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THE WORD

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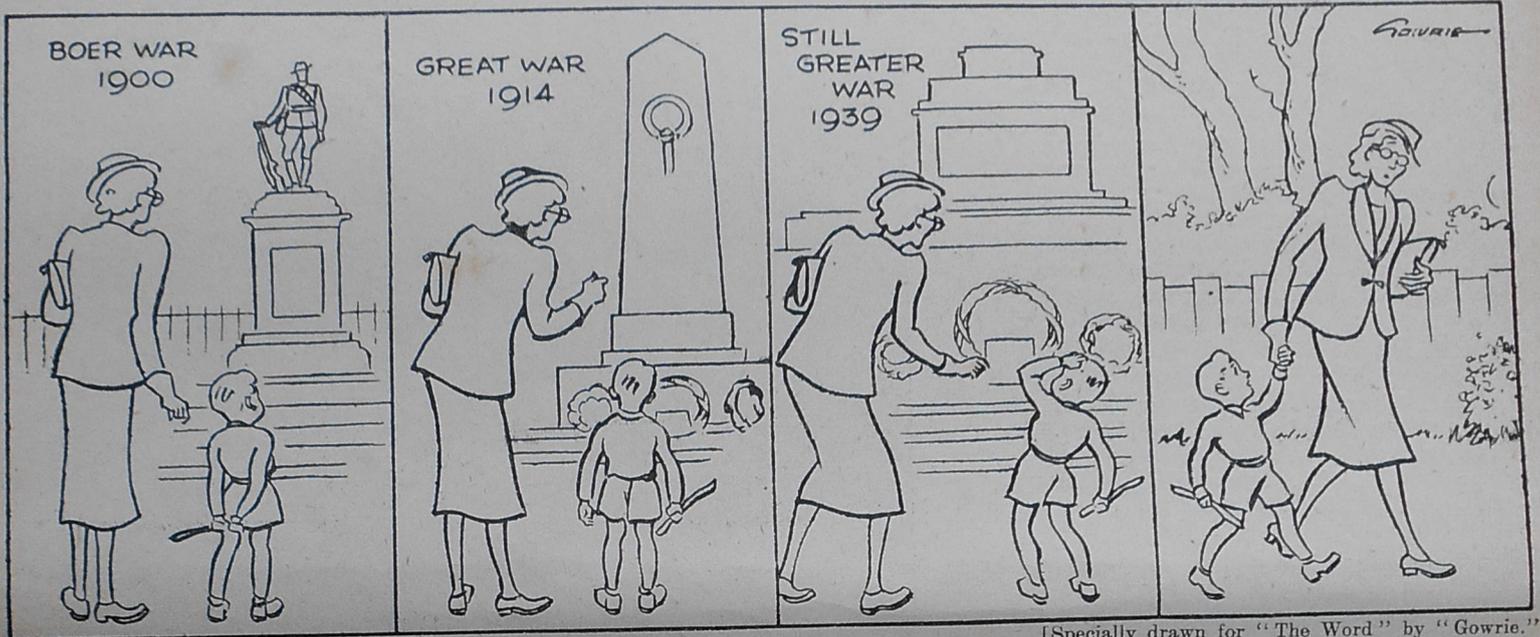
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[Specially drawn for "The Word" by "Gowrie."]

"Your great grandad was killed in that war."

"Your grandad was killed in that war."

"Your daddy and your sister and your granny were killed in that war."

"—H'm! Will I be killed and have a war memorial some day, Mummy?"

IN WAR TIME.

To-night I look upon the sky,
 Pale blue, with white clouds sailing by,
 The trees are green, the air is still,
 The purple heather crowns the hill,
 The waters run so quiet and clear,
 And now and then my listening ear
 Is charmed by one lone wild bird's song,
 That sings so clear the woods among,
 Oh, perfect world, and perfect night!
 My heart is swollen with delight.

Then comes the whir of aeroplane,
 To change my joy to grief and pain,
 A world at war, hearts filled with hate,
 Blood, sin and shame in every state,
 Guns, bombs, and bayonets, fire and death,
 A curse in every human breath,
 Oh! World of beauty, World of love,
 When will mankind deserving prove
 Of all thy bounties, all thy joy,
 And, thankful for thy mercies die?

—JOE CORRIE.

FRONT PAGE APPEAL.

We make this a front page appeal, because, if the readers do NOT, individually and collectively, respond, "The Word" cannot continue in its present form. This is news, urgent news. This paper is the most independent journal in the country. It has no sectarian bias and it stands for journalism as it should be. Last month we asked for £1,500 to clear our new press, to enable our pamphlet work and the paper to continue. Will you please respond? One good response from every reader—FROM YOU COMRADE—will end this begging for a year. Please respond.

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CREECH JONES, M.P.

Member for the Colonies!

CHAMPION OF THE NATIVE WORKER

Readers of these columns are familiar with the courage and forthrightness with which our comrade, A. Creech Jones, M.P. for Shipley, has addressed himself to questions of conscience, civil liberty at home and in the colonies, and, above all, rights of the native worker. His speech on conscience describing his experiences as a war-resister during the Great War of 1914-1918, made in the House of Commons on May 18, 1939, and his defence before his first Court Martial, have been reproduced. Also his great speech on conditions in the Copper Belt, made in the House of Commons on April 10, 1941, and his concluding powerful cross-talk with the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies. We have reprinted an essay written by Creech Jones on the subject of Civil Liberties in the Colonies some years ago, and also outlined his career since 1916. In our comrade, the cause of liberty has a fearless champion, and the native worker an able defender and advocate. We feel that his stand should receive the support of public understanding and appreciation. Parliamentarians do not seem too willing to assist in this matter. It becomes necessary, therefore, from time to time, to direct attention to questionings and speeches in our Anti-Parliamentarian columns. Creech Jones makes full use of the House of Commons as a sounding board. It is no part of our argument against parliamentarism and

careerism to refuse to second his efforts. Hence the present incomplete and arbitrary survey.

On July 16, 1941, Creech Jones asked what was the composition and terms of reference of the Committee on Colonial post-war Reconstruction, set up in the Colonial Office under the chairmanship of Lord Hailey; what outside bodies it would consult, etc. The official reply was not very satisfactory, and described the Committee vaguely as a fact-giving body.

On the same day, Creech Jones asked for a statement on the work of the Cocoa Board, on the arrangements for the storage and processing of the cocoa crop in West Africa, and the price being paid to cocoa producers.

The reply was evasive and futuristic.

On August 5, 1941, Creech Jones reverted to the Hailey Committee question and asked for, and obtained, an assurance that the new committee or secretariat would not deal with constitutional problems.

On October 1, 1941, Creech Jones asked that a White Paper be published setting out the development programmes submitted by the respective governments under the Development and Welfare Act. He pressed that Parliament should be given the fullest information.

Six days later, he enquired on what grounds of public policy the Government of Nigeria has enacted legislation prohibiting strikes, and whether it is intended to extend such a prohibition through the Empire.

Mr. Hall, that sorry caricature of a man, a worker turned pseudo-statesman, replied that such legislation had been passed in N. Rhodesia, Hong Kong, Nigeria and the Gold Coast, and was to be passed in Palestine. Strikes and lock-outs were illegal unless the

dispute was reported to the Governor. The object of the legislation was to ensure that the war effort was not prejudiced. Such legislation would be enacted wherever the Governor so advises.

What a study in a miner's leader elevated to the Under-Secretaryship of the Colonial Office! The proletarian turned pompous and impressive!

The following day, Creech Jones asked what schemes had been submitted to and recommended by the Comptroller of Development welfare in the West Indies. In reply a full description of the procedure whereby the Comptroller of Development works, was given. Sixty-one concrete schemes, dealing mainly with agriculture and public health had been submitted, of which 15 had been approved.

The next day (October 9), Creech Jones asked whether the Ministry of Food would furnish a statement of the profit and loss on Government sales of West African cocoa.

Major Lloyd George stated that for the year 1939-40 the West African trading account showed a loss of about £263,000. For the 1940-1 crop the Ministry of Food purchased its requirements from the Cocoa Control Board, and made a profit of £382,000 on these purchases and distribution. This profit resulted almost entirely from the policy introduced on 1 March, 1941, by which the Ministry charged an additional £10 per ton to the manufacturer.

On October 14, Creech Jones made a vigorous attack on the Jamaica Defence Regulations. He asked if searching investigation would be made into the administration of Defence Regulations in Jamaica since the war, and what steps were being taken to rectify the injustices committed.

Mr. Hall refused to accept his suggestion that injustices had been committed.

Creech Jones asked if the Jamaica regulations would be amended to the form adopted in Britain after Parliamentary discussion.

Mr. Hall stated that the Jamaican Defence Regulation corresponding to the U.K. regulation 18B had been amended to conform exactly with the U.K. regulation.

At this time, it should be added, the number of persons interned in Jamaica was returned, officially, as 1,055. Of these 1,036 were enemy nationals, 11 British subjects, and 8 Allied or other nationalities.

On November 26, Creech Jones asked what steps had been taken in Kenya to secure decent housing for the African people in Nairobi.

Mr. Hall announced in reply that approval had been given for expenditure of £20,000 from Kenya Government Funds on the construction of houses for African Government employees in Nairobi, and for a loan of £30,000 to the Nairobi Municipal Council for a housing scheme.

On December 9, Creech Jones asked that the conference being arranged by the S. Rhodesian Prime Minister with members of the Legislative Council of N. Rhodesia to discuss amalgamation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland be cancelled, seeing that this action was an interference with the prerogatives of the British Government and calculated to create disaffection in territories for which the House of Commons was responsible.

Behind this question, as all who have studied the matter know, was concern for the well-being of the native.

The Government emphasised its precious assurances.

The following day, Creech Jones pressed for a statement on the proposed conference at Salisbury.

Mr. Hall replied that the Governments of N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland would not be represented at the conference nor in any way committed to its conclusions.

On January 28, 1942, Creech Jones chal-



A. CREECH JONES, M.P. TODAY

lenged, in the form of a question, the character and quality of the work discharged by the Colonial Services in Malaya during the previous year. Hall expressed complete satisfaction on behalf of the Colonial Office. Creech Jones attacked broadcasters and journalists and asked them to apply their criticisms to the whole problem of colonial policy.

On February 3, Creech Jones asked to what extent schemes had been submitted under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act; whether they would be considered by the Dufferin Committee, and whether Lord Dufferin could give proper attention to this work, in view of his full-time appointment in the Ministry of Information.

Mr. Hall replied that the time required for this job was about one hour a week.

Creech Jones "Is not that hopelessly inadequate?"

On February 4, Creech Jones asked why recruitment for the African military labour, pioneer and transport corps in East Africa had been suspended.

The reply was that this was to avoid competition from the Forces for the African labour required for increased production for war purposes.

Actually, this question was directed to the matter of the exploitation of the native worker. It was not the mere military question it seemed.

On February 11, Creech Jones asked what progress had been made in implementing the recommendations of the Copperbelt Disturbance Inquiry.

The reply stated that the recommendations

in respect of wages and conditions had been put into effect. Domestic science classes for the women had been started in some of the Compounds. The United Missions were sending out a third woman welfare officer. The mine managements were encouraging the making of flower gardens, but have not increased the size of plots. The "Elder" system had been accepted at all the mines. Legislation providing for improved rates of workmen's compensation had been enacted. Every encouragement was being given to workers to bring their wives with them to the mines. As for the extension of opportunities for Africans to take on skilled work *this* matter was receiving attention.

On March 4, Creech Jones asked for full details about the proposed conscription of African labour in Kenya, and what steps had been taken to secure the most economic use of the African labour available.

In a lengthy reply, it was stated that more labour was needed for Kenya's increased production campaign in the war effort, and that the present shortage was due to a large increase of Africans in employment, and the absorption of 47,000 Africans into the Army. A Committee set up to examine the situation had unanimously recommended compulsory labour for Africans. The proposals had been approved by the Secretary of State. There was an immediate shortage of 22,500 workers for agriculture.

By question, on June 10, Creech Jones secured the names of the members of the Colonial Research Advisory Committee: Lord Hailey (Chairman), Sir Edward Appleton, Professor A. V. Hill, Sir Edward Mellanby and Dr. W. W. C. Topley.

The Labour riots in the Bahamas were

discussed on June 17. Sir Archibald Southby asked for information. The official reply was that peace was restored and that the whole question of wages under discussion. Creech Jones asked whether, in view of the continuous opposition of the Legislative Council to progressive labour legislation, consideration could be given to revision of the constitution.

The same day, Creech Jones asked why forced labour had been adopted in the private tin mines of Nigeria.

Mr. Macmillan replied that the regulations were enacted as a measure of great urgency to meet the loss of Far eastern tin supplies. The regulations gave power to regulate the conditions of employment and the provision of more specific safeguards was being taken up.

Creech Jones asked what was to be done in regard to the additional profits and royalties. After other supplementary questions, Creech Jones stated that, in view of the unsatisfactory nature of the reply, he would raise the matter on the adjournment. (June 17.)

On July 1, Creech Jones enquired about the financial assistance given by the Government to the Palestine Citrus Industry. A detailed reply was given concerning the season 1942-43.

On July 22, Creech Jones raised the questions of compulsory labour in Nigeria, and native-grown maize in Kenya.

On the first issue, he asked what Regulations to secure proper labour conditions had been made in Nigeria arising out of the scheme for industrial conscription and whether adequate arrangements for inspection and welfare had been made and labour inspectors appointed?

Mr. Macmillan replied that subsistence and free transport to and from the minefields had been provided; also a reception camp, where free meals were given. Prior medical examinations would be carried out. Wages and conditions were the same as for voluntary labour on the mines. Free housing was provided and free medical facilities were available. Further welfare measures were being arranged. An administrative officer had been posted to supervise general welfare. Health conditions were inspected by the medical department.

On the Kenya maize matter, Creech Jones asked for details of the scheme in Kenya for extending control and guaranteed prices to African-grown maize; and how did it compare with guaranteed prices for non-native grown maize?

The reply showed that the price paid for native maize was less than half that paid for non-native maize.

In his questionings, Creech Jones has been backed ably by David Adams, E. Harvey, G. Mather, R. W. Sorensen, and D. L. Lipson, the Independent Conservative. He remains, however, the outstanding, well-informed, vigilant, untiring defender of the native worker in the House of Commons, and in the public life of Great Britain.

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COMMUNISM AND INDIA

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Your scaring strictures on the Communist Party in the—as usual—admirable current number of "The Word" are greatly to the point and richly deserved; and in no matter do these people show their typical party politicians' rascally and unscrupulous mendacity and shameless opportunism than in respect of India, to one of the communities whereof I have the honour to belong, and of whose "freedom" (Communist Party version, naturally, with, doubtless, Stalinist concentration-camps, OGPU and liquidations all complete) they have the effrontery to pose as champions. In this connection vide Souvarine, Andre Gide, Eugene Lyons, A. N. Chamberlin and Max Eastman, who can by no stretch of imagination be called "hostile" critics, until they saw for themselves what the Proletarian Paradise was like.

A placard has recently appeared about London repeating in aggravated form the pestilent and mendacious twaddle of an earlier one with its "Enlist India's 400,000,000 for Freedom", this time adding that "in spite" ("in spite" if you please, when "out of spite" would better meet the case) of Mr. Gandhi, India's 400,000,000 can still be "won" as Allies in the cause of "freedom" and in the "fight against Fascism," etc., etc., *ad lib et nauseam*.

Now anyone not utterly ignorant of the evidence that exists or dishonest, or both, knows that such talk is pestilential malignant drivel. To begin with the sheer physical condition of the vast mass of India's population—with its average income of one-twenty-sixth or less of that of England—is such that it would require years of good nourishment plus good living conditions to bring them up to let us say even a C.3. standard. Again, if England with all her vast mass-production facilities has, after the best part of a decade (including the pre-war period of rearmament) not succeeded in yet adequately arming and equipping such armies as she has, how is India with not a minute fraction of those mass-production resources going to do so within any measurable period of time? Meanwhile, Japan, doubtless by private arrangement with the Bosses of the Communist Party will kindly hold her hand until Indians are first fed up to the minimum standard of military fitness, then trained, then equipped, all of which processes might occupy twenty-five years at a conservative estimate! . . . In reality the Communist Party and those who like them want to "enlist India" for this that or the other are India's worst enemies for they want our unhappy country dragged into a War for the furtherance of their own party purposes and ends, not for any problematical good they think or believe may accrue to her therefrom.

Gandiji's attitude is not only utterly right spiritually and morally, it is sheer realistic common-sense as well, for it is for India the only way possible in face of a possible Japanese attack, since she (India) has not and cannot have within any measurable period of time the means or ability suitable from the Warmonger's point of view for resisting Japanese or any other aggression.

And why India should submit to be used as a catspaw to pick the Dictatorship of the Proletariat chestnut out of the fire for the Communist Party (and it is certainly not intended for anyone else!) and more than the Freedom and Democracy chestnut—**and WHAT a chestnut!**—for British Imperialistic and Bib Business Interests is in no manner of way clear to

Yours sincerely and well-wishingly,

KAIKHOSRU SHAPURJI SORABJI.

MESSAGES FROM INDIA.

The following are extracts from the Indian section of three Annual Reports of the Methodist Missionary Society (for the years 1940, 1941 and 1942):—

1940: "The European war has not yet affected our activities in North India, but it has affected OUR THINKING, and when one remembers the horrors which are being perpetrated between nation and nation in Europe one can hardly feel proud of coming from that area. . . . India is thinking; thinking hard. There can be no doubt that these great wars in Europe are an obstacle to the spread of Christianity among the more educated Indians. Yet there are not wanting signs that here and there thoughtful men still turn wistful eyes towards Jesus Christ."

1941: "The very fact of the war is an obstacle to Christian work, for it creates a spiritual problem. For twenty years the country has been nurtured on the doctrine of non-violence, as exemplified by the greatest of its exponents, the Mahatma Gandhi, and the people find it difficult to see the righteousness, or practical utility, of violence even in the most noble cause. That nominally Christian nations should be engaged in a war so bitter is a very serious hindrance to the acceptance of the Christian Message. To this difficulty must be added the increased political strife and bitterness. There can be no question that these powerful factors hinder the coming of the Kingdom of God."

1942: "In Mysore, our workers have been taunted

by Hindus, both in public and private, with the accusation: 'It was your CHRISTIAN nations that began the war; why don't some of you people get together and stop it?'"

"SOCIALISM" IN NEW ZEALAND

EX-CONCHIE AS WAR TIME PREMIER

Our comrade, Charles H. Cole, Minister of the High Street Unitarian Church, Portsmouth, sends us an interesting letter that he received from New Zealand dated May 31 last. Here is an excerpt:—

"What amazes and confronts me is that in conservative England you are still allowed to circulate papers like "The Word" . . . in N.Z. under Labour Rule such literature would be regarded as subversive and immediately suppressed. The Social Credit people started a magazine here recently, but because they dared to criticise the Government regarding certain of their financial policies, the paper was suppressed after about three or four issues. . . . Our Labour Prime Minister has said he will shoot or have shot anyone who goes on strike in the future, and should there be any more industrial trouble he will not hesitate to call out the military to deal with it."

Prime Minister Peter Fraser was jailed during 1914-1918 as a conscientious objector, because of his opposition to war.

The *Union Record*, Auckland, New Zealand, for May 1, 1942, told the story of Fraser's threats to the workers in the following report:—

FRASER THREATENS

ARMY AND STRIKES

POLICE ALREADY USED

"The Government will not flinch in enforcing the law in cases like that at Westfield. Those who took that action were betraying their country and their fellow-workers. Someone here suggested a general strike. If anyone spoke that way in Russia he would be shot. IF CIRCUMSTANCES ARISE THEY WILL BE SHOT HERE TOO. Someone here spoke of the volunteer workers getting free petrol. If there are any repetitions of Westfield they will get more than petrol, THEY WILL GET THE SUPPORT OF THE WHOLE ARMED FORCES OF THE STATE."

Thus the Prime Minister to the Federation of Labour Conference in a vigorous condemnation of the Westfield workers, whose action he attributed to a few trouble-makers.

Both Mr. Fraser and Mr. Webb condemned the Westfield workers for acting precipitately and referred to the repercussions on the war effort. They appealed for co-operation. (Full report appears in "The Standard" on April 9.)

Though this report mentions that a delegate asked the Prime Minister why there had been no prosecution of Hellabys, Mr. Fraser made no reference to this point.

There is substance in the Prime Minister's threat. A Wellington incident makes it clear that the forces of the State will be used against workers dissatisfied with the breaking down of their conditions.

A few days before Easter, police visited the Silverstream Convalescent Hospital job late in the afternoon and questioned a number of workers.

As a result, the following motion was passed by the building workers on the job.

"This mass meeting of Building Trade Workers on the Silverstream Convalescent Hospital Job desires to make a vigorous protest against the action of the Police in visiting the above job with a view to obtaining information as to the potential opposition by workers to working during the Easter period. This meeting considers the action to savour of Gestapo methods, and as such, must be condemned in the strongest terms."

"Westfield" is a reference to a strike of the Freezing Workers at the Westfield Works, Auckland.

Coventry GREAT MEETING HOUSE HOLYHEAD ROAD.

Minister - - - Rev. RICHARD LEE, M.A.

Our Religion stands for—
SOCIAL JUSTICE, WORLD PEACE,
WORLD TRUTH.

Services—11 and 6.

INDICTMENT BY SUICIDE

A Review of The C.O. Tribunals

By
THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

"An Oxford graduate, Charles W. Perring, of Kensington, was turned down at the tribunal and, after receiving several medical notices, was summoned to appear at Oxford Police Court on September 15. On the previous day, however, he told his sister that he did not intend to join up or go to prison and would find a way out. Later on the same day he threw himself from the roof of his parents' flat in Kensington and was killed. At the inquest on September 18 a verdict was brought in that Charles Perring took his life while the balance of his mind was disturbed."

A pitiable story and one of the many signs of the spiritual and moral degradation into which the country is drifting under the curse of war.

Charles Perring was brave enough to refuse to join that portion of the herd of conscripted sheep which knows that the war is wrong, but, in spite of that knowledge, allows itself to be driven off to kill, or be killed, at the bidding of the politicians. Yet, though he was brave enough to go so far, he lacked the determination — and who can greatly blame him? — to endure imprisonment under the disgraceful conditions which, one hears from many quarters, are now allowed to prevail. So he took the short way out.

"Charles Perring took his life while the balance of his mind was disturbed." And who was to blame for disturbing the balance of Charles Perring's mind and at whose door does responsibility for his death, and for the agony of his parents and sister, lie? It lies at the door of those miserable fools on, presumably, the Oxford Tribunal and on whatever the Appeal Tribunal may be to which Oxford sends its cases, who, lacking all capacity and not improbably all real desire, to judge questions of conscience fairly, pass sentence upon men wiser and better than themselves.

Some members of Tribunals, I know, endeavour to discharge their duties fairly, but there are very many who do not, as is amply proved by the known character and record of those to whom they have refused exemption and by reports of their manner and conduct. A share of responsibility for Charles Perring's death lies at the door of those war propagandists of the Press and the B.B.C. who, not caring as to whether what they write or say be true or false, for the sake of money, stuff the minds of all men, including members of Tribunals, with a hate-dope destructive of humanity, reason and justice.

A share of responsibility — and a heavy share — lies also with a Parliament and a government who, shedding crocodile tears over the sufferings of Poles whom they betrayed into war by a senseless alliance and promise of military help they were unable to implement, take no effective steps to prevent tyranny and injustice in their own country. Especially contemptible is the share of guilt of those Labour members of the Cabinet whose past utterances on the subject of war and conscription might have been expected to shame even the most hardened consciences into refusing the bait of power and office in a War government. These men, who have turned their backs on the light they once saw, took no effective steps to secure fair play for those who, at the bottom of their hearts, they must surely know are right; nor will they ever dissociate themselves from a government which neglects to provide justice for men and women whose opinions they once themselves professed.

What is the remedy for the abuse arising from the unfit personnel of Tribunals? In a country where propaganda and war hysteria have upset balance and moral sense of the people from top to bottom it is not easy at first to know where to look for justice. (For a

description of Britain in the autumn of 1942 I would commend to readers of "The Word" the study of Isaiah and Jeremiah, preferably in Moffat's translation of the Bible, if they wish to be moved at times to laughter and at time to tears by the closeness of the resemblance of the prophets' times to our own!) Seeing, however, that ordinary Tribunals are at present so heavily weighted by prejudice and feeling against the objector, it seems to me that the best way of securing justice and a fairer balance would be a rule that the majority of the members of Appeal Tribunals shall be composed of persons opposed to war but nevertheless known to be of such broad-minded integrity that they would not be too tender-hearted to recognise and turn down any obvious fraud.

WHEN THE WAR IS OVER

What will be the Position of the C.O.?

By RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P.

[This article is reprinted from the "C.B.C.O. Bulletin" for October. An account of Rhys Davies' career appeared in our columns for January. There is a record of his war opposition in SOCIALISM AND PARLIAMENT, Pt. II. Comrade Davies started life as a farm servant and spent ten years as a coal miner in the Rhondda Valley. He was Under-Secretary of the Home Department in 1924. —Ed.]

The late Mr. Morgan Jones, M.P., whom I knew intimately, was an absolute pacifist during the last War; and his remarkable career provides the best clue to the attitude of the public towards the Conscientious Objector when war is over and the usual reaction against blood-letting sets in. Every C.O. in the Great War of 1914-18 did not, of course, travel the same path; but it is astonishing the number who became M.P.s, officials and leaders of all kinds of organisations. "Martyrs" became "heroes", as of old, as it were.

Morgan Jones was a Certificated School Teacher in South Wales; he refused to have anything to do with conscription; he defied all authority and found himself in prison for two years. His Teacher's Certificate was cancelled, and he never again followed that profession. The only way of securing a livelihood after imprisonment was to become a colliery labourer, and he followed that occupation underground for the next two years. In due course he was elected as Labour Councillor on to his Local Authority, then a County Councillor, became ultimately an M.P., and later on still parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, the very authority which had cancelled his Teacher's Certificate. The wheel of Fate turned round completely in his case.

On the other hand, some C.O.s lost their health and went down to their graves as the result of ill-treatment and persecution; others became successful shopkeepers and business men, and not a few made good in the factory and workshop. I have met some who emigrated to Canada and the U.S.A.; I never heard one regretting the action he took in 1914-1918. Indeed, some have proved themselves such implacable opponents of conscription that they are in prison once again for their principles.

THIS TIME.

What is to happen to the much larger number of C.O.s when this War is over? That is, naturally, a very difficult question to answer. There is a law on the Statute Book providing for the return to employment of all those who have been conscripted. That cannot mean much, even to the conscript, especially to those who on return home find that their employers have changed hands or have closed down for good, or that their original form of employment has disappeared

for ever. What, then, is to become of C.O.s? Unless history declines to repeat itself, they may find a better niche in the industrial and commercial structure that if they had become conscripts. As a rule, it requires much more personal grit and character to be a C.O. than to become a soldier; that is recognised, even by the soldier himself. It is that grit and courage in affairs that determines a man's fate in society, whether he is a C.O. or a conscript, whether employment is good, or the out-works run into several millions.

THE FATEFUL DECISION.

It is seldom that we find a drunkard or a wastrel among C.O.s; they are for the most part men and women of excellent personal character, and they are generally honest and reliable in business. Beyond all that, they are much better mentally equipped than the average individual: they must have cultivated the habit of study and have disciplined themselves in many ways before they could arrive at the fateful conclusion to resist the awful power of the State.

That being so, there can be no doubt that the action they take, which is almost universally condemned during war, will stand them in good stead later on in life. It is well to remember in passing that most of the leaders of mankind are those who have suffered for their beliefs. Hitler, Mussolini and even Stalin were all in gaol for these very reasons; they were conscientious objectors to the laws of their respective countries for the time being; they became martyrs first, and then were hailed as heroes. In this connection history repeats itself without exception from age to age.

A DUTY CALLS.

It is common nowadays to say that when the soldiers return to civilian life they will make sure that the world shall be made better. We may be sure that there will be many more C.O.s in proportion to their numbers taking part in that effort, not merely to make "the world fit for heroes" and "safe for Democracy", but to induce mankind to believe that war settles nothing and that as an instrument of national policy it has proved its sheer futility a thousand times or more!

NORMAN LEVERITT

Last month we recorded the police court prosecution of our Spalding United Socialist Movement comrade, Norman Leveritt.

Comrade Leveritt appeared before the North Midland Tribunal at Lincoln, on November 3, 1941.

Leveritt was accompanied at the Tribunal by his uncle, J. R. James, of Hull, who is Socialist, but does not claim to be a Pacifist. Mr. James was, at one time, a Unitarian preacher. He served in the Great War. Mr. James told the Tribunal that he has discussed war with his nephew and could testify: "*My nephew's conviction is born of inner wrestling and is deep and sincere.*"

The official report of the evidence given at this Tribunal, contains the following summary of Leveritt's statements:—

"Not a member of any religious body. All wars are equally alike to him. . . . Boils down to a question of a peaceful solution. . . . common sense and humanitarian grounds. . . . humanity cannot be saved by wars and evil. . . . Sympathetic with I.L.P. . . . Has not done anything in the national effort. Every little thing helps the war and it is difficult to find anything that is not helping the war effort. Is assisting in carrying on the life of the country but is not participating in the war. R.A.M.C. integral part of the Army. . . . would not serve with a civilian ambulance . . . as it would be helping the war effort however minutely."

Leveritt was registered by this Tribunal for full-time A.R.P. duties. The realisation that this did not square with his complete war opposition explains his present imprisonment. Under the *National Service Acts* he is entitled to receive unconditional exemption.

THE PROSPECT OF A TEN YEARS' WAR

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, September 18.—Ed.]

Lord Hankey, who for nearly thirty-five years was Secretary to the British Cabinet, attended all its meetings; and has more direct political knowledge of international relations of Governments (and political leaders who form governments) than anybody else, writing for the "Sunday Times" of September 6th, quoted with approval the opinion of Sir Earl Page that **this war would be a ten years' struggle**. Speaking in Sydney, Sir Earl Page had said that:—

"he had no reason to alter his opinion that the Axis would win the first four years of the war and the Allies the last six, making a ten year's struggle."

Although I do not know enough of Sir Earl Page to have any idea of the value of his opinion about the probable length of the war, I do know enough of Lord Hankey (after having sat opposite him at Cabinet meetings for nine months) to be quite sure he would not quote Sir Earl Page's opinion approvingly if he did not attach great importance to it.

As to the war being a ten years' war, that I can well believe. Indeed, if it is to end in the promised military victory for the Allies (which means reconquest by military operations of all lost British possessions in the Far East and acceptance of defeat by the Nazi and Fascist governments of Germany, Italy and Japan) then I see no possibility of the war being **only** a ten years' war. Nor do I see any possibility of the tide of battle turning in favour of the Allies at the end of this, the fourth year of war.

Deeply committed as we seem to be by the determination of all Governments concerned, and their supporting peoples, that the war must be a fight to the finish, it has the outward appearance of unreality to speak of a better way than that which lies through blood and tears to a fighting finish in the dim and distant future.

Yet I believe on the contrary that it is more realistic to think and speak of a better way, than it is to think and speak of fighting this war to a military finish. Because **there must be a better way** than that which lies through an unimaginable number of years of blood and tears of countless millions of people.

How is that way to be found? On what does the possibility of its opening depend? It is not to be found by giving confidence and trust to Governments and party leaders who think and speak only of an illusory military victory, as if no other way to end the war were thinkable or possible.

The possibility of opening that better way than fighting the war to its military finish depends on the attitude of peoples concerning the war. And this can be changed. Indeed, **it is changing now**, not here at home as yet, I agree, but in Germany and in Italy, where peoples of aggressive Governments have already suffered bereavements in millions of homes and are facing a second winter with millions of their men-folk freezing in Russia's arctic cold regions, under constant attack from people frantically, and at the cost of any sacrifice, **defending their own homeland and their way of life**.

That Hitler knows and fears this change of attitude of the German people towards the war is **proved** by his decision to organise a special army for dealing with internal disorder.

In Italy it is notorious that masses of the

population are disillusioned, and that only the strangle-hold of German Nazi forces stationed in Italy prevents serious disturbances in some regions.

On July 20th the "Daily Herald" reported that Dr. Goebbels had opened an intensive propaganda to convince the German people that they will suffer "hell on earth" if the Allies win. Vansittart's infamous book, threatening the whole German people with after-war punishment, has been **translated by the Nazis into their own language, to use for their own war propaganda** to bolster up the determination of their own people. And it is only to be expected that Wolstencroft's "punish the German people" speech at the recent Trades Congress will be used to similar purposes.

The next step of approach must be taken **here at home**. There is no promise of it yet, but we do not yet know, from general and widely-shared personal experience, what war in its super-devilish modern form really is.

We have had nothing like what happened to Dusseldorf one day last week, for example. Dusseldorf, when I was there over thirty years ago, was a town similar to Bradford in many ways. Its population was only slightly larger, and it is probably as clean and attractive as ever. The running water through the centre of the town will still be clear, and the people, old and young, strolling through its handsome tree-lined thoroughfares, **will be the same kindly and friendly folk as they were then**.

How many of us reading that vauntingly display headline in last Saturday's "Daily Herald" (September 12th) realised that this Bradford of ours (for which we are now organising a Civic Society to make Bradford as beautiful as Dusseldorf was made a generation ago), may, with many other towns, have to suffer similar destruction if no better way is found than that leading to a fighting finish!

"100,000 FIRE BOMBS ON DUSSELDORF" screeched the "Herald", and other papers. "the flares dropped by the earlier planes and fires cause by incendiaries illuminated the vast industrial area, with its munition factories, railway network, oil refineries, steel-works and blast-furnaces, better than a moon."

It was not one of the largest-scale raids, explained the "Herald", but one made by a "force running into several hundreds."

"Their work of destruction was concentrated into under one hour."

Can we now appreciate the truths of common humanity, and the beauty of human fellowship, and not have to wait to learn through bitter experience the full horror of their opposites? Germany is learning that lesson now. It will be our turn next.

Let us not forget the widely-quoted words of the American broadcaster:—

"A fate apart from the fate of Nazism is contained in none of our propaganda—and so the German people fight and offer their lives to save their families—and incidentally the Nazis—from total destruction, and they work their hands to the bone to make the guns the Nazis need."

"And the war will go on for a needless number of years because the German people are afraid. . ."

—"The Last Train from Berlin"
by Howard K. Smith.

This is outspoken testimony in favour of finding a better way than the fight to a finish, and moreover the idea is gaining ground, though very slowly, here in Britain. I quote last week's Cavalcade (September 12th):—

"The duration of the war and its outcome depend on a clear definition of objectives, for without definition we really do not know where we are going, and **IT MAY TAKE YEARS GETTING TO THE PLACE WHERE THE POWER PRESSURE GROUPS WANT TO GO.**"

And "the place where the power pressure groups want to go" is no paradise for the people—even for a victorious people.

ALDRED'S "LIFE" OF DEBS, Post Free, 3d.;
12 copies, post free, 1s. 9d.; 24 copies, 3s. 6d.

ADELA CREACH.

On September 28, Miss A. V. G. Creagh, 22-year-old daughter of Rear-Admiral J. V. Creagh, D.S.O. (retired), of Mycenae-road, Blackheath, S.E., successfully appealed against the decision of a tribunal for conscientious objectors to remove her name from the register. She was granted conditional exemption.

Rear-Admiral J. V. Creagh, D.S.O., made a vigorous statement on behalf of his daughter.

He said in part:—

My daughter wishes to record her Christian faith. She sees that noble ideals cannot now be achieved by people whose actions are ignoble. It is for these convictions of her conscience that she takes her stand.

For the convictions of her conscience my daughter has sacrificed friends, the material pleasures and comforts which are counted of importance by many who have not her views, with a courage worthy of her clan, which has bred fighters for 16 centuries.

As stated in our September issue, Rear-Admiral Creagh commanded destroyers during the last war, and received the D.S.O. in 1918 for his services.

Miss Creagh's full statement, and also the very clear letter addressed to the Tribunal by the Admiral, will be published in a later issue.

JUDGE RICHARDSON.

Our comrade, John Morley, published the following letter in the "Newcastle Daily Journal", for September 30. last:—

JUDGE AND C.Os.

Sir,—The report of Judge Richardson's speech on Conscientious Objectors makes amazing reading. Here is a Judge who is appointed chairman of a tribunal whose duty it is to inquire impartially into a person's statement that he (or she) has a conscientious objection to taking part in war, and to assess as nearly as they can the degree of objection to war which the applicant may sincerely and conscientiously hold.

The whole of this speech exudes the most virulent prejudice against C.Os.

JOHN MORLEY.

"Rosslyn," Highfield Road,
Westerhope.

We endorse comrade Morley's statement. We have a complete record of Richardson's disgraceful performances on the Tribunal. He dishonours his office and his behaviour is an outrage on every principle of jurisprudence. He is without dignity and without balance. The man is suffering from hysteria and ought to be removed from office.

EUGENE DEBS.

F. W. Jowett writes:—

Bradford, September 20, 1942.

My Dear Aldred,—Thanks for copies of story of Debs pamphlet. It is an inspiring pamphlet exceedingly well planned and produced. I hope it will be well received and extensively circulated. You have done good service to the cause for which Debs spent his whole life's effort by preparing and publishing the pamphlet.

Best wishes.

Yours fraternally,

F. W. JOWETT.

Rhys J. Davies, M.P., writes:—

House of Commons, Sept. 26, 1942.

Dear Aldred,—I am delighted that you are publishing that Pamphlet about Debs. It may interest you to know that I was privileged to know his personally. We both spoke on the same platform at a very large meeting in Brooklyn, and I have before me at this moment a splendid photograph of him with his hand-writing as follows:—

"To Rhys Davies, staunch, fearless Leader of the British Workers in the great struggle and inspired evangel of the Coming Day. With the love and appreciation of his Comrade, Eugent V. Debs."

I am so glad that you are giving publicity too to the Labour Pacifist Fellowship.

Kind Wishes.

Yours faithfully,

R. J. DAVIES.



FLEET STREET, 1902-1907.

Fleet Street as the Editor knew it, in the days of the old horse bus. Here he worked for the National Press Agency and the "Daily Chronicle." Fleet Street then was supposed to be Bohemian, but the Editor revolted at its ignorance, sordidness, and corruption. He honoured spots where Richard Carlile had lived and worked.

The editor attained his fifty-sixth birthday on the fifth of the present month. Five days later he will celebrate his fortieth anniversary as a public speaker. For he was born on Guy Fawkes Day, 1886, and made his first appearance on the public platform on November 10, 1902, as a Christian Boy Preacher. Excerpts from his Boy Preacher sermons are to be found in the appendices to Part I. of "Dogmas Discarded." The story of his early thought evolution is told in the two parts of that work.

We live in days of danger and uncertainty. Because of this the reader is asked to excuse the editor his birthday indulgence of looking back and recalling some of the milestones. Such musing is a vanity rather than an egotism because it savours of weakness rather than of strength. It is human, all too human. But to recall what one has been, and what one has done or dared or experienced, is a method of examining one's consistency. One stands in judgement at the merciless bar of one's own conscience, which knows all that is to be known. Here there is no excuse. Thus one gathers strength for further battles against that which is false. The frailty of pausing to look back is a sign of growing age and inevitable decline. But if it recreates the power to struggle, it is a weakness calling for forgiveness. The life of an agitator or pioneer has few breaks. Much abuse is suffered and some compensation is merited.

As a Boy Preacher, I developed heresy in prayer. A few of these heresies were published at the time but have not been printed since. The idea has occurred to me, often, of reprinting these forty-year-old prayers, but I have dismissed the thought as foolish. The Channing celebrations revive the idea for the most outstanding prayer embodies his idea of no gallows in the universe. But it goes beyond Channing's thought.

In 1902, my mind was undergoing rapid changes, and my sermons did not agree so much in the logic of their theology as in the logic of their development.

That was forty years ago. I often wonder how many persons who attended the meetings, listened to the sermons, and joined in the prayers, have followed my later activity. How many are in fouch with me to-day? I know of one such comrade who writes me from Australia and another who is resident in the United States of America.

THE EDITOR LOOKS BACK



THE EDITOR IN JUNE 1906.
Last portrait taken of the Editor as a
Parliamentary Socialist Propagandist.

The Boy Preacher days ended but I sometimes think that I have followed faithfully the path indicated by my activity of those days. Many things have happened since I repudiated the idea of God and reached the conclusion that the faith once delivered to the saints was a message of uncompromising pacifism and social revolution. My courage may have faltered at times but my ideals have been clear. So have my ideas.

I pick up my cuttings at random, ignoring only the reports of my trials and imprisonments. They are too tiresome to recall at the moment.

I have written against three wars, spoken and written against two wars, completely resisted one war. I was fifteen when I opposed the Boer War. My interest was raised by the treatment meted out to Sir Redvers Buller, whom I regarded as a great and able soldier. But it developed into a fierce opposition against the war itself. This is not difficult to understand for my grandfather, with whom I lived, was an enthusiastic and uncompromising Christian Pacifist. He had a Radical love of justice and encouraged freedom of thought and expression.

In December, 1911, the "Daily Express" made a strenuous effort to secure my incarceration for blasphemy because of the part I played in the Streatham Free Speech fight. I delivered a purely logical attack on prosecution for blasphemy, and said some uncompromising things about the policeman as an authority on religion. The entire attack merits reprinting as also my dispute with the Vicar of Streatham at the time.

At one time I was the youngest Socialist speaker in Great Britain. I have reports of meetings I addressed at Ewell under the auspices of the local Social Democratic Federation in 1905. In these days I was active in Clerkenwell, Islington, Southwark, New Cross, Brixton, Clapham, Camberwell, Bethnal Green, and Mile End, in London. Outside London, I spoke in Strood, Gillingham, and Rochester, in Kent. When I decided to leave the parliamentary Socialists in 1906, I was asked to deliver a farewell lecture in Strood, and a local comrade, named Taylor, insisted on taking the photograph of me published in this issue. This was my first photograph as a Socialist and it marked the beginning of my anti-parliamentarian career. For that reason I consider it a picture of interest. Since it is not included in "Dogmas Discarded" I

venture to publish it as a feature of this musing. I like this picture because the photographer seems to have caught my spirit of challenge to the world.

In 1925 came the Hyde Park alleged Blasphemy and Seditious prosecution, in which the police authorities were defeated, after repeated court appearances by myself, and remands were made in order, as the magistrate said and the papers reported, "that the police might have expert legal assistance", actually Crown Counsel. This case involved repeated journeys from Glasgow, since I was living in Glasgow at that time and had given up my London domicile the previous year.

It is interesting to recall how this tremendous and unsought spate of publicity came about. I arrived in London from Glasgow on Saturday, February 14, 1925, on a visit of a few days' duration. I had no intention of speaking anywhere. During the previous year I had been involved in the Glasgow Green Free Speech prosecutions. I certainly expected no trouble in London. The following day, Sunday, I naturally went for an afternoon stroll in Hyde Park, to listen to speeches, and to resume acquaintance with the famous forum in which I had spent so many Sundays, year after year, discussing and lecturing. Hyde Park had been my University. I was persuaded to mount a Socialist platform. Within a few minutes, to my amazement, two over-zealous policemen, one in plain clothes, had moved through the meeting and arrested me from the platform. I actually agreed to go with them to save a riot, as the crowd naturally resented their conduct.

I appeared before Mr. Cancellor, who was one of the magistrates at Marlborough Street Court at that time, on Monday. I was remanded on my own recognisances of £20, the magistrate making the remarkable statement that the police would require legal aid to meet my defence. When I appeared in Court again on February 24, further charges of blasphemy were added, the items being served on me in Court. I was handed charges at the meetings I addressed in Hyde Park on the Sundays during the period the case was being continued. The case was continued on March 3 and concluded on March 10, when the magistrate declared that I was innocent of blasphemy, and had said no insulting things

"EVENING STANDARD" HEADLINES.

HYDE PARK SPEAKER IN COURT.

OBJECTS TO THE CHARGE AS
BEING "VAGUE."

REMAND ON BAIL.

MAGISTRATE SAYS POLICE
SHOULD HAVE LEGAL HELP.

The arrest of a speaker in Hyde Park yesterday was followed by his appearance before Mr. Cancellor at Marlborough-street to-day.

Guy Alfred Aldred (38), described as a British subject, whose address was given as

Photographic reproduction, same size, London "Evening Standard" headlines and opening sentences report Hyde Park prosecution, Monday, February 16, 1925. Similiar headings as to police needing legal help appeared in other papers on the Tuesday.

about the deity, but had been somewhat insulting about the Union Jack. Actually, the case had fizzled out, after giving me an opportunity of avowing my Atheism and my Socialism, on affirmation, on the witness stand, and in my speech from the dock.

The press throughout the Country made a bigger sensation of this case than of my more serious prosecutions. The "Daily Sketch", in its northern edition, which circulated in Scotland published an excellent picture of me speaking in Hyde Park. This I reproduce from its columns for Wednesday, February 25, 1925.

This sketch did not appear in the London edition.

The London edition of the "Daily Sketch", in its issue for Monday, February 23, 1925, published the following account of my Hyde Park address:—

"MERRY LIFE OF REBELS."

Guy Aldred Speaks in Hyde Park a Week After his Arrest.

"We rebels live a merry life, but I am not sure that it is always a short one", declared Guy Aldred, who was arrested a week ago in Hyde Park, to a similar meeting held at the same spot yesterday.

When he had finished his speech and received three cheers he was handed a document by a police inspector. It was a statement of the offences with which he will be charged when he appears at Marlborough-street to-morrow.

At one stage of his address there was some interruption. Aldred called upon the police to remove the offenders, and, because they made no move to do so, announced that he would report their failure to give him protection to the proper quarter.

When I appeared on the Tuesday in the dock at Marlborough-street further charges were served on me.

Readers will be interested in the caricature of Henry Lanny Cancellor, the magistrate, as pictured by a capitalist journalist—and published in the press at the time—presiding at the first day's hearing of the case.

Born in 1862, Mr. Cancellor was educated at Oxford, and was called to the Bar, Inner Temple, in 1888, two years after I was born. He served as Metropolitan Police Magistrate at West London Police Court, 1914-21. Thames 1921 and Marlborough-street, 1921-29. He died—almost immediately after his retirement from the Bench—on October 6, 1929. The following year was published his memoirs, "The Life of a London Beak." Cancellor had a sense of humour.

I conclude by looking back at the Fleet Street I once knew, the Fleet Street of Harmsworth and Arthur Spurgeon and Robert Donald, the Fleet Street of the old horse bus. It was said to have been a street of Bohemianism. But I think that it was a network of courts and alleys in which sordid and shabby day-labourism lived, moved and had its being.

I knew Spurgeon and Donald well. I knew many of the old Fleet St. characters and much of its gossip and history. Fleet Street, to me, is a memory of evil enchantment, a byway of falsehood and corruption controlled by vermin. Here genius was destroyed and talent prostituted. But it had its pleasant places. In these odd nooks and crannies I paused to vision the passing of the capitalist press, the doom of commercial journalism, and the dawn of a new civilisation. I often thought of Richard Carlile and his heroic shopmen and shopwomen who had sanctified the site and I prayed, if that be the correct term for intense hopeful dedication and consecration of one's energies, that I might tread in his footsteps.

And so I pass another milestone.

I have looked back a little, I have mused and have gained some strength from my musing. I look forward to what—?

Could I decide the future it would be a free earth and a free humanity: an earth of joy, brotherhood, and service. One day that will be the decision, not of a small minority of pioneers, but of the great majority of mankind, the great common people in a mood of great common sense.



[Reproduced from a London evening paper, probably "Star," February 15, 1925.

A WORRIED MAGISTRATE.

Marlborough St. Magistrate decides that the police need legal aid.

I AM THE COMMON MAN.

I am the Common Man,
I am the brute and the slave,
I am the fool, the despised,
From the cradle to the grave.

I am the hewer of coal,
I am the tiller of soil,
I am the serf of the seas,
Born to bear and to toil.

I am the builder of halls,
I am the dweller of slums,
I am the filth and the scourge
When winter's depression comes.

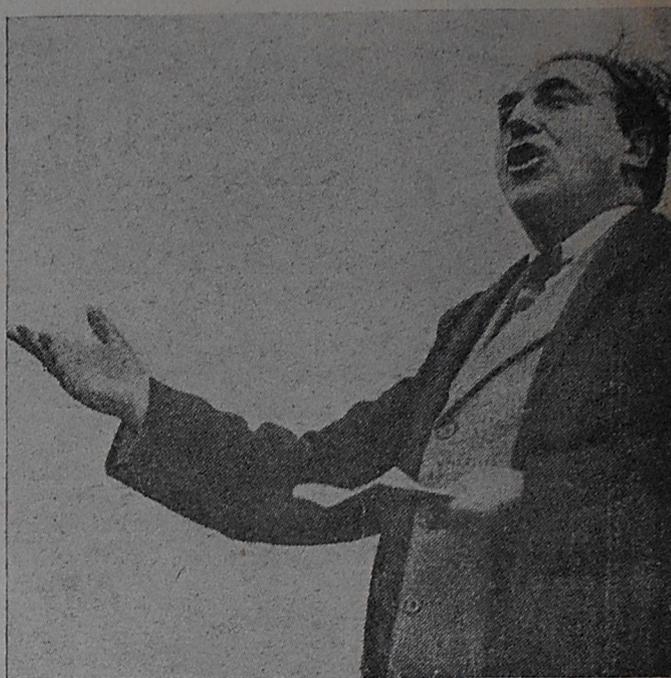
I am the fighter of wars,
I am the killer of men,
Not for a day or an age,
But again, and again, and again.

I am the Common Man,
But Master, oh! take you heed,
For you have put in my head
Many a wicked deed.

I am the slave and the brute,
And my hands are strong as steel,
Oh! Master, how will you fare
When down at my feet you kneel?

—JOE CORRIE.

BLASPHEMY CHARGE



When Guy Aldred (above) was again before the Marlborough-street magistrate yesterday a further charge was preferred against him—that of "using insulting and blasphemous words in Hyde Park." He was again remanded on bail.—(D.S.)

[Photographic reproduction, same size, of heading, portrait, and text from "Daily Sketch," Northern edition, for Wednesday, February 25, 1925.

"Dogmas Discarded" (Pts. I. & II.), fully illustrated, will be sent, post free, for 1s. 2d.

"Socialism and Parliament" (Pts. I. & II.). Aldred's 36 years' factual study of parliamentarism, will be sent, post free, for 1s. 4d.

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Tuesdays, 1.20 to 2 p.m.

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(Opposite Euston Station)

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- Nov. 3 The Experience of Penn and Pennel
Karlin Capper-Johnson
 - Nov. 10 Freedom from Fear
(1) In World Affairs
Gerald Bailey
 - Nov. 17 The Trial of William Penn
Mabel Harrod
 - Nov. 24 Freedom of Expression
Robert S. W. Pollard
 - Dec. 1 Political Freedom
Francis E. Pollard
 - Dec. 8 Freedom from Fear
(2) In Industrial Life
Joyce Wells
 - 1943.
 - Jan. 12 Freedom to Worship
Franz Hildebrandt
 - Jan. 19 Freedom for Conscience
(to be announced later)
 - Jan. 26 Freedom or Empire
Charles Coulett
 - Feb. 1 Can we be Free?
Francis E. Pollard
- (Arranged by the Friends Peace Committee)

The editor of "The Word" urges all readers to secure and study

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with a

Foreword by Fenner Brockway

The repeated prosecution of C.O's considered, in this war and the last.

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Obtainable from "The Strickland Press."

JEHOVAH WITNESSES

ARE THEY BEING
PERSECUTED

A. D. SCHROEDER
Deported Leader of
the Witnesses.



Last month we commented on the recent deportation to the United States of Albert Danger Schroeder, organiser of the Jehovah Witness sect in Great Britain. That the deportation was an offence against conscience is established by the fact that the Ministry of Labour told Schroeder that he must work on a farm or leave the country. He refused, voluntarily, to accept either alternative. Accordingly he was deported.

Prior to his deportation, Schroeder stated, to the press, that Jehovah's Witnesses are not a pacifist group, that they have no connection with the Peace Pledge Union, and leave the question of National Service entirely to the individual conscience of their members.

In Glasgow, the case against the deportation of Mr. Schroeder has been stated clearly, and vigorously, in the press, and on the platform, by Mr. Alexander Ratcliffe, the editor of "The Vanguard", and leader of the British Protestant League. Since the outbreak of the war, Alexander Ratcliffe has felt that no Christian can support war, and he has conducted an untiring and fearless anti-militarist campaign. This activity is to be honoured because it has cost him the support of many of his Protestant supporters. It is not necessary to agree with Mr. Ratcliffe's theology to appreciate his defence of liberty of speech and writing; and his championship of the rights of conscience.

Mr. Ratcliffe considers Schroeder to be the victim of a Roman Catholic conspiracy. We believe that he is merely the victim of political arrogance and stupidity such as only bureaucracy can exhibit in war time under pretence of military necessity and equal patriotism. We believe that Schroeder ought to have been treated with exactly the same courtesy as would have been shown to a Roman Catholic priest.

Mr. Ratcliffe states the facts clearly:—

Mr. Schroeder was educated in the University of Michigan, U.S.A. In 1932 he was ordained a minister of the Gospel as preached by the body known as "Jehovah's Witnesses." That body is recognised in the U.S.A. as a "Religious Organisation," and its ministers in the U.S.A. are recognised as "Clergymen." A preacher of "Jehovah's Witnesses" in America has the same religious standing as a Presbyterian Pastor or a Popish Priest. And when Mr. Schroeder came to Britain in 1937, he came as an American Minister of the Gospel. He came to this country with an American clergyman's rights and status, and he was not interfered with by the Government till the 14th of May this year, when he was ordered to go back to the U.S.A.

Let the reader note the position. From 1937 till 1942 no interference was made with Mr. Schroeder. The war had run for two years and six months before the authorities "got after him." When commanded to leave the country no reason was given. It was not suggested that he was a menace to the war effort, or that he was an undesirable foreigner. He was first a friendly alien, and then he was our American Ally.

Mr. Schroeder refused to leave the country, for he wanted to know why he should do so. Nothing more was said of the matter till June 17, when he was told that he must undertake work of national importance. He appealed against this, but failed. He was then told that he must take up agricultural work. He refused to do so, stating that his work was to preach the Gospel as he knew it; that he was ordained for that purpose, and for that purpose he came to this country.

And now a Deportation Order is issued against him, and although he appeals to Mr. Morrison, the Home Secretary, to be heard on the matter, his appeal is refused. Ultimately, without any given reason, he is arrested and shipped back to America in August.

Now, if a Roman Catholic priest had been treated thus, what would have happened? . . . Would not the Pope have been appealed to and successfully got the British Home Secretary to withdraw his Deportation Order and to apologise? . . . But Mr. Schroeder is not a Roman Catholic priest.

In our pamphlet, "Armageddon Incorporated", we have criticised the Jehovah's Witnesses. At the same time, we have drawn attention to their treatment by Tribunals. We propose to add to this statement of fact in the present essay.

Jehovah's witnesses as an organised body of Christians have been worshipping in Great Britain since the year 1880. To-day there are 575 congregations in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland with approximately 15,000 active associates. Of this number 1,500 are full-time appointed ministers and full-time field missionaries.

Jehovah's witnesses are NOT pacifists. They claim to be neutral as to wars and organisations of this world. They do not hinder the war effort of the nations. Jehovah's witnesses in Germany follow the same course of neutrality. Hundreds of German Witnesses have paid with their blood and thousands still lie in Hitler's concentration camps. (See H.M. Government's White Paper Cmd 6120 by Sir Neville Henderson). Since 1933 Jehovah's witnesses in Germany have bitterly opposed the Nazi regime where their numbers are greater than in Britain.

The United State Government recognises as regular ministers Jehovah's witnesses who are serving full-time, granting them exemption from war duties similar to the clergy, nuns and religious workers of the churches. In Britain the Minister of Labour has chosen to make an exception of Jehovah's witnesses by refusing to recognise them as "regular ministers of any religious denomination." [See Section 11 (e) National Service (Armed Forces' Act, 1939.) The issue of Jehovah's witnesses in Britain centres chiefly around the full-time servants who are singled out by the Ministry of Labour for prosecution and their "cat and mouse" treatment.

For the ten months' period ending July 18, 1942, 440 Jehovah's witnesses in Britain were imprisoned serving sentences ranging from one month to two years. 377 of these were men and 63 are women full-time missionaries.

Severe treatment has been meted out to William Nisbet, of Edinburgh, Arthur Russel, of Middlesbrough, Gilbert Lane, of London, Gerald Henderson, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Thomas Goulden, of Liverpool. They were kept naked for hours, severely beaten, knocked unconscious and suffered assaults even, in the case of Arthur Russel being manacled to a table leg.

On July 16, 1942, at Marylebone Court three officers of the London headquarters of the Society of Jehovah's witnesses were sentenced to two months under section 58A of the Defence Regulations, 1939. These officers were Alfred Pryce Hughes (47), Frank Gordon Platt (44), and Ewart Charles Chitty (44).

Hughes served a two-years' sentence in the last war and Platt three years' imprisonment (1916-1919) for their stand against war. Platt as a prisoner in the last war was forced to the front line in France and No. 1 Field Punishment was administered to him where he was strapped to a gun for eight hours at a time. Thereafter for seven months in France he was given solitary confinement. Now he is being called upon to suffer again for his principles.

On May 6th, 1942, the Home Office intimated a deportation order to the resident American Director of the Society, Mr. A. D. Schroeder. Mr. Schroeder has been an ordained



ALEXANDER RATCLIFFE

Editor of the Glasgow "Vanguard," vigorous Protestant and Anti-War propagandist, has championed boldly the rights of the Jehovah Witnesses. The picture shows Mr. Ratcliffe speaking at Tower Hill, London.

minister for more than ten years. His forefathers for two generations have been American citizens.

Officials of the Ministry of Labour have admitted their purpose to close down the London Headquarters of Jehovah's witnesses using the instrument of 58A to clear out all its regular ministers. Eight further regular ministers received directions under 58A on July 17th notwithstanding that an appeal was pending in the High Court of England with reference to these regular ministers. Their names are J. B. Robb, James E. Barr, John E. Barr, H. G. King, S. E. Teasdale, A. S. Coville, F. A. Willett, and W. V. Emery.

Five Jehovah's witnesses are serving their second terms of imprisonment for resisting war. Their names are P. A. Relf, James Armstrong, G. A. Robertson, N. Gaydon, and R. W. Hindmoor.

Eleven refugee aliens have been interned by the Home Office because they are Jehovah's witnesses.

Miss Klara Bosshard, a Swiss National, was repatriated in June, 1942, the only reason given being that she was a Jehovah's witness. The British Government paid her air passage to Lisbon and thence to Switzerland.

Many of the lower Courts are prejudicial in their dealing with Jehovah's witnesses. In the case of Louisa Hercock (22) at Tottenham, March 6, 1942, Magistrates Bennett and Smith said:

"People are virtually using this organisation as a cloak for fifth column work and it is a national menace."

—"Evening Standard," 7/3/42.

"Sometimes one must do the work of the country before the work of God."

—"Hornsey Journal," 13/3/42.

In the case of E. Beavor at the Middlesex Quarter Sessions, April 9, 1942, Mr. J. H. Thorpe, K.C., in passing a sentence of two years' hard labour on a Jehovah's witness minister said:

"Parliament provided for a person in your position to be sentenced to a sentence not exceeding two years. Yours seems to be such a case. We do not know of a worse one, at a time when the country needs every able-bodied man to protect it."

—"Court Shorthand Record."

Prosecutors for the Ministry of Labour abuse their privilege in Court by heaping much slander for public consumption through the press. Mr. Trevor James, in the case of Louisa Hercock (see above):

"I am led to the conclusion that many young people are being sheltered by this organisation, which

is not recognised by the Ministry. I am inclined to the view that these young people are its dupes."

—*"Evening Standard"*, 7/3/42.

In the case of J. W. Felix before the Middleton Police Court June 8, 1942, Mr. Haywood, prosecutor for the Ministry of Labour said:

"This man calls himself a Jehovah's witness and is a member of a sect which can only be described as a small band of canting, hypocritical humbugs who have commercialized religion in the most sordid manner, and obtain an easy livelihood by playing on the gullibility of decent religious-minded people."

—*"Evening Standard"*, 8/6/42.

In the case of Mrs. Fairweather, April 20, 1942, Mr. W. F. Watts, prosecuting at Ilfracombe said:

"I am very much tempted to suggest whether there may not be something sinister behind this movement. This woman and those who associate with her are willing to avail themselves of all the advantages of this still free country without doing a single thing in the national effort."

—*"Western Morning News"*, 21/4/42.

Conscientious Objector's tribunals are biased in their consideration of Jehovah's witnesses who appear before them. Judge Thomas Richardson, Chairman of the Newcastle-on-Tyne tribunal said in the case of T. L. Hillary on December 6, 1939:

"You are a lot of cranks." (His decisions still bear out this prejudice.)

The late Judge Frankland, of Leeds, amongst his many tirades against Jehovah's witnesses made these remarks in his tribunal:

"You have fallen for this very obvious money-making concern, Jehovah's witnesses. You, a schoolmaster. I want you and your friend to leave the room. I don't want other people to be contaminated by your presence."

—*"News Chronicle"*, 10/8/40.

"I want to say publicly that there is a grave doubt in my mind about the bona fides of this organisation and the people it employs."

—*"Empire News"*, 11/8/40.

"I have been trying for a fortnight to draw your headquarters and to get them to send a balance sheet or a solicitor. They prefer to shelter; they prefer to lurk behind the privacy of Craven Terrace, London. It is another dodge for making money, most of which goes to America."

—*"Daily Dispatch"*, 16/8/40.

"America has the biggest gold reserve in the world. I should think quite a lot of that belongs to Jehovah's witnesses and to poor English dupes they have got hold of like you."

—*"Manchester Guardian"*, 10/8/40.

Judge Finnemore, at Birmingham, May 5, 1942, said:

"Apparently your only objection to military service is that it would mean interfering with your work as a member of Jehovah's witnesses and in my opinion this does not constitute a real conscientious objection."

—*"Staffordshire Advertiser"*, 9/5/42.

Judge Wethered (Bristol Tribunal) described Jehovah's witnesses as:

"A mischievous society, persuading people that they should refuse to take part in the defence of their country."

—*"Western Morning News"*, 21/4/42.

Judge Wethered, at one time, showed marked consideration to every conscientious marked consideration to every conscientious objector who came before his Tribunal. He endeavoured to understand even when he turned down the applicant. His remarks about the Jehovah Witnesses betray war-bias.

We have no sympathy with the theology of the Jehovah Witnesses. We dislike their propaganda. We find them most annoying persons in themselves. But we would refuse to judge their cases if our bias, or genuine antagonism of feeling, rendered us incapable of delivering honest judgment as to the integrity of their war resistance. We do not like burglars but we have met burglars who were most genuine war-resisters. Charlatans or not, it is a fact that the Witnesses are genuine war resisters and that war resistance follows from their concept of Jehovah. They have resisted to the concentration camp and to the death in Germany. This fact ought to be recognised.

If Tribunals cannot put aside questions of theology and personal likes or dislikes, they are abusing their function and their personnel ought to be changed.

ANGLICAN PACIFISM MILITANT

Our fearless comrade, the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier, B.A., Vicar of Holy Cross in St. Pancras with St. Jude, continues his splendid stand for pacifism and socialism. Comrade Le Messurier aims to show that pacifism and socialism are plain, straightforward and orthodox deductions from Christian bases.

This weekly leaflet for October 11 urges his parishioners to, among other objects:

- Pray for: An early ending to the war;
- The return of the nations to God;
- A just and lasting peace;
- Those in prison for conscience sake;
- The war's victims, living or dead.

In one place his weekly leaflet asks:—

Is this a joke, or not?

First schoolboy: What have you got for homework?

Second schoolboy: Bayonet fighting and Scripture.

Comrade Le Messurier concludes his leaflet with an exposition of New Testament Scripture, from which we excerpt:

He who said, do not commit adultery, also said, do not kill. Now if you do not commit adultery but if you kill, you have transgressed the law.

The full passage is a magnificent identification of Christianity with the law of freedom and a strong denunciation of propaganda by defaming.

The letter to his parishioners deserves to be reproduced in full:—

Lest I should merit an accusation of being one-sided, I thought that this week most of this letter should be the actual words of one who is no pacifist. His prominence in the world to-day should give his words some weight. Writing of the first world-war, he shows clearly how the best things in the life of the nation and the individual were all taken over by the war spirit, and what happened as a result. These are his words:

"It was not until the dawn of the twentieth century of the Christian era that war really began to enter into its kingdom as the potential destroyer of the human race. The organization of mankind into great States and Empires and the rise of nations to full collective consciousness enabled enterprises of slaughter to be planned and executed upon a scale, with a perseverance never before imagined. All the noblest virtues of individuals were gathered together to strengthen the destructive capacity of the mass. Good finances, the resources of world-wide credit and trade, the accumulation of large capital reserves, made it possible to divert for considerable periods the energies of whole peoples to the task of Devastation. Democratic institutions gave expression to the will-power of millions. Education not only brought the course of the conflict within the comprehension of everyone, but rendered each person serviceable in a high degree for the purpose in hand. The Press offered a means of unification, and of mutual encouragement; Religion, having discreetly avoided conflict on the fundamental issues (Note this—R. H. Le M.) offered its encouragements and consolations, through all its forms, impartially to all combatants. Lastly Science unfolded her treasures and her secrets to the desperate demands of men and placed in their hands agencies and apparatus almost decisive in their character."

This is a terrible picture, my people, of how the Devil uses everything decent for his foul ends. But let us follow the sketch a bit further. Our writer continues:

"In consequence many novel features presented themselves. Instead of merely starving fortified towns, whole nations were methodically subjected, or sought to be subjected, to the process of reduction by famine. The entire population in one capacity or another took part in the War; all were equally the object of attack. The Air opened paths along which death and terror could be carried far behind the lines of the actual armies, to women, children, the aged, the sick, who in earlier struggles would perforce have been left untouched. Marvellous organizations of railroads, steamships and motor vehicles placed and maintained tens of millions of men continuously in action. Healing and surgery in their exquisite developments returned them again and again to the shambles. Nothing was wasted that could contribute to the process of waste. The last dying kick was brought into military utility."

And the result. What does he say about this? Listen.

"The former peace-time structure of society had for more than four years been superseded and life had been raised to a strange intensity by the war spell. . . . But now the spell was broken. . . . The boundless hopes that had cheered the soldiers and

the peoples in their tribulations died swiftly away. . . . How could it have been otherwise? By what process could the slaughter of ten million men and the destruction of one-third of the entire savings of the greatest nations of the world have ushered in a Golden Age? A cruel disillusionment was at hand for all."

Now for the writer's name. Believe it or not, it is the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, in his "Great War", pp. 1603, 1278f.

There, my people, is truth, put by a non-pacifist. Now perhaps we see why we cannot be told what we are supposed to be fighting for, except in general terms which help to cheer us in our tribulations. By what process can the present slaughter bring in a Golden Age? How well does religion deserve the sneer which Mr. Churchill gives it in the words in bold type!

Pacifists are sometimes accused of irrational thinking. But what can be said of a person who believes a thing to be no use, and yet persists in doing it? The war-method stands condemned by one of its great exponents, two thousand years after its condemnation by its greatest opponent, our Lord JESUS Christ. By their fruits ye shall know them. God give us grace to follow the peace-way, the love-way here and now.

Your servant for Christ's sake,

R. H. LE MESSURIER.

WE HAVE RECEIVED.

America's Peace Aims. 9d. Pot. 2d.—National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.

Allied Peace Aims. 6d. Post. 1d.—National Peace Council.

Christianity and the State by Glyn Lloyd Phelps, B.D. 4d. Post. 1d.—Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

Cat and Mouse: The Repeated Prosecution of C.O.'s. 6d. Post. 1d.—C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

The Moral Challenge of M. K. Gandhi. 4d. Post. 1d.—Friends Peace Committee, Friends' House, London, N.W.1.

Retribution Or . . . ? by William E. Wilson, B.D. 4d. Post. 1d.—Friends Peace Committee.

Education in Scotland by Eileen M. Holmes. 6d. Post. 1d.—Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street, London, S.W.1.

BIOGRAPHIES by GUY A. ALDRED.

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Duke of Bedford's Article concluded from p. 48

discontinue night air-raids on civilian centres of population could still be arrived at. It is a question of bringing sufficient pressure to bear upon our politicians, the figure of whose air-raid casualties, as far as I am aware, still stands at 0.

The answer to the footling objection that even if the Germans promised to do so, they would not observe such an undertaking as I have mentioned, is so obvious that I shall not waste paper by giving it.

THE BREAK-UP OF AN EMPIRE

A Review of the War Situation

By C. H. NORMAN

Since the appearance of the article "On the Rocks" in the "Word" for September, 1941, many remarkable and disturbing events have taken place in the international conflict. As foreshadowed in that article, the United States and Japan have entered the war as active participants, with disastrous results to the British Empire and its associates, especially Holland, which has lost control over the whole of her Pacific possessions.

There are one or two preliminary comments which must be made before indulging in a more realistic analysis of the situation than the British people are permitted usually to consider owing to the activities of the propaganda and censor departments, which combine ingeniously and successfully their efforts to confuse the mind and cloud the intelligence.

It is notable as an achievement of "democracy" in that country which has imagined itself controlled by the will of the people that President Roosevelt is the second President of the United States who, having been elected on a specific pledge to keep the United States out of war, has, shortly after election, plunged his people into a calamitous and avoidable conflict. There is not a scrap of difference between the conduct of President Wilson and President Roosevelt in that respect. It may be said in reply that the action of the United States was dictated by the fact that Japan adopted at Pearl Harbour the tactics resorted to by Great Britain against the Danish Fleet lying at Copenhagen during the Napoleonic War, on which subject the memoirs of Lord Malmesbury are most instructive. But the answer can well be made that the acts of the Japanese were provoked by the freezing of Japanese assets everywhere that Britain and the United States could lay hands on them in July, 1942, the "freezing of assets" being a polite euphemism for annexing other people's property over which there was not the slightest right to exercise control. According to the "Evening Standard" of May 22, 1942, the Allied Statesmen were not agreed on this dangerous and provocative policy: "When Britain and America imposed economic sanctions on Japan last July this was done against the wishes of Mr. Menzies' Government in Australia," which country was likely to be involved seriously in a Pacific war. It would be interesting to know how far the Dutch Refugee Government agreed in the policy of economic sanctions. Anyhow, the weaker party was overborne by Britain and the United States with the consequences which are before everyone to see in the geographical and military position of Japan now compared with then.

The Japanese statesmen, no doubt, resented, quite properly, the homilies on the virtues of quite properly the homilies on the virtues of "democracy" and the wickedness of "aggression" of which they and the Japanese Emperor had been recipients at the hands of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Winston Churchill. Of all people, the Japanese could measure the value of Mr. Roosevelt's horror at aggression, as the Phillipine Islands were obtained by the United States as a result of the most aggressive war, except the Boer War, in the last century. It is instructive as evidence of this man's state of mind, to read the full text of President Roosevelt's message to Congress on December 15, 1941, on the entry of Japan into the war, setting forth a summary of the American policy in the Pacific. The reference to Japan is put thus: "In 1853, Commodore Perry knocked on Japan's door," and there is a discussion on trade relations. There is no mention of the fact that a decade later the Japanese port of Shimonoseki was bombarded without cause by the combined fleets of the

United States, Great Britain, France and Holland, just to learn the Japanese to adopt Occidental trade methods! But the sentence which can hardly ever have been exceeded even by the Germans or the Soviet for humbug is the sentence in which the President describes the seizure of the Phillipine Islands as a result of the American-Spanish War in 1898: "At the end of the 19th Century, the sovereignty of the Phillipine Islands passed from Spain to the United States." That is all that is said by the President, who was presumably relying upon the fact that the organised ignorance produced by the American educational system made it certain that the ordinary American citizen had never heard of the Spanish-American War, any more than he had ever heard of the seizure of the Panama Province of the Republic of Colombia in 1904 as an example of non-aggression, or of the seizure of the Danish West Indian Islands in 1916 by President Wilson as a further instance of the policy of non-aggressive acquisition! Perhaps, however, the Japanese statesmen were not so ignorant of those historical events as the United States population and took the correct measure of the pose of the United States President as a champion of non-aggression. It may be, too, that the Japanese statesmen were equally unimpressed, from their knowledge of the history of the relations between Burma and Britain, at the affecting spectacle of Mr. Winston Churchill's indignation about unprovoked aggression. The following quotation is taken from the "New Stateman" of 6th June, 1942. "What possible excuse could there be for the re-conquest of Burma by the British Empire? If one reads the story of Britain's wars in Burma, they are about the most aggressive and least justified in the nineteenth century; Hitler has only a little enlarged and improved on the technique. I was amused to learn that, in 1825, the British neatly anticipated Hitler's technique by a proclamation which began by saying that the King of Burma "by his unprovoked aggression and extravagant pretensions had forced the British Government to invade his dominions." There were three major wars necessary before Burma was subjugated by the British. Since the end of the European War, 1914-1918, there have been two major revolts in Burma put down with considerable ferocity. What finally turned the Burmese against the British was the treacherous seizure of U. Saw, the Burmese Premier, on his way home from Burma in 1941 after a mission to England. What has happened to that unfortunate man no one has been permitted to know—in England anyhow. It ill befits Mr. Winston Churchill to lecture other people upon their moral delinquencies in the circumstances.

The events in the Malayan Peninsula, the Dutch Archipelago, Hong Kong and Singapore were no surprise to anyone who had any realistic knowledge of the situation there. The wars between the Dutch and the Achinese made it exceedingly unlikely that the inhabitants would keenly support the Dutch against a Japanese invasion. There was really something comic about the Chinese trying to relieve Hong Kong, recollecting the attitude of the Hong Kong Government towards the Chinese population of that city. The same remarks apply in connection with the major Malay States. The case of Singapore is rather different. What has happened at Singapore has entirely justified the attitude of those who, in the days of the Liberal Government of 1906-1914, opposed the expenditure of money on the Singapore naval dock. The argument was this, as advanced by the present writer, among others. At that time the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Alliance was in full force. The proposal to build the dock was known to be a naval, capitalist-imperialist ramp. Its opponents pointed out that the dock could only be of value against Japan. To build such a dock against a country that Britain was in alliance with seemed extraordinary. It was

further argued that the naval dock would be of no value for its purpose against Japan for the following reasons. It could not be defended against land attack except by the expenditure of enormous capital sums in fortifications and the maintenance of a huge garrison, which the House of Commons would certainly not sanction in times of peace. If it were not possible to defend the dock from Japanese attack, then the purpose of the dock was futile, as the only result would be that, in a war between Japan and Britain (the only circumstance in which the dock could be of value) the British could not hold Singapore owing to the enormous length of communications, and so to build the dock would simply be handing over a valuable prize to Japan. That argument has been entirely borne out by the events which have occurred since December 1941. It is also important to remember that the breaking off of the policy of friendliness towards Japan was taken at the instance of the United States, which took the view that such an alliance lowered white prestige throughout the world. The folly of acting on such a view is plain to everyone. Those who gave the matter even a moment's thought recognised the profound wisdom behind the original policy which produced the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and the change-over which took place after 1919 has been the result of the maleficent skill shown by Vansittart and his colleagues in turning the allies of England into her enemies. In the war of 1914-1918, the following states, now enemies, were then Britain's allies: Italy, Japan, Roumania. France, a loyal ally through 1914-1918, is being treated in 1941-1942 as Russia was treated in 1918-1919 after the Russians retired from the war: her territories being blockaded and invaded on the flimsiest pretexts. This, notwithstanding that the successful evacuation at Dunkirk was only effected by the skilful covering of the French Army of the North!

Nothing perhaps is more interesting in the turns and twists of this Imperialist-Capitalist war than the unity of purpose which has developed between the Communist leader, Mr. Stalin, and the leaders of ruthless exploiting Anglo-American Capitalism, with the South American dictatorships and the Chinese military gamblers lagging slightly behind. One has only to re-read Mr. Stalin and Mr. Molotov's speeches about Anglo-French Imperialism between 1939 and 1941 to appreciate the hugeness of the joke, coupled with a study of what was said by the United States, Britain and France about the Soviet during the Russo-Finnish war, which is fully documented in Mr. and Mrs. Coates book entitled "The Soviet-Finnish Campaign, 1939-1940." Never were so many lied to by so few should be the slogan of the war of 1939—!

After the invasion of Russia by Germany, which seems to have been caused by the curious activities of "non-Imperialist" Russia in Poland, Finland and the Baltic States, Mr. Stalin has rather excelled his new-found friends in telling the tale to his unfortunate subjects, who find that the results of Russian Communism are no different from the results of Russian Imperialism. During the winter campaign, the Russian communiques announced nothing but successful advances and the annihilation of millions of Germans. It was certainly a surprise to find at the end of the Russian winter that the Germans were still in occupation of vast Russian areas, still holding every large town taken in the summer advance of 1941 with the exception of Rostov-on-Don. Certainly an Englishman would be astonished if the leaders of England declared that the British forces were uniformly successful if that success were signified by the towns of Birmingham, Lincoln, Bristol, Cardiff and the interlinking territories still remaining in the hands of German invading forces. Yet that is what the propaganda of Mr. Stalin and his colleagues amounts to. It is perhaps a measure of the

real intellectual condition of a Russian peasantry and industrial workers after 20 years of so-called Communism that the Russian leaders think such nonsense is excusable.

(To be concluded)

COLONIAL AFFAIRS

Native Conditions again Exposed in a Further House of Commons Speech

By A. CREECH JONES, M.P.

(Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Labour).

[The following speech was made by our comrade Creech Jones, on the motion for the Second Reading of the Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill.—Ed.]

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 4th August, 1942.

Mr. Creech Jones (Shipley): The American Ambassador remarked the other day that a survey of American public opinion showed that there was a greater divergence of view on British Colonial policy than on any other subject dividing the two nations. If that misunderstanding exists in the United States there is also in our own country and in this House a great deal of misunderstanding in regard to our Colonial policy. I therefore make no apology for asking the House to give again to-day some little attention to our Colonial responsibilities. The broad outline of Government policy was given to the House by my right hon. Friend the Under-Secretary for the Colonies in the Debate a few weeks ago on the Colonial Estimates. My purpose to-day is to draw attention to a number of special problems which have occurred during the Session and which have given rise to some misgiving and doubt.

I wish I had found at the Colonial Office the open door to which the Under-Secretary referred in the last Debate. As far as I, personally, am concerned, I usually get a very sympathetic hearing at the front door, but there seem to be many inner doors. Everybody behaves with great charm and everyone treats me very nicely. I am not likely, however, to find myself on the floor through falling into space as suggested by the Under-Secretary but because of the existence of unforeseen inner doors which most effectively block any resolute action.

Let me say something first, about the war effort. My criticism has been directed on a number of occasions in the past to the fact that the Colonial peoples are not always able to contribute to the war effort according to their capacity or their wishes. The Under-Secretary recently told us of the contributions being mobilised by the Colonies for the war effort. He said that the Colonial Office were stimulating exports of the minerals and raw materials we needed and that we were creating export machinery for that purpose. The Colonial peoples were growing more food and developing their own resources more and more, which, he said, was good in war or in peace because these factors contributed to health, nutrition, soil conservation, and so on. Further, local industries were being stimulated; and imports were being limited by Government bulk purchase of goods. All of us would agree that most of these things are of permanent value in Colonial life, but I would add one or two reservations about this policy.

Industrialisation and the exploitation of minerals and other natural wealth in our Colonial Empire should be very carefully controlled and developed with an eye on future policy and the consequences when the war is over, because such exploitation of mineral and natural wealth has a profoundly disturbing effect on native life in all its aspects. It is also important that in planning Colonial economy to keep an eye on maintaining some sort of balance in Colonial economies. In any case, it seems to me that when the Government opens out new resources and grants new

concessions steps should be taken to see that definite conditions are laid down with respect to wages, conditions of employment, welfare conditions, profits, royalties, the application of I.L.O. Convention and, sometimes, the ultimate ownership of the resources concerned. It is also important in the second place, that in creating machinery for the control of exports and imports monopolists should not be strengthened. In some of our Colonies their insinuating influence is pretty strong. Already certain steps which have been taken by the Colonial Office have created some apprehension among merchants and others both here and in West Africa and other colonies. No steps should strengthen existing monopolies. Further, if we are promoting local industries, I ask that the Government should do it through local native enterprise on co-operative lines if possible, and that there should be the maximum of co-operation within the framework of an ordered plan. I hope that certain proposals which are being considered at the moment inside the Colonial Office in regard to West Africa will receive the endorsement of the Government.

In regard to raw materials and products, I hope the Colonial Office will give every encouragement to co-operative production, will encourage co-operative marketing and credit, and take steps to ensure much more rationalism in the handling of products before they reach consumers. Above all, there is very real need that producers should be given a guaranteed price. That applies to the small native producers as much as to the larger concerns. There should be some stability in regard to price, and the small peasant producer should be shown some way out of his chronic poverty which often means serfdom to him. The Government should take all the necessary steps to ensure a price which will give a reasonable standard of living to prime producers engaged in meeting the world's needs. Before I leave this side of my argument I need scarcely add, as being fundamental, that I hope that nowhere will the Colonial Office, or those responsible, permit native land to be further alienated or allow individual land ownership to be introduced.

I recognise that it will be one of the problems after the war, in applying the trade and economic freedoms of the Atlantic Charter, to reconcile the reasonable claims of the Colonies with the kind of economically regulated world which we hope to create. We shall want new Colonial industrial enterprises to get on their own feet, we shall want no unreasonable restrictions in respect of their goods and products and the markets therefor. The Colonies economically need a fair chance, yet they have to be integrated into a larger economic order.

In passing, may I also say that from time to time I receive complaints and read complaints that local Colonial Governments do not go fast enough or show enough drive in regard to the war effort. Sometimes the people are not actively associated with the effort. I suggest that this state of things ought to be remedied. It is not only true on the economic side, it is a criticism made by the Colonial peoples in respect of their defence — civil defence, military organisation and the rest of it, and repeatedly voiced in West Indian and West African newspapers. I do not refer to Palestine because I understand that later this week we shall be discussing the special problem of the Jews. There is one observation, however, which it is necessary to make in respect to this war effort. The Colonial territories, because they are apt to be regarded as Imperial possessions, as material possessions, are being exploited to the full. We are using or proceeding to use their limited mineral resources; we are using their manhood, and profoundly upsetting their native life. The Under-Secretary remarked in a recent broadcast on the generosity of the Colonial peoples, which I am sure we all gratefully acknowledge. But, after all, the Colonies, if I may use his words in the last Debate, are

not his "goodly heritage." They are the territories of the Colonial peoples, and these people have views and wishes. There is room in regard to all economic and social development for much more consultation with them and their permission obtained for what the Imperial power itself does. I want to stress that the corollary of this considerable contribution from the Colonial peoples to our present struggle for freedom and civilisation is our responsibility for bringing them more rapidly to political maturity and social and economic prosperity. They were excluded by the Prime Minister, from the proposals of the Atlantic Charter, though the recent speech by Mr. Sumner Welles for America does not seem to make that discrimination.

The other night my right hon. Friend reminded us that many soldiers from the Colonies were playing an active part in this war and he told us that they would in due course return to their homes. They will have travelled. They will have gathered a pretty wide experience, and some will have had the advantages of education. We have to remember that these soldiers will be a most stimulating element in Colonial life after the war. Because of those facts, I suggest that in the West Indies, as in West Africa, we should be a little more concerned about preventing the frustration experienced by these people to-day. We should seek to secure their fullest co-operation. As the recommendation of the West Indies Royal Commission put it, "the Governments should adopt a much more positive policy in bringing their point of view before the mass of the people and in explaining in much more simple terms the reasons which lie behind their decisions on major problems." That point has been raised also in regard to the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. Schemes are in active discussion in the respective Colonies, but too often the people vitally concerned are brought into consultation at all. It is one of the complaints of West Africans over here that there is far too little consultation and far too much patronising, too much of doing good to the people, instead of inviting them to use their brains and to co-operate in the changes which we think desirable.

I would further suggest that steps should be taken now to make some progress in political institutions. I have been a little apprehensive at recent developments in the Continent of Africa, particularly in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia. For the purposes of the war we have been obliged to set up new authorities, executive authorities, with powers in regard to economic mobilisation. At the same time, so far as the Legislative Council and the Executive Councils of both territories are concerned, there has been no recognition that the black people live in an overwhelming majority in these territories. I have said before that it is not that there are no educated black people. There are, and some of them are experienced. If you create new authorities—which may be of some importance in the future constitutional developments of those territories — it seems reasonable to ask that, in regard to existing constitutional machinery, there shall be more representation from the great masses of the black people in those areas.

Likewise, there is a strong tendency for the colour bar to increase its strength in Northern Rhodesia at the present time. I hope the Government are watching that situation with very great care and that some action can be taken in Northern Rhodesia at the earliest possible moment to check this very unhappy and very unfair development. It is also desirable that we should look again at the constitutional arrangements in West Africa, to see whether we cannot make indirect rule a little more flexible than it is, and whether we cannot immediately take some steps in regard to what the West Africans themselves have been demanding for a long period, some fundamental reform in municipal government. I see no reason for prolonged delay.

While I am dealing with certain difficulties in our Colonial policy I might mention the clamour for constitutional reform in Mauritius and in the West Indies. I received a vague promise from the Colonial Office a year or so before the war that constitutional reform in Mauritius would receive the serious consideration of the Department. The great mass of the workers in that Colony still clamour for political expression in the local legislative council, but nothing is done, although all other interests can be expressed and a place found for them. That situation has become intolerable. In regard to the West Indies, why this very slow progress? The Colonial Office sometimes shelter themselves behind the terms of the recommendations of the Royal Commission, but let me point out that since the issue of the report—which we have not been privileged to see, although I do not understand why it should not now be published—vast changes have occurred in the world. There has been the impact of war on those Colonies. These people have shown considerable desire to play a larger part, not only in the war, but in their own local affairs. The war has gone right into the Caribbean sea. America has, with our permission, established bases in a number of these Colonies. Therefore, the people feel that if defence is in the hands of America and if much of their economic future will be tied up with American organisation, it is important that they should, at least, have some effective control in regard to their local affairs.

Why, therefore, do we dilly-dally so long in respect of representative government and of moves towards more responsible government? The people themselves are clamouring for change. It is not good enough to say, "There is a Franchise Commission working in Trinidad and another in British Guiana." The Royal Commission said that more and not less participation by the people in the work of Government was a real necessity for lasting social advancement. I would urge that it is important to press on with constitution-making in the West Indies, even to permit the beginnings of responsible government, and, in the case of most of the Colonies, of real representative government. May I also draw attention to our continued failure to do very much in regard to the constitution of Bermuda, Barbados and the Bahamas? Labour difficulties are arising—the failure to adopt I.L.O. Convention is a case in point. There are intolerable labour conditions. Yet, we have no authority over the governments of those three Colonies, though it has long been obvious to everyone that the archaic constitutions should be drastically remodelled.

While dealing with political change may I make some reference to the position of civil liberty in certain parts of our Colonial areas? What is the answer, I ask the Under-Secretary of State, to the continued detention of Domingo in Jamaica? What has Domingo done? Is there any reason that he should be under lock and key merely at the pleasure of the Governor, while no evidence exists, certainly to the outside world, why his detention has been allowed to last so long? Let me refer also to Wallace Johnson. This man was taken possession of by the authorities before the war was actually declared. Some excuse was found; he went through a process of criminal prosecution. Almost before he left prison he was put under detention again, and then, because of the clamour, he was released, but not unconditionally. He is conditionally released, and the most wretched arrangements are made as to the conditions under which he shall live. Unreasonable conditions are imposed upon him in regard to his living. I do not understand why, because a man has allied himself with working-class societies, because he is a trade union leader, these onerous conditions should continue to operate in his case. Again, is there now any reason why the leaders of the Kikuyu Central Association and other kindred organisations should continue in deten-

tion? Why should so many of the natural leaders of the people of Kenya continue to be withdrawn from them?

Finally, on the question of civil liberty, I want to refer to the operation of the Defence Regulations in the West Indies. Have those Defence Regulations been brought into line with the Defence Regulations in this country? Certainly they were in Jamaica as a result of pressure. But for several years many people have been detained in the Colonies for no adequate reason, and all our efforts to obtain from the Colonial Office an explanation of why these people are detained have been completely unavailing. I have just received from Jamaica a telegram telling me that three or four persons whom I have been trying to get released for considerably over a year have been released at last. But what was the purpose of their detention? They were simply swept into detention and it was nobody's concern to see that justice was done.

(To be concluded.)

AIR RAID HORRORS: MUST THEY CONTINUE

By
THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

The recent speeches by Hitler and Goering contained two points of special interest.

The first was the confident assertion that Germany's economic problem has been solved and from now onward a rising standard of living may be expected in Germany and also in Europe.

This announcement may have caused surprise to those who anticipate that the war will end soon with Germany in a starving and disorganised condition. The statement calls for consideration and enquiry, as to the nature of Germany's financial system and business efficiency. Is its financial system sensible? As a result of conquests or alliances in Eastern Europe, given access to agricultural wealth and rich stores of minerals, is it reasonable to conclude that a steady rise in Germany's economic prosperity must result?

If Germany's gains in Russia are held, will the economic position of the Axis, on the whole, be stronger than that of the Allies? Are the Axis, indeed, now favourably situated for a long war?

The other matter of special interest in Hitler's and Goering's speeches was the grim threat that, as soon as Russian resistance should be broken, there would be devastating reprisals for our air attacks on the civilian population of Germany.

Those who are disposed to go into hysterics over what they regard as fresh evidence of the brutality of the Hun would do well to remember that, as far as the conflict between ourselves and Germany is concerned, it was we who started night air-raids and persisted in them in spite of Hitler's plain warning that there would be reprisals if we did not abandon this particularly loathsome and to some extent unnecessary feature of the present conflict. Not only did we start night air-raids on civilian centres, but we also restarted them last spring at a time when the baby-killing competition seemed to have died down and one began to hope might be allowed to remain in abeyance for the rest of the war.

Nocturnal air-raids are, as I said in my last speech in the House of Lords, the last refuge of a strategic bankrupt. They have been condemned as a waste of men, planes and petrol even by the experts on war strategy who have not been concerned with the humanitarian side of the question at all. They appear, however, to be approved of by the Prime Minister, one of whose favourite maxims seems to be, "If you cannot do anything sensible, always do something silly rather than do nothing at all." A disaster, if the B.B.C. and the Press are sufficiently mendacious and inventive, can

always be presented as a victory, or at any rate as an invaluable means of gaining information. Mere inaction, however, has no propaganda possibilities!

Sir Ernest Gowers, Senior London Regional Commissioner (who seems to have a house in Hampshire) is reported to have said that we face the prospects of air-raids which will make April 16, 1941, and May 10, 1941, "mere picnics." Jolly, isn't it, especially as there is such a lot to look forward to after the picnics are over!

Intelligent people of my acquaintance seem, indeed, to fear that it may be the Government's policy to send all troops out of the country; garrison Britain entirely with American troops whose homes are on the safe side of the Atlantic and who may be more reliable if restive civilians should need "firm" treatment; and turn these islands into an air base for a bombing contest with Germany, regardless of what our people may have to suffer.

If such a programme does not appeal to British citizens, they would do well to inform their M.P.s of the fact, **in adequate numbers and also in time.** Even the most satisfying punishment of war criminals will not bring the dead back to life and it will be discouraging for a British soldier to learn that his wife and family have perished miserably in an air-raid, what time he is engaged in "smashing Hitlerism" in far-off India by shooting tire-some natives who will imagine that they, as well as Poles and Czechs, have a right to freedom from alien tyranny!

A woman whose daughter died recently from a virulent form of tuberculosis which, owing to war conditions, is now rapidly on the increase among children and young people, received a letter of condolence. She replied that she was glad that her daughter was dead. Her son was in the Air Force and she would soon lose him (she did). She wished that her two remaining daughters were dead, also, as they would then escape what she felt lay in front of us.

A little boy who had had no undue amount of experience of air-raids and was then living in a quiet district, was being examined by a doctor for some minor ailment. Suddenly he went deadly pale and his pulse began to race. Afterwards the doctor asked the boy's mother what had happened for he felt confident that nothing had been done to alarm the child. "Oh," replied the mother, "There was an aeroplane over. Didn't you hear it?"

Another little boy who had been in a badly blitzed area, but who has now also been moved to a safer place, is abnormally quiet and spiritless. He has sensible parents who, when they were living in the town, took pains to speak of the nightly visit to the air-raid shelter as a nuisance and not as a cause for alarm. The boy had two playmates of his own age, the girl's name being Margaret. One night Margaret and her brother were blown to bits and the other boy's parents did their best to keep the news from their son. A few days later the family were returning home after a night in which a raid had occurred. There was an object lying on the doorstep; the boy picked it up; then dropped it with a shriek. The mother, making an effort to cope with the situation as best she could, said, "It's only a bit of pork the butcher has dropped!" "No, Mummy," was the reply. "It had fingers on it like Margaret's."

The above are true stories told me recently by members of the medical or nursing profession from their own personal experience. They are also straws in the wind and a red light for those whose heads are not of wood and whose hearts are not of stone.

There is quite good reason to suppose that a mutual agreement to confine air attacks as far as possible to military objectives and to

(Concluded on page 45)