

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

# THE WORD

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

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## THE AUGUST DAYS OF "COMMUNIST" DIPLOMACY



the German Invasion of the Soviet Union, must not blind us to the criminal folly of a pact that was designed for war, not peace, and was never intended to emancipate the workers of the world from war and oppression.

### "THE INFERNAL TWINS."

In "Collier's Weekly"—the well-known U.S.A. journal published in Springfield, Ohio—for July 3, 1937, Vol. 100, No. 1, Winston Churchill published a striking article, indicting the dictatorships of the world, and defending democracy. "Collier's Weekly" is one of the most widely read journals in the English language and has editorial offices in Park Avenue, New York, and Covent Garden, London.

Churchill deals very thoroughly, although his facts are not completely accurate, with Spain. In its contents, our contemporary lists the article as follows:—

### ARTICLES

#### WINSTON CHURCHILL

The Infernal Twins. Two unpleasant religions—Fascism and Communism.

Page 12.

The article carried the following editorial introduction set out in black type:—

What makes the Spanish civil war so inhumanly bitter? Not the Spaniards. Behind this quarrel stand two opposed and godless religions—Fascism and Communism. Both are enemies of democracy. Strip them of their externals and you can't tell them apart. Mr. Churchill reveals the essential character of these unlovely twins.

The author concurred in this description of his study. We cannot believe that the philosophy and principles defined in this essay were dictated by mere opportunism. Since this 1937 essay is of great import to every citizen of the world to-day may we ask the publishers and the author to reissue it, unaltered? It is one of the Prime Minister's most exhaustive, useful, and sincere pieces of political comment. His "Communist" and Labour admirers, and his Tory supporters, cannot object to his guidance.

Read Winston Churchill's "Collier's" essay, "The Infernal Twins."

This portion of the front page of the "Britansky Soyuznik" (British Ally), published at Kuibishev, on August 16, 1942, was radioed to the "Daily Express." We reproduce it from our contemporary's columns with acknowledgements but without permission.

### AUGUST, 1939: Stalin's Agreement with Nazi Germany

Ribbentrop, German Foreign Minister, has come to Moscow. He signs on August 23, 1939, the Pact of Friendship, freeing Germany from all fear of attack by Russia. Molotov and Stalin stand behind him. This pact was broken, without warning, at dawn, on Sunday, June 22, 1941, when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, without troubling to make a formal declaration of war. Stalin faithfully kept the pact to that date.

The Ribbentrop pact was defended by the "Communist" Parties throughout the world as a pact of peace until Hitler invaded the Soviet Union. In support of this pact the "Communists" organised People's Peace Conventions. Nevertheless, the pact was a pact for war and not a pact for peace. Whatever may be the deeper social and economic causes of the Second World War, the 1939 Moscow agreement freed Germany for war and so made the present terrible clash inevitable. Our sympathy with the common people of the Soviet, our condemnation of



On August 14, 1942, Winston Churchill reaches Moscow for a 4 days' Anti-Nazi Conference with Stalin at the Kremlin.



# CREATE THE REAL SECOND FRONT NOW

## WHY BLUNDER ON?

### Some Expert Opinions Considered

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

[The following essay was published by our comrade Jowett in the "Bradford I.L.P. News" for Friday, March 19.—Ed.]

Commenting on the most recent bombing of Cologne "Observer" in "Peace News" (June 16, 1942) remarks that whilst the photographs of the damaged city show that the cathedral escaped major damage, the report of 20,000 killed, although improbable, is not impossible. "But" the writer adds:—

"We may suppose, that for the Germans, the raid was a good deal worse than the worst of the London blitzes. Whether the effect on German morale will be different remains to be seen. IF THE GERMAN PEOPLE ARE AS DISCOURAGED AS THEY ARE REPUTED TO BE, THIS IS SURELY THE MOMENT TO OFFER THEM A TOLERABLE FUTURE."

An offer of peace on specified terms tolerable to the German people? Or, a threat of another war front on the continent of Europe? These are the vital questions which the British people, especially, have the responsibility to seriously consider before it is too late. For, although in the Treaty of Alliance between the British and Russian Governments the contracting parties go no further than mutually to undertake to afford one another military and other assistance of all kinds in the war against Germany, a Second Front is so confidently assumed on the basis of statements by responsible Ministers that J. L. Garvin could say last Sunday, that:—

"The news that a Second Front in Europe this year is assured by Britain and America has had a magic action of encouragement to Russia."  
—"Sunday Express," June 14/42.

No friend of the Russian people could be otherwise than fervently willing to give them encouragement in this terrible ordeal through which they are passing. A Second Front in Europe may be — doubtless it is — the sort of encouragement the people of Russia are wanting. Can it be given?

Will a Second Front in Europe help Russia or increase its peril? Even considered merely as war strategy for achievement of complete military victory, a Second European war front could be, at best a hazardous gamble, which if it failed might lead to irretrievable disaster, not only for us but for the people of Russia and their socialist way of life too. In this connection it would be well, for all of us on whom lies responsibility for decision, to remember the case of China.

There was a time, even after we had done so much to build up Japan as a great military power, when we could have helped Chinese defence by withholding aid and patronage from Japan. Now it is evident that the British-American Asiatic War Front has put China in greater danger of defeat than it was after more than four years of Japan's most revolting and atrocious form of aggressive warfare.

To the "Yorkshire Post" last Monday (June 15th) its special correspondent in Washington sent a message which consisted of a most exhaustive examination of the Second Front proposition. Military specialists of America, states the Post's correspondent:—

"have no illusions on the matter. (That is the second front). They realise that a second front means a total offensive, and that means a life and death onslaught comparable to the titanic Russian campaign."

If the invasion were by way of Norway  
"Possession would still have our armies gazing

across the waters of the Skagerrack, which are wider than the English Channel. Mussolini's boot and the Adriatic Aegean Littoral can be reached at present only by way of 14,000 mile life-lines round Africa."

Of France as the only "natural doorstep to Hitler's European fortress," the "Post's" correspondent states that American experts believe it would need the initial use of half a million men with another million men or more troops immediately available for a "follow-through." "ANYTHING LESS COULD NOT BE CALLED A SECOND FRONT."

Then follows in the "Post's" Correspondent's message from Washington this revealing passage:—

"The grimmest part of a coastal landing is the helplessness of invading forces at the point of debarking from ship to shore. In 1916 onflading machine-gun and artillery fire inflicted losses exceeding 50 per cent. on some of the British and Australian units which stormed Gallipoli. TO-DAY THERE ARE TWO NEW FACTORS TO BE RECKONED WITH — DIVE BOMBERS AND ARMoured LAND FORCES."

After careful survey of all suggested plans for a Second Front in Europe against Germany the "Post's" Washington correspondent transmitting American expert military opinion reduced the possible feasible plans to two. One is to take "the natural doorstep" entrance to Hitler's European fortress, before mentioned. The other is to go through Spain to France with a quarter of a million, sending at the same time another quarter of a million by convoy to steam past Gibraltar and land on the Riviera.

Of these two carefully selected plans the "Post's" Washington Correspondent sums up as follows in the final passage of his message:—

"According to either Channel or Riviera plans, our initial Army must be augmented by a B.E.F. and an A.E.F. of 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 men. But its initial success is held dependent on gun-power and air-tank preponderance to enable re-conquest of France and the seizure of Rhine bridgeheads in an unchecked sweep. Advocates of the plan estimate the Nazi garrisons in France 500,000 to 1,000,000 men. Berlin could provide reinforcements only by stripping the Eastern Front, which would give Stalin's generals the chance they have been waiting for to swing in a mortal blow."

"BUT THE CONSERVATIVE U.S. EXPERTS BELIEVE THAT THE CONDITIONS ARE NOT RIPE, AS YET, FOR OPENING A SECOND EUROPEAN FRONT."

The day before the "Post's" Special Correspondent sent his exhaustive message from Washington, Garvin in the "Sunday Express" made this further admission of the stupendous difficulty of the Second Front war strategy.

"The shipping shortage is the bottleneck," said Mr. Garvin.

"It is the one remaining danger which the Allies will have to overcome BEFORE THEIR OTHER CAPACITIES FOR TOTAL VICTORY CAN BE EXERTED WITH DECISIVE EFFECT IN ALL QUARTERS OF THE GLOBE."

"During these five months and more of 1942, more allied ships have been sunk than have been built. More enemy submarines have been built than have been sunk. Their destructiveness has been worst on the other side of the Atlantic and man-power and munitions are now piling up in the United States faster than maritime tonnage can be made available for carrying them overseas."

The question put so courageously by the Duke of Bedford — "Why Blunder On?" is more desperately urgent now than ever it was. Dr. Goebbels' propaganda appeals to the German people for their patient endurance proves its importance and urgency. Exultant expectation of militarist victory because Cologne, Essen and other German towns have been devastated past all previous records is a deadly illusion. War takes sudden and surprising turns. It may be our turn next.

Think of the uncertainty of Libya, concerning which the "Yorkshire Post's" Air Correspondent on Tuesday last made the following fitting comment:—

"It does not matter for the immediate future if Cologne is flattened by bombing provided there is a pause for it to recover afterwards. But it does matter if landing grounds in Libya are lost to the enemy."

Surely now that, judging by Dr. Goebbels' changed tone in war propaganda, the German people are feeling what war means (as we also shall when our severest time of trial comes)—

is the time for an offer of peace on specified terms tolerable to the German people.

British Empire in the Far East has gone. Even the system of blocked credit transactions in foreign trade — a German invention which more than anything created the rivalry between British and German commercial power which was the real main cause of the war — is now supported by a special committee of London Chamber of Commerce and the "Yorkshire Observer" tells its readers the glad news under mighty-sized headlines—"World Economy and Commonsense."

Why blunder on? Why not make the attempt, by the offer of a peace tolerable to Germans, to create a Second Front where it will do most good — in Germany itself?

## A PEOPLE'S RUNNYMEDE

By S. D. FRANCES

"A PEOPLE'S RUNNYMEDE," Published by Andrew Dakers, Ltd. Price 5/-. Obtainable from P.C.L.P., 5 Endsleigh Place, London, W.C.1. Postage 4d., or can be ordered at any book-shop.

The signing of the Magna Carta was an important event in the development of England's social life. So important indeed was this historical charter that it is recorded in most history books as one of the really important milestones in the forward march of the Briton, towards Freedom and Liberty.

Magna Carta, we learn from history books, sealed the death warrant of tyranny and suppression, stamped the hall-mark of Freedom upon King John and was instrumental in making England a country well worth living in and fighting for.

But it has been left to Mr. Robert J. Scrutton in the 20th Century to reveal the corruption and falsification of the common law and the resultant legal network of Statutory Law which to-day, over-rides and nullifies the claims for common humanity which were made in the old Magna Carta. I quote one example at random from the chapter on Common Law which is summarised:—

"The ancient constitutional rights and liberties of the citizen were disregarded or violated:—

1. That he shall not be dispossessed or impaired in the enjoyment of his property or the exercise of his trade or in any way socially destroyed.
2. That he shall have safety and security to buy and to sell without any unjust exactions or implement.
3. That he shall not become strained to any unconscientious act.

The money power through their combines and boards:—

1. Dispossessed men and deprived them of their trades and their right to earn a living.
2. Subjected traders to unjust marketing conditions both as to wares and as to services they had to offer for the general good, and
3. Constrained men by economic fear and force to exploit their fellow men."

And these statements are adequately borne out and justified by factual details, all of which are clearly given.

"A People's Runnymede" however, is more than an interesting and instructive analysis of Law. The Author is no armchair critic. He is a man out to settle practical difficulties in a practical fashion. His opening chapters, written in a racy fascinating style, clarify vividly the post-war politicians' endeavours to maintain for vested interests a crazy economic system. One feels that these politicians with their so terribly profound statements, are comic actors in a pantomime world, while you, the reader, have been taken back-stage by the author and with him see clearly how ludicrous are the antics of those pantomime politicians and how completely disconnected they are from the pulsing blood and flesh which is the real community—the people.

You, the reader, are brought up against reality in its most practical aspects and you find too that the author has an answer to the problems of to-day. Indeed he has a good many answers to the problems of to-day and all are worthwhile contributions to progressive thought and progressive activity. Mr. Scrutton is not desirous of attempting to change circumstances by forming or continuing sectarian organisations with a blindly loyal membership. His is a call to the people; the people who suffer and cause suffering one to another. And it is a call that you too cannot afford to ignore.



# MIDDLETON MURRY'S "CHRISTOCRACY"

By MAURICE CRANSTON

[Last month we published a review of this work from the pen of the Rev. F. H. Amphlett Micklewight, M.A. The present review is written from a somewhat different angle.—Ed.]

"Christocracy" (Andrew Dakers, 6s., sold by Strickland Press), in spite of its forbidding title, is not just another essay in clericalist polemics. It is a valuable work of analytical and constructive political thought by Mr. John Middleton Murry.

Mr. Murry is a pacifist and a Christian; his title "Christocracy" derives from his belief that a good human society is one in which Christian principles are practised and in which Jesus is worshipped as Lord. But Mr. Murry sees that his country is not ready to accept either Christ or Peace, and has written this book on a level which he calls "sub-Christian," and which is also, incidentally, sub-Pacifist. This does not mean that the book is in any sense of the word disingenuous, but simply that Mr. Murry, having "no policy as a pure pacifist," is anxious to prevail upon his combatant countrymen not to forget, in the process of war, the values for which they are fighting. For Mr. Murry believes that Britain does stand for certain values, pre-eminently for tolerance and liberty, and that she has a historical mission to maintain those values in a world of ascendant totalitarian power.

Now, Mr. Murry was one of the very first political writers to discern the true nature of totalitarianism in the modern world. He was able to make his conclusions known in a series of broadcast talks some three years ago, with the result that rude remarks were made about him in the House of Lords. But few people seem to have grasped his point. The clue to totalitarianism, he reiterates again in this book, is the phenomenon of mass unemployment. Capitalism is by its nature unable to cure unemployment; only the intervention of the state can relieve it. Hitler acted in Germany and ended unemployment by turning the nation into one vast army. He was able to realise this sinister purpose because of Britain's lack of imagination and generosity. The temper of weary hopelessness and the feeling that the only escape from despair lay in a mysticism of destruction were created in the German people by the steadfast refusal of their victors to succour them. Mr. Murry says that Germany could do no other than choose Hitler in 1933 since the only alternative solution to her unemployment problem was Peace-Socialism, which would assuredly have been put down as "Communism" by Anglo-French intervention. At that time Britain had but lately rejected the creative solution for her own unemployment problem, when at the 1931 Election a blind and stupid fear for the safety of private possessions had brought to power a specifically anti-Socialist "National" Government in this country. The force of inertia had driven Britain to seek a solution to the unemployment problem along the familiar (capitalist) ways, wherein there was no solution to be found. Germany sought the solution of War Socialism. And here Mr. Murry detects the origin of the present conflict. The war, he says, is not the struggle it is popularly made out to be, but simply the means by which Europe has chosen to solve its unemployment problem. He writes:—

"Rather than advance into the unknown new world, the gates of which would have been opened by a peaceful and constructive solution of unemployment, the nations of Europe chose total war. . . . In yet plainer terms, this war is a vast evasion of justice to the disinherited of the modern world. Peace would have meant doing justice to them; and, even though war was known to be more utterly debased, more fraught with indiscriminate mechanical horror, than it had ever been before, it was not found to be too great a price to pay to avoid doing justice to them. Better the horror of this war than the justice of peace."

Mr. Murry proceeds from his diagnosis of the underlying causes of the war to an examination of the strategic situation in which the belligerent nations find themselves. He believes a total Allied victory to be improbable and undesirable—undesirable because a "peace" that involved the military occupation of Germany and Japan by Allied forces for an indefinite time would compel Britain and America to remain on a totalitarian war-footing themselves and to treat Germany and Japan as permanent captive nations. The sole justification for the war, he considers, is the defence of the British tradition of freedom and tolerance. And the perpetuation of this tradition depends upon Britain limiting herself to a strictly defensive war.

For this reason he is pleased at the absence of a Second Front. He would consider such an adventure fantastic. He thinks the Soviet Union should be left to its fate. He has no affection for Stalin, and seems to consider him worse, if anything, than Hitler. Russia, he says, is quite as great a sinner as Germany in the cardinal matter of unlimited brutality to the

individual person in the name of the deified state. This, I think, is true; but would suggest to Mr. Murry that the Soviet Union has more to its credit, albeit very little less to its discredit, than Nazi Germany. Mr. Murry concludes that Britain's purpose should be not to destroy either Nazism or Communism by force of arms, but only to prevent them from destroying her own free policy.

It may well be asked why Mr. Murry, as a pacifist, advocates a defensive strategy instead of an immediate armistice: the reason, evidently, is that he despairs of persuading his countrymen to stop the war, and therefore urges upon them a policy which would involve a minimum of fighting and bloodshed.

The defence of the British tradition is not, of course, all that Mr. Murry asks for. He wants it to develop into something approximating to a Christian society, or what he calls Christocracy. How is this to be done? First of all by educating the young people of this country, particularly those in the Forces, into citizens worthy of the British tradition, and also by providing a concrete image of the new society to serve as a focus for their education. He says:—

"The only idea they can be given, which will save them from degeneration into an instrument of pure destruction, is the idea of a truly co-operative society—a society which is a veritable community. That transfer and transmutation of the spurious commodity of war into the positive community of peace should be going on now, by the awakening of social imagination in the men who compose our idle army. . . . Peace means the struggle to create by peaceful means a society wherein every man's talent is used at once for his own self-fulfilment and for the good of the common weal."

What is the substance of Mr. Murry's Christocracy? Its purpose would be to give economic security to all its citizens, to provide a system of genuine equality of educational opportunity, to see that the talents of every member should be unfolded in work for which he had an authentic vocation. To achieve this end it would necessarily demand decentralisation of industrial, and presumably of political, organisation. It would need the machine, but not the life-destroying monotony of the machine-minder's job. There would have to be a breaking down of the cleavage between the urbanised and rural population, and a general levelling of incomes between agricultural, industrial and professional workers. The key to it all would be the simple joy of its members in truly creative labour. It would seek to realise what Mr. Murry calls "community," or the dynamic sense of being members of one another in society.

The principles of Christocracy seem to me to be wholly sound, in so far as they do not differ from the principles of true Socialism. But I would quarrel with many of its details. Mr. Murry's genius as a historical critic resides in his exceptional ability to enter into the essential nature of his subject; this insight is unique, and it is not accompanied by an equal gift for constructive planning. I do not see why it should be. Planners are twopence a dozen. But the result, so far as Mr. Murry is concerned, is that his proposals too often emerge after an over-strenuous mental gestation and suffer an early demise under his own critical contemplation.

Hence, while the critical sections of this book are packed with profound thought, Mr. Murry's programme is not, I am afraid, substantially different from Mr. Aldous Huxley's testament in bourgeois sweet-reasonableness, "Ends and Means." Certainly, Mr. Murry has a far more realistic grasp of the political and moral condition of our time; for Mr. Murry's understanding is rooted in gruelling experience, Mr. Huxley's in telescopic observation from a comfortable distance. (Significant that Mr. Murry should have responded positively to the challenge of the war by becoming editor of "Peace News" and accepting the responsibility of leadership in the pacifist movement, while Mr. Huxley should be far from the maddening war in that scrap-heap of capitalist culture, Hollywood.)

My own objection to Mr. Murry's programme is that, in his fear of the State, he has advocated the maintenance of capitalism, subject to certain restrictions on profits and abuses. He is also quite emphatic about the master-man relationship (or, as Marx called it, the exploiter-wage slave relationship) being natural and good. I believe that capitalism cannot, by its very nature, be an element of a good society. And since Mr. Murry himself has proved that the present crisis in civilisation is due to the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system, I do not see how he is going to transcend it (or even cure such evils as unemployment) with Socialism. A society cannot ultimately be both competitive and co-operative, although it may be so incidentally. In an article published in usefully be so incidentally. In an article published in November, 1935, Mr. Murry wrote: ". . . we are convinced that only when communal ownership of the means of production (i.e., Socialism) has been established will the human being be enabled to be an individual. Not that communal ownership of the means of production by itself will ensure the complete individuality of the individual: but without that it is impossible." I agree with this earlier declaration of Mr. Murry. Perhaps it is right to say that the master-man relation is "natural"; assuredly there will always have to be leadership and discipline, but should it not be the leadership of the proven best and not of the wealthiest; and should there not be a sys-

tem of checks on leaders and the participation of workers in the counsels of industrial organisation?

At the root of it all, the crucial issue facing all who seek to create a better society is this: how are we to ensure both liberty and order? It is a tremendous problem, and Mr. Murry's book states its implication with remarkable clarity, even if it does not provide a wholly adequate solution.

## NATIONAL PRAYER AND INDIA

Our Comrade, the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier, B.A., continues to express his views with fearlessness in the weekly letter of the Church of the Holy Cross in Saint Pancras with Saint Jude. In his letter for August 30, Comrade Le Messurier deals with the National Day of Prayer and also the situation in India in these bold terms:—

It is good that a nation should realise its dependence upon God. And it is a gain that the confident and even presumptuous assumptions that God is on the side of the Allied Nations which stained the first national days of prayer are no longer made so unthinkingly. Yet I confess that I can see no real sign of the revolutionary penitence such as God can bless in our nation.

When I read that in India one town was fined £7500, another £3750 and a village £2250; that the death penalty is imposed for cutting a telegraph wire; that meetings of Indians are ruthlessly broken up by police and troops who open fire on all and sundry; that military officers over a certain rank can take life in defence of property without having to render account; that a new flogging order has been enacted (in the past this often meant flogging without trial); and when I recall that the people of India had no choice whether or not they should be at war with the Axis; I can see little difference between the spirit which inflicts such things and that which prevails in occupied countries in Europe. Of course there are differences in administration, but it is the same spirit working in both continents.

The point surely is that if we condemn such things in others and do them ourselves, how can we approach the throne of grace and expect a blessing? Much more do we justify the condemnation of Gandhi when he said, "I see no difference between the Fascist or Nazi Powers and the Allies. All are exploiters, all resort to ruthlessness to the extent required to compass their end." "There," states an English editor, "Gandhi touches the quick of our national morality."

And if God gives the Allies military victory, is such a policy of repression the only new order that we can offer the world? Yet nothing else is offered, so far; and God is not mocked.

Few of our readers are members of the Anglican church. Most of them are Freethinkers or Socialists opposed to the Churches. Some belong to the Unitarian congregation, or to the Society of Friends. Those who are Anglicans and live in the North-west district of London, should attend the Church of the Holy Cross and so strengthen the splendid stand made by the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier for pacifism and social justice. Like the late Conrad Noel, the Socialist Vicar of Thaxted, our comrade Le Messurier uses creeds, sacraments, ceremonial, even the Mass, to express heretical thinking and to carry on pacifist and social revolutionary propaganda from within the Church of England. It is as though John Ball has been reincarnated in our day and generation.

## SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The Secretary of the Peace Committee of the Warwickshire Monthly Meeting, writing from 8 Dr. Johnson Passage, Bull Street, Birmingham, 4, has asked us to publish the message issued by the Society of Friends, at a meeting of the London Yearly Meeting, held in York:

The whole world is drawn into common suffering. Is there no way out of its evils but by waging war yet more ruthlessly? War is evil and wrong; military victory will not bring true peace. Cannot our common suffering make us aware of our common brotherhood? Let us turn from the terrible deeds we do to one another and seek one another's forgiveness. The way of friendship can overcome evil. We see it perfectly in Jesus Christ. Its cost was the Cross. The loyal spirit which faced the Cross showed us the triumphant power of God. For us as children of a common Father it is time to follow His lead.

WILFRED E. LITTLEBODY,  
Clerk.



## THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

### Its Jurisdiction, Constitution and Procedure

By CHARLES L. NORDON, LL.B.

[Last month we published an essay by Mr. Nordon on "The World Court." We now publish a further memorandum which Mr. Nordon has circulated in official circles, in the hope that its theme may be thought worthy of development and presentation as an integral part of a constitution for post-war International Relations. Criticism, especially Socialist criticism, is invited.—Ed.]

Leaders of Public Opinion upon whom rest the duty and responsibility for preserving the higher order of life which we term "civilisation," are beginning to turn their attention to such alternatives to War as may be possible for the future settlement of International Disputes and for the Judicial Trial of actual and potential "disturbers of the Peace." The International Court of Justice seems in the opinion of many to open a field worthy of further study.

Just as the Statute Law and the Common Law of our own Country would lead to violence and anarchy unless Law Courts were established to adjudicate on disputes arising therefrom, so "Treaties," "Alliances," and "Charters," if interpretation and application are to be left to those who think they have the most powerful armed Forces.

Lord Halifax, then our Foreign Secretary, said on 15th February, 1939:—

"There is no European Government which has not proclaimed its will for Peace or has not stigmatised War as a fatal method of settling International Disputes."

but no one attempted to answer Hitler when, in his Reichstag speech of 28th April, 1939, he said (later events show with what degree of sincerity):—

"Would Mr. Roosevelt tell me how a New World Court of Law should be constituted?"

In the following pages, severely crystallised, but with the view that its publication may stimulate public thought, discussion and, above all, collaboration in its perfection, is set forth the outline of a Plan for the establishment of The International Court of Justice, which may be found more categorical and practical than the mere generalisations on the theme which have appeared from time to time.

#### JURISDICTION OF THE TRIBUNAL.

1. All claims by one Government in relation to the territorial administration or acts of another Government, and all complaints against the public acts, threats or conduct of individuals capable of endangering the lives, liberty or property of their own or of other peoples, shall be adjudicated by the Award of The International Court of Justice.

2. The proceedings of The International Court shall take the form of either (a) Articles of Arbitration (the bilateral submission of documents and arguments on a defined International Dispute). (b) Articles of Claim (Petition by one Government claiming relief against the acts or omissions of another), or (c) Articles of Impeachment (the charge against an individual of endangering conduct).

3. Articles of Arbitration or claim may be presented only by Governments duly constituted "de facto" or "de jure." Articles of Impeachment may be presented either by Governments or by the accredited representatives of not less than 25 per cent. of the adult population of a Nation.

#### CONSTITUTION OF THE TRIBUNAL.

4. Each other Nation shall in the first instance provisionally nominate two, and the Great Powers four, members of proved qualifications, high moral character and

judicial competence, with a deputy for each member to act in case of inability of his principal.

5. The names, qualifications and biographical careers of the provisional nominees shall be circulated amongst all nominated members for internal deliberation.

6. The nominated members shall hold meetings for confirmatory election by secret ballot at which one adverse vote in four will disqualify a nominated member for confirmation.

7. Each Nation, one or more of whose nominated members should fail to be confirmed, may submit fresh nominees for confirmatory election as before. If a second nomination should again be refused confirmation, then a third nomination shall take place, but this time on open voting and the reasons for any objection to confirmation must be stated in writing by the objectors and voted upon by the already confirmed members. Any Nation whose third nomination has been refused confirmation, must wait three months before nominating again, and so on at successive intervals of three months until confirmation of the quota of nominated members.

8. Each nominating Nation may nominate as before successors to such of their nominees as shall die, become unfit to act, or resign.

#### PROCEDURE.

9. On lodging Articles of Claim or Articles of Impeachment, copies shall be simultaneously furnished to the Government or individual against whom redress is sought, together with copies of all documents on which reliance is placed. The respondent Government or individual shall lodge answer and supporting documents within the time limited by the tribunal.

10. After consideration of such written arguments and documents as shall be lodged on both sides within the prescribed time the Court shall publish notice of the date fixed for hearing and the proceedings shall continue from day to day until concluded, notwithstanding the failure to attend of any Government or individual cited.

11. Without restricting the judicial powers of the Court, its Awards may take one or more of the following forms:—

- Revision of Territorial Administration.
- That a Plebiscite or Referendum be held in any affected territory.
- Pecuniary compensation.
- Decree of outlawry.

12. Before entering upon the consideration of any case, each member of the Court shall take a solemn and consecrated oath that he has no personal interest in it and that he has not privately discussed and will not discuss its subject with any statesman or agent of any party to it. The penalty for breach of any such oath shall be the public dismissal of the guilty member and such other penalty as the Tribunal may prescribe.

13. Proceedings of the Court shall be conducted and their judgments and reasons pronounced in public and published in the principal newspapers of every country and repeated at intervals of seven days until obeyed and by such other methods of publication as the Tribunal or any party may think fit.

14. The Court shall from time to time make and publish rules for procedure, venue, language and sittings, and for the appointment of standing committees, registrars and other officers necessary for its due and prompt efficiency.

#### LOOK OUT FOR OUR SPECIAL COLONIAL ISSUE

to be published shortly. Coloured studies from Africa. Full descriptive reports of questions and discussions in Parliament since the outbreak of war. Speeches by A. Creech Jones, M.P., reported fully. A new portrait of this great and fearless British champion of the native worker. Tell your friends and place your order now.

## A. D. SCHROEDER

At 8 a.m. on Wednesday, August 26th, Mr. A. D. Schroeder, Resident American Representative in Britain of the International Bible Students' Association (Jehovah's witnesses) was deported following the failure of his appeal to the Home Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison.

When the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors met three days later, the following resolution was passed nem. con.:—

"The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors sends its greetings to the International Bible Students' Association and particularly to the British section, recording its grave concern at the recent action of the Home Secretary in deporting Mr. Schroeder after he had made known his conscientious objection to compulsory service.

"The C.B.C.O. acknowledges with appreciation the faithful testimony to conviction borne by more than 400 men and women witnesses who have been or are now undergoing imprisonment for conscience' sake in this country and assures the I.B.S.A. of its continued determination to maintain the right of conscientious objection to compulsory military and industrial service."

To this message the Association sent a reply of appreciation and thanks.

We are entirely opposed to the theology and teachings of the Jehovah Witnesses. We deem their entire propaganda one of superstition. But we do protest against this deportation. If America and Britain have so much in common as democracies, they should share a common regard for conscience. Conscientious objection to war should be no bar to the full enjoyment of citizenship rights in America of a Britisher, or in Britain of an American born citizen. We would have full citizenship rights established throughout the dominions of both Britain and the United States, and no deportation for opinions, or for any reason except that of criminal jurisdiction such as exists in each country for its own nationals. The Schroeder deportation is a scandal.

We are not complaining at his physical treatment. Every courtesy was shown to him. But the deportation was wrong in principle and contrary to the traditions of freedom established by the struggles of our forefathers.

#### PITY THE EDITOR

The increasing popularity of "The Word" has caused a large number of comrades to send increasing collections of MSS. It is impossible to publish them all. Our correspondence is very heavy and it is beyond our powers to write to every comrade. The Strickland Press staff is far too small to cope with all the work on hand. In addition to these difficulties, war-time conditions incline a number of comrades to turn to us for advice and assistance. This occupies a great deal of time. The working-day is very long and the working week consists of 7 days. And there are no holidays. We ask comrades to bear these facts in mind. Send your MSS., but keep duplicates. We cannot guarantee return. Write: we will answer if possible. But draw no unfriendly conclusion if your MS. is not used immediately, or if our reply is delayed. This office is a Citizens' Advice Bureau as well as an editorial office. We cannot beat the time machine. So, comrades, pity the editor, and make your pity a lively, understanding sympathy. We cannot work miracles.

#### SALVAGE

I asked myself—Where's the Wisdom gone

That the gods of our race have given?

Enough pure gold from the well of Truth,

To make this earth into Heaven.

Have they been too wise, or too obscure

When they have had their say?

Or have our minds been fashioned

From the poorest and basest of clay?

From the poorest and basest of clay, by God!

For what did I see this morn'g?

But the works of Plato and Bernard Shaw,

Battered and tattered and torn,

Lying mixed up in a salvage pile

Of nauseating smell,

To make a case for a cartridge

That would blow some poor devil to Hell!

JOE CORRIE.



# THE PEOPLE'S COMMON LAW PARLIAMENT

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

This number of "The Word" contains a review of Mr. Robert Scrutton's book, "A People's Runnymede." His organisation, the People's Common Law Parliament, which I believe has the support of Admiral Creagh, who was mentioned in the September "Word", is interesting and important for two reasons. In the first place it seeks to re-establish the sane and just principles of the old Common Law of the country. I must confess that until Mr. Scrutton explained the position to me, I did not myself realise how important the old Common Law is, nor was I aware of the extent to which its benefits had been neutralized by the (often very inferior) Statute Laws enacted by Parliament.

The other reason why Mr. Scrutton's work promises to yield valuable results is that, with one exception, it seems to be the only real attempt which is being made at the present time to teach the electorate how to organize themselves for the direction and control of their Parliamentary representatives and thus exercise the functions of true democracy. Britain to-day is a democracy only in name. The people do not rule. They are dragooned by a bureaucracy of irresponsible Government officials and party politicians, behind whom are concealed the still more irresponsible financiers and Big Business interests.

I have said before, and I say it again now with even greater emphasis, that there is no hope for this country until the people stop trusting to their politicians to save them and wake up to the fact that they have got to save themselves. They will certainly not be delivered from danger from enemies without until they take steps to curb the folly and restrain the tyranny of politicians within.

Men and women, however, who are dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, too often ask hopelessly and rather helplessly, "What can we do?" The People's Common Law Parliament suggests an answer and a method whereby purposeless grumbling can be translated into effective action.

The other organization already active in the exercise of the functions of true democracy and in compelling M.P.s. to do their duty as representatives elected to carry out the orders of their constituents, is the Old Age Pensions Movement (Head office "Westmead", Southport Road, Southport). This energetic body has, by its large membership and numerous branches, compelled a reluctant and hostile Government to make concessions to the principles of ordinary humanity and common justice. The little paper which the Old Age Pensions Movement publishes is really most refreshing reading, with its sound appreciation of many important financial issues and even sounder grasp of the proper function and average character of an M.P. and knowledge of the right way of handling him. No illusions here! The average M.P. is recognised for what he is—no friend of the people, but a visionless, time-serving tool of a party machine; always trying to assume the functions of an independent delegate when he is really only a servant; arrogant or indifferent in the presence of a few protesting critics, but a coward when confronted by many.

It might seem at first sight somewhat strange that a pioneer movement in intelligent democratic thought and action should be recruited from men and women in the evening-time of life, who have reached an age not usually associated with a ready acceptance of fresh truth and new ideas. The explanation

seems to lie in the fact that Old Age Pensioners are among the worst and most constant sufferers from the defects in the present economic system. Suffering has sharpened their wits and first-hand experience of those who have had the power to redress their grievances but would not do so, has opened their eyes.

Mr. Scrutton tells me that the mental reactions of his P.C.L.P. members are very similar to those of the Old Age Pensioners. When, in their organised demand for the redress of some grievance, individual, local, national or international, or in their insistence on some reform, they are brought into direct touch with their Member of Parliament and come to realise the full extent of his incapacity, obstinacy, or indolence, they begin to get mad—but it is a madness which leads to sanity!

The tiny minority of good M.P.s., on the other hand, are naturally much encouraged by the new interest and support which they find they are receiving from their constituents and, in some cases, may even be emboldened to stand up to the Party Whips.

## UNITED STATES HUMANISM

Last month we published a letter from the Rev. Charles F. Potter, of New York, correcting some errors in our references to the Humanist movement in the June issue of *The Word*. We have received two more letters on the same subject.

The Rev. Edwin H. Wilson, Treasurer of the American Humanist Association and Editor of *The Humanist*, the quarterly magazine, published by the American Humanist Association, at 1201 Union Street, Schenectady, New York, writes:—

Schenectady, N.Y.,

July 28, 1942.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Your interest in the Humanist Movement in the United States is a welcome one. Several matters of inaccuracy appearing in your issue for June, 1942, are understandable, but require correction. I trust that you will publish the following.

1. "The Arbitrator" is not the official organ of the Humanist movement. It contains a very fine page of quotations from Humanists by Sherman Wakefield and the personal views of the veteran iconoclast, William Floyd, with occasional items by others. But it remains essentially Mr. Floyd's personal publication and while giving useful service to the humanist movement links it closely to Pacifism, whereas the Humanist movement is not primarily or essentially Pacifistic. Some Pacifists are humanists, but far from all Humanists are Pacifists. It is an error to identify the movement with particularistic reforms.

As near to an official organ of the Humanist movement as there is, is "The Humanist." Membership in the A.H.A. is \$2.00 or more a year including a subscription to the Quarterly. Subscriptions are \$1.00. Foreign and Canadian, \$1.25. Single copies, 25 cents.

2. You have things reversed in listing ten or a dozen Unitarian Churches as "Humanist" churches. These happen to be churches with men as ministers who call themselves humanists and who were willing to have Sherman Wakefield list them as humanists in a Directory. But these churches, as Unitarian Churches, stand for religious liberty for all, theist or humanist and are improperly listed in any humanist directory. Were all the ministers who are members of the American Humanist Association—including Unitarian, Universalist and a few Methodist, Congregational and even Episcopalian ministers—to be listed, there would be at least 100. But the American Humanist Association does not publish names and is against representing the humanist movement as a new sect or cult. So far only two specifically Humanist societies have survived—that led for some years by the able Charles Francis Potter in New York, and a new one led by the poet-minister Hugh Robert Orr in San Francisco.

As far as its appearance in the liberal churches in America is concerned it must be recalled that it was theists in the mid-west who raised the cry of "ethics to the front!" and established a creedless basis of fellowship within which "even the hypothetical atheist" might feel at home. Nor should the American Ethical Culture Societies be forgotten; they are essentially humanistic and part of the wider movement. Empirical theists, also, are tangential to the movement and should receive humanist sympathy and co-operation. They need to stand together against Neo-Calvinism (Barth, Nebuhr, etc.).

3. It would be a key-hole view of humanism to see

only the men who lead churches or ethical societies or humanist fellowships. Humanism actually pervades our western civilisation as the brave hope of the future. It is found implicit among all the naturalistic and pragmatic philosophers; men such as John Dewey, M. C. Otto, Roy Wood Sellars represent the philosophic movement. It is found also among progressive educators where the Dewey influence is manifest. It is the working basis of scientists who study science in the manner of Bacon "in order that human life may be enhanced." This is coming to overt recognition in a movement of Scientific Humanists in this country. Among them are Laurence Frank, Oliver Reiser, E. C. Tracy, Arthur Morgan, Albert Einstein.

Mortimer Adler, champion of a New-Thomism, asserted in his attack on American Professors that they are all "Positivists." Although he was not willing to concede the warm term "Humanism" to them, and Jacques Maritain has endeavoured to purloin the term and link it inappropriately with Catholic doctrine. Adler was essentially right in designating the major philosophic trend among American professors as "Positivism." If we take that term as equivalent to "Humanism," they are not Comtian positivists, but closer to what the Scientific Humanist represents. Humanism is the next step for religious liberals, free-thinkers, rationalists, world-planners, educators who seek a unifying and emancipating ethics.

4. To sum up, Humanism is really a world-wide movement found wherever the new world view produced by science is accepted as the background for an ethics in which the fulfilment of human life and respect for human life is the centre and goal. The points at which this outlook breaks through the crust of the old supernaturalism, the old class lines, are innumerable. Let's not try to reduce it to a petty sectarian manifestation, but watch for and encourage all of its expressions, seeking at all times to unify the movement and awaken it to a consciousness of common aims and values. To this end we publish our quarterly and invite all types of Humanists to help keep the movement critical and creative. The goal is a world humanism embraced by all men of good will, regardless of their several private dogmas. A positive humanistic ethics need negate no theological faith, but can transcend or deepen all and serve as a highway to unity and co-operation among people of diverse views. That portion of men in our movement whose work seems to be chiefly a negation of the old supernaturalism may well weigh their work in a more co-operative and affirmative direction. I invite you to examine copies of "The Humanist" and grant in advance permission to reprint any of its articles, giving due acknowledgment.

Sincerely,

EDWIN H. WILSON.

Under date, July 29, Mr. Sherman D. Wakefield, Associate Editor of *The Arbitrator*, writes to the same effect from 114 East 31st Street, New York City. After protesting against the errors to which reference has been made, Mr. Wakefield points out that there are approximately one hundred ministers and groups in the United States entitled to be described as Humanist.

## RESPONSE IS URGENT.

Begging is a distasteful business. But we are engaged in a total struggle against total war, for the service and salvation of all humanity. Will you help? We are facing a heavy deficit on our press—recently we installed a bigger press to do the work more quickly—and we owe over £1,500 on our pamphlet and paper production; notwithstanding the long hours put in by the small group who work all the time at the press, and so keep expenses low. Please help at once if you want our paper and booklets to continue to appear. Response is urgent.

## DR. JOHN HEWETSON.

Last month we dealt with the case of Dr. John Hewetson. He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment at Hampstead on July 25. His case was taken up by Dr. Charles Brook and Rhys Davies, M.P., both unknown to him. It was learned that the Central War Medical Committee had considered his case, since he refused to register as a C.O., and had recommended the normal procedure. Following further protest, the Home Office placed Dr. Hewetson's case before the Appellate Tribunal. He was released on September 12, after having agreed to take full time work in hospital or institution.



## NORMAN LEVERITT



Many comrades have written to us concerning the interesting letter published in *The Word* for August, from the pen of our Spalding comrade, Norman Leveritt, who is a member of the United Socialist Movement.

On Tuesday, August 18, our comrade was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for his determined conscientious stand. We reproduce the very full report that appeared in the *Spalding Free Press*, for Monday, August 24:—

### SPALDING CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

Refused to do Civil Defence Work and Submit to N.F.S. Medical Examination.

Completely Opposed to War.

A Spalding conscientious objector, Norman Leveritt (19), of 4 Eley Folly, Hawthorn Bank, was sent to prison for six months at Spalding Petty Sessions, on Tuesday, for failing to comply with a condition of his registration that he should undertake full-time civil defence work, on or about June 11.

Leveritt, formerly a postman, first agreed to do civil defence work when he was registered as a conscientious objector, but, after a post in A.R.P. had been found for him at Crewe, he declined. Next, he refused to submit himself for medical examination for the N.F.S., and had bluntly expressed his intention of doing nothing whatever.

He was not legally represented, and pleaded not guilty.

The magistrates were: Mr. W. F. Howard (Chairman); Aldermen Sir John Glead, R. Riddington; Messrs. C. R. Thompson, H. N. Shaw, R. S. Donington, J. W. Beba and F. Husband-Clutton.

Mr. Cecil Crust, prosecuting for the Ministry of Labour, explained at the outset that the penalty was imprisonment of a term not exceeding 12 months, or fine of £50, or both. The Bench were bound to consider any reasonable excuse by defendant for his failure to comply with the regulation.

#### Order of Tribunal.

"This boy," said Mr. Crust, "was born on December 14, 1922. On September 17th, 1941, he made application to the local Tribunal as a conscientious objector, and on November 3rd he went before the North Midlands Tribunal, where he was ordered to undertake work in full-time civil defence. On November 25th he was sent the appropriate forms stating that he was registered as a conscientious objector on condition that until the end of the present emergency he undertook full-time civil defence work. While he himself was responsible for complying with the order, every effort would be made by the local employment exchange to assist him in obtaining work specified by the tribunal. If he desired that assistance he should call at the Spalding Labour Exchange as soon as possible in order that the necessary particulars could be registered and his name available for any vacancy which arose."

#### Declined Appointment at Crewe.

Mr. Crust said there would not have been the slightest objection if defendant had obtained civil defence work locally; he had the opportunity. The matter went on for six weeks from November 3, and so far as was known no attempt was made by defendant to obtain the necessary work. On January 8th he was accepted for full-time A.R.P. employment with the Crewe Corporation. He stated that he was perfectly willing to do first-aid work, perfectly willing to go to Crewe, perfectly willing to do what he was ordered to do.

"But on January 13th," said Mr. Crust, "having received the travelling warrant to Crewe he sent it back and declined to enter into any employment of any description."

"He says it was his conscience," added Mr. Crust, "but the Bench may wonder at a person with a conscience who makes a promise to undertake civil defence work and then turns round and says he will not do it."

On January 21st defendant was told he would be called for a medical examination for the National Fire Service, but he would not even go for that. Writing on February 4th that he declined to go, he stated: "As a Pacifist I can have nothing to do with this

whatsoever." On June 11th he was interviewed by two officers of the Labour Exchange—Mr. Keen and Mr. Carter—and signed a document on which he had answered questions.

#### Absolute Refusal.

"The position is that this boy absolutely refuses to do anything in the national interest," said Mr. Crust "and in view of the letters which have been written and the attitude he has taken up I ask the Bench to seriously consider whether any fine would be adequate."

Mr. Crust went through a volume of correspondence dating from September 20th, 1941, when defendant made application to the local tribunal as a conscientious objector, and setting out the grounds on which he alleged he should not enter combatant service. There was a further letter stating that he had received the document registering him as a conscientious objector on the condition that he took up full-time civil defence work, and giving the information that he had been told at the Labour Exchange to carry on with his present occupation until he heard further. The letter was dated December 31, and in it defendant said he had called at the Labour Exchange that day and still no vacancy had been found for him.

#### Opposition as a Pacifist.

Mr. Crust came to the letter which defendant wrote on January 14th declining the employment at Crewe stating:

"After long consideration I have decided to decline employment in Civil Defence. I do so because of my complete opposition to the war, in which as a Pacifist I can have no part whatever."

Defendant was sent a letter from Regional Office pointing out the condition of his registration, and he was interviewed. He stated he quite understood what his position was. On February 14 he returned papers, declining to submit for medical examination for the N.F.S. and again stating that he could have nothing to do with the war.

He wrote to Regional Officer reiterating that he could not undertake Civil Defence work. He had tried to reconcile himself to it, but as a Pacifist he found he could not do it. The cause of his refusal to take up civil defence or enter the N.F.S. was that his "inner convictions" were against participation in the war in any way. He had not appealed because at the time he appeared before the Tribunal he thought he could do civil defence work, and it was only after the time for appealing had passed that he came to the conclusion that he could not do so.

In a letter three and a half months later, defendant stated that he still had not secured employment, and added: "And I have not the slightest intention of doing so."

When interviewed by the officers on June 11th, defendant had no statement to make but answered certain questions they asked.

George Louis Sands, an officer at the local Labour Exchange, gave evidence that on September 6th last year Leveritt registered as a conscientious objector.

#### Interviews with Employment Officers.

John Evelyn Arthur Carter, an employment officer at the local Exchange, confirmed the opening remarks made by Mr. Crust. Referring to an interview on November 27th, witness told defendant that he was expected to fulfil civil defence duties, and Leveritt said he was prepared to undertake first-aid work. He agreed to take an appointment at Manchester. This was not obtained and when interviewed again on December 17 he agreed to go to Crewe but asked that he should be allowed to remain at Spalding until after Christmas as he was a postman. The rate of pay at Crewe was 70s. for a 72-hour week. Defendant was requested to travel to Crewe on January 13 ready for work the next day. Then came the letter from him saying he would have nothing to do with it.

There were further interviews in which defendant said he quite understood his position.

#### "Not Ashamed of Recanting."

Leveritt did not go into the witness box, but read a long written statement.

"I have a reasonable excuse for not complying with the register," he said, "I have a conscientious objection to fulfilling these conditions, and I am well aware that very few courts have accepted that view. The prosecution has placed stress on my recantations at various times. I see very little to be ashamed of in that. Perhaps the Bench may think that I am in good company in that, and I may mention Archbishop Cranmer . . ."

The Chairman: "We are dealing with your case now."

Leveritt, continuing, said he registered as a conscientious objector because he was against war on humanitarian and ethical grounds. At that time he had no objection to doing civil defence work. Although he was allowed three weeks to make an appeal and it was not until the time limit had elapsed that his views underwent a change. In addition to his general humanitarian and ethical views, which had not diminished, he had also developed political reasons against the war, which made him take his stand as an out-and-out conscientious objector and an anti-militarist.

He viewed the war as an Imperialist war, as a capitalists' war in the truest sense, with its outcome from economic rivalry between the various Imperialist groups, Anglo-American powers on the one hand, and the totalitarians, Germany, Italy and Japan, on the other. It was not a fight for freedom at all, but for jealous interests.

He was not there to prove to the court that his views were correct, although he thought they were. No one with such views could take part in civil defence which, he contended, was part of the war machine. When he appeared before the Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal at Lincoln they agreed that he held sincere views, and removed his name from the military register, and he asked the Bench to uphold those views.

Mr. Crust's reply to defendant's statement was that what he had said was nothing to do with the case.

In reply to the Chairman Leveritt said he was not working at present. He had been at the Post Office since 1936 but they had released him to go on civil defence work.

The Chairman told defendant that they had carefully considered his case, and he must go to prison for six months. They could not find that he had given any reasonable excuse for refusing to do full-time civil defence work.

Norman Leveritt's case must be reheard by the Tribunal. He is entitled to total exemption, since it must be clear to every intelligent person, militarist or otherwise, that he is a genuine absolutist objector, who knows where he stands, and has thought out his position thoroughly. He never ought to have suffered a day's imprisonment.

### PERSECUTING C.Os.

Dear Sir,—When the compulsory military service was introduced on the eve of the war the promise was given that the persecution of conscientious objectors which took place in the last war would not be renewed, and I wish to acknowledge that as a whole objectors have now been treated more liberally.

There have been some exceptions, however. Despite pledges to the contrary, "cat-and-mouse" treatment has recurred. May I draw attention to the two severest cases?

Gerald Henderson, of West Hartlepool, is a religious objector. He was refused exemption by the Tribunals, arrested and taken into the Army. He has been court-martialled five times and has served sentences of 28 days' detention and 4 months', 6 months' and 7 months' imprisonment. He is now serving a sentence of 15 months' imprisonment. Yet the Appellate Tribunal still declines to acknowledge that he is a sincere objector.

The second case, Stanley Hilton, of Rochdale, is also a religious objector. He has been court-martialled three times, has served sentences of one year's imprisonment and 2 years' detention (commuted to seven months) and is now serving a third sentence of two years' imprisonment.

Have not these boys proved their sincerity? It is of no benefit to the Army to keep on sending them back to prison and it is a bit of a blot on the administration of the conscience clause of the National Service Acts.

Sincerely yours,

FENNER BROCKWAY,

Chairman, C.B.C.O.

6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1,  
14th September, 1942.

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## TWICE COURT MARTIALLED

PETER McKELLAR



Our comrade, Peter McKellar, of 38 South Annandale Street, Glasgow, will have been court-martialled for the second time before these lines are in print.

Then aged 22, a glazier by trade, he registered as a conscientious objector on December 26, 1939. His case was heard on April 23, 1940, by the Glasgow Tribunal, consisting of Sir A. C. Black, K.C., Sir Robert Bruce, J.P., LL.D., and Mr. (now Sir) R. Bryce Walker, C.B.E., etc.

McKellar told the Tribunal that his father was killed in the great war. He would not butcher nor yet would he be butchered. It was enough that this had happened to his father. The Tribunal sympathised with him. He replied that he wanted justice as an anti-militarist, not sympathy.

McKellar lodged an appeal but he did not attend before the Appellate Tribunal on July 19, 1940. His appeal was dismissed. McKellar appeared before the Medical Board on August 9, 1940, and submitted to medical examination. He refused to report to the Training Regiment at D— and was arrested by the Civil Power and handed over on March 5, 1942.

At D— on March 8, 1942, he refused to put on the military uniform, and was court-martialled.

The summary of the evidence was taken down and signed on March 9, 1942, by Captain J. M. Ritchie, R.A., Adjutant Training Regiment R.A., McKellar being referred to as No. 1140582, Gunner McKellar.

No. 967441 L/Sgt. Holliday A., Training Regiment R.A., stated:—On 7/3/42 I was detailed by B.S.M. Hannaway to proceed to C.M.P. Headquarters, 20 Huntly Gardens, Glasgow. There I was handed A.P.O. 1618 in respect of the accused. I proceeded to Maryhill Barracks, Glasgow, where the accused was handed over to me. I returned with him to D— and placed him in close arrest.

No. 938189 Bdr. Catling E., Training Regiment R.A., stated:—I produce enlistment notice (N.S. 12A) in respect of No. 1140582 Gunner McKellar P. On 27/2/42 a letter, dated 26/2/42, was received from Gunner McKellar, stating that he was a Conscientious Objector and returning his Enlistment Notice. This notice was sent back to him from this office on 28/2/42, together with a slip for Army Form B 204A. On 4/3/42 a further letter was received from Gunner McKellar again stating that he was a Conscientious Objector and again returning his Enlistment Notice.

No. 1026473 B.S.M. Hannaway J. W., Training Regiment R.A., stated:—On 8/3/42, acting under instructions from my Battery Commander, I went to the clothing store in company with 2/Lieut. R. C. Smith, R.A., with a view to getting the accused clothed up. On reaching the clothing store I ordered the accused to take off his coat and waistcoat to try on his Battle Dress, but he refused to do so, saying "I am a Conscientious Objector." Mr. Smith explained the seriousness of his act and he replied "I understand perfectly." Mr. Smith then ordered him to put on his Battle Dress and he again refused. Mr. Smith then ordered me to put him under close arrest. I did so.

2/Lieut. R. C. Smith, R.A. (155350), Training Regiment R.A., stated:—On 8/3/42, in company with B.S.M. Hannaway I went to the Clothing Store with a view to getting the accused fitted with uniform. When ordered to put on his Battle Dress he refused, saying "I refuse to put on uniform. I am a Conscientious Objector." I was at this time wearing my uniform with the appropriate badges of rank. I warned him of the seriousness of

his refusal, but he persisted in this, saying "I refuse to put on uniform." I gave him a direct order to put on his uniform but he still refused. I then ordered B.S.M. Hannaway to place him in the Guard Room under close arrest.

The Court Martial took place at D— on March 31 and McKellar was sentenced to 91 days' imprisonment with hard labour at Barlinnie Prison, Glasgow. He lodged an appeal to the Appellate Tribunal on April 5, and his application was endorsed by the Under Secretary of State for War on April 13. His case was not heard, however, until after he had served his sentence. He was returned to D— and treated with every consideration pending his appeal being heard.

The Appeal Tribunal registered McKellar as a conscientious objector, but recommended him for non-combatant service. He was ordered to report to a N.C.C. Corps in Wales but refused to go. He was arrested and conveyed to Wales, on August 28. He was placed in detention and now (as we go to press) awaits a second court martial. Yet his name, under the National Service Acts, 1931-1941, is inscribed on the roll of conscientious objectors. Surely these proceedings are farcical. McKellar is recognised as a conscientious objector and ought to be treated as such.

## NEWCASTLE OBJECTORS The Stand of the Morleys

We have drawn attention in these columns to the Socialist and Pacifist records of our comrades Morley of Newcastle. We have given the history of comrade John Morley in detail, and also reported the cases of his sons, Robert and Alan. Portraits have been published of all these comrades. At the wish of our many Newcastle comrades we again direct attention to their witness against war. In Newcastle there is much local concern about the repeated prosecution of this family and a Morley Defence Committee has been organised. The Secretary is Mr. E. Archbold, of 2 Hartford Road, Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne. All wishing to help should communicate with this committee at once and the workers ought to raise the struggles of the Morleys in every part of the country. They are not only witnessing against war. They are upholding traditions of conscience and democracy.

This is the position of John Morley and his two sons, as recorded already in this journal.

**JOHN MORLEY**—aged 57 years—Imprisoned twice during the last war as a Conscientious Objector. Outstanding worker in cause of peace all his life. Has already been imprisoned twice during this war.

**ALAN MORLEY**—aged 21 years—Has just been released from Durham Prison, having suffered twelve months' hard labour. Is liable to further imprisonment.

**ROBERT MORLEY**—aged 25 years—Imprisoned twice during this war as a Conscientious Objector. As we go to press, has been summoned to appear on 15th September, 1942, before the Newcastle City Police Court on a charge of not submitting to medical examination for Military Service. He is liable to a further twelve months' imprisonment.

Fuller details concerning our comrades make interesting reading.

**JOHN MORLEY**. During last war imprisoned 112 days Wormwood Scrubs and twelve months Newcastle Prison as Conscientious Objector to War.

In May, 1941, was fined at Newcastle-on-Tyne City Police Court £50 and £5 5s. costs for refusing (on conscientious grounds) to make firewatching arrangements at his business premises. On refusal to pay, unsuccessful attempts made to detain at home and business premises. Ultimately on 1st July 1941, committed to Durham Prison for three months.

Shortly after release from prison the tenancy of his business premises were terminated by the landlord, and he was compelled to find alternative business accommodation "around the corner."

John again was pressed to comply with Firewatching Order. He refused and on 1st May, 1942, for the second time he was committed to Durham Prison for three months—no option of a fine being given.

British Law says: "No person shall be punished twice for the one offence." John Morley's offence

is that he cannot conscientiously co-operate in this war measure. He has already, during this war, suffered two terms of imprisonment for this one offence. Technically, John Morley is guilty of continuous offence. This question was discussed fully during last war. Everyone recognises that, in cases of conscience, one offence is committed.

Two court appearances.

**ROBERT MORLEY**. On 20th December, 1940, arrested on warrant at work for not registering, and remanded in custody until 27th December, when he appeared at Moot Hall Police Court, Newcastle, on two charges; failing to register and failing to appear for medical examination. Fined £2 each charge and £12 4s. 9d. costs, and ordered to be detained in custody until taken by police for medical examination. On 8th January, 1941, refused medical examination and was released, having been held in custody for twenty consecutive days.

**24th January, 1941**. Summons to Moot Hall Police Court, and on 5th February, 1941, arrested on warrant at work; sentenced to 56 days' imprisonment and committed to Durham Prison same day.

**21st March, 1942**. Minister of Labour—under Section 5 (7) of National Services (Armed Forces) Act, 1939—provisionally registered him in the Register of Conscientious Objectors, and referred his case to local tribunal.

**12th May, 1942**. Newcastle Tribunal considered his case in his absence—put on Military Register.

**29th June, 1942**. Summons for medical examination, but did not comply.

As we go to press, Robert has been summoned to appear at Newcastle City Police Court on **Tuesday, 15th September, 1942**, to answer a charge of refusing medical examination, and is liable to another term of imprisonment.

This will be his **fourth court appearance** on pacifist grounds.

**ALAN MORLEY**. On pacifist grounds refrained from registering and failed to submit to medical examination for military service.

Arrested under warrant at work on 3rd November, 1941, and appeared at Newcastle Police Court same day. Remanded in custody one week—bail being refused despite surety for any amount. On 10th November, 1941, same court fined him £5 and ordered to be taken before Medical Board. Refused to submit, and on 11th November, 1941, sentenced to 12 months' hard labour and one month in default of fine. Committed that day to Durham Prison. On 30th November, 1941, transferred to Wakefield Prison. Later, because of his refusal on conscientious grounds to undertake war work in prison, was deprived of certain prison privileges, including loss of bed for seven nights, loss of one week's remission of sentence and re-transferred to Durham Prison. Released from prison 20th July, 1942, and since then has followed his normal occupation in the motor body and coach building trade.

Within three weeks of discharge from prison, pressure brought to bear upon him by National Service Officers, apparently to direct him to work deemed more helpful to the war effort. His non-compliance on conscientious grounds resulted in Statutory Summons to appear for interview at Local Labour Exchange on 2nd September, 1942. He refused to do so and is liable to further punishment.

Three court appearances.

A study of the foregoing facts must convince any normal person that the Morleys are sincere in their pacifist belief. If the Minister of Labour and National Service hopes, by the application of further punishment, to make them abandon their faith, he is alone in that delusion.

We ask the Minister of Labour, and also the Minister of Home Security, to relieve the Morleys from all further persecution. We ask the Socialist and Labour movement to respect the stands made by these Socialist Comrades for conscience and to insist on their principles being respected.

### SONNET IN WAR-TIME.

'Tis wrong to sing with an embittered heart  
Because we live in Time's most hideous hour,  
Why let the hateful ugliness devour  
Our sacred beauty. Ours the noble art  
Of teaching men to play a worthy part,  
And live for love of life, and all things good,  
And build a Heaven of Joy and Brotherhood,  
That Greed and Selfishness will never thwart.

So let us sing of gentler things, and fair,  
And prove to those who are both deaf and blind,  
That he who hath a sweet and lovely mind,  
And knoweth false from true, breathes sweeter air  
Than he who hath no mind to call his own,  
And kneeleth meekly at a tyrant's throne.

BOE CORRIE.



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## Glasgow Anarchist C.O.

### HIGH COURT APPEAL.

The "Scottish Daily Express" for Wednes-  
day, September 23, published a report of the  
case of our Anarchist comrade, Edward Shaw.  
The report is not worded exactly as we would  
like, and too much emphasis is placed on  
Shaw's proletarian style, whereas his legal  
courage and forthrightness should be con-  
sidered, but it tells the story of his stand and  
is a contribution to the records of the C.O.  
struggle and of the Anarchist Movement. It  
is also an expression of democracy. For these  
reasons we reproduce it without alteration:—

### WORKMAN DEBATES WITH 3 JUDGES

Tousle-headed Edward Shaw, 36-year-old sheet metal  
worker, 173 Dalmarnock Road, Glasgow, pleaded his  
own case in a Clyde-side accent before the Lord Justice  
Clerk, Lord Cooper, and two other judges at the  
Justiciary Appeal Court in Edinburgh yesterday.

His opponent was Mr. J. S. C. Reid, the Lord  
Advocate, chief legal officer of the Crown in Scotland.  
Shaw, who appealed against a decision of Sheriff  
McDonald of Glasgow that he should be detained in  
Barlinnie Prison for a period not exceeding seven days  
so that he might be medically examined under the  
National Service (Armed Forces) Act, lost his appeal.

But Lord Cooper paid him the compliment of say-  
ing that he had "presented his case with cogency  
and force."

### "ILLEGAL" TERMS

Shaw's argument was that the Ministry of Labour's  
summons to him to appear for his medical examina-  
tion was illegal because in a previous letter telling  
him that he would be called they used the term  
"without qualification" in describing his removal  
from the roll of conscientious objectors.

He pointed out, and the three judges agreed, that  
this term had been abolished from the National Ser-  
vice Act by an amending schedule in 1941.

He maintained that the use of this term by the  
Ministry in an official document sent to him might  
prejudice his future life.

"I am the only tradesman in Glasgow among the  
sheet metal workers who has been called up," he  
said. "The Ministry of Labour don't know my trade.  
I am now 36, and according to the schedule of  
reserved occupations I should not be called until  
January next year.

"It's me who is upholding the Act of Parliament,  
not the Ministry," he said. "They should be in the  
dock here, not me."

### NO EXPENSES

Lord Cooper and his fellow judges in dismissing the  
appeal, told Shaw that though the letter from the  
Ministry might have been wrong, the actual notice  
summoning him for medical examination was quite  
legal.

Shaw appealed to Lord Cooper to "make the  
expenses as light as possible as I am only a working  
man."

The Lord Advocate, however, said the Crown would  
make no claim for expenses.

Shaw then asked the Lord Justice Clerk if it would  
be "all right if I surrendered myself in Glasgow."

"I have my return ticket in my pocket," he said,  
"and it would be much more helpful to me if I  
surrendered there than if I were pinched here in  
Edinburgh."

The judges agreed to this course.

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## "BLOODY BAYONETS"

Reviewed by LESLIE ROGERS

"BLOODY BAYONETS," The Complete Guide to  
Bayonet Fighting. By Squadron Leader R. A.  
Lidstone, R.A.F.V.R. Sketches by L/Cpl. M. C.  
Clifford. Published by Gale and Polden. 2/-.

"Bloody Bayonets" is the apt title of this spirited  
and instructive little book on bayonet fighting. The  
cover design shows a very grim, even ferocious-looking  
soldier advancing with fixed bayonet. A background  
of vermilion gives a touch of realism to the title.

"Bayonet fighting is a bloody business," writes  
Squadron Leader Lidstone. The chief characteristics  
of ability to win are confidence, cool-headedness and  
experience. The soldier "learns how to attack in mass  
formation, and the offensive spirit, so essential to this  
form of fighting, is instilled into him."

"Trepidation is the bayonet-fighter's worst enemy,  
whereas the man imbued with a veritable 'Bayonet  
Spirit' will terrify his opponent by his ferocious on-  
slaught and will overcome him by fear before striking  
a blow. The 'Bayonet Spirit,' combined with a sound  
training in the scientific use of the weapon, must be  
inspired in every man who may be called upon to use  
a rifle and bayonet." Bayonet fighting should be en-  
couraged as a recreation.

The author deals thoroughly with the various  
strokes and parries, and adds a useful tip to begin-  
ners that merely to tap weapons with an opponent  
"will neither frighten nor annoy him."

In a section given to Close-up Fighting, he writes  
"To use the point in a Close-up is impossible. In a  
fight with sharp weapons, butt strokes and tripping  
would normally take the place of thrusts, although  
kicking, the use of the knee and other unsportsmanlike  
tricks would not be out of place." "The butt," he  
goes on to say, "can sometimes be used to great  
advantage. . . Nevertheless, the butt seldom deals a  
fatal blow and consequently must be followed by a  
bayonet thrust." Instruction is given as to how the  
opponent's face may be smashed by a right butt stroke  
or by driving the butt, end on, straight into his face.  
Tripping may also be employed, "but it must be  
realised that further action will be necessary when  
your man is thrown." The Right Ankle Trip is  
assisted by forcing the butt into your opponent's  
stomach. The bringing of the knee into an opponent's  
fork "with as hearty a jab as you can" is also re-  
commended.

In the section entitled "The Kill," Squadron  
Leader Lidstone refers to the opponent who has been  
tripped or who has fallen. He says "you must thrust  
before he has time to recover himself. You must kill,  
and kill quickly." He then explains the withdrawal of  
the bayonet after the kill. "To withdraw, place your  
left foot on the body, slipping your left hand along  
the barrel towards the hilt of the bayonet. Then with-  
draw by pulling with both hands in the direction of  
the butt and pushing with the left foot."

In a struggle for a rifle, if the opponent refuses to  
let go "you must resort to kicking, jabbing with your  
knee or heel, punching, etc." Having disarmed your  
opponent, "without pausing, deliver the death  
stroke."

A high degree of realism is given to the book by  
the sketches of L/Cpl. Clifford. In keeping with the  
title, he does not spare his readers blood. Figure 12  
shows a bayonet being thrust into the bare throat of  
the opponent, and rather more than a mere trickle  
of blood is in evidence. Figure 24, entitled "Kill  
(following ankle trip)," pictures the enemy on the  
ground, one hand held up, apparently as a plea for  
mercy, whilst his opponent is standing over him, his  
bayonet ready for delivering the "death stroke."

Any doubt as to whether mercy was shown is dis-  
sipated by Figure 25, entitled "Withdraw (following  
ankle trip)," which concludes the episode and shows  
the enemy on the ground with half the bayonet driven  
into his stomach from which blood is gushing. His  
opponent, with bestial ferocity, has placed his foot  
on the dying man's stomach and is freeing his weapon  
by violent tugging and pushing.

Reference should, perhaps, also be made to Figure  
30, entitled "Kill (following disarm)." This illustra-  
tion shows the disarmed man lying on the ground;  
one hand is raised in agony and the other grasps the  
blade of a bayonet which is being driven in an upward  
direction into the pit of his stomach.

The book may have been published with a desire to  
make us into a nation of bayonet fighters. It is frank  
and lacks hypocrisy. Whether it will enjoy a wide  
popularity now that the inculcation of blood-lust has  
been officially suspended, remains to be seen.

Some readers may think that even if "Bloody  
Bayonets" does not directly encourage the sadism  
latent in individuals, it does encourage conditions in  
which that latent sadism will manifest itself. Be that  
as it may, it would be a good thing if the book were  
placed in the hands of our religious leaders and army  
chaplains—they might find it somewhat difficult to  
reconcile the "veritable bayonet spirit" with the  
spirit of God within each one of us.



# THE WORLD OF WAR AND RUMOUR

By  
THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

As the plight of Stalingrad grows daily more desperate, it is well to consider what the position will be if the city should at length fall.

The daily newspapers are the Government-censored channels of war propaganda, so presumably a person may quote their opinions without being charged with having an undue desire to spread despondency and alarm. Some well-known organs of the daily Press have, in the past, stated quite plainly that if Stalingrad should be captured and if the Axis should gain control of the Caucasus, the military strength of Russia will, at the very least, be crippled and the chance of a decisive victory for the Allies will disappear. In the past, too, the opinion was expressed that if we lost Singapore, we might never again be able to recapture that stronghold from the Japanese or the remainder of our possessions in the Far East.

Now although the time is probably at hand when the expression of such opinions will no longer be a feature of the newspapers as it will not harmonise with whatever fresh "victory" carrot it is considered expedient to dangle before the British donkey's nose; seeing that no new factor has appeared in the war situation to deprive these opinions of validity, it will be wise to remind ourselves of their most undoubted reasonableness.

If the Soviet Government, in addition to losing so much land valuable for food production and so many towns important for the manufacture of armaments, should also have its communications with the main source of its oil supply cut both by water and by rail, it certainly does look as though its war effort would be crippled. Indeed if, as recent news indicates, the Soviet is going to be partly dependent for its food supplies on wheat sent from Canada by sea, sooner or later the Russian Government might be compelled to surrender completely.

If Britain has failed to achieve a decisive victory when a Continental ally with immense resources in men and materials was still at the height of her military strength, it seems hardly likely, to say the least of it, that she will be able to do so when, for that ally, another is substituted who is already in serious difficulties through shortage of certain essential war materials; who has, with inadequate shipping, to transport both men and equipment by long and dangerous sea routes, to fight an enemy with an excellent rail and transport system at his rear; and whose armament firms and politicians have, even in the opinion of the newspapers of their own country, not a very savoury reputation either for honesty or for efficiency.

With regard to the Far East, the Japanese appear, for physical reasons alone, to be superior to European soldiers in warfare under the peculiar and exacting conditions of the tropics, and, supplied as she now is, with oil, rubber and essential minerals, it is difficult to see what reasonable chance exists of turning Japan out of the innumerable positions in which she is now strongly entrenched.

It is also an unfortunate, if humiliating, fact that in almost every major engagement of this war Germans and Japanese have proved their superiority over the Forces of the Allies. There seems no obvious reason why in the future the Axis Forces should cease to continue to prove themselves better led and better equipped and, in modern mechanised warfare, inferiority of equipment, alone, makes the sending into battle of troops or airmen a useless and unjustifiable sacrifice of life.

On September the 16th the "Daily Mail" concluded its leading article with these words "Only when the United States gets fully into

its stride will the balance turn against the Axis. That time has not yet come. President Roosevelt tells us that America has reached little more than half her possible war production. . . . The battle of production is by no means won. We shall hold our own through the coming winter only if we work to the limit of our power and to the peak of our efficiency." Nothing very cheerful here, especially in view of America's difficulties with a shortage of rubber, steel and other raw materials! No mention of "victory" at all and even "holding our own" is conditional!

Incidentally, Mr. Donald Nelson, the head of American war production, is reported to have said recently that the U.S.A. is nearing the peak of production. If this be the case the peak of American war production would appear to be about half of President Roosevelt's theoretical estimate.

According to a report, also in the "Daily Mail," Mr. E. Brown, the Minister of Education, in a recent speech addressed to a gathering of Liberals, if slightly more optimistic, was certainly anything but convincing. Mr. Brown is said to have declared that "everything" pointed to a coming change and to the assumption of the offensive by the Allies "until, at an appalling cost in blood, tears, toil and sweat" (but not the blood, etc., of Mr. Brown and his Cabinet colleagues it would seem), "victory is achieved." What the "everything" pointing to the assumption of the offensive by the Allies may be, is not very clear. Possibly Mr. Brown was referring to the disasters at Dieppe and Tobruk, but, while further offensives of this kind certainly seem to promise an appalling sacrifice in blood, toil, tears and sweat, the ensuing victory is not obvious! The plain fact is that we have had more than enough blab of this description and that is the long and short of it.

There is a persistent rumour at the present time that if Hitler should succeed in crippling Russian resistance, he will make another peace offer. I am not myself entirely confident that this will happen, as Hitler some time ago declared that he had made his last peace offer and, during the past few months, we have heard rumours of peace offers all of which have failed to materialise.

Assuming, however, that another offer of a negotiated peace is going to be made by Germany it is of the utmost importance that we should consider in advance the opportunity that such an important event would provide.

In the past more than one peace offer has been made, officially or unofficially, and haughtily rejected by our politicians who have shown themselves more concerned with saving their faces and keeping their jobs than with the true welfare of the country. In every case subsequent events have proved the rejection of the peace offer to have been a tragic blunder. The military position of Britain and her Allies has become worse—sometimes much worse—; for which reason the sacrifice of the lives both of Servicemen and civilians which has occurred after the rejection of the peace proposal has been a useless and unavailing sacrifice.

If another offer of a negotiated peace should be rejected by our Government, the latter will prove themselves worse enemies of Britain than Hitler himself. This is not an exaggerated opinion of an extreme pacifist or defeatist. It is a perfectly obvious fact.

If the opinions quoted earlier in this article from the Government's Press propaganda agents relative to the Allies' position in the event of a collapse of Russian resistance, are correct, then, if Stalingrad falls, the only alternatives that would remain for us would be a negotiated peace or the worst of all evils—defeat.

Hitler, by offering us a chance for a negotiated peace, would be offering us certain escape from the risk of defeat, whether his word can be trusted or not; for a negotiated peace of course assumes that we are left in full pos-

session of our defence Forces until such time as we may see fit to reduce them as part of a general plan for world disarmament. The Government, on the other hand, if it rejected the offer of a negotiated peace, would be exposing the country to further, and perhaps greater, risk of defeat.

Hitler again, by suggesting a negotiated peace, would be giving us the chance of immediate deliverance from further war casualties. The Government, on the other hand, if it refused to negotiate, would be condemning us to suffer still further casualties. These, moreover, would be useless casualties for, if victory were no longer within reach, the best that could be hoped for would be a negotiated peace, i.e., the very thing that Hitler was offering us before the casualties had been sustained.

Lastly, even from the most pessimistic and militarist standpoint which assumes the likelihood of another war, it should now be obvious to anyone outside a lunatic asylum that the Allies have far more to gain than the Axis from a period of respite. Hitler would be offering us such an advantage. The Government, on the other hand, if they again refused to negotiate, would be denying us a badly-needed opportunity for recovery and for profiting from past mistakes.

Recently I had the opportunity, rare in these days, of getting some firsthand information about the position on the Continent from an Englishman who has been living in France and, for a short time, in a neutral country, ever since the beginning of the war.

My informant is an intelligent man whose sympathies are more with the Left than with the Right, but who is very impartial in his general outlook. He has no very strong prejudices or feelings in regard either to Continental or Home politics. He has, I believe, given minor officials of our own Government much the same information as he gave me, desiring if possible to be helpful, while regretting the ignorance and lack of imagination common in official circles.

He told me that, apart from a few fire-eating officers of the old school, there is practically no hatred for the Germans, either among Frenchmen living in France, or among those engaged in work in Germany. There is, indeed, some inclination to co-operate and there is also evidence that when the two races have social contacts each influences the other. This is interesting and important, as it suggests that even if peace were concluded without a German defeat, the bad features in the Nazi system would tend gradually to disappear as the result of the influence exercised upon Germans by people not of German nationality. There are more ways of killing a cat than choking it with cream and an iceberg which resists the demolition efforts of a company of men armed with axes may dissolve slowly but surely under the permeating rays of the sun.

I was not very surprised to learn that Britain is by no means popular in the occupied countries, "perfidious Albion" being the prevailing sentiment. In France there is not the slightest inclination to regard Britain as a potential deliverer and the people have a profound aversion to taking further part in war for any reason or in defence of any cause. Communism is strong among the working-class who look forward to the day when they will be able to turn out political opponents of their own race, rather than to the day when they will be rid of the Germans.

Although he naturally and rightly called the practice "brutal," my informant said that the killing of hostages by order of German officers was not the indiscriminate and wholesale practice that our propaganda has led us to believe. Probably only a few persons were actually put to death and these, he learned from a French source, were carefully selected from among those who the Germans felt confident had been concerned in acts of violence against soldiers or officials, or were engaged in planning such acts of violence.



The food situation is fair in Occupied France, very bad in the unoccupied part of the country; although the shortage does not amount to actual starvation.

My informant learned from various sources (including a person who had been interned in Germany) that the German people have a great and freely-expressed longing for the end of the war, though this longing is not usually accompanied by opposition to Hitler. They are distressed by the casualties suffered in the Russian campaign. Hatred for the British people is markedly absent among them, the ugly sentiment of hatred for the people of the other side being, unfortunately, more common over here. Differences in propaganda may be responsible, for German propaganda seems to concentrate its attack on British politicians, financiers and Jews; while over here the people are subjected to a good deal of the indiscriminating poison of Vansittartism.

I learned that it is unlikely that the German Government would offer any objection if, in order to ascertain whether the peoples of the occupied countries would prefer a negotiated peace now, or a continuation of the war in the hope that the Allies might drive out the German invaders, some responsible neutral statesman, such as Dr. Salazar of Portugal, were invited to conduct an impartial and unhampered enquiry—a course of action which surely has much to recommend it.

Since writing the above I have had the accuracy of much of my informant's description of the general feeling in Europe confirmed from an independent source to which even the most orthodox supporters of the war might be expected to pay attention.

## POLLITT IS PRO-FASCIST!

### C.P. Speaker's View.

The September issue of "The Word" was published on Thursday, August 27. Its effect was felt almost immediately.

On Sunday, August 30, the local branch of the C.P. at Kingston held a public meeting in the Market Square to call for "National Unity." The speaker stressed the need for complete unity of the people with their Government, and warned his audience against the disruptive elements who attempted to sabotage such unity. He described these elements variously as "Fifth Column," "Trotskyite," "Pro-Nazi," "Pro-Fascist," etc.

When question time came a questioner explained how he had read the C.P. pamphlet on "Hitler's Agents in Britain," and then proceeded to quote the following extracts from "The Word":—

"It is not too late. Take up the struggle now. Repudiate the surrender to Churchill Government of every victory won by the Labour movement in the course of its long and glorious history.

"End the coalition of Labour with those who have brought the people of Britain to the verge of disaster.

"The workers of Britain cannot afford to trust their destinies to such leaders in peace or war."

Did the speaker think that these statements were written by a pro-fascist agent of Hitler in Britain? asked the questioner.

The C.P. speaker, with a light in his eyes, and an enthusiasm that was remarkable, expounded for five minutes on the subject; he definitely agreed that the writer of such statements must be a pro-fascist, and he showed what an excellent example it was of what a pro-Nazi agent could say. When he had finished, the questioner pointed out that the extract he had read out came from Harry Pollitt's pamphlet "The War and the Labour Movement" published in June, 1940!!!

At that, the speaker nearly had a fit!! Even the peculiar brand of Marxist dialectics used by the Comical Party were of no avail to extricate him from his dilemma. Out of his own mouth, this C.P. speaker had condemned his own Gauleiter as a "pro-fascist," and the crowd were quick to see the point.

### 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.

## ROBERT TAYLOR

"The Literary Guide," London, for July, published the following notice of our "life" of Robert Taylor, under the heading "Items of Interest":—

Readers of this journal who are interested in the history of the Freethought Movement, when the struggle for freedom of thought and freedom of speech was more perilous than it is to-day, will glean useful information from a pamphlet just published entitled "The Devil's Chaplain," being the story of the Rev. Robert Taylor, who fought very gallantly against ecclesiastical persecution. It is sympathetically compiled by Mr. Guy A. Aldred, and a copy may be procured from the Strickland Press, 104 George Street, Glasgow. The price, including postage, is fivepence.

Robert Taylor continued his Rotunda addresses until heart trouble compelled him to retire from the platform. He married a wealthy woman, and spent the last ten years of his life travelling with her through Europe and America, finally settling at Jersey. He is said to have repudiated his Deism, and to have returned to the Established Church after his marriage. The conversion stories are answered generally in our biography. No details are given. We have traced the following four references to this alleged conversion:—

"Annual Register," September 1844, p. 273.—  
"Ultimately he renounced his errors and returned to the doctrines of the Established Church."

"John Bull," Saturday, October 12th, 1884.—"He renounced or professed to renounce his deistical principles.—D. White." (Quoted by "Notes and Queries").

"Gentleman's Magazine," Vol. XXII., Second Series, p. 550, November, 1844.—"Though some disparity of years existed between Mr. and Mrs. Taylor, they lived happily. He renounced his errors and returned to the doctrines of the Established Church, and latterly practised as surgeon at Tours."

"Notes and Queries," Vol. XXII, June 1877, p. 497.—"Taylor seems to have been insane as to religion, but to have died as a convert to the Christian religion.—Charles Cooks."

More light on these statements will be welcomed. Concerning the second-mentioned of these journals, it is interesting to note the appended reference penned by Carlyle in "The Lion" for February 1, 1828:—

"The 'John Bull' is no more an indication of the political principles of its proprietor, than it would be, if, with the same principles, it were avowedly in the hands of the proprietor of this journal. It was a successful hit at the bigotry and prejudices of the worst part of the community, at a peculiar moment, on the return and trial of the late queen; and, onward, this misnomer, has trod its dirty path. That it has struck successfully at some parts of the cantings of the day, we grant; but only at such parts as were opposed to the interests of the long-established cantings, from which it draws its foul support."

The character of this "John Bull" seems to have anticipated that of the "John Bull" edited and established during the first world war by the late Horatio Bottomley.

### SOCIALISM AND PARLIAMENT.

By GUY A. ALDRED

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### UNITARIAN CHURCH Hope Street, Liverpool.

Minister—Rev. SIDNEY SPENCER, B.A.

## Pacifism Criticised

Dear Comrade,—Although I have a big sympathy with pacifists — more so the Political brand — I am afraid few are living up to facts and appear to miss the real point.

Had the war been purely an Imperialist one, then I would agree that it matters not who became our "boss"—Churchill, Hitler or Roosevelt, BUT surely it is clear that with the introduction of Nazism and Fascism, the whole position IS changed. To me I do not blame Germany more than Italy—both are a curse to the future of the world's masses—both are out to keep the Workers down. The chances of ever gaining our hopes of Socialism, should the Fascists win are gone for hundreds of years, but even though our system or our Government are not what WE want, still, if we win we can still HOPE to carry on the struggle and I think that is worth while.

It should NEVER be forgotten that Fascism started in ITALY and was copied by Hitler. Its very teaching is ROMAN CATHOLIC which is totalitarian in itself and the greatest curse the WORLD has ever had to face, and if Pacifists are prepared to humble themselves to the Church, the Catholics may, if successful allow them to carry on as serfs to the Church, but it is time you used your efforts, in my opinion to enlighten the small minority of pacifists to the FACTS. Poor Spain is a good example—I shall NEVER forgive this Country for the farce of Non-Intervention—a sort of Pacifism. Now they are not only under the heel of the gangsters, like Franco and Mussolini, but worse still under the curse of the Catholic Church, a position that could very easily come to us. It looks very strange to me that we never hear of any Atrocities committed by Italians. I wonder why?

It is all very well people like Bedford and Middleton Murry suggesting that there is no difference between the system of Italy, Germany and Russia. The answer is, IF there is no difference WHY has the Capitalist World been so hostile to Russia all these years? Why have they helped Germany to be in a position to attack Russia and IF the system is not all that we desire, I will not pick her to pieces in the middle of a terrible war, but will help her all I can, remembering that the young people of Russia are a new generation and do not deserve the crime forced on them. We can then try to improve on the system that at least stopped man exploiting man and which put "the cat amongst the capitalist pigeons." I am alive to the need of fighting Fascism here at home too, but we dare not let the cruel swines in, a Country that can profess friendship one week and attack the same friends the next for no reason but greed, or a country that can take out hundreds of innocent people and shoot them for nothing at all, need wiping out. I wonder if BEDFORD would be so sympathetic to Germany if some of the shot ones in France and many other Countries, the old Poland, Portugal, etc., had been "some of my friends and other perfectly innocent and patriotic people." They were patriotic.

I have no time for British Imperialism, but it is no use just changing from British Imperialism to German or Japanese Imperialism. Christian Pacifism is a myth to me. What is the difference to Christian Pacifism and ordinary Pacifism—why the Christian? It's time the people refused to be led by well-paid Parsons and Priests, but started to think for themselves.

I recommend ALL to read "The Pope and the Italian Jackal" by Jos. McCabe. 6d., The Thinkers Forum.

Sincerely and fraternally

H. J. GRIFFITHS.

Bhyl, Flintshire

If you like this paper why not have it sent to you? Post free, for twelve months, 3s. 0d.; six months, 1s. 6d. During the winter months you may not be able to buy it on the streets. Send now!

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## OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Guy,—“The Word,” September number, cheers one up.

It is good to know that Unitarians are not all repeating the parrot phrases of the war-mongers. Bottomley, Cole, Micklewright, Sidney Spencer speak for a goodly number of Unitarians who do not bow down to the Churchill idol. F. W. Jowett, who worked in a warehouse with my uncle over sixty years ago, is as vigorous and unanswerable as ever.

If we had the machinery of propaganda of this self-elected Government we should sweep the whole lot out of power and mischief.—Fraternally yours,  
RICHARD LEE.

Coventry, 2/9/42.

[Comrade Richard Lee's essays will be resumed next month.—Ed.]

Dear Friends,—I have recently read Part I of “Socialism and Parliament” which you kindly sent to me some time ago, and have now started on Part II which you supplied to my order recently. I must express my admiration for the way in which Guy Aldred has presented the wealth of material in the books, which certainly provide plenty of food for thought. I am reminded of remarks I have heard from Tory and Capitalist acquaintances to the effect that it would be a good thing if “Socialist” M.P.'s had to take charge of the government, as they would then have responsibility on their shoulders with a consequent cooling down of their wild ideas. Too true, alas, as “Socialism and Parliament” shows.—Yours sincerely,  
STANLEY H. ELLISON.

Hford, 6/8/42.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I was in Glasgow on Sunday last. I really went to attend an Anarchist meeting; I only know a very little about politics, but I have no faith in the round table. A friend took me to your rooms to hear you. I am not sorry he did. I thought you were very good, and enjoyed every minute of your address.

You gave me the impression of having a razor-like mind, and I am surprised that your reward has been much less worthy of your labour than it ought to be.

I understand that when the war is over you will continue to preach non-violence and to advocate the round table for the solution of the workers' problems and their struggle for a square deal. Don't you think a little more extreme measure would help them?

We all know the forces that are against us, and in my opinion, negotiations in the class struggle will serve no purpose, and give us no results. It is impossible to beat human nature, when a man (of working class origin) reaches the top of the political tree, and begins to live on the best of the land (as I believe is every man's birth-right) then the trouble begins. The old school tie gets him in a corner and quietly says to him, “Play ball, or else.” He naturally does not wish to come back among the small fry, and so the small fry tumble back to where they belong, and get nowhere. So human nature being what it is, don't you think a little elimination of the temptation, and then the round table, would take us to our goal much quicker.

The best of luck, Mr. Aldred.—Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM HALL.

Hamilton, 14/6/42.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I have been amazed at your record of service to Truth. Even though I have struggled through years of reading and mind searching to the stage when I can understand and accept your present belief, it is refreshing to learn that there is a person who has analysed so completely the various “Dogmas” held out to us to accept. I was filled with a certain amount of satisfaction that you with your wonderful record and years of persecution should express so clearly what I had more vaguely believed.

For years now I have “endorsed” the views of Douglas, on the economic side, and Orage and others too have helped me to a clearer picture of what SHOULD be and as to the HOW to achieve it. I now see that it does need a REVOLUTION of thought to end the Power and Domination of the Church over the freedom of the individual through the Marriage ceremony, the subjection of woman to man because of this. When I see more clearly how STALINISM has destroyed to date any real progress, I then accept your analysis.

I am afraid that I find much discouragement and ridicule from those around me, but that is no surprise to you.—Yours sincerely,

A. E. GARRISON.

Rotherham.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Thank you very, very much for all the splendid literature in “The Word.” As we go from tragedy to tragedy in this most foul and outrageous of all wars, it is a comfort to read of the noble ideals of some of our fellow-men. How exquisitely sweet and tender are the thoughts of Lady Dunn!

I was looking through Charles Dickens' “A Child's History of England” and came across the following extract in Chap. 21, “England under Henry the Fifth”:

“War is a dreadful thing; and it is appalling to

know how the English were obliged next morning to kill those prisoners mortally wounded, who yet writhed in agony upon the ground, how the dead upon the French side were stripped by their own countrymen and countrywomen, and afterwards buried in great pits, how the dead upon the English side were piled up in a great barn, and how their bodies and the barn were all burned together. It is in such things, and in many more, much too horrible to relate, that the real desolation and wickedness of war consist. Nothing can make war otherwise than horrible.”

Then follows:—

“But the dark side of it was little thought of and soon forgotten; and it cast no shade of trouble on the English people, except on those who had lost friends or relations in the fight. They welcomed their King home with shouts of rejoicing and plunged into the water to bear him ashore on their shoulders, and flocked out in crowds to welcome him in every town through which he passed, and hung rich carpets and tapestries out of the windows, and strewed the streets with flowers, and made the fountains run with wine, as the great field of Agincourt had run with blood.”

After over 500 years have passed, with all the increase of knowledge, war is still being waged more cruelly than ever, with the support of the Christian churches, and sad to say, most of the people seem just as stupid and thoughtless. When will they realise that true Peace can only come from the heart and mind of each one of us.

With all good wishes.—Yours sincerely,

(Mrs.) ALICE GOODRICK.

Clifton, 11/8/42.

Dear Comrade,—Your paper is like a breath of fresh air, after reading the utter tripe that is presented to us daily disguised as news. I cannot make up my mind whether the people who call themselves journalists are fools or knaves. When one sees such statements as “Congress must remove the pistol from the Government's head before negotiations can start”, knowing that Gandhi's struggle will be non-violent, and also realising the Government has behind it all the armed might of the army, navy and air force, one is inclined to believe that the newspaper men must be knaves.

Our political leaders seem to be trying the same game in India as they played with the prime minister of Burma. They did succeed in putting him away, but they still lost Burma. History—!

Yours in unity,

GORDON BAXTER.

Wragby, 8/8/42.

Dear Comrade,—Since reading “The Word” and your published works I have come to look upon you as the most fearless and honourable fighter in the annals of the British working class movement. May you have the health and strength to continue your noble work.

Yours fraternally,

J. H. CHARLES.

Stoke-on-Trent, August 3.

Dear Sir,—I wish to thank you for sending me your excellent paper, which I enjoy very much. I think you are making a fine stand for sanity.

I am a Rationalist and object to all this madness on Rationalist grounds but I respect all people who are prepared to do and to suffer for their opinions. I take off my hat to the “Heretics” and “cranks” and most of all to the absolutists. You have my best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

• E. FOX.

Rock Ferry, August 16.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I have now been taking “The Word” since last September, and have enjoyed your forthright and unequivocal articles immensely. “The Word” is to be congratulated on the fine manner in which it is linking up the different approaches to anti-militarism and socialism. The Duke of Bedford's speech in the House of Lords was a magnificent blow for the pacifist cause. A friend once said to me that a man's Christian conviction is to be tested by what he is ready to give up for it. The Duke has shown himself willing to give up one great prize for which most men crave—popularity. His ideas on finance I find most lucid, but I should like to learn a great deal more about the Social Credit system before I feel competent to criticise him.

To be perfectly frank, your own articles, excellent as they are, are to me marred by an over-dogmatic attitude. You write sometimes as if there could be no possible doubt of the correctness of your statements. For example, you say “. . . for the simple reason, that no disciple of Jesus is entitled to employ the sword.” For my part I heartily agree with you, but certainly the Archbishop of Canterbury and Reinhold Niebuhr would dissent emphatically with your judgment. Still, Mr. Aldred, one can overlook one fly in the ointment if the rest is as pure as the contents of “The Word.”

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

A. ALMOND.

Leighburn, June 15.

Dear Guy Aldred,—After blindly supporting this war for democracy, I have come to the conclusion that

it is, in fact, a lot of bloody nonsense. Murder and destruction to no purpose, and every day, an increasing toll of misery and suffering. An Anarchist, whom at first I thought utterly mad, has convinced me finally that Anarchism is the only solution. I would be glad, therefore, if you could let me know of any Anarchists round about Manchester.

Yours sincerely,

(Miss) SYLVIA GREEN.

Prestbury, June 15.

Dear Guy Aldred,—I have been a subscriber of “The Word” since the beginning of the year and have been most heartened and helped by the various outspoken articles and the general high tone of your paper.

My very best wishes for the continuation of the good work you are doing for the Cause and Faith called Pacifism.

Yours fraternally,

WILL BARNES.

Winscombe, June 14.

Dear Friend,—I have just finished reading your booklet this morning “Why Jesus Wept” and find in it many things with which I am in perfect agreement only I do not call myself an Atheist.

I believe there is no such thing as Christianity apart from the practical application of the ethics of Jesus and that Creed and Dogma which is the stock-in-trade of the orthodox so-called Christian Church has neither part nor lot in that application.

Priestcraft has always in every Faith interpreted “religion” in terms of formality and ritual. Jesus interpreted religion in the love and service of That which he called Father (and taught men to do the same) and our neighbours as ourselves. In this way he “fulfilled the law.” As Paul explains, Love worketh no ill to his neighbour therefore love is the fulfilling of the law.

Others may call me an Atheist. I don't know, it depends very much on their interpretation of the term. The orthodox Church could truthfully call me a heretic as they called Jesus but Jesus was no Atheist in my interpretation of the word as he always recognised and depended upon “Something” that he recognised as the source of his being, and he found that “Something” within himself.

“Of myself I can do nothing.”

“It is the Father in me that doeth the works.”

Leo Tolstoy accepted the same view. I have read practically all of Leo Tolstoy's religious works and I value them very much indeed.

I left the orthodox Church more than 30 years ago, not because I had discarded religion but I found that the teaching of Jesus did not harmonise with the preachers of orthodoxy.

I am attached to no organisation whatsoever, but use my pen where I get the opportunity of doing so, in the interest of Peace and Goodwill to men.

I was a C.O. in the last war and my son is so in this one but is serving in the R.A.M.C. on the decision of the Tribunal.

I marvel at the Duke of Bedford's maiden speech in the House of Lords and I heartily agree with every word of it.

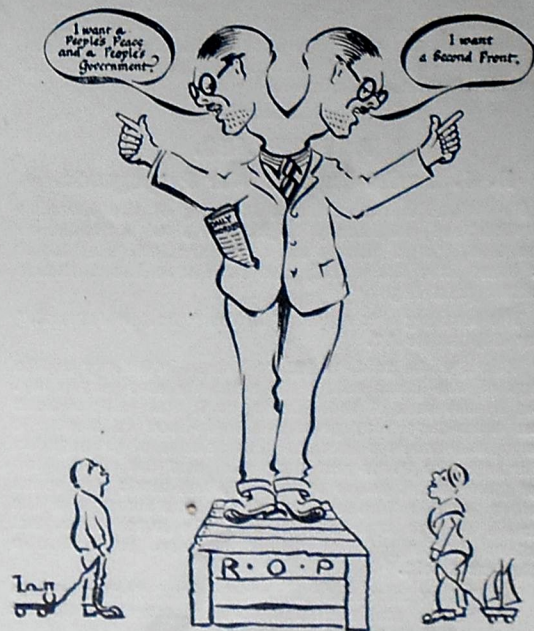
I shall close now with kindest regards.

Yours faithfully,

FRANCIS BELL.

Dundee.

## SOMEWHERE IN FIFE



Study of a Lone Communist M.P.

(With apologies to a well-known advertisement.)



## PEACE AIMS GROUP

HOW R. J. DAVIES, M.P., SEES THINGS

During the parliamentary recess, our comrade, Rhys J. Davies, M.P., Chairman of the Labour Party Peace Aims Group, was active in various parts of the country. On Saturday, August 15, he addressed a conference of Labour delegates covering the whole of the Westhaughton Parliamentary Division, at the Labour Institute, Westhaughton, on Saturday. Mrs. Rhys Davies, Mr. F. J. Kettle (agent) and several County and District Councillors were present. Mr. R. Robinson, of Hindley, presided.

The meeting was reported well in the "Bolton Journal" for Saturday, August 22; and also in the "Wigan Observer," for the same date.

In reviewing the present situation, Mr. Davies said that a Coalition Government never rested easily on the shoulders of Labour, especially when Labour was in the minority. It was almost imperative in that case that Labour became subservient to Tory policy, and that was the root of the present political difficulties in home affairs. Labour had always been an agitative and propaganda body because it was a minority aspiring to become the Government with an absolute majority; the Conservatives on the other hand stood in the main for the old order of society, and it could be conjectured therefore, as a consequence, that the role of Parliament itself was difficult though we were at war. The Conservatives promised the country a good time when peace returned; Labour wanted an earnest of the New Jerusalem here and now, and the conflict between those two policies was becoming acute.

The war had thrown up many new problems, such as the tragedy of missing soldiers, about whom the relatives were naturally very anxious; workmen's compensation cases in Government factories; imprisonment and fines for absenteeism; pay and allowances for men in the Forces; old age and widows' pensions; women directed to work away from home; and the removal of railings.

### No Racial Hatred.

He had conducted a very successful campaign throughout the constituency recently, and was very pleased with the reception he got. Indeed, he was informed that some of those who had come to curse remained to bless. In short, he challenged anybody to prove that he stood for peace at any price; he was rather opposed to war at any cost. In any case he was not going to be a silent witness to the destruction of the best in the civilisation of our own country and Europe, and he declined to join in the spirit of revenge, racial hatred and the lust for human blood which had developed in the present conflict. He rested on the policy of the famous statesman Burke, who told his Bristol constituents about a century ago that he preferred to be a pillar rather than a weathercock in politics. The statesmen, in spite of their loud protestations about "evil men," would meet round the table some day. The issues coming before the Peace Conference would be those that gave rise to Hitlerism and the conflict itself, which were economic, financial and territorial.

Mr. Davies felt certain that the imprisonment of the Indian leaders was a mistake. Hitler and Mussolini and Stalin, too, were imprisoned by the democracies; that was why they became martyrs in the first instance and then the heroes of their peoples. The same would apply to Gandhi and his followers in due course.

In conclusion, Mr. Davies said that he and a few of his Labour colleagues in Parliament were doing their best to prove that war as a means of settling international disputes was futile. In any case, what they were doing was following Labour's traditional role in international affairs.

### AGE OF LIES.

#### R. J. Davies Exposes War Propaganda.

R. J. Davies addressed a meeting of the Horwich Brotherhood, on Sunday, September 5th. He spoke on the text, "And this is the condemnation, that Light is come into the world, and men love the darkness rather than Light."

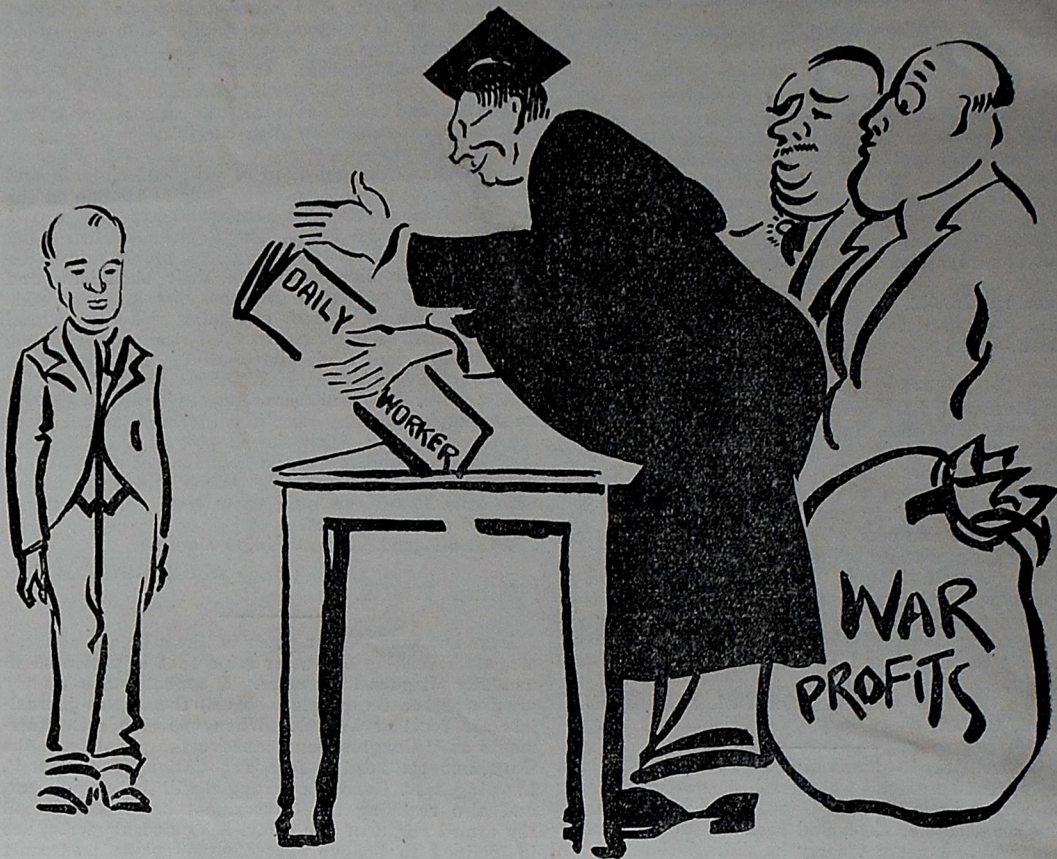
The meeting was reported in the "Bolton Journal," for September 12.

This age, he said, would be known in history as the age of the black-out, both mentally and physically. As in the case of individuals, so it was with nations on occasions; they preferred falsehood to truth; it was much more palatable. The science of propaganda through the Press and the radio, and the assumption of government power over it all, had made that much more possible than in olden days. The struggle of the truth to live was always heavy in peace time, but when war raged the difficulties were multiplied a thousand fold.

Telling falsehoods in war-time had developed into a fine art, and what was worse than a direct lie was deliberately hiding the truth.

If they scrutinized closely the recent propaganda of Germany and our own country, they would become real cynics and decline to believe anything. For

## A PRIZE FOR A GOOD BOY



The bad boy, Pollitt, having duly repented of playing truant with Peace Conventions, and having promised to be a good boy and not to worry the nice kind capitalists any more for the duration and after, receives a prize from Mr. Schoolmaster Morrison.

instance our airmen hit every target when they bombed Germany, but the Germans always struck our hospitals, churches, schools and ordinary buildings.

When the Germans issued their propaganda one would almost conclude there was hardly a factory or gasometer standing in our country; the Luftwaffe had devastated the lot.

### A Difference in Terms.

Another instance of how the truth was twisted was in the use of words to describe events. When the Germans conquered Poland and Czechoslovakia that was "aggression", when the Russians entered Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania, Bessarabia, and the Polish Ukraine, we called that "annexation", but when we entered Egypt, Iran and Iraq, that was "campaigning."

In Germany, as in every other belligerent country, they would almost certainly find the very same words being used the other way round. "Light" was truth, and the contest between light and darkness was the same throughout the ages; there was nothing new under he sun in that connection.

Hitler and his associates would have it that every Jew was a traitor whilst in time of war, there were many Britons on the other hand who would have it that every German was a devil. They knew in their own hearts, of course, that all that was wrong, but they liked superficially to believe those things. The simple fact was, of course, that no race or nation was composed exclusively of demons; the good and the bad, light and darkness, were struggling for supremacy in all people alike. Indeed, the same struggle proceeded in every individual, too.

### Fighting for Freedom.

Every nation going into battle was "fighting for freedom and religion", and those who said those things knew full well that when the statesmen reached the conference table at the end of the conflict, not a single reference would then be made to those great ideals. Statesmen told them that the world after the war would be such a pleasant place to live in, when they must know that the contrary would be the case. They must know, too, that they might not be in power to affect the situation one way or the other. History told them that it was seldom a nation to war, was left in power to make the peace. They, themselves, had already had one change of Government since the war began. When that change took place, the Germans felt sure that our moral was cracking. On the other hand, when a German General was dismissed or a Minister of the Reich handed in his portfolio, then some of our propagandists were certain that the Nazi system was beginning to crumble! And so the falsehood proceeded.

Finally, the common folk everywhere must not allow themselves to be deceived by false propaganda; they must learn to distinguish between the truth and the lie; between light and darkness, and to that end they must be educated to think correctly. In any case, war and truth could never blend.

## LABOUR PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

(An Association of Pacifist Members of the Labour Party.)

Chairman - - - Reginald W. Sorensen, M.P.

### NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

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The Labour Pacifist Fellowship seeks to associate those members of the Labour Party and its affiliated organisations whose convictions preclude their endorsement of War and who endeavour in consistency with their Socialist Faith to encourage elements of social and international sanity essential to constructive Peace; to safeguard and improve the well-being of the working class; and to seek the achievement of a Socialist Commonwealth.

The Fellowship holds that modern war endangers those high principles for which this war is allegedly waged, involves incalculable destruction, waste and misery, perverts the capacity for creative effort and stimulates perilous, impulsive, cynical or reactionary tendencies.

The Fellowship desires to work with other Labour Party comrades in loyal service to common purposes that will secure peace, justice and dignity for mankind.

All individual and affiliated members of the Labour Party who are Pacifists are invited to join the above fellowship.

Further particulars from Assistant Secretary, Miss Ethel Watts, Weylands, Water Lane, Chesham, Bucks.