagues, are engaged still in this licensed mockery of class society. They fear lest our voice be heard in the land, even as they feared in 1909, when we stood for Freedom of Press and Speech in India, and again in 1921. Only by a strained miracle has our propaganda been sustained. Even then, with rare but marked exceptions, it has been and is viewed still with jealous spite as the activity of a man who is dangerous and has no right to a place in the sun: a man to be written down and slandered, simply because he can think, write, and speak clearly, and for nearly forty years has written and spoken clearly, simply, and directly in the name of Socialism. The 1909 and 1921 trials alone, apart from our four Courts-martial and Free Speech struggle, have earned us our place in the Labour Movement and on its platform. That place ought to be assured to us before it is too late. Small careerism blocks the way of united struggle against the social wrong and tragedy of ruling class violence and exploitation. Upon the calamity of careerism is built the monstrous edifice of perpetuated war and endless mass starvation.

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## LET US WORSHIP LIFE

By JOHN ROEBUCK

"Man's chief end is to glorify Life and enjoy it for ever."

The business of Living is the biggest Big Business in the world. It is the universal "Chemical Industry Unlimited." Its ramifications extend, or so we profess to believe, even beyond the astronomical universe. It is absolutely immune from liquidation. Plagues, Typhoons, Earthquakes, Wars may dislocate it but never destroy it. Its plant is ever sufficient and adaptable to changing circumstances. It comprises a multiplicity of branches or departments all of which, with but one exception, carry on their appointed purposes with remarkable efficiency and harmony. The exception is, of course, the Human department. Here chaos has always reigned to a greater or lesser degree—and to-day surely to the greatest degree ever. It is seething with discontent, hatred, cruelty, hypocrisy and every other cause of inefficiency and disharmony.

Here then is our paramount concern: How to bring our department up to scratch. Religion postulates the Worship of God as the only possible way to this end. But it seems to me this proposition is simply begging the question; for is not the Worship of God one of our principal functions even now? And what of its reflection in practice? No. This side-line worship of God simply won't do, because it ignores God's breath. I submit that the worship of Life is what is needed. This would be an all-embracing religion, a practical religion, a militant religion indeed.

Without the slightest irreverence one could say, "In the beginning was The Word and the word was Life." And since it is essentially the motion of life which creates situations of opportunity for human functioning, it follows that every moment of conscious life is an opportune moment for Service. It constitutes situation actual, the conditioned time and place for the fulfilment of individual responsibility. And the propitiation or vitiation of the momentous issue depends upon the exercise of that unique human attribute, volition. Obviously man is an agent of Life, not its master. The situation in which he finds himself was there before him; the objective was there for subjective recognition; the need was there before the potential service, the appeal before the response. For if it be true—and it is certainly our professed belief—that man is a purposeful Being, then assuredly his Purpose must challenge him all along life's way. And he must put his very all into *Being*. However little his all is, he is not chargeable for more. No guilt attaches to lack. He is in default only for what he deliberately holds back. He must pay his way spot cash, as it were, to the limit of his means. He cannot be upright if he stoops to meanness. To be Righteous in theory and wrongous in practice is duplicity. "O thou invisible spirit of evil, if thou hast no other name to be known by, let us call thee *Duplicity*." (The italicised words are not Shakespeare's.)

Now, we all ostensibly desire to "make something" of our respective lives, but the fact is that it is Life which wants to make something of us. And it *will* make something of us eventually—there can be no doubt about that. Life may be hindered in the fulfilment of its purpose but it cannot be frustrated. Man cannot escape his Karma or Nirvana. His soul, like John Brown's, "goes marching on." Even orthodoxy, so vague about most things, is quite definite about that. It says, "O grave where is thy victory? O death where is thy sting?" Indeed, the perpetuity, the indestructibility, the All-in-all of Life has been manifested as a positive truth for millions of years.

When God is spoken of as The source of life,

two things are implied where there is only one. Life is God. Or, if you will, God is Life. The sooner we realize the One-ness of God and Life the better it will be for us. The idea of their separate-ness is a mental aberration like unto that now largely discounted belief in a

personal God. Is not the glorification of God simply the expression of joyous Being? Or can a miserable person glorify God? Surely not! Being prompted to do, the pleasure of doing and the satisfaction of having done a good deed are all, as we say, first "felt in the blood."

One could cite many scriptural passages from which the synonymity of the terms God and Life can be logically deduced. And certainly every Religion primarily teaches man to live. It sets up a mythical or a biographical example and says, "Live likewise if you would serve God." Nor is there any question of capacity or qualification to do so. That is taken for granted. It is simply a matter of choice, not between two masters but between service and disservice to Life. Good and evil being concepts of rational life it follows that all the good and evil in the world is attributable to rational life *alone*. If each one of us is a Temple of The Living God—"The Kingdom of God is within you"—there is no denying the fact that the living devil often enters to defile the Temple. And many of us seem to like a mess up now and again. "It's only human nature," we say in self-exoneration. We know to-day better than ever what we should and what we shouldn't do. Our feelings tell us, even if we have no thought of an All-seeing Eye. The knowledge is rudimentary that we ought not to injure others since we dislike injury done to ourselves. And there is nothing of the supernatural about such a consciousness. It is plain common-sense.

The Golden Rule, which is the basic ethic of the Christian religion, which is in very truth the Christian gospel in miniature, makes no mention of God. Without affecting its cogency one iota it might be paraphrased thus: "Howsoever ye would that others should live, so live you!" Good-living is the one and only criterion of Godliness. Deeds are adjudged good or evil whether or not they are backed by belief in God. "By their works ye shall know them." "Faith without works is dead." Even our Law-courts modify the Oath to accommodate Unbelievers. And rightly so. Sincerity after all is the quintessence of well-doing and an Unbeliever is not necessarily less sincere than a Believer.

Consider too how we religiously laud and memorialise as heroes those of our kindred who have fallen in War. Many of them have never even *pretended* to be Christians. But no matter, "Greater love hath no man than he who layeth down his life for a friend." And how very true that is. But how false in the circumstances of war inasmuch as the enemy fallen never merit the tribute. Nay. They have suffered *retribution*. God has struck them down because they belonged to the devil. They had taken up the sword and had perished by the sword. As they had sown so had they reaped. And these things are said by many of those who boggle at common or garden blasphemy, forsooth! But let one suggest that possibly we reaped at Dunkirk and elsewhere what we had sown at Versailles and he will run the risk of being imprisoned.

But the truth stands irrefutable to-day, despite all religious claims to the contrary, that the whole civilised world is reaping as it has sown. It has sown the wind and reaped the whirlwind. What more striking a contradiction in terms could one cite than, "Civilisation at War?" A still small voice replies, "God in War." And I smile my acknowledgment of its ready wit. Certainly a God of Love taking sides in war rather stumps ones imagination. Moreover, they who accept the religious commonplace "God is

Love," must of necessity admit the logical inference, "Love is therefore God." And since love is an expression of human life primarily, a loving way of life should be man's foremost concern.

Jesus was The Christ because He worshipped life. He came "that we might have *life* and have it more abundantly." He went about doing good. He loved life and all living things. He embraced the whole cosmos in arms of love. He exemplified good-living and stressed the imperative accountability of every individual soul. He was no doctrinaire. He espoused none of the religions of His day. Institutionalism was foreign to Him. His *métier* was Brotherhood and He was the world's greatest Individualist. And when He said "No one cometh unto The Father but by me," He clearly meant . . . "but by living like me." Here then is the much needed common-ground religion for fallible mortals—The Worship of Life.

## WALTZ TUNE

By LADY DUNN

We all know that the Danube is a muddy, yellow river, flowing through an enemy country—and that it is at present full of shipping, barges carrying troops, munitions, and supplies. It is either a yellow sullen—or a rapid river in flood—but always helping the enemy.

And yet!

Each morning I put on a recording of a beautiful tune called (I suppose foolishly) "*The Blue Danube*."

It is played by the finest orchestra in the world (and I do not say perhaps) the Philadelphia Philharmonic—conducted by Leopold Stokowski—and it was composed by a certain someone who, drifting down the Danube one summer's day—between vineyards, mountains, monasteries and churches—and being deeply in love—imagined and saw the great river as *blue*.

What a happy fallacy—and how grateful the world should be to Johannes Strauss.

"And *why*?" you may ask.

Because any vision of beauty, however mistaken, is still something for which to be grateful.

Anyone who during the darkest "blackout" sees things blue instead of black—is surely someone to be encouraged and thanked.

And so I put on my record every morning—and I dance.

To many this may seem as Nero dancing whilst Rome burns; but the record finished and my dancing done I can with lightened heart, body and mind, the better face the day with its series of disappointments, its struggles—and all the petty annoyances which a war brings, even to those who have found sanctuary and security from the greater troubles.

*The Blue Danube!*

We hear of optimists—who view the world through rose-coloured spectacles—and are called for their trouble "poor fools."

But I wish that we could see *all* muddy, yellow rivers as *blue*; that the crash of the traffic, the shouts of the boatmen, and the dull roar of engines could all melt away into that beautiful waltz tune, and that not only I, but *all* (and by all, I mean all enemies) could share for a few minutes the same lovely vision—and in the sharing perhaps turn and smile at each other—and in a great "foolishness" find a "greater wisdom."

For even the bird of happiness—so earnestly sought—is *blue*—bright, shining, heavenly blue—pushing from memory the black and muddy yellow of our present misfortune.

[ERRATUM.—In Lady Dunn's "Three Nightingales" last month, after "Russian" read "front."

# WAR: A STUDY IN FACT

By RUDOLF ROCKER

(Concluded from Vol. III, page 136)

## SECOND ESSAY.

The Russian despotism is older, much older than the present German State. It also is much older than the Prussian State, which has had such a terrible influence on the political and social development of Germany. Those who are at all acquainted with history, know, that the Prussian State developed directly under the protection of Russian and French absolutism. The Dukes of Brandenburg—i.e., the predecessors of the Prussian Monarchy—were only paid servants of the French Feudalistic Monarchy; and the Prussian State was allowed to develop as a means of breaking the Austrian political power in Europe, a weapon in the hands of the French despots against the Hapsburg dynasty. The founders of the Prussian State were not allowed to have any political will of their own. They only were permitted to serve as tools in the hands of Russian and French despotism.

When Frederick the Great attempted to assert himself by refusing to give military assistance to Louis the fifteenth against England, France united with Russia and Austria, and Germany was laid waste for seven years. Prussia would have completely disappeared from the map of Europe then, if her king had not thrown herself into the arms of the Russian despot. The Czar saved Prussia from certain extinction, on the one condition that the Prussian ruler became a dutiful and obedient servant of Czarism.

Kropotkin reminds us that, in 1905, the Kaiser was prepared to send an army into Poland to suppress the revolution. But that which the Kaiser only contemplated, Nicholas I. actually accomplished in 1848. At that time, when the Hungarian revolution everywhere was successful, when the Austrian Monarchy was tottering to its fall, and the German revolution had lifted its head once more,—at that critical moment, the Czar came to the assistance of Austria with an army of 140,000 and defeated Hungary, the last hope of the 1848 revolution in Europe. True, the disgraceful act of Nicholas I., in no way, can justify the equally disgraceful plan of William II.; but it again shows that Germany is not the only danger in the world, the revolutionaries have to reckon with.

Opinions differ as to which state is the greatest menace to the development of freedom in Europe. To Kropotkin, the centre of reaction is Berlin—and he has complained that, unfortunately, he is too old to shoulder a gun to defend France against German Huns. Bebel made a similar declaration twelve years ago when he avowed that, were there a war between Russia and Germany, he would take a gun and march, shoulder to shoulder, with the German bourgeoisie against barbaric Russia. To him, the centre of reaction was no other place than Petersburg, and he had as many arguments to urge against Russia as Kropotkin has against Germany. Had Bebel had the opportunity of reading Kropotkin's *Terror in Russia* he would have many more undoubtedly. In his reasons, Bebel was as correct as Kropotkin; in his conclusions, as false. When Bebel said he would take up a gun and march with the German bourgeoisie against Russia, he denied, thereby, everything he had stated about the "proletarian class struggle." And when Kropotkin said, in his interview with the Russian lawyer, Azieff, "that the people of the Allies must all take an active part in the present war and come to the assistance of their respective governments," it was as complete a denial of the elemental Anarchist principles which he has expounded in such a brilliant way.

That the German Social Democratic Party regard the war from the same point of view as Kropotkin, but look for the enemy in the opposite direction, will appear from the following quotation from *Vorwarts*:—

"The victory over the Allies of Russia is only necessary because they are allied with Czarism. But that necessity exists only as long as England and France may hinder the destruction of Czarism. . . . We must not pursue, therefore, a policy which may prolong the enmity between Germany and the West European countries, i.e., Germany must not seize any territory nor interfere in the integrity and independence of other nationalities, as that would give Russia the opportunity of playing the part of conciliator in Europe, even should she be beaten. . . .

"If we are not able to defeat Czarism, should the strategical exigency take the place of the political necessity, it may happen the present war will result in another 'Holy Alliance,' whatever the intention of the rulers might be. Instead of an Alliance of civilized nations, Czarism will continue to hold its ruling power. . . . If it should prove to be the case, the present war has lost its justification. 'No! This war must not be a means of usurpation and the building up of a new world-power in place of the British and Russian world-power; but it must be the means of freeing all nations. Freedom from Muscovitism; freedom and independence for Poland and Finland; a free development for the great Russian nation herself, and the destruction of the unnatural alliance of two civilized nations with barbaric Czarism—this is the aim that called out the enthusiasm of the German people, and hence their readiness to make the necessary sacrifices.'"

The above view, no less than Kropotkin's, may be held by an ordinary radical citizen. It has nothing in common with Socialism, and less with Anarchism. In both cases, it seems to be forgotten that this war, like any in the past, is not in the interest of the so-called culture problems, but to advance certain economic and political ambitions; to extend the sphere of the power of the State and capitalism in the respective countries; particularly a competition of power between British and German capitalism. None of us know much of the secret intrigues of diplomacy. Hence we cannot say who is foremost in responsibility for the present catastrophe, but we know for certain that all governments have been participating in the participating in the secret intrigues and diplomacy of the finance kings. They have been preparing for this war for years, and none were surprised by the latest developments.

In his last work, *The Modern State*, in the chapter entitled, "The War," Kropotkin explicitly declares that the loan of £50,000,000 the Russian Government received from French capitalists in 1906, under the protection of the French Republic, was accepted for the purpose of crushing the revolution. Kropotkin details the enormous corruption in the French world of finance and ends with these sarcastic words:—

"What a lucky incident it is! The Government of a big State is in danger! It has to suppress a Revolution! Such luck does not occur every day!"

But in his letter to Steffen, Kropotkin makes no mention of this disgraceful betrayal of the Russian revolutionaries by the Republican finance kings. Instead he says:—

"Let us not forget again, that when France advanced the loan to the Russian autocracy in 1906, it was because she felt that, if Russia was unable to reform her army after the defeat in Manchuria, France would be torn to pieces by Germany, Austria, and Italy, who were allied against her."

We do not know the secret plans of the German government, and we expect anything but good from her. But, with the best will in the world to believe what he says, we cannot see the logic in Kropotkin's assertion. If Germany really meant to destroy France and occupy Finland, etc., as Kropotkin states, the question is: Why did she not seize the opportunity when the Russian army was paralysed so completely after its defeat in Manchuria? Why did she make no attempt to realise her ambition? Just at that moment the German despot addressed to Nicholas the famous telegram: "*Russia's mourning is Germany's mourning.*" It would have been so easy for it to have been Russia's mourning and Germany's joy!

No! There is no reason, whatever, to change our former attitude with regard to the State and Capitalism. If a revolution had broken out in France, and the Kaiser, with his armies, had attacked her in order to suppress it, then even we would have taken a gun in defence of France. Only in such circumstances can Socialists and Anarchists justify war. Every other war is only a curse to mankind, a hindrance to real progress, and an enemy to every development of freedom. Such is the present war. And as an Anarchist we still stand, today, for the same principles as Kropotkin formerly represented with us, and which we now represent without him and against him.

The whole civil press in Britain and France, the statesmen and politicians, use the same arguments as are employed now by Kropotkin. They all talk of the cultural meaning of this war, and condemn Germany for invading the neutrality of Belgium and for attacking France. But such disgraceful acts are not confined to the German State and the German "Huns." Those great statesmen know this only too well. The subordination of India and Egypt, and the attack on the Transvaal by Britain; the suppression of Morocco by France; the murderous conduct of Italy in Tripoli, etc., prove that the "Huns" do not live in Germany only.

We certainly condemn the brutal deeds of the German armies in Belgium, and our entire sympathy goes out to the innocent victims of the bestiality of militarism. Our sympathy goes out also to the unfortunate inhabitants of Galicia, East Prussia, etc., who suffer the same pain and are in a like helpless condition. They are, undoubtedly, no more responsible for the crimes of their respective governments than are the peasants and workers of Belgium. It is not because we stand for one or the other of the robbers that we tender our sympathy, but because we carry on a fight against the whole murderous system, and its brutal and tyrannical representatives in order to bring about a brighter and better future for mankind.

Militarism may be developed more in Germany, but its spirit is everywhere the same. It is the spirit of barbarism, tyranny, and brutal force. Militarists like Kitchener and Roberts, Joffre and Fayre, Moltke and Kluck, belong to different nations, but are united through ideals and aims, and are, everywhere, the tools of reaction.

Kropotkin talks about the degradation of the German nation during the last forty years, and its thirst for war. According to him, every German is a born soldier, a wild savage who always is ready to spring upon his prey. Kropotkin makes no difference between the German State and the German people. If forty years could produce such a change in a nation, the question is: Then in what condition of decadence and degradation must the Russians be, who were brought up for centuries under the yoke of brutal despotism?

We do not deny the psychological influence of the military system on the spirit of the masses. We are not blind to the corrupting impression made by the pro-German agitation. Though we detest with all our heart this method of poisoning the minds of the people, we must say that Kropotkin's vision of the German people has no connection whatever with the reality. The Germans are no more warlike than any other people. On the contrary, they are inclined to be more peaceful than most other nations. The German Anarchists and Revolutionaries find it a hard fight to overcome the pacifism of their countrymen. Were the Germans more warlike, they would long since have overthrown their military yoke. This sounds paradoxical, perhaps, but those who are acquainted with Germany know this to be only too true.

Thousands of young men leave their fatherland every year, because they hate the barracks like poison. Thousands ruin their health and make cripples of themselves, for the same reason. If they should abolish compulsory service in Germany, not a single soldier would

be left in the barracks. Had the German people had any say, we would have had no war. The same is true of other nations, no doubt. This is really the tragedy, that the people allow themselves to be ruled by a handful of bandits!

True, the spirit that rules Germany, to-day, is one of hate, revenge, and murder. The same is true of Britain, Russia, and France. Let Kropotkin only glimpse at the medieval accusations against the Germans, with which the British press is filled daily. Let him give his own verdict about the pogrom-tactics of the Conservative press, and the brutal persecution of thousands of German workers and their families in this country, that cannot be justified on any grounds of exigency. Then let him tell us if Germany alone is the home of degradation and decadence.

A few months ago, the word "Cossack" embodied with it in this country the idea of barbarism and brutality. To-day, the Cossack is the hero of the whole English press. Men like Chesterton and Cunningham Grahame tell us of "the democratic spirit" in Russia, and Kropotkin's daughter idealises the Russian officer in the *Liberal Daily News*. And this change came about in a few weeks, not in forty years. Is this not a sign of decadence?

We will say nothing about Kropotkin's optimism over Russia's near future. But, if he thinks that, "the unity of all parties against the common enemy will make it impossible for that country to go back to its old autocracy," we sincerely hope that he will not find himself deceived. So far the Russian government has made no compromise with the progressives, but the revolutionaries have compromised with Czarism. Not only has the Russian despot not allowed the least freedom for the moment, but he has suppressed all hitherto existing liberties. For instance, the rights enjoyed by the Jewish people in those parts of Austria that Russia has captured. The Czar has made a few indefinite promises, that is all. Kropotkin knows best what value such "promises" have.

He opines that it is dangerous for a despot to play with revolution. We do not doubt the danger, but we know, also, that often despotism is victorious. The Prussian despot promised his people a constitution, if they would help him to defeat Napoleon I. But when the people had driven off the French, the King forgot the constitution and became a member of the Holy Alliance. It is really danger for the despot to play with revolution. But it is much more dangerous for revolutionaries to play with despotism.

Kropotkin appeals to those who stand for the great principles written on the banner of the International. We stand for them: that is why we are against Kropotkin in the present crisis. The International taught us that the workers have their own interests, which are the same in all countries. It did not teach us that we had to march shoulder to shoulder with our governments, but to unite in the struggle against all government, against all forms of exploitation. On the banner of the International was *not* written: "Proletarians of all lands kill each other!" But: "Proletarians of all lands unite!" Kropotkin's attitude involves the bankruptcy of international solidarity. Of that he will convince himself when the war is over. But we stand firm and true to the old banner of Anarchism, against State and Capitalism, for the complete emancipation of the whole human race.

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## Plausible Politicians Poison The People!

### THE WAR-TIME ART OF CUNNING AND TRICKERY

BY  
ALEXANDER RATCLIFFE

War always drags in its foul trail the worst that is in man. The present War is no exception to this rule. Not only do we find otherwise "honest politicians" turning political somersaults in their careerist interests: overthrowing their political aims of peace time, and turning their backs on the ideals that gave birth to their political elevation: but in war we find good Christian people surrendering the very first things of their Faith: reading their Bible through rejecting with violence the Sermon on the Mount, the spectacles of war-mongers, openly repudiating the Peace mission of Jesus Christ, and "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" is now the universal cry of the churches. "When we fight Hitler we fight for God," is their clarion call. "It is the duty of Christ's own to kill Germans," this being the considered declaration of the Free Church of Scotland, as that Church urged converted men and women to go to the help of "suffering Poland," a country whose Protestant and Jew inhabitants suffered more under Polish rule before this war, than it has suffered under the Nazis since the war began.

Our present purpose, however, is to deal with a pretty fair specimen of the cunning and trickery of our Democratic politicians: to show how these plausible rascals are poisoning the people. For, from that standpoint of Christian ethics, our politicians, from Churchill downwards, have become a menace to accepted morality in this Protestant Nation. Without exception (will someone refer us to the exception?) they are as rank as the rottenness of the war system which they support, *because it supports them*. To-day there is hardly an honest politician in the land: they are mostly liars, and they are lecherous in their mad drive to hoodwink the credulous people who put faith in them. Be it a Churchill or a Gallacher, they are one.

#### CUNNING CITRINE.

Here is a fair specimen to which we at present refer, and there are hundreds like him. Sir Walter Citrine, K.B.E., described by himself in his book, *In Russia Now*, as "The Right Honorable." Author of other books, including *My Finnish Diary*. Trade Union leader and tourist, at the workers' expense, at the battle-fronts of Finland and Russia. A working man's representative, wining and dining with the greatest of the land, and other lands, this Socialist? is a fair specimen of the kind of political pundit chosen to delude the people, and to enslave the minds and intelligence of the simple working classes.

To reveal what sort of a character this Citrine is (and let it be borne in mind that he is the chosen specimen out of scores of others), we refer to his book, *My Finnish Diary*, published as a "Penguin Special" and which is sent out for human consumption as solid food. Elsewhere the Editor of this journal has made a pretty full exposure of *My Finnish Diary*, Citrine's literary vomit which he has since swallowed whole. (Interested readers should read the Book of Proverbs, chapter 26, verse 11; also 2nd Peter, chapter 2, verse 22.)

On page 5 of *My Finnish Diary*, Sir Walter Citrine writes thus; his opening words:

"On Thursday, 30th November, 1939, to the dismay and horror of the civilised world, Soviet Russia brutally attacked her little neighbour of Finland. Socialists and democrats were stupefied at this outbreak of savagery."

And now the same gentle Trade Union leader, Democrat and Socialist, has similar words in his subsequent book, *In Russia Now*, but for another occasion. On page 5, the opening words again:

"In the early hours of the morning of Sunday, 22nd June, 1941, Nazi Germany made a brutal and unprovoked attack on Soviet Russia."

In *My Finnish Diary*, Citrine shows what a grand people the Finns are. He publishes pictures of bombed Finland and others of beautiful Finn buildings. He expresses his delight at the bravery of the Finns, and he denounces wholesale the crimes of Soviet Russia. He records his interviews with Russian prisoners of war in Finland, states that Soviet troops "physically and intellectually" are "of a most decidedly lower type than the Finns." He records his talks with Soviet prisoners who beg the Finns not to send them back as exchange prisoners to Russia, *for Stalin would murder them!* Citrine was told *not to touch* the Soviet prisoners in case he would contract some disease!

Sir Walter says of the Soviet troops whom he examined, "They wore only thin tunics into which no wool had gone in the weaving. . . . Their boots were not made of leather but a sort of composite substance in which felt predominated." He also says, on inspecting a Soviet officer's tunic, "It was a poor flimsy thing made of dark grey cotton, and very little warmer, I should say, than a good dungaree overall." The weather for such wear, it is pointed out, was "45 degrees freezing."

Incidentally, did the reader ever note how active our leading politicians, Tory or Socialist, are becoming with their pens? But it pays! HOW it pays! The Citrines are amassing small fortunes in these days of war, for it will not always be thus. Not always will the British working classes want to read the specious pleas of these political gentry who can so ably put it over a credulous public in the interests of "Democracy".

In the *Glasgow Evening Citizen* (29/12/41) a report of Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden's visit to the Moscow Front is given. Mr. Eden spoke to German prisoners of war, and he says about the Germans what Citrine said about the Russians. Thus Mr. Eden says, "He talked with German prisoners who did not suspect his identity, and who were inadequately dressed in thin, unlined coats, poor boots."

Compare that with what Citrine said about the Soviets! In his other book, *In Russia Now*, Citrine very wisely refrains from making any comment about German prisoners of war on his visit to Russia to see for himself. Probably he was not permitted to get anywhere near German prisoners of war. But, while in *My Finnish Diary*, Citrine shows how the Soviet prisoners of war fear and detest Stalin, we have this in his new book, *In Russia Now*, "There is no doubt of the veneration in which Stalin is held by the Russian people."

The mockery of the whole thing is enough to make decent men and women sick! When we were on the side of Finland, Russia was bad, very bad. The Finns were Co-operators, Democrats and Socialists. They were the salt of the earth. But as soon as Russia is up against Hitler, and on *our* side, we hear no more about the Finns. But we *do* hear quite a lot about the Russians. They are now even *Religious*: they are now the salt of the earth: they are now fighting for Democracy. When Stalin attacked Finland he was *brutal, a savage, a veritable fiend!* But now, Citrine in his second book refers to Stalin as "Man of Steel," and Stalin "does not belie his name." We cannot say the same of Citrine! Unless "Citrine" means straw!

Citrine has made it clear that he is dead against Communism. Yet he is now aiding and abetting Communism and helping Stalin to spread his Communism over Europe. Citrine detests the British Communist, because he is *British*. He agrees with that other turncoat, Morrison, that the Communists' *Daily Worker* should not see life again. If a foreigner is a Communist, he is a *gentleman*, a man of steel: a great Democrat. But if a Britisher is a Communist he is the *Devil's own!* And, unfortunately, the British working-classes mostly agree with Citrine there. They have every love for the foreigner, do these Citrines, because the foreigner treats them well and with much respect. The foreigner wines and dines them, and kisses their hand. But the Britisher: he actually has the nerve to *heckle* the Citrines: to ask them questions: *to show them up!*

## The Sins of the Father

By Rev. H. J. DALE

Assistant Minister, Baptist Church, Kings Rd.

Reading.

Both Government and people in this country will have to undergo big changes of heart and outlook before the responsibilities already referred to can be rightly discharged. The signs are that we still have a long way to go before we reach that point of renunciation a new world order demands. So long as the "Land of Hope and Glory" idea persists, it is impossible to put forward anything in the nature of really constructive proposals, and to abandon it calls for the display of a larger measure of grace than at present we appear to possess. To such an extent are our leaders devoid of vision and imagination that the catch-cry "Destroy Hitler and his gang" is about all one can get in the way of concrete aims from those whose primary duty it should be to make definite proposals whereby all the evil forces that threaten man's well-being may be challenged and destroyed. Contrary to popular opinion, Hitler is by no means the only, or even the greatest, obstacle to human progress. To place the total responsibility for the world's chaos upon the head of one man or one nation may be an essential element in the working of the propaganda machine, but it is as evidently untrue as it is foolish. That the German people and their leader must share a part of the blame, no reasonable person would deny, nor can their conduct in many instances fail to arouse feelings of the deepest shame and disgust. But we should be moving more in the realm of actualities were we to say that the Nazi regime is a product rather than a cause, the inevitable issue to a succession of events for whose emergence others besides Germany must be held accountable. Its working denotes the presence of a disease that has attacked not one nation alone, but the whole world, and is now threatening civilization with total destruction. To track down the real causes of our troubles one must look in more than one direction.

Not the least among these contributory factors—though many try to make light of it—is the faithless, unjust and humiliating terms imposed on a defeated and defenceless enemy at the end of the last war. From complicity in that revengeful treatment of a beaten foe—however one may make excuses for it—we can never be exonerated. A victory that might, if rightly used, have been turned to splendid account, proved, for want of understanding and generosity, a defeat of the very worst kind. When the testing time came we were not big enough to rise to the glorious opportunity that presented itself of wresting good out of evil, and starting the world upon a new course.

The German nation was treated as deserving only of the severest penalties that could be imposed upon them, so that even the moderate and peace-loving elements in the country began to lose hope, while the reactionary influences grew stronger. When finally Hitler seized power and declared his intention no longer to submit to such humiliation, and, if needs be, to gain by force the equality which had been denied, he was acclaimed a national hero and assured of whole-hearted support. What people would not have done the same in similar circumstances? Mr Churchill has admitted that no serious attempt was made to come to terms with the moderate Governments which existed under the Parliamentary system.

To try to belittle the fact that both in the Treaty of Versailles and subsequently the Germans were shamefully wronged, is worse than useless. We and those who acted with us stand condemned. The Armistice was concluded on the basis of President Wilson's 14 points, one of which was that the blockade

of Central European Powers should be raised immediately hostilities ceased. Despite this, however, Britain and France persisted in maintaining the blockade until the Treaty was signed seven months later, thus causing starvation to hundreds of thousands of the poorest people and inflicting untold hardships and misery on many more. But why was the blockade continued after an undertaking to the contrary had been given? The answer is, in order to coerce Germany into signing a crushing and vindictive Treaty. The German representatives at Versailles refused to sign a Treaty containing a clause which branded them as solely responsible for the war, and consequently returned to Germany with their task undone. Yet the blockade continued. Eventually representatives were sent who signed, not because they were more favourably disposed to the terms, but for the sake of their suffering fellow-creatures. This completely unjustifiable breach of faith on the part of the Allied Powers speaks for itself, and should not be forgotten when charges of falsity and treacherous conduct are levelled against Germany and other countries.

Then there was the invasion of the Ruhr, followed later by the Ottawa Agreements. The French entered the Ruhr in 1923 because Germany had defaulted on her reparation payments. She had no alternative. Yet it is significant to recall that the French had to evacuate the Ruhr six months later, having earned nothing from the venture save the implacable hatred of the German people.

The effects of the Ottawa Agreements were even more disastrous and destructive of good feelings. As a result of the economic crisis of 1930-33 a wave of economic nationalism swept over the world. This found expression in Britain in the formation of a "National" Government and subsequently in the Ottawa Agreements. Speaking in general terms these had the effect of making the British Empire a closed economic unit. The result was calamitous for all debtor nations, and most of all for Germany which at that time was the greatest debtor nation in the world. A position that had already been made almost intolerable was now strained to breaking-point. Is it to be wondered at that the people in their despair turned to one in whom they believed deliverance from their persecutors could be found? Commenting at the time on the tariffs and quotas of Ottawa, Sir Archibald Sinclair said that "they would breed in other countries tanks, aeroplanes and warships. Nations were determined not to go on paying tribute to Britain but to acquire raw materials for themselves." How fully justified was that warning we know only too well. German autarchy today is the answer to Ottawa. One by one the birds of ill omen we have let loose are coming home to roost, and more will follow.

Those people who hold Germany solely responsible for plunging Europe and the world into war must not overlook the fact that there was sufficient provocation. Versailles set the course of international events for the next twenty years, and to imagine that the defeat of the Axis Powers is all that is necessary to put things right is to live in a dream world. The truth is that neither victory nor defeat upon the battlefield can achieve the results for which we look. Indeed, the more decisive the one or other may prove to be the less will be the chances of establishing a constructive and lasting peace. Much more than victory is required. The old spirit and methods must give place to something in closer accord with the realities and needs of human life and thought and progress.

When there was none to say her nay, Great Britain did not hesitate to act on the principle of "wider still and wider" and to take the fullest possible advantage of whatever opportunities of expansion presented themselves. We set our feet in every place to which we could gain an entrance, often without any

regard for either the rights or feelings of those whose territory we annexed. If this was not aggression, then words have ceased to have any meaning. But memories are conveniently short where self-interest is concerned. Even if occasional twinges of conscience cause a temporary sense of disquiet, it can be laid to rest by the comforting thought that things have changed now. At what precise point in the development of international political relationships this moral transformation took place, no one seems to know. As a matter of fact it never has taken place, and the suggestion that it has is only another typical piece of humbug whereby we try to cover up our own misdeeds by emphasizing those of others. Mention needs only to be made of Africa, India, the Far East, the West Indies, to show that we have little ground for holding up our hands in pious horror when we are told of what terrible deeds others are committing. Have we forgotten that there ever was an Opium War, or that huge fortunes were amassed through "Red Rubber"? Though the average individual does not realize it, the formulation of national policies and their execution are oftentimes more in the hands of the big financial speculators than in those of the Government immediately concerned. Morality counts for little where material advantages are to be gained.

Moreover, if we are sincere in our condemnation of aggression, how is it that we have not taken action long before this? Was not Japan guilty of aggression against China, and Italy in her annexation of Abyssinia? Yet in both these instances the same determining factor is seen directing our policy. Because our "vital interests"—in other words, big profits—were not endangered, intervention by us was allowed to pass by default. In fact, it was to our benefit not to interfere. We and the U.S.A. were supplying Japan with a large proportion of her war materials, notwithstanding all our professions of friendship with China. Was it not we, too, who years ago encouraged and tutored Japan in the use of modern weapons and methods of war? This growing Power in the East at once provided us with a safeguard for our imperial interests and offered an attractive market for our manufacturers. Now that she has determined to throw in her lot with the Axis she is denounced as guilty of every conceivable crime against international decency. As to Italy's invasion of Abyssinia, all that needs to be said is that profits from the supply of Iranian oil were considered of greater importance than the fulfilment of any moral responsibility on our part.

A similar inconsistency is to be seen in our alliance with Russia. Here again action has been dictated purely by considerations of self-interest. Not so very long ago leaders of religious and political thought in this country were at great pains to condemn in the strongest terms the anti-God movement, and to show how real was the menace of Bolshevism to our religious and social institutions. More recently still indignation was aroused by what was described as an absolutely unjustified attack on Finland. But suddenly all this is forgotten. We are in imminent danger. Instead, therefore, of thinking of the Russians as "bloody baboons," we are asked to see in Soviet totalitarianism a force making for righteousness. If, however, as has repeatedly been affirmed, Bolshevism and Nazism are but variations of the same evil spirit, and equally threaten the liberty and security of "free" peoples, surely we ought to be as eager to destroy the one as the other.

The truth is that having embarked upon a most perilous enterprise, those in high places are determined to go on with it in complete disregard of the future troubles and embarrassments they are storing up for themselves. The tide that might have taken us upon a very different course was allowed to run out without our availing ourselves of it.



Such golden opportunities as have been ours seldom recur. In our frantic endeavour to safeguard our temporal and material well-being, we have come desperately near to losing our soul.

What value is there, for example, in promising freedom to peoples now suffering under German oppression, if we persist in withholding the right of self-determination from those to whom it is in our power to grant it? In India and Ireland we see how our denial of the liberty justly demanded has borne the fruit of prolonged discord and bitterness. No war emergency pressure can now make good what our lack of goodwill and weak statesmanship have failed to achieve in the past. Far from increasing liberty, war only stifles it and endangers whatever element of it remains. This is becoming clearer every day.

The expedients to which we have been compelled to have recourse prove how weak is the foundation upon which our cause rests. A purpose prompted solely by considerations of love, truth and justice requires no such compulsory urges and restrictions as have marked our war effort. Patriotism is not to be measured by the determination that one's own country shall maintain political and economic ascendancy over others, but by a disinterested pursuit of those high ideals that are the common inheritance of all and without the enjoyment of which neither men nor nations can fulfil their true destiny.

## A SOCIALIST SHOULD BE RATIONAL

By  
S. W. FRANCES

To-day is the day of propaganda, the period of the LIE. Nations have arisen and grasped the sword, whole empires are divided into only two sections of thought, War and anti-War. The thinking capacity of the individual has diminished, now people think in groups. They support this idea or support the opposing idea; not as rational human beings, but because the particular idea which they believe, is propagated with all the power of the press and the radio, or alternatively by their own party press. If people do not support the popularised, conventional beliefs, it is because they are "cranks"—or, in other words, because they think for themselves.

We have seen in Germany the effects of the propagation of the lie. Hitler's well-known statement that the bigger the lie the easier it will be to put it the lie across, has been proved abundantly in Germany. Literally millions of Germans are the worshippers of Hitler, millions of Germans support his aims and his ideals, and in all probability those same millions can only repeat in defence of Hitler's aims and ideals, phrases that have again and again appeared in the columns of the German Newspapers or which have been hurled countless times across the ether.

The age of propaganda is exploiting people in a manner that they have never experienced before. In mediæval times, popular support was obtained by State repression. Ideas and actions contrary to the State's interests were punished with violence. This method was not satisfactory. It created a strong feeling of hostility from the population against the Government.

Now it is possible to obtain the popular support without creating the hostility. If the same idea is propagated with sufficient energy, if the same philosophy and ideals are presented often enough and long enough, with no opposition ideas receiving publicity, the populace will begin to believe that the ideas propagated are true and just, and will believe in those ideas even to the pitch of fanaticism. The hostility towards Government repression has disappeared and people will not believe in the propagated ideas on

pain of punishment, but will believe in them because they see those ideas to be the best ideas. There being no very conspicuous alternative to the Government point of view, what else is there for people to believe or place faith in?

Is this propaganda phase to be exploited by the Socialist? The Socialist has an idea, a point of view, a philosophy of life. He believes that, for the benefit of humanity, Socialism should be achieved as rapidly as is possible. Can he secure the best results by propaganda and by inducing people to act on their emotional instincts, or is it preferable to rely on peoples reasoning powers? Is he to propagate Socialism to the degree that Nationalism is propagated in the warring countries of the world? Is the red flag to replace the Union Jack, Lenin Mr. Churchill, and "die for Socialism" replace "die for England?"

Doubtless many readers have been to meetings that have been held up and down the country. They have heard speaker after speaker supporting various social projects. They may have, as have countless others, had their hearts wrung with grief, been filled with intensified indignation, felt revulsion to injustice coupled with sympathy for the speakers cause; they may have formed part of the huge audience that has dipped deep into its pockets to supply money for the cause the speaker has defended. In the last few years, thousands of pounds have been raised by eloquent public speakers, who with masterly skill have produced lumps in the throats of their audience, who have fired the hot-heads and produced in all a tremendous emotional response. Remember the "Aid to Spain" meetings.

Is this method the method that the Socialist should use to its fullest extent. Those audiences had no logical, historical, or true reasons put before them. They were not able to see for themselves the "truth" in the arguments. Instead, their emotions were played upon. A specific example of injustice was introduced and with many emotional side issues, featured as the centre of the speakers case.

Undoubtedly this produced an admirable effect. If therefore the Socialist is convinced that Socialism is for the benefit of all people, and if he believes that few people of to-day will take the trouble to think about things clearly and logically, is it not better to obtain the support of the people by emotional stress? Having obtained their support and put Socialism into operation by the very value of a practical demonstration of Socialism he can then create the logical and intelligent thinking that he would really like to see.

A glance at history shows clearly that when changes are caused, it is not because the people stand up and clamour saying "we can see logically and intelligently that the present conditions are bad; we therefore need to change our condition." No, change in Society is caused by the emotional opposition of the people against a system, coupled with the influence of material environment upon them; combined together, this synthesis bursts asunder the old regime, and creates, willy-nilly, a new regime.

If change can therefore be produced by the emotional appeal to people, by all means must our Socialist use this method. But there is an essential factor. The people will be following blindly their emotional dictates. It is the Socialist who will be guiding the flood of emotionalism with its material power, along the paths to Socialism.

But all is lost if our Socialist, too, loses control of his thinking self and is swept away by the emotionalism that he has helped create. Our Socialist must maintain at all costs his ability to think clearly. He must be able to weigh up carefully all the pros and cons and not to follow his party blindly. Whatever new ideas develop within the party they must be fully considered in order that a fair judgment may be formed. He must decide whether these new ideas are oppositional or whether they may not be helpful.

Socialism may be achieved by the use of emotionalism. But Socialism can only be continued by the development in all people, of the ability to think clearly and rationally. How much responsibility thus falls upon the Socialist? He must learn to think logically himself, from his own opinions and not blindly accept the dictates of his party.

## NORTH WALES TRIBUNAL

The Welsh National Party has complained to the Ministry of Labour about the conduct of the Chairman of the North Wales C.O. Tribunal, His Honour, Judge Walter Samuel, K.C., when dealing with Welsh Nationalist C.O.s. The conduct of the chairman is illustrated by reference to the case of Mr. Hywel D. Roberts, whose case was heard at Caernarfon, on Friday, December 19, 1941:

Mr. Roberts, in pleading his conscientious objection to being called up under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, expressed, as was his moral and legal duty under oath, his whole conscience, including therefore his objection as a Welsh Nationalist. In examination the Chairman referred to the Welsh Nationalist Party, of which Mr. Roberts is a member, as y "y Fyddin Gymreig" ("the Welsh Army"). When corrected by Mr. Roberts, the Chairman clung to his designation, adding "Bu bron i'ch Byddin Gymreig chwi fynd i ryfel a Lloegr ar fater Ysgol Fomic Llyn" (Your Welsh Army nearly went into war with England over the Llyn Bombing School").

Later, referring to this side of Mr. Roberts' case, the Chairman told the applicant "that he had unnecessarily harnessed himself to a question of prejudice. It would have been quite ample for you to have merely stated your case on Christian and pacifist grounds."

In the course of further examination, Mr. Roberts referred to the case of Mr. Glyn Williams, who, he understood, had at Colwyn Bay been given exemption on national grounds; the Chairman replied that "that applicant had also been foolish enough to harness himself to Welsh Nationalism."

The letter of the Executive of the Welsh Nationalist Party, dated January 21, 1942, avers that this case proves "the unmistakable animus and prejudice against Welsh Nationalist applicants exercising their undisputed rights under the Act."

The Ministry of Labour replied on February 5, stating that it is satisfied that the chairman carried out his duties in a fair and impartial manner.

The Nationalist Party replied on February 16, stating that the reports, both Welsh and English, which had been submitted, could not have been considered by the Ministry.

The Minister of Labour replied on March 11, maintaining his previous attitude of satisfaction.

The correspondence has been sent to Welsh Members of Parliament, with the request that the matter be raised on the floor of the House.

## The Duke of Bedford

In the House of Lords on Tuesday, July 21, the Duke of Bedford made his third pacifist speech as a member of the legislature. We have now the official report before us. The Duke followed Lord Cranborne, and was interrupted by Lord Mottistone (better known as Major General Sir John Seeley), who asked if he was in order. Lord Snell, acting as leader of the House, said that the rules were very wide, and the Duke proceeded to attack the Prime Minister. Lord Gainford rose. As the oldest peer present (he is 82) he moved that the Duke be no longer heard. Gainford, formerly Joseph Albert Pease, is notorious as the one-time Chairman of the anti-working class Federation of British Industries---the British F.B.I.!

Lord Strabolgi opposed the motion and Viscount Bennett protested against it mildly. In a brief and severe speech, agreeing to the expressed wishes of these Lords, the Duke promised to speak on a more relevant occasion.

The Duke's third, and interrupted, speech is the most important and vigorous speech he has made in parliament. It will be issued in pamphlet form this month, at 2d, post free 3d.

## OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Sir,—I have pleasure in sending subscription renewal for "The Word." With best wishes for your continued championship of Peace and Liberty.

Yours faithfully,

ROYSTON E. MOODY.

London, N. 10, May 12.

Dear Sir,—I have pleasure in enclosing subscription for "The Word," and would like to congratulate you on the service you are giving to freedom by the outspoken comments and views expressed on the most horrible of crimes—war.

With best wishes.

Yours truly,

W. A. MACKAY.

Leith, May 11.

Dear Guy Aldred, — The May edition of "The Word" and your article in particular is excellent.

With best wishes.

Yours fraternally,

LEONARD DUTHIE.

Aberdeen, May 12.

Dear Guy,—The articles republished in "The Word" under "Regeneracion" seem to laud the forcible intervention of the Spanish Brigade against General Franco, and it stands up for Conscientious Objectors. If it was right to fight Franco who is said to be, and I think on good grounds, the agent of Hitler, why is it so wrong to fight Hitler and all he stands for?

I may have misunderstood, but it seems absurd for "The Word" to support Spanish Intervention and be so gracious to Conscientious Objectors, who will not fight Franco's Master whilst "some" of them will fight Franco!

I know that an ardent fighting and fire-eating Conservative will, sometimes, support a Conchie on some Religious Principle or Ethic, and even on Political grounds.

But, I am sure you will not shield behind this sort of attitude, as yours must be qualitatively quite different. What are you doing to tolerate killers, even if, in their own discretion?

Yours sincerely,

CHAS. E. BERRY.

Paignton, May 26.

[We reproduced the "Regeneracion" leaflets because they established our opposition to Fascism. We were opposed to Franco and we were opposed to the hypocritical policy of non-intervention, under cover of which the Capitalist "democratic" governments advanced the interests of Fascism in Europe. Our comrades Jane H. Patrick and Ethel Macdonald went to Spain to play their part in the struggle. We are in favour of conscientious objectors and see no contradiction in this fact. We do not believe that Vansittart, Londonderry, and Donegall stand for Democracy against Fascism. The war against Fascism is not of arms, but of ideas and ideals. No supporter of Imperialism can overthrow Fascism. Opposition to Fascism implies a struggle towards a new social system. No one is more opposed to Fascism than Lord Wedgwood. No one is more willing to fight Fascism. No one has defended conscience more strenuously. The matter will be treated fully at an early date. The "Regeneracion" leaflets will be reprinted, as occasion permits, until every one is reprinted. They are facts and belong to history. We were opposed and are opposed to Fascism. We are opposed to Imperialism.—Ed.]

Dear Sir,—I should be glad of another 6 copies of the Duke of Bedford's great pamphlet, "Why Blunder On?" I should like to congratulate you on the excellent way you have presented the work to the public. I am sure you will agree that such a fine effort as the Duke is making deserves all the encouragement, and support we can give it.

With my best wishes.

Yours faithfully,

NORMAN F. HAYWARD.

Bournemouth, May 12.

Dear Comrade,—I am expecting a summons to the local court or to the appellate tribunal to show whether I have reasonable excuse for not complying with the local tribunal's order to take up full time work under the War Agricultural Committee. There has been one attempt by the 'would be' little Hitlers in the town to force me out, it's a long story and I won't bore you. I am quite willing to work on certain lines on the land. There is an established relationship between the ill-health or infertility of soils and the ill-health of the people that live on them. Only a highly fertile soil will grow healthy food, and the present trend of the controllers of our agricultural policies is to grow as much as possible by any means, without any thought of the decline in fertility, which has never been regained since the last war.

I would like to see a small corner of "The Word" devoted to this side of Pacifist and Socialist thought. We C.O.s on the land can do much to carry the message and lay the foundations of good health for future generations. If you care I will write you a

short article on my pet theory, if when you have read it and think it worth while to put it in "The Word" I shall feel honoured.

All good wishes in the Struggle.

Sincerely yours,

CUTHBERT LEIGH.

Keswick, May 13.

Dear Sir,—You will be glad to know that I have posted both an April and May number of "The Word" to each parson in this town. Also to the Mayor. Hope the copies do good.

I send herewith what John Wesley said about war, copied from his book on "Original Sin." I feel sure it will do good printed in "The Word."

Yours faithfully,

H. GOOD.

Nuneaton, June 1.

Dear Sir,—I have just finished a very illuminating novel of Glasgow life in the '70's by Guy McCrone, "Antimasassar City." Perhaps you have read it, but in it you get a clear picture of the social struggle, when progress is measured in terms of the distance one's domicile is located west of the Saltmarket.

It will be rather interesting if Herbert starts to keep his eye on Bob. The Duke of Bedford's speech served to accent sharply two of the many schools of thought in the British Academy of Unity, and although the results will not be blazoned throughout the press, it will act as a rallying ground for all humanitarian thought.

"The Word" is a truly remarkable paper. If it has any policy it seems to be that of providing a platform for anyone with a sincere contribution to make towards the realisation of true social relationships.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

THOMAS MILLAR.

Norwich, May 24.

Sir,—Some time ago there was a slump in gas masks. Every man, woman and child slung gas masks over their shoulders, yet still the shop windows were full of gas masks which no one wanted. Then huge posters appeared—"Hitler will give no warning" and there were illustrations to show how the people were to affix their gas masks. The chemists offered gas ointment for sale which one told no one bought. Still there was no demand for this altogether superfluous decoration. And now again the pressing invitation to the Germans to use gas is again being issued. But the truth is that no gas has been used in this war except by the British who murdered hundreds of the German minorities in Poland with this poisonous weapon. The Fuhrer's eyes "azure as the heavens" were blinded by gas for several months in the last war. He has sworn that never if he had the command of an army would he allow gas to be used—(he has kept his word).

BEATRICE MARSHALL.

Sydenham, London, S.E., June 2.

[We do not agree with the gas mask campaign. We hold that this is war propaganda, the propaganda of fear. We have never had a gas mask and would refuse to carry one. A little while ago, we informed the authorities that, if we were imprisoned for our war opposition, we would refuse, in prison, to have a gas mask or to participate in gas-mask drill, whatever the consequences. That is our considered and definite attitude. But we are not prepared to accept, without evidence, Beatrice Marshall's statements. We are unwilling to be moved by the bias of anti-patriotism. We would like to know the facts about Poland. We are not willing to accept Hitler's word in this matter. Hitler is a power politician like the other statemen of Europe. We believe that he had the opportunity to prove himself a great man and to save the world from desolation. He wasted that opportunity. He destroyed culture and built concentration camps. He warred on free opinion. We are his enemy. But we do not consider the way to social freedom in Europe and the world is the way of Imperialist war. We are opposed to the money changers who rule in the Temple. We stand for a new social system. We are opposed to Hitler, to High Finance, to War, and to Capitalism generally.—Ed.]

Dear Comrade,—It must be three years since I last saw "The Word." Now that I have again become a subscriber it is a great joy to find that you are carrying on as vigorously as ever in spite of all that has happened to discourage such efforts.

My own pacifism and socialism has been strengthened by the experience of war, but times are bitter indeed for those of us who are able to discuss the grim tragedy behind the trumpeting and mass hysteria. Hence the value of such journals as yours is greater to-day than ever. I only regret having denied myself the informative pleasure of reading your journal before war.

Sincerely yours,

MAURICE CRANSTON.

London, June 9.

Dear Sir,—Have been reading "The Word" for a good while. Have had it lent, but now I have several friends I would like to be able to read it. Hence, desire to have it sent regularly. Would consider it a favour if you could send me May's publication, as it is particularly fine.

Wishing you every success for the future of your paper "The Word."

Yours sincerely,

D. PEARSON.

Leeds, May 14.

Dear Guy Aldred,—I have been receiving odd copies of "The Word" from various friends, in London, and find that I began to expect it so I herewith enclose subscription, to make it a certainty. Trusting that your good work will keep on.

I am, yours sincerely,

JOHN H. BREWER.

Barkingside, Essex, June 1.

Dear Sir,—I was very pleased to receive the current issue of "The Word" and particularly that of last month containing the Truman Report.

Recent Press reports have spoken about the cartel system between I.C.I. and America and German Chemical Combines, also, that the British Government by placing orders with American firms which used German patents, have indirectly been paying royalties to German arms firms, while the Standard Oil Co. have been accused of giving a secret synthetic rubber patent to Germany just before that country and the U.S.A. went to war. As I feel that a large number of your readers might be interested in the arms traffic, perhaps in your future issues of "The Word" you might be able to supply more detailed information concerning the recent activities of these arms trusts, and also, the precise particulars of the Comptroller General's Audit Account on arms profiteering. I do not know how many of your readers are interested in the immorality of war. However, on the back page of yesterday's "Daily Dispatch" there was a new piece headed "Army Sex Talks Attacked." It contained part of a report made by the Free Church of Scotland, who intend sending in a protest to the authorities concerned, and I thought if you could get a full account of this and other particulars concerning immorality, such as whether illegitimate births have increased or decreased since the war; brothels for troops, etc., the findings of the committee on the A.T.S. who made an enquiry into alleged reports of indecency, than an essential service would be given to the community and be of extreme interest to your readers, in reporting the facts.

Yours fraternally,

JAMES N. LUND.

Wirral, May 14.

### MORE IGNORED SPEECHES

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Rhys J. Davies, M.P.	R. R. Stokes, M.P.
Mrs Hardy, M.P.	Cecil Wilson, M.P.

Since the early days of the war the national press has followed the practice of ignoring speeches made in Parliament which represent the so-called minority view. That a vast number of people agree with the views expressed from time to time by Members of the Parliamentary Peace Aims Group, all of whom are Labour Members, has been demonstrated by the reception given to the Group's first publication **Ignored Speeches**. With this encouragement it has been decided to issue a second volume entitled **More Ignored Speeches**, which reproduced the views expressed in Parliament by Members of the Group for the critical period May 1941 to March 1942.

Published by The Parliamentary Peace Aims Group. Price 1s. each, post free; 10s. per dozen, post free.

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All Members of the Labour Party who believe in the struggle towards peace should write to R. R. Stokes, M.P., Parliamentary Peace Aims Group, 32 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

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# CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR'S LETTER

Dear Guy Aldred,

My case is the very common one of refusal to submit to a "medical," and also refusal to comply with a Ministry of Labour direction to undertake work at a first-aid post and refusal to enter the N.F.S. I should make clear that the "medical" I refused was in order to enter the N.F.S.

I had previously registered as a conscientious objector when my group (1922) was called up on 6th September, 1941; and on 3rd November, 1941, at Lincoln C.O.'s Tribunal I was registered as a C.O. on condition that I did "full time civil defence work." I did not appeal against this decision, because at that time I thought I could conscientiously undertake such work. However after I had lost the right to appeal to the Appellate Tribunal I finally came to the decision that I could not take a part in the machinery of war.

It took me about two months before I finally came to a decision on this point. I had taken my stand at the Tribunal on humanitarian and ethical grounds; and the case I put before the Tribunal appears to me now very meagre and unsatisfactory. However, after my appearance at the Tribunal I started seriously studying Socialism and after a while my very humdrum moral and humanitarian grounds of opposition to the war became almost, if not entirely superceded by Socialist grounds. As soon as I became a convinced believer in Socialism, I determined to have nothing to do with the war-effort of our capitalist government whatsoever. Therefore, as regards the war, I became an "absolutist" C.O., and, of course, refused to undertake any form of civil defence work. This attitude has cost me my job at the G.P.O., since I was "released" in order that I might perform civil defence work. The Ministry of Labour has advised me of the various penalties to which I am liable in addition to this fate of unemployment. So I may regard myself as a "jail-destined C.O."

Religion has played no part in my stand against this war, as I have been for some time an agnostic.

The book of yours that I have read with special interest is "Socialism or Parliament." To me, this work was ten-times more thrilling and exciting than any detective novel or "Wild West" thriller. In reading it, many of my cherished illusions concerning the Labour Party, and even Willie Gallacher, were knocked on the head. To young Socialists like myself (19) a detailed history of the Labour Party and other so-called "Socialists" and "Communists" in Parliament even up to the early "thirties" is largely unknown.

I have been wondering if you have thought of publishing your trials in pamphlet form. They would be handy for reference and would be greatly interesting to people who have not been able to read them all in "The Word."

What about a pamphlet on the stand made by different members of the Russell family for freedom, tolerance, and peace at various times? It would be most appropriate at the present time, when the Duke of Bedford is championing the cause of peace so gallantly. There is plenty of material, such as the attitude of the Duke of Bedford during the French Revolution; Lord John Russell's opposition to the war with Napoleon, 1815, when he was one of the 73 members who voted against the resumption of hostilities. Also his attitude on the suspension of Habeas Corpus in 1817, when he said:

"We talk much—I think a great deal too much—of the wisdom of our ancestors. I wish we would imitate the courage of our ancestors. They were not ready to lay their liberties at the foot of the Throne upon every vain or imaginary alarm."

That message might hold some truth and wisdom for us even to-day. What a pity Lord John Russell did not live up to his early promise!

With all good wishes in the struggle.

Yours fraternally,

NORMAN LEVERITT.

Spalding, Lincs., 30/4/42.

United Socialist Movement. Meetings every Sunday, 106 George St., Glasgow, C.1, 7-30 p.m. questions, discussions. Visitors welcomed. Group Meetings, Mondays, 8 p.m. Comrades wishing to become national members should write Secretary, enclosing stamp for reply.

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"The World Court for International Justice and Safety," by Charles L. Norden, LL.B., Walter Judd, London, 1939. 2s. 0. Out of print meantime.

Undoubtedly one of the most important features of a post-war world in which there is reasonable chance of lasting peace, will be the establishment, or maintenance, of some World Court for International Justice, which commands the respect of the peoples of all nations and is endowed with that degree of authority which such appreciation and respect could furnish. Mr. Charles Norden's statement of his views on the constitution, nature and powers of a Court for International Justice is a very thoughtful and constructive contribution from one whose knowledge of International Law entitles his opinions to respectful consideration.

Mr. Norden's book "The World Court for International Justice and Safety" suggests, indeed, a possible constructive approach to the restoration of peace which does not appear as yet to have been explored or even recommended. It would surely be possible for the suggestion to be made through some neutral channel that the Governments of all belligerent nations should, without animosity and for the benefit of their peoples and of the world in general, state what their exact attitude would be towards such important questions as the World Court for International Justice; the sharing of the world's economic resources; disarmament; religious liberty; the recognition of the rights of other nations, etc. There would be nothing in the making of such a statement to hinder the prosecution of the war even by the most belligerent country; nor would a Government be asked in any way to set on one side its avowed incapacity to trust the members of another Government.

—BEDFORD.

## WHICH WAY, BRITAIN?

"Which Way Britain?" by Wilfred Wellock. 1/- Birmingham. Obtainable from The Strickland Press.

Mr. Wilfred Wellock's "Which Way Britain?", written in a vigorous and challenging style, is perhaps more valuable for its comprehensive and often penetrating survey of recent world events than for its constructive proposals or the probable accuracy of some of its forecasts.

Like many writers with Left sympathies, Mr. Wellock fails to differentiate as clearly as he might between the evils of Finance and the evils of ordinary Capitalism, not, it would appear, realising how much Finance is the enemy of the ordinary Capitalist as it is of the weekly-wage earner. On the other hand, it would be unfair to Mr. Wellock not to add that he is far more alive to the importance of financial issues than are many others who share his political outlook.

In estimating the possible character of the post-war world, Mr. Wellock does not seem willing to consider what at the moment seems an increasing probability, viz., that the end of the war will leave the Axis Powers in a very strong position in Europe and Asia.

In his recommendations to those who would prepare to build a new order on sound foundations, even before the war has ceased, Mr. Wellock does not go much beyond the familiar recommendations of Socialist idealists. He might, for example, have been more original and constructive if he had substituted for the limitation of incomes, a proposal that the country's money supply should be so created and regulated as to ensure maximum consumption and production; coupled with the further recommendation that during the post-war years of scarcity which are likely to ensue, there shall be a continuation of a rationing system and one which distributes an equal share of the necessities of life to every member of the community.

There are three factors which make it extraordinarily difficult for Mr. Wellock or anyone else to make an accurate forecast of what will happen in this country after the war. There are the abundance everywhere of selfish and untrustworthy men in positions of authority, and the scarcity of men of a better type of character to replace them; the almost unbelievable stupidity of the British people on many important issues; their docility; and their susceptibility to propaganda; and (perhaps in some contrast to this second point) the unpredictable reaction and its equally unpredictable results when the less unintelligent individuals at last awaken fully to the extent to which they have been betrayed by their political leaders and the propaganda agencies.

Though not alone in outstanding merit, there are two passages in Mr. Wellock's book which all would do well to take to heart. The first is "Had Britain at any time in these last two decades put one-thousandth part of the effort, the wealth, the sacrifice and courage she is putting into this war, into attempts to revolutionise the social order in Britain and to rationalise international relations, we should now be organising fêtes celebrating the achievements of a united and unified Europe instead of wading through seas of blood as a prelude to violent revolution." The second is "My experience is that the average person is extremely responsive to the appeal of good living.

He does not readily respond to theory, but is keenly alive and responsive to sacrifice and courageous endeavour. If Democracy is saved in Britain, it will be by sacrifice and not by power."

BEDFORD.

## ANARCHISM AND VIOLENCE

Dangers Discussed at S.P.G.B. Debate

We have received the following letter from comrade Cash, of the S.P.G.B., concerning his debate with comrade Gapes, of the London Anarchist Groups, at the Conway Hall:—

Dear Aldred,—My attention has been drawn to a letter published in the July issue of "The Word," by Matt Kavanagh who makes a reference to the debate held recently at Conway Hall, between the Anarchists and myself as the representative of the S.P.G.B.

Kavanagh states that I cut a sorry figure. This must be left for others to judge. But I must take him to task over one or two statements he makes, in which I am supposed to have brought your name in sneeringly.

I deny emphatically that I did anything of the sort, for, quite frankly, having watched your activities over many years, dating from the time when as a boy I came into personal contact with you and was considerably influenced by you, I have always had a certain regard for you.

What I did do was to state that Anarchists had differed widely over very fundamental issues—there were the Anarchists who had advocated bomb-throwing and assassination in the name of "propaganda by deed" to those who completely repudiated all uses of violence.

I used your name as one Anarchist who had stated that it was impossible to prevent the police from getting information as to any insurrectionary attempt that may be planned and it was as your considered opinion that all action should therefore be open and above board.

Regarding the other point of not being able to distinguish an Anarchist from a policeman. I stated that the Anarchist movement had always had to suffer this bugbear. There have been numerous clubs in London and elsewhere closed down largely because of the fact that a condition had been produced as a result of certain Anarchist theories that attracted "Agents Provocateurs" and police spies in large numbers. This is not a sneer at the Anarchists. It is a statement of fact and was not denied. I hold that there are lessons that should be learned from these facts and endeavoured to point them out.

I do not propose to take any more of your space and so will not enter into a discussion of this matter. I am only concerned at the moment with answering statements that are sheer misrepresentations.

Yours for the revolution,

S. CASH,

London, N.W.1., 4/7/42.

## RICHARD CARLILE

*The Theosophical Forum*, Point Loma, California, U.S.A., in its issue for June 1942 (vol. XX, No. 6) publishes the following review of our "life" of Richard Carlile:

"This is one of a series issued by the publishers of a monthly magazine called 'The Word,' and devoted to the cause of social reform. It is the latest and revised edition of a former work. The author writes the life and work of his hero and teacher, whom he believes to have met with too scant appreciation, even by other workers in radical and rationalist circles. Carlile is called atheist and social republican, and identified with revolt. The extreme courses to which agitators were impelled may be explained by the nature of the times. In this case it was those earlier years of last century, when the excesses of the French revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic wars had scared the ruling classes in Britain into extreme reaction. The reforms which later on and by less violent means gradually produced the conditions to which we have been accustomed may prevent us from realizing the dreary lot of the lower classes in those days. And when it seemed that the Christian churches formed part of the great reactionary movement, people who were not supporters of those churches were dubbed atheists, however truly religious they might have been, and doubtless were driven to accept the title as a badge rather than a reproach.—H.T.E."

*Richard Carlile Agitator* may be obtained direct from The Strickland Press, price 1s. 9d., post free. Special terms for quantities.

## ANTI-WAR SOCIALISTS

At this period of grave war crisis to all mankind, it is urgent to bring into one grand alliance the revolutionary, progressive, and anti-militarist forces of the world. We therefore have pleasure in reproducing the following letter addressed by our comrade Jowett to comrade Jim W. Taylor, of the I.L.P., on the occasion of comrade William Stewart's birthday anniversary celebrations in 1941:

My Dear Jim Taylor,—So my old Scottish comrade and friend, "Willie" Stewart has achieved his 85th birthday. What a Span! And what a life! I feel that I have been in company with him in the fight for Socialism for more than 50 years, although we rarely met personally during the first 15 of them. Both of us were weekly writers to the old *Clarion* in the days when "Nunquam" Blatchford's "Merry England" went through a million copies of its penny edition.

Memories of Hardie and the early days of the I.L.P.; the Boer war; huge meetings in Glasgow's Metropole Theatre during the last great war; are vividly awakened by "Willie" Stewart's 85th birthday anniversary.

He is to be honoured by a celebration at which I must regretfully be an absentee. But I am joyously glad he is being so honoured. For there is not now, nor was there ever, a more patiently faithful crusader for Socialism than Hardie's trusty friend and biographer, Scotland's "Willie" Stewart.

He is 85 and still rings true with a life's record of unblemished service behind him. Who could more deserved to be honoured?

May he have health and strength to enjoy many more years of life, and may he also continue to the end to enjoy the priceless blessing of the affectionate appreciation of his fellow workers in the cause of Socialism.

With greetings and good wishes to you all.

I am,

Yours fraternally,

F. W. JOWETT.

Bradford, 7th July, 1941.

We asked comrade J. W. Taylor for some details of that conference, and received a reply which was intended to provide "something to write around." To our mind the letter tells its own story and we accordingly publish it with only very slight omissions that have no relation to the main purpose of the letter, and are merely ornamental to ourself:—

Muirhead, Glasgow,  
10/7/42.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—Whitley Bay I.L.P. Conference was held at Easter 1926, with that old Anti-Militarist "war horse", Jowett as Acting Chairman. Clifford Allen was then Chairman of the Party but was unable to be present. It was at this conference that Maxton was elected to the chair.

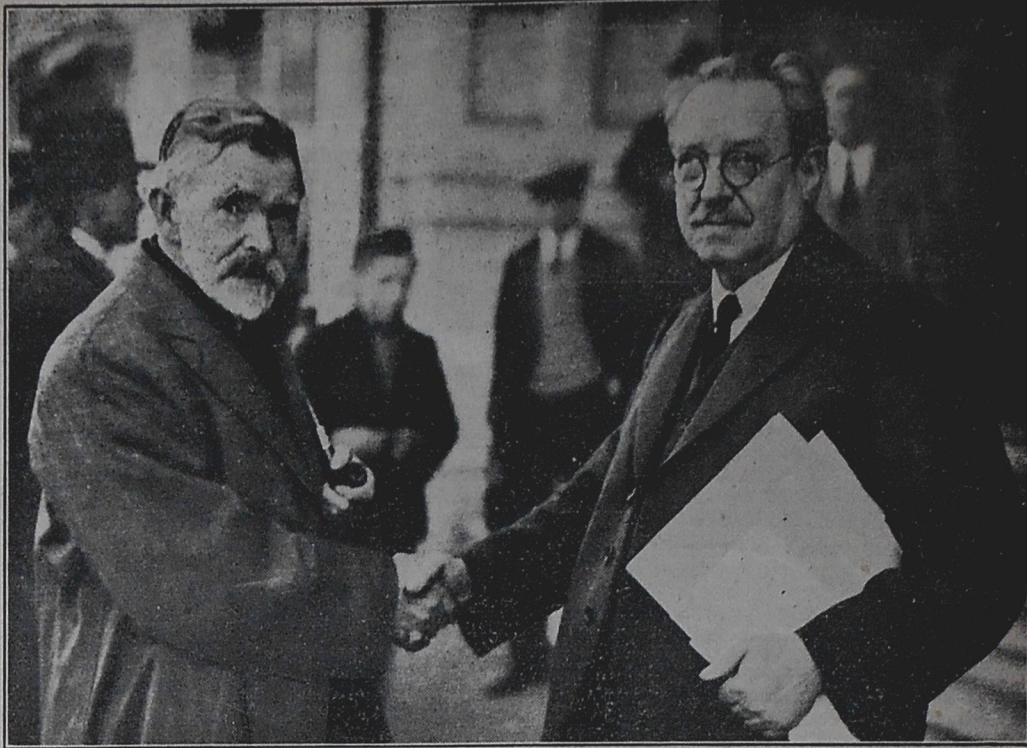
Our dear old comrade, "Willie" Stewart, accepts the authority of the registrar that he was born in Dunfermline in the year 1856—the same year as Keir Hardie and Bernard Shaw. So that 1856 did itself proudly!

Willie attended an alleged elementary school with persistent irregularity until he was 12 years or there-by; and of course in these days there were no compulsory attendance officers and no schoolboards. Thereafter he spent most of his working time inside Dunfermline linen factories, varied by frequent periods of unemployment, when there were no Exchanges and out of work benefit. It was in this atmosphere that his Socialist education commenced.

In due course Willie began to take an interest in public affairs, and with some kindred spirits he formed the first Socialist Society in Dunfermline (early '80's). He served for three years on the first Parish Council in Dunfermline as an avowed Socialist, found that he could not get on with the work he wanted to do, and did not offer himself for re-election. He was then writing under various nom de plumes for local newspapers—articles politically heretical but readably acceptable. Comrade Stewart helped to form the first Trades Council in Dunfermline. He inaugurated and edited a monthly paper called "The Worker", which kept alive for three years but went under in 1899 on the outbreak of the South African war. The paper, of course, denounced the war and naturally collapsed. In that year Willie came to Glasgow and became a sort of auxiliary member of the "Labour Leader", Keir Hardie's weekly. Here he wrote under the name "Gavvoche", and his articles were very popular and useful.

For some six years comrade Stewart wrote a weekly article for the old "Clarion" under his own name, and thousands of Socialists at home and abroad got to love the man they had never seen.

In 1912 he became organising secretary of the I.L.P. in Scotland. War came in 1914 and the work was uphill. During the whole war period he wrote antimilitarist and pro-Socialist articles in



[“Topical Press” Copyright.]

F. W. Jowett, Chairman, greeting W. Stewart of Glasgow, at the 34th Annual Conference of the I.L.P. at Whitley Bay, April 4, 1926. Both are original members of the I.L.P. and have been members for 50 years. Both have consistently and vigorously opposed every war of their time. Comrade Willie Stewart celebrated his 86th birthday on July 8 last.

"Forward", besides speaking for the I.L.P. all over the country. Some of his "Forward" articles are included in his book "War Time and Other Impressions"—a veritable treasury.

Then he wrote a biography of Keir Hardie (the standard issue of the I.L.P.). Other books from his pen included:—"Burns and the Common People"; "Fighters for Freedom"; "The Nativity of Adam"; "Products of Victoria's Sixty Years Reign", all now out of print, unfortunately.

Needless to say "Willie" early on became a reader of good literature. Many hours he spent and continues to spend with the poets.

Yes, Guy my boy, "Willie" is a great soul—a real nobleman. To thousands these past 50 years he has been guide, Counsellor, and friend in the onward march of the common people to the age of reason and justice and all that flows therefrom.

With regards.

Sincerely yours,

J. W. TAYLOR.

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The above advertisement relates only to Part I., sub-titled **Socialism or Parliament**. Part II., **Government By Labour**, appears this month. 72 pages. Complete history of Labour Governmentation, War, and Poverty. Price, 6d. Post Free, 8d.

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