AIR RAID

Fire your guns, crash out your sudden death;
Pursue your ends, your self-destructive destiny.
What matters life—no love—or hope?
Of Beauty that the world was shaped to bear?
Oblivion blackens, convulses the night
With demonstrations of your naked strength.
Enjoy your time—what matters else?
Save noise and fire, the agony of Hell.

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

Crash out you guns, devastate you bombs,
Consider not your dreadful resolve.
Jowett's indulgences of Imperialism should be studied and acted upon by the entire Labour Movement. He is Labour's most powerful voice of sanity during the present crisis.

FREDERICK LORNR.

THE WAR ISSUE

Immediate Anti-War Socialist Government Wanted

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

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

(1) DEFEATING HITLER.
We Shall Not Defeat Hitler by Supporting Churchill.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What in heaven's name is there in the present military situation to give the slightest encouragement to belief in military victory to which alone the Government is pledged?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chapter XVI. Of Part I. of Socialism and Parliament deals with Communist Parliamentanism and relates the political charlatanism of W.G. GALLACHER. Since this pamphlet was issued, we have collected a few more entertaining facts concerning this unscrupulous "Communist" careerist.

On Thursday, June 24, 1941, announcing the intended withdrawal of the Communist Party from the Engineers' Union, the General Secretary, William GALLACHER said:

"The big question is cooperation between Britain and the Soviet Union in the interests of the peoples of both countries. We believe that British Government in any steps it takes to advance British national interests in the Soviet Union, will not go against the interests of the United Nations, and we therefore call upon the British Government to give the necessary support to the statement in the Unrest's resolution of the leading articles of the Press, that is, the demand for disarmament."

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

We deny absolutely that the present governments of the warring nations represent the interests of the working class of the countries they govern. Hitler does not represent the interest of the German people. Stalin does not represent the interests of the common folk of the Soviet Union. The governments of Great Britain and the United States do not represent the workingclass of Britain.

Gallacher's reference to a "sell out" peace is unmitigated scoundrelism and worthy of the political gangsterdom to which he belongs. The United States, as long as the Hitler-Stalin pact existed, gallacher never opposed the war and defended a German peace. One can understand a genuine militarist, one can understand a genuine fascist, but one cannot understand, except in the terms of banditry, corruption, this zig-zag military pacific capitalist opportunism, dictated by the foreign policy of the "capitalist" world, has no place in democratic, or liberal, or humanitarian principle or idealism.

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

Our contemporary said:

"Mr. William Gallacher, West Fife's Communist M.P., is reported to have been urging them to support the troops in Libya in their brilliant offensive by increasing production."

It then reproduced two paragraphs from Gallacher's speech, which we quote, describing the "Libya offensive:

"The offensive will, I am sure, have a tremendous effect on the enemy in its occupied countries of Europe," he said, "it will give them new hope, inspire them with fresh courage, and urge them to greater acts of daring against the world's Axis."

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

The Scottish Daily Express for November 23, 1941, contains another version of Gallacher's message under the heading: "Gallacher urges 'sell out' enthusiasm." Beneath this heading, the letterpress read:

"Mr. William Gallacher, Communist M.P. for West Fife, in a speech to local Communist workers urging them to redouble their efforts to get in support of the troops taking part in the Libya offensive, said:

"In an appeal to all shop stewards to attend Lord Beaverbrook's meeting at Glasgow next Sunday he told them to make a pledge to them. We must keep up our enthusiasm for our lads in Libya and for the Alliance of the Commonweal, an alliance Lord Beaverbrook is working so hard to achieve in the Libya offensive."

Anyone who has seen the film reproduction of Beaverbrook's meetings, or read the Express-Edinburgh's reports of his speeches, will know that..."
The man is an imposter. As an orator, he is a disgrace to the public platform, as a thinker, he is a disgrace to the human race. He has the apathy and the megalomania of our prehistoric ancestors. That a great people like the English speaking races, with their famed traditions, should find themselves at this time of crisis in the hour of this man is a libel on the German people. The businessman of Socialism, and of the Communists, of the Fascists, the anti-Fascists, the anti-militarists, and the constitution-makers; to turn national or independent wars into civil wars, to destroy the very foundations of society and to restore vision to poor, war-blinded, charlatan-misted working, husbandry suffering, humanity.

THE BEDFORD PROGRAMME

Reviewed by MICHAEL DE LA BEDOYERE.


It is a pity that the Duke of Bedford should have been so generously publicised as a pacificist and an advocate of non-violence and non-conformity, for he has a great deal to answer for. It is an even greater pity that his little booklet, Why Blunder On? should begin with an argument in favour of peace on almost any reasonable term at the earliest moment possible. This is obviously a highly controversial question, and the vast majority of the British people have no wish to discuss the matter.

Duke's arguments in this respect carry very much weight. They are largely based on his personal belief that we cannot win the war, and that the continuation of the war beyond a certain point will bring even greater suffering than we have yet known.

It is a pity, then, that this material should be linked up with the Duke's plans and programmes for social and economic reconstruction. Many of these are more interesting and highly desirable. We may say that the Duke's arguments in this respect carry very much weight. They are largely based on his personal belief that we cannot win the war, and that the continuation of the war beyond a certain point will bring even greater suffering than we have yet known.

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

But one thing at least seems to me to stand out from it all—and that is that the Duke's reforms seem in no way to clash with Christian and Papal doctrine, and that there are no facts given which would indicate that the Pope and the leaders of the Churches in Britain.

Here are some points:

SAVIOURS (Unitarian),

SOUTHAMPTON.

Minister: Rev. H. A. Mickevick, M.A.

The services are held in the Little Chapel of the Avenue Congregational Church, The Avenue, Southampton. All are welcome at the service. St Peter's Church, Spencer Hall, Sunday evening 6.30 p.m.

UNITARIAN CHURCH

Hope Street, Liverpool.

Minister: Rev. S. S. Spencer, B.A.

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A collection in aid of the SPICE Fund is made, or those present to contribute to the Society's expenses.

New York readers of "The World" should attend the INGERSOLL FORUM.

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

Questions. Discussion. All Heretics Invited.

Are you reducing our deficit? Original November 1940 Appeal is short over £60. Since 1940 the monthly deficit has grown T H E L P !
The Mockery of Parliamentary Careerism

Thomas Johnston Indicts Himself

[... As will be seen from the reports of our 1921 hearings on the recent issues, MacRobert was the Co-ordinator who prosecuted the 1921-1925 period of our investigation. In this form, this essay will find a place in the appendix. Meanwhile, we publish it as a separate essay. It is one of the many indentures of himself for his present-day associations. — Ed.]

In February 1926, Thomas Johnston devoted three columns to an indictment of a group of headlines — spread across the three columns:

**RECORD OF MACROBERT, K.C.**

His Votes for the Rich: His Votes Against the Poor, against the working class, against the workers.

Beneath these streamlining headings, the letter press stated:

We have received several inquiries about the voting record of Mr. MacRobert, K.C., the Tory candidate for East Retrievemore. Below we give a list of the most important votes divided according to the Labour Government went into office with Mr. MacRobert’s record in each.

Then followed the record. MacRobert did not vote on certain issues where the Labour Party forced the issue, like Women’s Vote at 21, improved Workmen’s Compensation, Singapore Dollar, and the War. On other issues he voted against the humane or progressive policy. He showed himself either indifferent to the wrongs of the poor or actively in favor of them.

MacRobert voted against the motion or the amendment in the following issues and so showed himself against the miners, against the poor, against the workers, and against the workers’ representatives. The headings are Thomas Johnston’s and are the records. We have omitted from each paragraph the words Mr. MacRobert voted.

**HOUSING POLICY.**

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

But another regret that your Majesty’s advisers are committed to a policy of leaving the housing problem to the free enterprise and the operation of ownership, that ignoring of what is required, the long-term volume of building houses to be let at rent within the means of the working classes, and fail to see the need for increased employment in the building and auxiliary industries.

**ON THE SIDE OF THE PROFESSION.**

On December 16th, 1924, the Labour Party moved:

That the composition and the proceedings of the Board of Trade, the Rent Act, the Building Acts are to inspirre public confidence, and this House is of opinion that action, legislative or otherwise, have been taken which would be evidence available and designed for the protection of the public and the public interest in the sale of food which should be undertaken without delay.

**MUNICIPAL COAL.**

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

That leave be given to bring in a Bill to enable municipal authorities to act as coal suppliers, to coal supplied to householders.

**DELABOAL.**

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

That this House calls upon the Government to take the necessary measures to prevent excessive charges for coal supplied to householders.

**AGAINST THE MINES.**

On March 25th Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P., on behalf of the miners, moved the Coal Mines Minimum Wage Bill.

**THE DEATH PENALTY FOR SOLDIERS.**

On April 1st the Labour Party moved an amendment to the Army and Navy Bill to provide that the death penalty was to be restricted to the death penalty for soldiers to cases of treachery.

**SOLDIERS’ PENSIONS.**

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

That in view of the urgent necessity that, wholly apart from the Poor Law, pensions adequate to maintain the children should be provided by the State for all widows of children or mothers whose family breadwinner has died, this House calls for the introduction of a Resolution of the Government of the following kind:

**THE EIGHT HOURS DAY.**

On May 1st the Labour Party introduced an Eight Hour Bill to bring within the Government’s attention to the matter of an eight-hour day and request it to consider the matter and report upon it.

**LEGAL MINIMUM WAGE.**

On May 31st the Labour Party introduced a Bill to the House to the minimum wage issue and to request the Government to introduce a Bill to establish legal minimum wages.

**FOR DEAR SUGAR.**

On June 1st the Labour Party proposed to repeal sugar duties.

**AGAINST EARLY AGE-PENSIONS.**

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

**DEPENDANTS OF EX-SERVICE MEN.**

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

**PENSIONS AND COMPENSATION.**

On the same day the Labour Party moved an amendment to omit clause 23, which discriminates against children receiving workmen’s compensation in the case of the death of a parent.

**A HARD DAY’S WORK—UNEMPLOYED note.**

On June 15th the Employment Insurance Bill Bill, the Labour Party put down a motion to omit clause 7, which provides for a 20-minute work with (with regard to payment of extended benefits).

On the same day the Labour Party put down a motion to postpone operation of the Clause until April 1925.

On the same day the Labour Party moved an amendment to provide for a 20-minute work with (with regard to payment of extended benefits).

On the same day the Labour Party put down a motion to postpone operation of the Clause until December, was defeated.

These paragraphs and headings are as set out by Thomas Johnston. Each paragraph, in the original, carried the words Mr. MacRobert voted against.

**[Jun12th] Johnston vouched the facts in his account of the following divisions, although the import of his record was the same.**

**TAXING SILK STOCKINGS.**

On June 16th, the Labour Party moved an amendment to the Budget Resolutions against artificial silk duties.

**[Jun16th] MacRobert, K.C., voted for the tax on Silk.**

**[Jun16th] FOR DEAR TEA.**

On the clause in the Finance Bill putting the tax on the Labour Party moved to divide for 3d. for 4d.

**[Jun19th] Mr. MacRobert, K.C., voted for the 4d.**

**[Jun19th] FOR THE SUPER.**

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

**[Jun23rd] Mr. MacRobert, K.C., voted for relief for the super rich.**

**MORE MONEY FOR WAR.**

**[Jun25th] On July 14th the Labour Party moved to reduce the Supplementary Estimates as a protest against the new cruisers.**

**[Jun26th] Mr. MacRobert, K., thought we could afford more cruisers and voted for them.**

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

By such indignation of MacRobert Johnston, whom he has written, a moment’s inconvenience or imprisonment or victimisation for his alleged Socialist principles, attained his present status as an administrator of capital’s society. He represents the clerical colleges and successors of MacRobert notwithstanding, Johnston’s indictment stands. It classifies MacRobert.

Does any worker believe that we ought to have suffered 1919-1922, while MacRobert was climbing to the position of Lord Advocate? The man only escaped becoming a Senator of the College of Justice through the intervention of death. Does any one believe that a man with such a record, a pusty creature of a lawyer, was a lover of law and harmony, an upholder of social justice, a loyal servant of commonwealth? Does any citizen believe that one, who opposed the MacRobert legislation, was the true exponent of jurisprudence?

How then does parliamentary elevate Johnston to the position of Chief Justice? Thomas Johnston’s 1926 indictment of MacRobert makes as strange reading to-day as the above quotation.

**GIN AND TONIC.**

On March 25th the Labour Party moved to reduce the Naval Estimates as an opposition to the Government.

On the same day the Labour Party moved to increase the government of the Poor Law in the City of London to $5,000,000 Singapore.

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

To-day, without any apology, by the process of decision and action, the House of Commons was the National Insurance Committee of the Royal Society of Scotland that said, “signature must be defended.” The Government was right, although the management of Capitalist Imperialism; but how does Johnston explain the propaganda of the men who helped to the position in it as an apparent anti-socialist mentality? How does he explain the 1926 tid-bits about the cruiser and signature? How does he explain the present careerist silence about the Truro Commission Report, the dollar-a-year men corruption, and the general incompetence of the Government to deal with the problem.

In our imprisonment we were standing for Socialism not only against the MacRobert but also against the Thomas Johnston. We were standing for not for violence but the hopes and for the land even as they fear in 1909, when we stood for Freedom of Press and Speech in India, and again in 1921. Only by a complete abandonment of the propaganda has been sustained. Even then, with rare smothered and viewed with horror by the very folk who had been driven into a servitude of misery and treated with the socialists horror — an intensified horror of unnecessary suffering — by the anti-social conspiracy of those who had used us that they might flourish and ape greatness. What was the proof:

Our legislators of the parliamentary Socialist movement like their Tory colleagues, are engaged still in this licensed mockery of clericalism. They have never been heard or cast aside, even as they fear in 1909, when we stood for Freedom of Press and Speech in India, and again in 1921. Only by a complete abandonment of the propaganda of our imprisonment and viewed with horror by the very folk who had been driven into a servitude of misery and treated with the socialists horror — an intensified horror of unnecessary suffering — by the anti-social conspiracy of those who had used us that they might flourish and ape greatness. What was the proof:

The Strickland press

(Founded as Bakunin Press, 1906. Merged and renewed Strickland Press, 1939.)


If you live in London post, call at this shop, open daily, except Sundays, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.

**BOOK LIST.**

**FALSHOOD IN WAR TIME,** by Lord Ponsonby. (Buckingham, 1920.)

**THE GOLDEN AGES OF HISTORY,** by Joseph McCabe. (London, 1920.)

**WAR AND SYMPATHY,** by Hermann Mannheim. (London, 1919.)

**THE CONTEST OF FREEDOM,** by Prof. M. Polanyi. (London, 1921.)

**ESSAYS IN REVOLT,** by Ray Aldred. (London, 1924.)


**CHRISTOCRACY,** by J. Middleton Murry. (London, 1923.)

(Prices include Postage.)
LET US WORSHIP LIFE
By JOHN ROEBUCK

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

The business of Living is the biggest Business in the world. It is the universal "Oho!" of Man. All ramifications extend, or so we profess to believe, even beyond the astronomical universe. It is a purpose born from infinite Love, Enthusiasm, and Wonder. The ramifications of Man's existence carry on his appointed purposes with remarkable efficiency and harmony. The entanglement of branches or departments all of which, while separate, yet carry on their appointed purposes with remarkable efficiency and harmony.

Here chaos has always reigned to a greater or lesser degree—and to-day surely to the greatest degree ever. It is seething with discontent, hatred, cruelty and every other cause of inefficiency and disharmony.

Here then is our paramount concern: How to fashion a department, up to scratch. Religion postulates that the human department is a part of God. God is the master of our principal functions ever won. And what of its integration in practice? No. This side-line worship of God simply won't do, because it is the very essence of the proposition that the worship of Life is what is needed. This would be an all-embracing religion, a practical religion, a militant religion indeed.

Without the slightest irreverence one could say: "The World was a Word and the word was Life." And since it is essentially the motion of life which creates situations of opportunity for human functioning, it follows that the motion of the momentous issue depends upon the exercise of that unique human attribute, volition. Obviously man is an agent of Life, not its master. The situations in which he finds himself was before him; the objective was there for subjective recognition; the need was there before the potential service, the arrival before the request. For if it were not for Life and it is certainly our professed belief—that man is a purposeful Being, then assuredly his Purpose must challenge him all along life's way. And he must push on. There is no way for him. He must make his way out of cash, as it were. He cannot be upright if he stubs to meanesses. To be Righteous in theory and wrong in practice is duplicity. O thou invisible spirit of evil, if thou hast no other name to be known by, let us call thee Duplicity. (The italicised words are not Shakespeare's.)

Now, we all ostensibly desire to "make something" of our respective lives, yet in the limit of his means wants to make something of us. And it will make something of us eventually—there can be no doubt about that. Life may be hindered in the fulfilment of this desire. Man cannot escape his Karma or Nirvana. His soul, like John Brown's, "is marching on." Even orthodoxy, so vague about most things, is quite explicit about this. Life is the master. Where is thy victory? O death where is thy sting? Indeed, the perpetuity, the indestructibility, the All-in-all of Life has been manifested as a positive truth for millions of years. When God is spoken of as The source of Life, two things are implied where there is only one. Life is God. Or, if you will, God is Life. The sooner we realize the One-ness of God and Life the sooner the idea of their separate-ness is a mental aberration like unto that now largely discounted belief in a personal God. Is not the glorification of God simply the expression of joyous Being? Or surely not? Being prompted to do, the pleasure of doing and the satisfaction of having done a God-given job is all we are, as we say, first "felt in the blood."

One could cite many scriptural passages from which the synonymity of the terms God and Life can be logically deduced. And certainly wherever Life primarily teaches man to live, it sets up a certain lifelong ethical and moral precept, for example and says, "Live likewise if you would serve God." Or is there any question of Life or quality of Life for which we labor is taken for granted. It is simply a matter of choice, not between masters but between service and Disservice to Life. Good and evil belong not here; they are backed by belief in all the good and evil in the world is attributable to rational life alone. If each one of us is the Temple of the Life-God—The Kingdom of God—then there is no denying the fact that the living devil often enters to defile the Temple. And many of us talk a mess up now and again. "It's only human nature," the excuse comes in. That is a lie. We know better by better. We don't have to know. The question is not whether we will or will not, but whether there is no such a consciousness. It is plain commonsense.

The Golden Rule which in the name of the Christian religion, which is a mere tradition of the Christian gospel in miniature, makes no mention of God. Without affecting its efficacy one might be paraphrased thus: "Howsoever ye would that ye be done unto you?" Good-living is the one and only criterion of Godliness. Deeds are adjudged good or evil only, not they are backed by belief in God. "By their works ye shall know them." "Faith without works is dead." Even our Law-sources modify the Oath to accommodate the Christian. "All is nothing, but the soul is all; all is nothing, but the soul is all, and all else is mere formality and nothing, and a Tabeliever is not necessarily less sincere than a Believer.

Consider too how we religiously laud and memorialise as heroes those of our kindred who have had a capacity for being even pretended to be Christians. But no matter. "Greater love hath no man than he who lays down his life for a friend." And how very true that is. But how false in the circum-

WALTZ TUNE
By LADY DUNN

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

Each morning I put on a recording of a beautiful waltz (I suppose foolishly) "The Blue Danube." It is played by the finest orchestra in the world (and I do not say perhaps) the Philadelphia Philharmonic—conducted by Leopold Stokowski. I have someone who, drifting down the Danube one summer's day—between vineyards, mountains, monasteries and churches—and being deeply in love—imagined and saw the great river as blue.

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

"And roly?" you may ask.

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

Anyone who during the darkest "blackout" sees things blue instead of black—is surely someone who has gone through the greatest trials.

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

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

The Blue Danube:

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

But I wish that we could see all muddy, yellow rivers as blue; that the crash of the traffic, the bustle of the boatsmen, and the dull roar of engines could all melt away into that beautiful waltz tune, and that not only I, but all (and by all, I mean all enemies) could share a few moments of peace and contentment, sharing perhaps turn and smile at each other—and in a great "frolicness" find a "greater wisdom."

DANUBE—Le C. J., "The Blue Danube"
WAR: A STUDY IN FACT

BY RUDOLF ROCKER

SECOND ESSAY.

The Russian despotism is older, much older than the present, and its history is older than the Prussian State, which has had such a terrible influence on the political and social development of Germany. These governments are not only inter-connected, but they are also inter-dependent; the Russian State was not allowed to have any political will of their own. They only were permitted to serve as tools in the hands of Russian and French despotism.

When Frederick the Great attempted to assert himself by refusing to give military assistance to the revolution that broke out against the old régime in France, the French, united with Russia and Austria, and Germany was laid waste for seven years. Russia would have completed its German despotism if not for the so-called "French victories," which had not thrown itself into the arms of the Russian despot. The Crimean War was the foundation of the condition on which the Prussian State had to depend for its existence. Russia, united with Austria and France, had done a great and discreditable act of Czarism.

Kropotkin reminds us that, in 1905, the Kaiser was prepared to send an army into Poland to suppress the revolution. But what followed was not the same as in 1881; one actually accomplished in 1884. At that time, when the Hungarian revolution everywhere was successful, when the Austrian revolution was taking place, when the German revolution had lifted its head once more,—at that critical moment, the Czar came to the assistance of Austria with an army of 400,000 and defeated Hungary, the last hope of the revolution in Europe. True, the disgraceful act of Nicholas I., in no way, can justify the equally disgraceful plan of William II., but it again showed the power of the old régime to crush the world. The revolutionaries have to reckon with.

Opinions differ as to which state is the greatest menace to the development of freedom in Europe. To Kropotkin, the centre of reaction is Berlin, and he has concluded that with astonishing logic, he is too old to shoulder a task too heavy for his age. But in his letter to Steffen, Kropotkin makes no mention of the disgraceful betrayal of the German republicans by the German financial system. He is wrong; instead he says:

"Let us not forget again, that when France, advanced the loan to the Russian autocracy in 1856, it was not to enable her to form her army after the defeat in Manchuria, but in consequence of which the Prussians were unable to proceed with the war. France was torn to pieces by Germany, Austria, and Russia, and the whole world was in danger. They are preparing for this war for years, and I am sure they will be surprised by the latest developments.

In his last work, The Modern State, in the chapter entitled, "The War," he says that the Russian Government received from French capitalists in 1906 under the protection of the French Republic, this was accepted for the purpose of financing the war. This is of the utmost importance. The enormous corruption in the French world of finance and ends with these sarcastic words:

"What a victory! What a Government! The life is in danger! It has to suppress a Revolution! Such luck does not occur every day!"

But in his letter to Steffen, Kropotkin makes a remarkable observation about the working of the French financiers. He says:

"You cannot forget again, that when France, advanced the loan to the Russian autocracy in 1856, it was not to enable her to form her army after the defeat in Manchuria, but in consequence of which the Prussians were unable to proceed with the war. France was torn to pieces by Germany, Austria, and Russia, and the whole world was in danger. They are preparing for this war for years, and I am sure they will be surprised by the latest developments.

We do not know the secret plans of the German government, and we expect anything but good for her. But, with the best will in the world to believe what has been said, we are not quite sure of the assertion. If Germany really meant to destroy France and occupy Finl., etc., as Kropotkin states the question is: Why did she not seize the opportunity of the Russian revolution to completely crush it in Manchuria? Why did she make no attempt to realise her ambition? Just at that moment the German despotism should have been able to crush the Russian revolution. Moscow is not a German city, but "Russia's" is Germany's mourning. It would have been so easy for it to have been Russia's mourning and Germany's joy! No! There is no reason, whatever, to change our former attitude with regard to the State. The one thing that can be done is to defend our country against French autocracy, and to the extent that we can contribute to its development of freedom. Such is the present war. And as an Anarchist we still stand, to defend our country against French autocracy, and to the extent that we can contribute to its development of freedom. Such is the present war.
Plausible Politicians Poison The People!

THE WAR-TIME ART OF CUNNING AND TRICKERY

By ALEXANDER RATCLIFFE

War always drags in its toil trail the worst that is in man. The present War is no exception to this rule. Not only do we find otherwise "honest politicians" turning political somersaults: we find the political operators of the War, turning their political aims of peace time, and turning their lack on the ideals that gave birth to their political elevation; but in warfare, even the cleanest of them are surrendering the very first things of their Faith: reading their Bible through rejecting with violence the Sermon on the Mount, the spectacle of war-mongers, already repudiating the Peace mission of Jesus Christ, and "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" is now the universal cry of the churches. When we look at the present condition of the Church, we cannot but be reminded of Dr. Ollier's judgment. "It is the duty of Christ's own to kill Germans," this being the considered declaration of the Free Church of Scotland, as that Church voted convicted men and women to go to the help of "suffering Poland," a country whose Protestant and Jew inhabitants suffered more under Polish rule before this War, than it has suffered under German occupation.

Our present purpose, however, is to deal with a pretty fair specimen of the cunning and trickery of our Democratic politicians: to show how these plausible rascals are poising the people against the true standpoint of Christian ethics, our politicians, from Churchill downwards, have become mere to accepted moral, social and political standards. Is it possible someone will refer to the exception? They are as rank as the rottenness of the war system which they support: because they support them.

Cunning Citrine.

Here is a fair specimen of which we present refer, and there are hundreds like it. One of the most sordid of the lot has its inspiration in his "In Russia Now, or "The Right Honorable." Author of other books, including My Finnish Diary, Trade Union leader and trade unionist, has sent out a book to sell it as a book which has since swelled whole. (Interested readers should read the Book of Proverbs, chapter 26 verse 11; also 2nd Peter, chapter 2 verse 21.)

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

"On Thursday, 30th November, 1939, to the dismay of traitors and the multiplication of brutal attack on little neighbour of Finland, citizens and soldiers were slaughtered at this outburst of savagery." And now the same gentle Trade Union leader, denunciator of all the stunts of Fascism, in his subsequent book, In Russia Now, but for another occasion. On page 5, the opening words again:

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

In My Finnish Diary, Citrine shows what a grand people the Finns are. He publishes pictures of bombed Finland and other cities. And this is the time they felt delight at the bravery of the Finns, and he denounces wholesale the crimes of Soviet Russia. He records his interviews with Russian prisoners, and he tells of Soviet troops "physically and intellectually." "Of a most decidedly lower type than the Finns." He records his talks with Swedish prisoners who claim they faced as exchange prisoners to Russia, for Stalin would murder them? Citrine was told not to teach the Soviet prisoners in case he would contract some disease.

Sir Walter says of the Soviet troops whom he says were turned into timber into which no wool had gone in the weaving. Their boots were not made of leather but a sort of composite substance in which fell predominating the thank of the Soviet officer's tunic. "It was a poor thin thing made of dark grey cotton, and very little warmer, I should say, than a good duxing overall." The amendment of war wear, it is pointed out, was "45 degrees freezing."

Incidentally, the reader ever note how active our leading politicians, Tory or Socialist, are becoming in propagating Fascism? They are paying for it. The Citrines are amusing small fortunes in these days. Apparently they are always to be found. We always will the British working classes want to read the splendid pleas of these political parties who can do them no good as they are. The credulous public in the interests of "Democracy")

In the Glasgow Evening Citizen (20/12/41) a report of Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden's speech. Eden has spoken to German prisoners of war, and he says about the Germans what Citrine said about the Russians. Thus Mr. Eden says, "He talked with German prisoners of war. I think always will the British working classes want to read the splendid pleas of these political parties who can do them no good as they are. The credulous public in the interests of "Democracy")."

Compare that with what Citrine said about the Soviet! In his other book, In Russia Now, he has made this comment about German prisoners of war on his visit to Russia to see for himself. Probably he was not permitted to get anywhere near German prisoners of war: "But, in my Finnish Diary, Citrine shows how the Soviet prisoners of war fear and detest Stalin, we have in this new book, In Russia Now, "There is no doubt of the condition in which Stalin is held by the Russian people."

The mockery of the whole thing is enough to make decent men and women sick! When we were on the side of Finland, Russia was bad, and when we went against them, they were the salt of the earth. But as soon as Russia is up against Hitler, and on our side, we hear no more about the Finns. But we do hear quite a lot about the Russians. They are now even Religious: they are now the salt of the earth: they are now fighting for Democracy. When Stalin attacked Finland, they were a veritable bandit! But now, Citrine in his second book refers to Stalin as "Man of Steel," and Stalin "does not want war," and he ends with "And the meek shall inherit the City of Citrine! Unless "Citrine" means straw! Citrine has made it clear that he is dead against Communism. Yet he is now aiding and abetting Communism and helping Stalin to spread Streicher! And, unfortunately, the British, British, British, because he is British. He agrees with that other turncoat, Morrison, that the British are the good people. They have every good for the foreigner, do these things, and they are good. But the British has the nerve to humble Citrine. They have every good for the foreigner, do these things, and they are good. But the British has the nerve to humble Citrine. They have every good for the foreigner. He is a gentleman, a man of steel, a great Democrat.

But if a Britisher is a Communist he is the Devil's own! And, unfortunately, the British working-classes mostly agree with Citrine there. They have every good for the foreigner, do these things, and they are good. But the British has the nerve to humble Citrine. They have every good for the foreigner. He is a gentleman, a man of steel. They have every good for the foreigner, do these things, and they are good. But the British has the nerve to humble Citrine. They have every good for the foreigner.
The Sins of the Father
By Rev. H. J. DALE
Assistant Minister, Baptist Church, Kings Rd. Reading

Both Government and people in this country will be forced by changing conditions of heart and outlook before the responsibilities already referred to can be rightly discharged. The signs are that we still have a long way to go before we get to the situation of a new world order demands. So long as the "Land of Hope and Glory" idea persists, it is impossible to put forward anything national to the normal and natural line of advance, and to abandon it calls for the display of a larger measure of grace than at present we appear to possess. To such an event are our leaders inviting the nation that the catch-phrase "Destroy Hitler and his gang" is about all one can get in the way of concrete actions from those whose primary duty it should be to make definite proposals whereby all the evil forces that threaten man's well-being may be challenged and destroyed. Contrary to popular opinion, we are doing nothing to prevent the greatest of all human progress. To place the total responsibility for the world's chaos upon the head of one man or one nation is hideously false. The working of the propaganda machine, but it is as evidently untrue as it is foolish. That the German people and their leader must share a part of the blame, no one can deny, nor can their conduct in many instances fail to arouse feelings of the deepest shame and disgust, but we should be moving more in the same direction than in the realization realities are very far away. That the Nazi regime is a product rather than a cause, the inevitable issue to a succession of events for whose emergence others besides Germany must share the blame and responsibility. The presence of a disease that has attacked not one nation alone, but the whole world, and is now threatening civilization with total destruction. To track down the real cause of our troubles one must look in more than one direction.

Not the least among these contributory factors—though many try to make light of them—is an expression of hatred and terms imposed on a defeated and defenceless enemy at the end of the last war. From the beginning of the present war, it has been shown that what we mean by "right" literally cannot be taken in any other sense than the wrong. A victory that might, rightly was, have been turned to splendid account, proved, for want of understanding and generosity, a defeat of the very worst kind. When the testing time came we were not big enough to rise to the glorious opportunity that presented itself, fighting out of evil, and starting the world upon a new course.

The German nation was treated as deserving only of the severest penalties that could be imposed upon it, so that even the moderate and peace-loving elements in the country began to lose hope, while the reactionary influences grew stronger. When finally Hitler seized power and did his intention, his adherents were forced to either submit to such humiliation, and, if need be, to gain by force the equality which had been denied, he was acclaimed a national hero and assured of whole-hearted support. What people would not have done the same in similar circumstances? Mr. Churchill has been reported as having admitted that no serious common sense remained to come to terms with the moderate Governments which existed under the Parliamentary system. To try to belittle the fact that both in the first world war German troops behaved better than ever the Germans were shamefully wronged, is worse than useless. We and those who acted with us stand condemned. The Armistice was concluded, the terms that President Wilson's 14 points, one of which was that the blockade of Central European Powers should be raised immediately hostilities ceased. Despite this, however, Britain and France persisted in maintaining the blockade until the Treaty was signed, thereby causing starvation to hundreds of thousands of the poorest people and inflicting untold hardships and misery on many more. But why was the blockade continued to the last minute? The answer is, in order to coerce Germany into signing a crushing and vindictive Treaty. The German representatives were under the impression that a clause which bound them as solely responsible for the war, and consequently returned to Germany with the task uncompleted. The German representatives were sent who signed, not because they were more favourably disposed to the terms, but for the sake of their suffering fellow-subjects. Thus the breach of faith on the part of the Allied Powers speaks for itself, and should not be forgotten when charges of falsity and treacherous conduct are levelled against Germany.

Then there was the invasion of the Ruhr, followed later by the Ottawa Agreements. The French entered the Ruhr in 1923 because Germany had defaulted on her reparations payments. It is significant to recall that the French had to evacuate the Ruhr six months later, having earned nothing from the venture save the inapplicable of maintaining occupation forces. The effects of the Ottawa Agreements were even more disastrous and destructive of good feeling. As a result of the economic crisis of 1929-33 a wave of economic nationalism swept over the whole world, and the Ottawa Agreements, a result of the nationalistic spirit of the French and the British in the formation of a "National" Government and subsequently in the Ottawa Agreements. Speaking in general terms these countries have a number of the principal military powers in the world, and with a closed economic unit. The result was calamitous for all debtor nations, and most of all for Germany which at that time was the greatest debtor nation in the world. A petition which had already been made almost intolerable was now strained to breaking-point. Is it to be wondered that the people in their despair should think of the last recourse, the one alternative from their persecutors could be found? Commenting at the time on the tariffs and quotas of Ottawa, Sir Archibald Sinclair said "We are trying to put 20 pounds sugar in a 10-pounder tank, aeroplanes and warships. Nations were determined not to go on paying tribute to Britain but to acquire raw materials for themselves. How fully justified was that view, which we know only too well. German neutrality to-day is the answer to Ottawa. One by one the birds of ill omen we have let loose are coming home to roost, and now will follow.

Those people who hold Germany solely responsible for plunging Europe and the world into war must not overlook the fact that there was sufficient provocation. Versailles set the pattern for all the peace negotiations since. In twenty years, and to imagine that the defeat of the Axis Powers is all that is necessary to put things right is to live in a dream world. If we are to come to terms with our enemies upon the battlefield we must achieve the results for which we look. Indeed, the more decisive the peace is, the more we shall see in the future the chances of establishing a constructive and lasting peace. Much more than victory is required. The spirit and influence which we wish to spread must be in accord with the realities and needs of human life and thought and progress.

When there was none to say her nay, Great Britain has now declared "principle of "wider still and wider" and to take the fullest possible advantage of whatever opportunities of expansion presented themselves. We see no reason to go to any place to which we could gain an entrance, often without any regard for either the rights or feelings of the people whose territory we annexed. This is not aggression, this is the right, we have to have any memory is conveniently short where self-interest is concerned. Even if occasional twinges of conscience cause a temporary lapse, we may be liable to be comforted that things have changed now. At what precise point in the development of international political relationships this change is to become obvious to us is anyone's guess to know. As a matter of fact it never has taken place, and the suggestion that it has is only another typical piece of humbug which is to come up by emphasizing those of others. Mention needs only to be made of Africa, India, the Far East, the West Indies, to show that we have little ground for holding up our flag as a beacon of light when we are told of what terrible deeds others are committing. Have we forgotten that there ever was an Opium War, or that huge forces of British origin are now in control of those of the Government immediately concerned. Morality counts for little where material advantages are to be gained.

Moreover, if we are sincere in our condemnation of aggression, we have taken action long before this? Was not Japan guilty of aggression against China, and Italy in her annexation of Abyssinia? Yet in both cases invasion was the same determining factor. Why, though the average individual does not realize it, the formulation of national policies and their execution are oftentimes more in the hands of a few, and the influence of the bigger those of the Government immediately concerned. Morality counts for little where material advantages are to be gained.
A SOCIALIST SHOULD BE RATIONAL

By S. W. FRANCES

To-day is the day of propaganda, the period of the L.I.P. Nations have arisen and grasped the thought which, since armies are divided into only two sections of organised and unorganised, has brought the thinking capacity of the individual has diminished, now people think in groups. They support this idea or support the opposing idea, not as rational human beings, but because, particularly the idea which they believe, is propagated with all the power of the press and the radio, or because the party they support is popular, conventional beliefs, they are because they "crope," or, in other words, because they think for themselves.

We have seen in Germany the effects of the propaganda of the lie. Hitler's well-known statement that the bigger the lie is in order to maintain this, has been proved abundantly effective. Germans, have not only been misled, but those who have been misled, are the worriers of Hitler, millions in Germany support his aims and his ideals, and in all probability those same millions can only repeat in defence of Hitler's aims and ideas, the phrases that have again and again appeared in the columns of the German Newspapers or which have been burnt moral, and national, across the ether.

The age of propaganda is exploiting in a manner that they have never experienced before. In medieval times, popular support was obtained by State repression. Today, contrary to the State's interests were punished without evidence. This method was not satisfactory. It created a stricture caused of hostility from the population against the Government.

Now it is possible to obtain the popular support without creating the hostility. If the same idea is conveyed often enough, if the same philosophy and ideas are inculcated and inculcated often enough and long enough, with no opposition ideas receiving publicity, the populace will begin to believe the ideas, propagandists true and just, and will believe in those ideas even the pitch of fanaticism. The hostility towards Government will increase, those who do not believe in the propaganda ideas on pain of punishment, but will believe in them because they see those ideas to be the best ideas. To bring the same ideas true and just, the Government point of view, what else is there for people to believe or place faith in?

Is this propaganda phase to be exploited by the Socialist? The Socialist has an idea, a point of view, a philosophy of life, he believes that, for the purpose of achieving his ends, he believes he can achieve it as rapidly as is possible. He can secure the best results by propaganda and by inducing people to act on their emotional instincts, or is it possible to rely on rational consideration? Is he to propagandize Socialism to the degree that Nationalism is propagated in the warring world? Is the red dog to replace the Union Jack, Lenine will kill "die for Socialism" replace "die for England."

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

Is this method the method the Socialist should use to its fullest extent. Those audiences had no logical, historical, or true reasons put before them. They were not able to see for themselves that the movement was right, instead, their emotions were played upon. A specific example of injustice was introduced and with many emotional side issues, featured as the charge to the listeners. The response was overwhelming. "Remember the "Aid to Spain." meetings.

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

A glance at history shows clearly that when changes are caused, it is not because the people who believe, can see logically and intelligently that the present conditions are bad; we therefore need change our condition. No change in Society is caused by the emotional opposition of the people against a system, coupled with the influence of material environment upon them; combined together, this could only smother the old order, and creates, willy-nilly, a new order.

If change can therefore be brought by the emotional appeal to people, by all means must our Socialist use this method. But there is an essential factor. The people will be following this leader. He is a Socialist who will be guiding the flow of emotionalism with its material power, along the paths to Socialism.

But all is lost if our Socialist, too, loses control of his ideas. Then this flood of emotions is swept away by the emotionalism that he has created. Our Socialist must maintain at all costs his ability to guide and to clothe ideas in terms of his followers. He must be able to weigh up carefully all the ramifications and not to follow his party blindly. Whatever new ideas are developed by an order that they must be fully con- sidered in the party that they are put forward. He must decide whether these new ideas are oppositional or whether they may not be helpful.

Socialism may be achieved by the use of emotionalism. But Socialism can only be achieved by the use of logical thought; by the ability to think clearly and rationally. How much responsibility thus falls upon the Socialist? He must learn to think logically, from the means of his party, and not blindly accept the dictates of his party.

NORTH WALES TRIBUNAL

The Welsh National Party has complained to the Ministry of Labour about the conduct of the Chairman of the North Wales C.O. Union, F. E. Samuel, K.C., when dealing with Welsh Nationalist C.O.s. The complaint was referred to the case of Mr. Hywel Williams, who was arrested while working in Caernarfon, on Friday, December 19, 1941:

Mr. Roberts, in pleading his conscientious objection to being called up under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, expressed, as was his moral and legal duty under oath, his whole conscience, including therefore his objection as a Welsh Nationalist. In examination the Chairman referred to the Welsh Nationalist Party, of which Mr. Roberts is a member, as 'f Fuddin Gymrag' ('the Welsh Army'). When corrected by Mr. Roberts that the correct term was 'Cymru Gymrag' with adding 'Bu bron i chyd y Gymrog llwyth di'r ymled a fer Moddei Gyma_ifben, ei rhyfel drwy'r Ymgyrchol' ('You have a right to fifty years of freedom, but with England from the Llwynyfelyn, School').

Later, referring to this side of Mr. Roberts' case, that the rules were very wide, and that he had unnecessarily harassed him to a question of pre- empting the rights of Welsh Nationalist applicants, the Chairman said he had merely stated your case on Christian and catholic grounds.

A letter of further examination, Mr. Roberts referred to the case of Mr. Glyn Williams, who, he understood, had at Cymysyllte been given exemption on nationalist grounds; Chairman: 'I am advised that applicant had been foolish enough to submit to a voluntary examination'.

The letter of the Executive of the Welsh Nationalist Party, dated January 21, 1942, states that he case proves "the unmistakable animosity prejudice against Welsh Nationalist applicants exercising their undoubted rights under the Act."

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

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

The Ministry of Labour replied on March 11, maintaining its previous attitude of satisfaction.

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

The Duke of Bedford

In the House of Lords on Tuesday, July 23, the Duke of Bedford made his third pacifist speech as a member of the Liberal and Unionist Party, and now the official report before us. The Duke followed Lord Cranborne, and was interrupted by Lord Mottistone and Sir John Seely, who asked if he was in order. Lord Seely, as Chief of the House, said that the question was being debated by the House, and that the Duke proceeded to attack the Prime Minister, who had used language which was likely to be no longer heard. Gainsford, formerly Joseph Gainsford, is notorious as the one-time Chairman of the anti-Imperialist Federation of British Industries, the British F.B.I.

Lord Strabolgi opposed the motion and Viscount benton protested against it. In a somewhat more than usual speech, agreeing to the expressed wishes of the House, the Duke proceeded to speak on a more relevant occasion.

The Duke's third, and interrupted, speech is the most important and vigorous speech he has made in Parliament. The Duke is one of the pamphlet form this month, at ad, post free ad.

Dear Sir,—I have pleasure in enclosing subscription for "The World," and would like to congratulate you on your constant and unflagging efforts in the cause of peace and liberty. With best wishes.

Yours truly, LEONARD DURHAM, Aberdeen, May 12.

Dear Sir,—The articles published in "The World" have been a great encouragement to us, and we think the forcible intervention of the Spanish Brigade against General Franco, and it stands up for Conscientious Objectors. If it were right to fight Franco who is said to be, and I think on good grounds, the agent of Hitler, why is it so wrong to fight Hitler and all his works.

I may have misunderstood, but it seems absurd for "The World" to be either "so glib as to Conscientious Objectors," who will not fight Franco's Master whilst "some of them fight Hitler." I feel that I am an ardent fighting and fire-burning Conservative, and it is not uncommon for Religious Principle or Ethic, and even as Political guards.

I am sure you will not shield behind this sort of attitude, as yours must be qualitatively different from the attitude taken by tolerable, if not, in their own discretion. Yours sincerely, THOMAS MILLAR.

Norwich, May 24.

Sir,—Some time ago there was a lump in gas masks. Every man, woman and child, living gas mask over their shoulders, yet still the shabbies. Now we have the shabbies, and the gas mask is not there. Shall we be asked to participate in gas-mask drills again? The truth is that no gas has been used in this war except by the British who murdered hundreds of the French people in Poland with this poisonous weapon. The Father's eyes is a doctors' diagnosis of the disease. The gas mask is the only protection from the disease. He has sworn that if he had the command of an army he would allow gas to be used—the same as he has kept his word.

BEATRIX MARSHALL.


We do not agree with the gas mask campaign. We believe that the British propaganda, the opposed to the moral, is a complete lie, and we are willing to fight for it. No one has defended a lie. We have not been treated unfairly at an early date. The "Reorganisation," led by a few unprincipled persons, as occasion permits, until every one is reprinted. They are facts and belong to history. We were opposed and are opposed to Fascism. As the good men do much to carry the short article on my pet theory, if when you have read it and think it worth while to put it in "The World" I shall feel that I have good wishes in the Struggle.

Sincerely yours, CUTHBERT LEIGH.

Keswick, May 13.

Dear Sir,—You will be glad to know that I have posted both an April and May number of "The World" to the Select Committee on Conscientious Objectors. May the hopes come to good. I read, however, what John Wesley said about war, copied from "The World" and "The Observer." I see a good I feel that it will do good printed in "The World." Yours faithfully, H. GOOD, Nunwet, June 1.

Dear Sir,—I have just finished a very illuminating novel of Glasgow life in the '70s by Guy McCrone, "Antimasonic City," Perhaps you have read it, but in case you did not, or have been slighted, I would like to mention that the novel is written by a man who has lived in Glasgow, and who knows the city inside out. It is a wonderful picture of life in the '70s, and it is a pity that more people do not read it. I think that it is a pity that more people do not read it.

Yours sincerely, THOMAS MILLAR.

Norwich, May 24.

Sir,—I have been reading "The World" for a good while. I have always liked to be able to read it. Hence, desire to have it sent regularly. Would you care to send me your publication, as it is particularly fine. Wishing you every success for the future of your "The World." Yours sincerely, JOHN H. BREEW.

Barkingdale, Essex, June 1.

Dear Sir,—I was very pleased to receive the current issues of "The World" which I have been sending particularly, that last month containing the Truman Report. It contains the report on the talks between the L.C.I. and the Americans in the Chemical Commissions. Also, we see that the British Government has released information concerning the recent activities of some of these arms traders, and also the precise particulars of the C. R. C. 45. I am very glad to hear that you will get the information to us as soon as possible, for we do not know how many of your readers are interested in the arms traffic, perhaps in your future issues of "The World." Yours sincerely, J. A. B. S., Scotland, who incidentally sending in a protest to the authorities concerned. I am, I hope, that you will get this and other particulars concerning immortality, as such whether illegitimate births have been carried out by the British or the Germans, and are not a new thing in the world. The findings of the committee on the A.T.N. who made an inquiry into alleged reports of immortality, then an essential service would be given to the able. I am, and am of extreme interest of your readers, in reporting the fact in the future. Yours faithfully, JAMES N. L.
CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR'S LETTER

Dear Guy Aldred,

My case is the very common one of refusal to submit to the war. I was a member of a Ministry of Labour direction to undertake work at a first-aid post and refusal to enter the N.F.S. I should like to hear how you got on in order to enter the N.F.S.

I had previously registered as a conscientious objector when my group (1927) was called up on 6th September, 1941; and on 3rd November, 1941, at Lincoln C.O.'s Tribunal was registered as a C.O. on the grounds of being 'humanitarian defence work'.

I did not appeal against this decision, because at that time I thought that I might have a chance of obtaining such work. However after I had lost the right to appeal to the Appellate Tribunal I finally came to the decision that I could not take part in the machinery of war.

It took me about two months before I finally came to a decision on this point. I had taken my stand at the Tribunal on humanitarian and ethical grounds; and because I put before the Tribunal appears to me to be more valuable and unattainable. However, after my appearance at the Tribunal I started seriously studying my case, and after a while my human moral and humanitarian grounds of opposition to the war became a moral and ethical one, entirely superseded by Socialist grounds. As soon as I became a convinced believer in Socialism, I determined to have nothing more to do with the war-effort of our capitalist government whatsoever. Therefore, as regards the war, I became an absolutist C.O. and, of course, refused to undertake any form of civil defence work.

This attitude has cost me my job at the G.P.O., since I have informed my employer that my refusal might prevent me from doing civil defence work. The Ministry of Labour has advised me to offer my services to the police force, but I am against this as a form of unemployment. So I may regard myself as a 'Jail-controlled C.O.'

I am now steadfastly continuing to fight against this war, as I have been for some time an agnostic.

The book of yours that I have read with special interest is "The War and the Struggle" by Michael Lasky, which I read it in, one of my cherished illusions concerning the Labour Party, and even Willie Gallacher, were the wronging of the unemployed and the poor. To young Socialists like myself (19) a detailed history of the Labour Party and its weaknesses and its achievements will be of immense benefit. I am myself a member of the Communist Party and I think it is of the workers' trade unions the only real one that is of the weekly-waged worker. On the other hand, it would be unfair to Mr. Woolcock to add that he is far more alive to the importance of financial losses than are many others who share his political outlook.

What is the attitude of the "Jail-controlled C.O." towards the war?

Mr. Wilfred Wellock's "Which Way Britain?" is written in a vigorous and challenging style, and is admirable for its comprehensiveness and often penetrating analysis. The book is of considerable value as a constructive proposal of the probable solution to our immediate problem.

Like many writers with Left sympathy, Mr. Wellock fails to understand that in Europe she is merely a force in the world. He talks of Capitalism, not, it would appear, realising how much more important than Capitalism is the question of free men. The workers are, as it is, the workers' trade unions, the only real one that is of the weekly-waged worker. On the other hand, it would be unfair to Mr. Woolcock to add that he is far more alive to the importance of financial losses than are many others who share his political outlook.

What is the attitude of the "Jail-controlled C.O." towards the war?

United Socialist Movement. Meetings every Sunday, 7 p.m. General meetings Sunday, 1 C.T.O. 7 p.m. questions, and, if possible, 7.45 for speeches. Socialists, workers, trade unionists, and all others will be welcome.

Spalding, Lincs., 30/4/42.

NORMAN LEVITT.


"Undoubtedly one of the most important features of a post-war world in which there is reasonable chance of lasting peace, will be the establishment, or rather restoration, of International Justice, which commands the respect of the peoples of all lands. In the absence of that degree of authority over the states which such appreciation and respect could furnish, Mr. Charles Norden's statement of his views on the subject of the World Court for International Justice is a very thoughtful and constructive statement of principles. It should, without any hesitation, be welcomed by those who are interested in the development of International Law, entitles his opinions to respectful consideration."

Mr. Norden's book "The World Court for International Justice", is a constructive proposal of the probable solution to our immediate problem.

It would surely be possible for the suggestion to be made through some neutral channel that the Governments of all belligerent nations should, without any animosity and for the benefit of their peoples and of the world in general, state what their exact attitude would be towards such important questions as the World Court for International Justice; the sharing of the world's economic resources; disarmament; religious liberty; the recognition of the rights of other nations, etc. There would be nothing in the making of such a statement to hinder the prevention of war even by the most determined war-makers. If they were then to be asked in any way to set on one side its avowed incapacity to trust the members of another Government,"

BEDFORD.

WHICH WAY, BRITAIN?


Mr. Wilfred Wellock’s "Which Way Britain?" is written in a vigorous and challenging style, and is admirable for its comprehensive and often penetrating analysis. The book is of considerable value as a constructive proposal of the probable solution to our immediate problem.

Like many writers with Left sympathy, Mr. Wellock fails to understand that in Europe she is merely a force in the world. He talks of Capitalism, not, it would appear, realising how much more important than Capitalism is the question of free men. The workers are, as it is, the workers' trade unions, the only real one that is of the weekly-waged worker. On the other hand, it would be unfair to Mr. Woolcock to add that he is far more alive to the importance of financial losses than are many others who share his political outlook.

"Which Way Britain?" by Wilfred Wellock.

RICHARD CARLILE


"This is one of a series issued by the publishers of a monthly magazine called "The World," and is devoted to the cause of social reform. It is the latest and revised edition of a former work. The author writes the life and work of his hero and their effect on the social condition of his country and the world. The work is written in a simple and clear style and is an excellent book for those who are interested in the problems of society."
THE WORD

ANTI-WAR SOCIALISTS

At this period of grave war crisis to all mankind, it is urgent to bring into one grand alliance the revolutionary, progressive, and anti-militarist forces of the world. We therefore have pleasure in reproducing the following letter addresses by our comrades Jowett and comrade James W. Taylor, of the I.L.P., on the occasion of the birthday of William Stewart, his 65th birthday anniversary in 1941.

My Dear Jim Taylor,—So my old Scottish comrade and friend, "Willo" Stewart, has achieved his 65th birthday, what a caper! I feel that I have been in company with him in the fight for socialism for over 50 years, although we rarely met personally during the first 15 of them. Both of us were weekly writers to the old Clarion in the days when "Bص" Witherspoon's "Merry England" went through a million copies of its weekly edition.

Memories of Hardie and the early days of the I.L.P.; the Boer war; huge meetings in Glasgow's Management Theatre during the last great war was vividly awakened by "Willo" Stewart's 65th birthday anniversary.

He is to be honoured by a celebration at which I must regrettably be absent. But I am joyously glad he is being so honoured. For there is not now, nor was there ever, a more patient, thoughtful, and uncomplaining socialist than Hardie. His trusty friend and biographer, Scotland's "Willo" Stewart.

He is 85 and still rings true with a life's record of unblemished service behind him. Who could more deserve such a celebration?

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

With greetings and good wishes to you all.

Yours, faithfully,

F. W. JOWETT.

Bradford, 7th July, 1941.

We asked comrade J. W. Taylor for some details of that conference, and received a reply which was intended to provide something to write under the heading "The Clarion" itself. Unfortunately, our own story and accordingly publish it with only very slight omissions that have no relation to the main purpose of the letter and are more confined to ourselves.

Muirend, Glasgow.

10/7/42.

Dear Comrade Alfred,—Whiteley Bay I.L.P. Conference was held at Easter, 1941, with old Anti-Militarist "war horse" Jowett as Acting Chairman. Alfred was then Chairman of the Party but was unfortunately unable to be present. It was the first conference that Maxton was elected to the chair. Our old friend, W. J. Taylor, Stewart, accepts the authority of this registrar that he was born in Dunfermline in the year 1856—the same year as Keir Hardie and Bernard Shaw. So that 1856 old itself proudly!

Willo attended an alleged elementary school with periodic regularity for 15 years, was 15 years as there- by; and of course in these days there were no compulsory attendance laws and no school boards. Thither he spent most of his working time inside Dunfermline linen factories, varied by frequent periods of unemployment, when there were no Exchanges and out of work benefit. It was in this atmosphere that his Socialist education commenced.

In due course Willo began to take an interest in public affairs, and with some kindred spirits he formed the first Socialist Society in Dunfermline (early '80s). He served for three years on the first Parish Council in Dunfermline as an 'awed voice of the working class'. He found that he could not get too much, and did not offer himself for re-election. He is supporting various local and national campaigns, in various capacities, and was an auxiliary member of the "Labour Leader", Keir Hardie's paper. He was also an active member of the "Gavacho", and his articles were very popular and useful.

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

In 1913 he became originating secretary of the I.L.P. in Scotland. War came in 1914 and the work was suspended. During the whole period he wrote antimilitarist and pro-Socialist articles in

"Forward", besides speaking for the I.L.P., all over the country. Some of his "Forward" articles were included in his book "War Time and Other Implications of Veritable Treason".

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

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

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

With regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. W. TAYLOR.

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Printed and Published by THE STRICKLAND PRESS at 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.I.