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and other Articles, Reviews, Plebs League Notes, &c., &c.

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THE PLEBS

"I can promise to be candid but not impartial."

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SOVIET VERSUS DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATION

IN a recent debate between an advocate of "democracy," pure and simple, and a spokesman of the proletarian revolution, the latter put forward the argument that the Soviet system was particularly superior to the "democratic" system in that it ensured direct contact of the deputy with his constituents, while "democracy" did not either guarantee such contact in theory or produce it in practice. He did not develop or explain this perfectly justifiable proposition, and failed to reply adequately to the "democrat" when the latter retorted that when *he* was an elected representative, he invariably devoted at least one evening a week to a street-corner account and explanation of his activities in the Council. This retort really quite missed the point; and, as the question at issue was a very important one, one may be permitted to imagine that it had not hitherto presented itself in concrete terms to the Soviet advocate. However that may be, as it is a point that is not directly touched on in any of the published literature on the subject, it might be worth while to consider a little more definitely what is the basis of the Bolshevik attitude.

The representative on the ordinary democratic town council is elected, first of all, by universal suffrage. That is, on a certain fixed day, which may or may not be a day of leisure for the working-class, certain schoolrooms, public buildings, etc., which may or may not be accessible to the tired proletarian after his day's work is done, are assigned as polling booths. Here he, and his wife, if she can spare the time from her housework or shopping, may or may not repair before the closing of the poll, to be confronted with a list of candidates of whom they very rarely know anything except by local repute or by the careful attentions of the canvasser. They choose their man—possibly even the socialist,

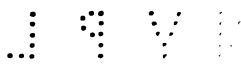
if they have come under the influence of the local propagandists; the representative is elected. Whatever motives prompted the electors in choosing him now become of quite second-rate or third-rate importance. The man is on the Council; there he stays until the next election; whether he chooses to come down to the local branch, or to the Market Place, on Thursday evenings, is entirely his affair. He may, or he may not. Also, the whole electorate, or its majority, may—or may not—have the time to go and listen to him; the Market Place or the "Socialist Hall" may or may not be large enough to hold them all, if they did unanimously decide to come. If they are dissatisfied with his *exposé* of his work, he may or may not be sufficiently gnawed by remorse to place his resignation in the hands of the Chairman of the Council. Over all the stages of the process there hangs a dark mist of uncertainty. And all this is in theory. What it comes to in practice may be ascertained from any worker by asking him, on his way home after his day's toil, what have been the activities of the councillor for his ward during the past fortnight.

And yet that councillor has not been snatched away into a distant world since his election; he has not even been shut up ever since in the Town Hall; on the contrary, if he has had to spend a morning on a council meeting, and an afternoon on a committee meeting—assuming that he has been elected to one of the administrative committees of local government—he considers his private business is being pretty extensively interfered with. For, though the population at large have ceased to know him and his works, there is one section, one little corner, as it were, that continues to "come into contact" with him after his election as it did before. But that section is not vouchsafed this blessing because of its sovereign rights as a part of his electorate; it actually learns to consider this "direct contact" a curse and a pestilence; because it is the direct contact of employer and employed, of master and wage slave, at the "point of production"—within one of the countless groups into which the present capitalist method of production and distribution disintegrates the mass of modern society during the greater part of its existence—say, between 7 a.m. and 6 p.m., for five days a week, and half a day on Saturdays!

That is the only place in the constituency where the "democratic" representative comes into real, direct contact with a small part of his electorate.

It is just exactly the place where the Soviet representative comes into contact with the *whole* of his electorate: into contact, not as a wage-lord with his wage-serfs, but precisely as a *representative* with his electorate. For he is the revocable, replaceable, *almost constantly present*, elected representative of the workers, the largest section, the overwhelming majority of the population, grouped together in close contact with one another during the hours of labour in the workshop, the factory, the office, the depot, the street—in short, at the "point of production." If the nature of their occupation has separated the individual workers of any one industry, but has not grouped them with other kinds of workers—*e.g.*, shop assistants—they turn out into the street, or meet in a hall, or even fill up a ballot paper, *during working hours*, to elect one of their number, some tried fighter or organiser or counsellor, to sit on the Workers' Council. But the point is that they can easily be found and summoned together, if necessary, unlike the vague and unknown mass which may or may not have visited the polling-booth of the "democratic" machine during a space of 12 hours.

And, as has been pointed out, in the case of most workers their representative also is easily to be found—since he is working under the same roof as they, perhaps at the very same lathe, forge, counter, or in the very same pit, farmyard,



garage, school buildings. For he, too, like the town councillor, has his weekly general meetings, and his weekly or bi-weekly committee-meetings—the Soviet, like the Commune, is “a working, not a talking, corporation,” and every member of it is doing his public duty in some branch or other of local administration. And the rest of his time, like the town councillor of “democracy,” he spends at his business amongst and in contact with the workers; with this difference, that he is not there as a strange, distant, and generally-hated master, but as plain Bill, or Joe, or Harry, or Bro. Jones—one of the workers, one amongst them, never “climbing out” of his class, because he is constantly mixing with it and controlled by it.

That is the rock-bottom reason why representation on a Soviet is more worthy of its name than representation on a town council. It is the direct representation of massed labour, in an age when massed labour is the basis of the whole of civilisation. That the transition to it involves the vaster issues of the armed dictatorship of the proletariat is due to none but the capitalist class itself.

ANDREW F. ROTHSTEIN.

CHURCHILL ON THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

IN the midst of a busy life of plotting on behalf of reaction abroad and at home, our very latest exponent of political showmanship is able to snatch a few moments of leisure for the purpose of cutting some propagandist capers in the circus of the Sunday press. In the *Illustrated Herald* of December 7, Churchill steps into the ring disguised as a champion of “the right to strike,” and, after an excellent piece of fooling, emerges as—Winston S. Churchill, the enemy of the people.

“The right to strike,” he begins, “is the foundation of the liberties of the labouring man. . . . The capitalist system on which our whole present civilisation is erected, has grown up on the basis of the right to strike. . . . The right to strike is the greatest glory of the capitalist system.” (Lloyd George must have been thinking of Churchill when he formulated his maxim “Be audacious”! He might have added, Be mendacious! To the capitalist system be all the “glory” for Churchill!)

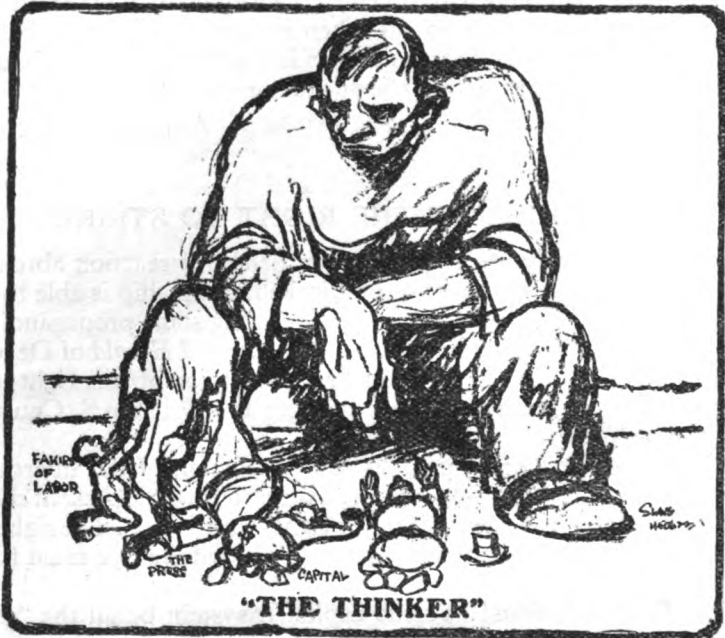
And, after having credited the capitalist system with “the right to strike,” Churchill is able to arrive at the still more audacious conclusion that the absence of that right is “the fatal defect of any system of communism.” According to this logic, you first of all assert that the right of resistance against oppression is “the greatest glory” of the system of oppression, and then show that the absence of this right of resistance when oppression is absent is conclusive evidence that oppression is superior to freedom—that, indeed, oppression is really free and freedom really oppressive.

No one will deny that the *need* to strike is a consequence of the capitalist system, but the working class no more owes the right to strike to the capitalists than the victims of crime owe their legal rights to the criminals. The history of the Trade Union movement shows clearly that the workers have established “the right to strike” just to the extent that they have succeeded in developing the *might* to strike. Their *might* has made their *right*. And all the sophistry of which even Churchill is capable cannot obscure this historical fact.

This oracle of capitalist wisdom is quite prepared to acknowledge and even glorify “the right to strike” so long as it merely remains a *paper* right. He would,

moreover, be ready to give his blessing to an *actual* strike providing that it remained confined within limits which did not threaten the existence of the capitalist system. He is, however, very much concerned to hit on ways and means for making effective strikes impossible. This is the whole aim of his article.

In order that the right to strike may not be translated into the might to strike, he makes the pleasant discovery that there is another right—another glorious inheritance of bourgeois society—"the right of the community to exist." This, of course, is nothing other than the right of the capitalist class to continue its exploitation of social labour. Every resistance against this exploitation is made to appear as an attack upon the existence of "millions of helpless



From *The Rebel Worker*, New York

people," whereas, in reality, it is an attack upon the system which limits the existence of "millions of people" in the interests of a small but powerful minority. Private interests are still private interests, however much they may be disguised as communal interests. If the "lightning strikes" which excite Churchill's indignation have the effect of curtailing the services upon which the life and livelihood of the masses depends, that is due to the fact that those social services are controlled and dominated by the vested interests who "run" this swashbuckling adventurer.

If some thieves, in order to resist capture, rushed into the houses of certain citizens, and their pursuers proceeded to storm those houses, no doubt the business of capture would prove a matter of serious inconvenience for the occupiers. Some one of the thieves with a Churchillian cast of thought might appear at the window and address the representatives of the law, thus:—"Dear Friends,—The right to arrest thieves is the greatest glory of the system of burglary. But this right finds itself confronted with another right—the right of the citizens peacefully to occupy their houses. If you attempt to arrest us you will cause

serious damage and loss to these helpless people. On their behalf we must, therefore, use every resource which they possess against you." That is the logic of Churchill. According to it, the only alternative to an effective strike is for the workmen submissively to accept the capitalist system as an eternal institution.

Churchill has been thinking a great deal about the recent railway strike. It pains him to think of "the loss and sufferings which such great struggles and trials of strength among our own fellow countrymen must bring." He is anxious that "we should ask ourselves whether there are not better ways of treating the matter." There must be "some restrictions" placed upon those workers who take part in "the vital services." The Government should be prepared to offer to those workers "special privileges and advantages" in return for giving up the right to exercise the strike or, at least, the right to strike suddenly—that is to say effectively.

The railwaymen, the miners and the workers in the great industries will do well if they keep cool heads just now when the Government is so busy spinning pretty webs to catch the unwary. Particularly the railwaymen, at the present moment, will be acting wisely if they refuse to tie their hands and their feet in return for the "special privileges and advantages" offered under the alluring name of "control." Never more than now is freedom and rapidity of movement indispensable for the Labour movement generally. Never more than now has the Government, in the interests of capitalism, had better reason for fearing the might of the movement and desiring to "control" it. Churchill's thoughts express the Governmental policy.

The logic of Labour is simply stated:—The only alternative to strikes (and their consequences for the community) is the elimination of the capitalist system, which creates strikes and determines the public form of their consequences.

W. W. CRAIK.

EVOLUTIONARY EVOLUTION OR REVOLUTIONARY REVOLUTION

THERE is a type of mind—met with possibly in every movement—which loves to dwell upon what it terms the "philosophic" aspect of life, but which, nevertheless, because of its limitations, fails to see far beneath the surface. The possessors of such minds are rarely to be seen taking part in any actual struggle on behalf of any given class. Delighting in generalities, distinctions for them lose much of their significance.

Within the Labour movement they hold ideas opposed to the existing order in general. They will enthuse about the "tremendous task that lies ahead," and even urge the need for "action." But whenever a situation rises which, in the opinion of some at any rate, provides an opportunity for action, the "philosopher" counsels caution! There may be one overwhelming reason for a change, but there are a dozen why that change should not take place, at least just now.

There is a second type which strives to understand the real conditions under which men live and have their being. They look behind surface appearances for the real cause. While generalising upon facts and experience, they do not fail to make the necessary distinctions; neither do they hesitate to advocate action when a situation demands it.

Between these two schools the mass of men is constantly swaying. The one leads them to hope; the other to action. We have recently been presented with a striking illustration of these types in books dealing with the most outstanding

problem of the day for the Labour and Socialist movement—the State. One is by J. Ramsay Macdonald—*Parliament and Revolution*;* the other by Lenin—*The State and Revolution*.†

Had it been mutually agreed simultaneously to publish views of the Utopian and Socialist Schools, no better examples could be found. The one starts with preconceived notions of what the State (or Parliament) is. The other presents a detailed analysis of the reality. The one tells you what a revolution ought to be; the other what it is. The one is an idealist dwelling in Utopia; the other a scientist applying his logical instruments to the problem.

Macdonald begins “realistically” enough with a warning against “a refusal to learn from experience and clinging blindly to old habits and customs.” The revolution (or rather “Revolution” in the abstract, for that is what he discusses) “is the result of resistance offered to movements that cannot be resisted, not an upset deliberately arranged for by exponents of some new ideas.” “Revolution is the product of ideas.” “Until ideas are resisted by force they cannot make revolutions.”

Lenin discussing the Marxian theories, writes:—

On what foundation of facts can the future development of future Communism be based? It can be based on the fact that *it has its origin in Capitalism*, that it develops historically from Capitalism, that it is the result of the action of social forces to which Capitalism *has given birth*. There is no shadow of an attempt on Marx's part to fabricate a Utopia, idly to guess that which cannot be known. Marx treats the question of Communism in the same way as a naturalist would treat the question of the development of, say, a new biological variety, if he knew that such and such was its origin, and such and such is the direction in which it changes its form.

Now let Macdonald proceed with his criticism of the revolutionists. “A revolution dreamt of and planned, because, logically, an old order must refuse to be transformed, is an absurd thing.” In this sentence emphasis must be placed where Macdonald intends it to be! Revolutionists also “misunderstand the nature of society, believing it to be a hard-resisting structure—whereas the social organisation, like the body, is in a constant state of change and of re-adaptation, responsive to every movement of the human intelligence, sensitive to every change in the mass will.” Again “Economic and industrial classes have no significance in a revolution. A revolution is a thing of opinion and not of class.”

To continue to quote from these two books, or to express approval of the one and disapproval of the other upon every point discussed would fill the PLEBS for the next ten years. Macdonald is a man walking a road, the nature of which he has decided in his own mind. Should it turn out to be different it is the fault of the silly people who will not see the road as he sees it. Parliament is dealt with in that spirit. If it does not fulfil his or your ideal it is because of the stupidity of the capitalists or the ignorance and apathy of the workers.

Lenin's is the most valuable contribution to discussion of the State which has appeared for years. It takes the form of copious quotations from Marx and Engels, chosen, moreover, from sources little known to or studied by the great majority of students. It is a wonderful testimony not only to the work of Marx and Engels, but also to Lenin himself, who displays throughout so keen a grasp of the Marxian position. Incidentally, it shows also how thorough he is even in his criticism of an opponent. Both books are worth keeping; the one as a statement of our position, historical, logical and revolutionary; the other as a statement of the position we have to contend with.

Lenin deals drastically and bitterly with the men whom he declares have perverted the Marxian theories. Macdonald, in the true spirit of conciliation,

* National Labour Press. 1s. 6d.

† B.S.P. 1s. 6d.

only here and there fails to maintain that high moral tone suitable to one to whom ideas alone have interest. For his success in this direction he should be commended.

W. H. MAINWARING.

IDEALISM ON THE CLYDE

Syndicalism and Philosophical Realism, A Study in the Correlation of Contemporary Social Tendencies, by J. W. Scott, Lecturer in Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. (Black, London, 1919. pp. 216. 10s. net.)

HERE is a close season during which the killing of specified varieties of game is forbidden by law. A close time for certain abstract terms would perhaps be useful, as tending to promote clarity of thought and expression. Two words that might well be banished from the vocabulary for a season are "idealism" and "realism." The former, perhaps, is most hard-worked nowadays, and it must be wearying for a rest; but the latter is even more provocative of confusion, for no word has been used in such widely varying and even conflicting senses.

In scholastic philosophy, realism was a doctrine as to the nature of "the real," and implied a belief that universals or general ideas had a real existence independent of the mind—a doctrine closely akin to what most people understand by Platonic "idealism"! In modern philosophy, realism is a different doctrine as to the nature of the real, being, the belief that matter "really" exists; in this sense "realism" is, therefore, akin to "materialism," and opposed to the "idealism" which holds that what really exists is "mind." In art, literature, and contemporary life, "realism" has vague and wide significations, ranging from the practice of regarding things in their "true" nature and dealing with them as they "really" are, and from an attempted freedom from prejudice and convention, to a striving after fidelity of representation, truth to nature, insistence upon details; thus imaginative writers as utterly diverse in temperament and outlook as Zola, Shaw, and Kipling, have all been denominated realists. In politics, realism is—*Realpolitik*, and a great many other things. And now, to make confusion worse confounded, the lecturer in moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow comes along and tells us that, philosophically, realism is the philosophy of Bergson and Bertrand Russell; that, politically, realism is syndicalism; and that these contemporary political and philosophical trends are correlated in a manner which must make them as utterly repugnant to all right-minded university professors as are Bertrand Russell's heterodox views on sex-relations.

J. W. Scott's "philosophical realism" (the doctrine he is attacking, not his own philosophy, which appears to be a Kantio-Hegelio-Scottian "idealism") is the practice of accepting at its face value whatever we come across, without critical scrutiny or any suspicion that it may be other than it appears. For him, Bergson and Russell are the two most conspicuous living examples of this evil tendency in philosophy, and they are, therefore, despite the profound differences between them, lumped together as philosophical realists; Bertrand Russell, a writer of the most limpid prose, which contrasts favourably with J. W. Scott's formally correct but somewhat obscure and laboured style, has recently issued two volumes, *The Principles of Social Reconstruction and Roads to Freedom: Socialism, Anarchism, and Syndicalism*, in support of the syndicalist revolt against statist socialism; Sorel, regarded by Scott as the philosophical founder of syndicalism, and other more recent writers (*peccavimus*—we are among the sinners, though our fame has not yet penetrated the cloistered colonnades of the University of Glasgow) have pointed out the affinities be-

tween certain aspects of Bergson's philosophy and the more revolutionary developments of Marxism; syndicalism represents a grasping at the immediate, for "the desire to further the good of a State" seems "to be retreating in the socialist mind before the more immediately real desire to secure the economic advantage of a class." Just as Bergson, devoting his first book to the study of "*les données immédiates de la conscience*" (the immediate data of consciousness) is, for Scott, interested in nothing else than these immediate data, so the syndicalists, contending that the class struggle, and not a "social solidarity" which must remain chimerical so long as capitalism persists, must be the means of realising socialism, are, for Scott, interested in the class struggle, "the immediately given," as an end in itself. Such would seem to be the core of the author's meaning, in so far as the book has any intelligible drift at all. The one thing that stands forth clearly is that the author is on the side of reaction. He fulfils his function, for, in the capitalist order, universities and professors exist for the defence of that order, and only a rare rebel escapes the influence of the academic environment.

It is natural that, in so far as he discusses Marx, J. W. Scott should emphasise that statist aspects of Marx's teaching, for Scott is almost as devout a statist as Treitschke. The idea of the State, we are told, is the central idea of Marx's socialism! If J. W. Scott will spend 1s. 6d. upon Lenin's *The State and Revolution*, he will find a different version of Marx's outlook upon the State. When he says (*Syndicalism*, etc., p. 24) that Marxist socialism "is the science of using and directing those world forces which are socialistic in their tendency," we agree. But it does not follow that the statist socialists are "the true followers of Marx." It does not follow that the world forces making for socialism are going to operate through the political institutions of the existing bourgeois State. There were two Marxs, and it was the non-revolutionary Marx who thought (as far as he did think) anything of the kind. The revolutionary Marx wanted to build anew upon the revolutionary forces of the proletariat.

It is not difficult to lay a diagnostic finger upon the origin of the confusions with which J. W. Scott's mind is obscured—the real origin, for we, too, will be realists. He confuses the impulse to revolution, the *élan vital*, the vital impetus of Bergson, with the guiding light existing in the minds of those who have conceived the end of revolution, and who will make use of the revolutionary vital urge, of the revolutionary mass psychology, in order to achieve the goal. In *A Poor Man's House*, by Stephen Reynolds, we find an apposite passage: "You'm leern't in books," says Dave, in a sudden burst of confidence, "an' now you'll live an' learn the ways of life. But you take notice—that's how revolution is made—when people don' know 'xactly what they wants, but wants it hellish bad for a long time."

Now the author of *Syndicalism and Philosophical Realism* imagines that syndicalists are people who don't know exactly what they want, but want it hellish bad. That is the path of revolt, not of revolution. The syndicalists, and still more their successors the Sovietists, know exactly what they want, and they will use the revolutionary will of the masses to help them to achieve their end. Syndicalism, says Scott, "is the resolution to secure at whatever cost the benefit of a class, and shut the eyes to what lies beyond." But we Sovietists, we Bolsheviks, see very clearly what lies beyond. We see the abolition of class. For only, we contend, when class has been abolished, will there arise what our author desiderates, "the possibility of creating a shareable good of the whole community."

EDEN and CEDAR PAUL.

PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA

[Part of an article by A. LUNATCHARSKY, translated from *Le Phare*, organ of the Swiss Communists, by A. P. L.]

IN a country which had been purposely kept in ignorance the tasks of education were bound to be revealed in all their immensity from the earliest days of the people's revolution. It is clear that neither the capture of political power nor the conquest of economic domination can last, unless the people also acquire education.

A conscious popular rule is only possible with a high degree of popular culture. In the transitional period the intellectuals should have played an important rôle. Already, during the revolutionary period of 1905-1906, Kautsky was hoping that in Russia the working class would have an ally in the revolutionary intellectuals. But Kautsky did not foresee that at the moment of the realisation of his dreams, at the moment of the social revolution, he himself would become an enemy of the proletarian advance-guard.

Every evil has its good side. The sabotage by the majority of Russian intellectuals (above all, by those calling themselves Socialists) afforded a splendid lesson to the proletariat, and has emphasised the imperative necessity of relying upon themselves. The present proletarian generation will be, more or less, educated; the next must be completely equipped. This is the important task of the People's Commissariat of Education. It was the more difficult because in the camp of the *saboteurs* the most irreconcilable element was precisely the teachers, who had been won over to these methods by the Pan-Russian Pedagogic Society. The former Ministry of Public Instruction was also sabotaged by the officials. We found ourselves in the midst of the ruins lacking guides, lacking any actual links with the schools. We were not in touch with the provinces, and we had at our disposal only a special teaching staff of very small dimensions. . . . In spite of this the Central Administration and also largely the local institutions have been set going again.* The majority of the teaching body is now sincerely with us, and the rest have of necessity to follow suit.

Of course, our first task was to lay down general principles for the complete reform of the school system inherited from the Tsarist regime. The schools, which were formerly divided into people's schools for the lower classes, and middle schools for the rich and cultured, and further into schools for boys and for girls, into "real" and classical, general and special schools, were all replaced through the Commissariat by "The school of unified work."

This "unification" has a double meaning: (1) the suppression of class-distinctions; every Russian child enters a school of the same type and has, like all the other children, the opportunity of reaching the instruction of the High schools. (2) The avoidance of all specialisation up to 16 years of age. The instruction given is, in the full sense of the word, *polytechnic*, and is the same for both sexes. This "unified" schooling is divided into two stages, the first lasting five years, the second four years. This cycle of nine years is compulsory.

Our schools are truly general. Not only have school fees been abolished, but the children are also given free hot meals; the poorest are clothed and shod. All school books are supplied free. We do not underestimate the innumerable difficulties in our path. The country is devastated and famine-stricken. There are not enough books even for the old schools, still less for the new ones which have sprung up everywhere. But we are dealing with this handicap and hope to master it in the near future.

*This article was written in the autumn of 1912.

The schools are essentially *schools of work*, productive work being as much a basis of instruction as the subjects usually taught. In the schools of the first stage, the class-work is chiefly within the school precincts—work in the kitchen, the garden, or in special workshops. The pupils themselves do the necessary work to maintain the communal life of the school. In the towns this approaches the character of a workshop, in the countryside of a farm. In the schools of the second stage the productive and social character of work is especially emphasised. We have here to deal with children from about the age of 13 years upwards. At this age light but real work *outside* the school is possible—e.g., participation in factory work, assistance on a model farm, or co-operation in some workshop. From this age upwards we *unite* the work of the child to the struggle of the community for existence. This is our most novel task and our greatest responsibility.

It is only by experience and by the co-operation of the teachers with the technical experts and managing staffs of the factories, that, whilst feeling our way, we shall discover the best methods to achieve a close correlation between the life of the school and that of industry. And it is just here that we come across something peculiar to the communist solution of the schooling problem. Always when Marx spoke of education, he connected it with the question of child labour. He asserted that we should obtain a well-balanced population, truly modern, not in forbidding the work of children, but in regulating it and transforming it into a polytechnic basis of education, in making it go hand-in-hand with science, with physical labour and with æsthetic development. That is to say, in popular language, work is to be the basis of public schooling.

But whilst showing concrete examples of production, one must utilise every opportunity to bring the pupil in touch with all branches of knowledge and not restrict him to one speciality. Individual specialisation, apprenticeship to a craft, are only necessary, in our opinion, after the age of 16 years has been attained, that is in those schools which we call "High Schools," or in Institutes which are not regarded as schools.

FINANCING "IMPARTIALITY"

Hark! Hark! The dogs do bark! the Beggars are come to Town,
Some in rags and some with bags, and some in VELVET GOWN!

MAY I, as a graduate and member of Convocation of the University of Manchester, be allowed to draw the attention of Plebeians to the following appeal issued by an organisation particularly and officially active in the work of our strictly impartial friends, the Workers' Educational Association. I trust that they will ponder over it carefully and note the way in which their friends, the capitalists, get their "hands down" for the endowment of their Universities:—

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER APPEAL FUND.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE TO MANCHESTER MEN:—

"... The University is your pride, and you have reason to be proud of it. I know the public spirit and the generosity with which Manchester men face their civic responsibilities. This is the opportunity to demonstrate once more what you can do for one of your greatest institutions, and I strongly support the appeal that has been made..."

APPEAL FOR £500,000.

The following donations have been promised or received:—

	£2,000 AND OVER.
£10,000	Jesse Haworth
£6,000	Lady Royds
* £5,000	Tootal Broadhurst Lee Co., Ltd.
£5,000	E. Hulton and Co., Ltd.
£5,000	J. & N. Philips and Co., Ltd.
£3,000	Richard Haworth and Co., Ltd.
£2,500	G. & R. Dewhurst, Ltd.
£2,000	Sir Edward Donner, Bt.
£2,000	Sir Ed. Holt, Bt.
£2,000	Metropolitan-Vickers, Ltd.

* Contingent upon four other firms giving a like amount.

£1,000.
 Lord Doverdale
 Lord Ashton
 Sir F. Forbes Adam, Bt.
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£500.
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£250.
 Colonel Clapham
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 Herbert Whitworth, Ltd.
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 Adams & Co., Ltd.
 E. F. Stockton
 A. Greg & Co.

My first impression on seeing the preliminary announcement of an appeal for funds was one of satisfaction that the University might now be able to afford to buy the second and third volumes of *Capital*, and so complete its set of Marx' major works.

Plebeians will notice that the Premier brings to the common cause the weight of his prestige and that the *Daily Dispatch*, the leading brewers, and Messrs. Vickers, Ltd., know a good investment when they see it.

Memories ever-green of an official taboo by my *alma mater* upon the late Jas. Keir Hardie, and sundry interviews with "him who had to be obeyed" relevant to the posting of Fabian Society placards in places where "visitors might mistake us for a Socialist University" have prevented the "impartial" eye-wash coagulating on my lids. The spectacle of purse-proud *ignoramus* immortalised in bronze and marble or given the temporal right to waddle across the world in crimson and gold as mimic doctors of learning and laws, together with Carnegie and Beyer Laboratories and Whitworth Halls, have made it an easier task to persuade me that the class-consciousness of the capitalists extends to their schools of "impartial" sociology.

Hence, I appeal to the workers through their unions and as individuals to get their "hands down" so surely to establish the Labour College in London and branches of the College in the provinces that very soon we may have our great Academy of Social Science, ready to affiliate to the Socialist Academy of Social Science in Soviet Russia.

Steps are afoot for an International League of Adult Education with Albert Mansbridge as its organiser. Will Noske, Gompers and Appleton be its patrons?

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

(*Master of Arts in Economic and Roman History*).

CORRESPONDENCE

COMMUNISTS AND ERGATOCRATS

To the Editor, THE PLEBS

DEAR COMRADE,—In reply to Comrade Jackson, the Plebs League is a note of interrogation, not a mutual admiration society. Friendly criticism is, or should be, the salt of life to every Plebeian, and an incentive to better effort. If our Un-

conscious betrayed irritation at Jackson's remarks, the sooner the tricky beggar is clubbed back into his proper sphere, the better. (We mean the club for the Freudian Unconscious, not for the unoffending Jackson!)

In a forthcoming booklet on *Creative Revolution*, we shall hope to give sufficient reason for the contention that communism, taken alone, does not fill the bill. You could, for instance,

have bureaucratic, aristocratic, or theocratic communism. In real life, the ancient Peruvian system was a theocracy; in the realm of Imagination, Plato's Republic was an aristocracy, ruled by philosophers; both were pure communisms. "The rule of the workers" is open to the same objection as "the dictatorship of the proletariat." You cannot make derivatives from it, as you can

from a self-contained term like democracy or ergatocracy. How would Jackson pithily convey the ideas represented by "an ergatocratic commonwealth," or by the proposition "Jackson is a convinced ergatocrat"? Would he say, "Jackson is a convinced ruler of the workers"? Yours fraternally,

EDEN and CEDAR PAUL.

LEAGUE NOTES

HOW do you like the look of us this month? We hope all those comrades who have been begging us either to enlarge our type or supply a magnifying glass with every copy of THE PLEBS, are now satisfied. We're quite proud of ourselves. And as soon as you say the word you can have 40 pages like this, and a cover, for 6d. When is it going to be? We can't do it without guarantees. We want to know just how many copies you'll take. If you feel you can't sell as many as at 3d., say so—we'd much rather know now than afterwards. But we think you'll agree we shall look good value for money. And, after all, sixpence a month is dirt cheap for literature in these days. Let's have a p.c. from you on the matter, anyhow. And soon.

You will forgive us for mentioning, shyly, that we WANT CASH. We've some big printers' bills coming along, and we've the office rent to pay. Will everybody send along the money they owe promptly—for Craik's or Starr's books, and for Magazines. To send out accounts means expenditure of time and postage-stamps. Don't wait for any further reminder. And if you're not quite certain of the exact figure, send a bob or two on the right side (*our* right side) and we'll put it down to you in the Keen-A-Bob-Fund.

An additional reason for this appeal is that, in accordance with the decision of the Annual Meet, our financial year will in future be from January to December, instead of August-July as hitherto. We want therefore to get our books squared up to the end of 1919. And please note that League subs. are now due, for the year 1920—unless you have paid your 1s. since September last, in which case it will carry you on until next December. We're having special membership receipt cards printed, and you're no Plebs Leaguer unless you can produce one.

Of course you'll sport a badge. Orders are coming in well, and we hope soon to get some in from the makers. We reproduce the design again, just to remind you. The price (brooch or stud—say which you want) is 1s. (10s. per doz., post-paid.) Orders will be dealt



with in rotation. Send now.

We have had numerous inquiries and requests for that League Leaflet—4 pp., stating just what the Plebs League is out for, why you should join it, and what an individual member or a branch can do to help on its work. It is now in the hands of the printer, and we shall be sending it out during the month. We're making no charge for it, but we've got to pay the printer all the same. So send on a contribution towards expenses—even if only to cover postage. *And get us members with it.*

"News of the Movement"—and that Class Directory—get crowded out each month, and must continue to be so until we can enlarge the Magazine. But here are one or two items we must mention:—Congratulations to an old Plebs and College stalwart, A. J. Cook, on his appointment as Miners' Agent in the Rhondda. Our men do get to the front! . . . S. Coupe, 15 Middle Street, Bolsover, nr. CHESTERFIELD, and A. A. Segon, 41 Stafford Street, NORWICH, would each be glad to hear from any Plebeians in their respective localities. Get together! . . . Walton Newbold asks us to mention that he would be grateful for the return of books (among them *Social Adaptation and Guilds and Companies* of London) lent by him to friends at different times. We may be permitted to add—on our own—that according to an old adage the

Will our Friends everywhere

BACK US UP?

*We want new League Members, new readers, new workers.
We want to get that sixpenny enlarged Magazine out.*

IT DEPENDS ON YOU!

We're ready to do our bit, if you'll back us. Let us hear from you what you're prepared to do, and HOW MUCH you're keen!

(Mrs.) W. HORRABIN, Hon. Sec.

best way of showing gratitude for the loan of a good book is to read and return it promptly.

TO LONDON MEMBERS:—The Secretary would be very glad to hear from anyone who could give an hour or two *regularly every week* for voluntary help with office work. *Occasional visits at odd times are no good.* A regular hour, one afternoon or evening a week, is worth a dozen odd visits. There are wrappers and envelopes by the hundred always waiting to be addressed, and all sorts of office work to be done. With a little assistance from friends, properly organised, the work at headquarters would be greatly simplified.

A Worker Looks at History will be ready during this month. Don't be hard on us if you don't get your supply first day after publication. Use a bit of imagination. Picture yourself face to face with a pile of a few hundred parcels of books waiting to be despatched. We do our best. Craik's book—and Ablett's—can now be supplied by return. And please note:—A limited number of both Craik's and Starr's books will be available in *cloth binding*. Price—*Short History Working-Class Movement*, 3s. net, post-paid, 3s. 3d. *Worker Looks at History*, 3s. 6d. net, post-paid, 3s. 9d. N.B.—These are not yet ready, but orders can be booked.

W. H.

PLEBS ORGANISING FUND

J. F. H. and W. H. wish to join with J. H. Pratt (Sec. of above Fund) in thanking the following comrades (and certain others who remained anonymous) for helping to keep THE PLEBS in existence at a time (April, 1918—January, 1919) when help was vitally necessary. The total amount subscribed was £74 6s. 9d. Very hearty thanks are due to J. H. P. for undertaking the secretarial work in connection with

the Fund and for contributing the postage, stationery, etc.

A. E. Seabury, B. S. Mackay, J. H. Pratt, W. Lawther, F. Burgess, J. Reynolds, J. W. Thomas, M. N. Jones, G. Mearns, G. Barker, T. D. Smith, F. Silvester, T. Mann, F. Jackson, W. H. and W. Owens, Mrs. A. Pratt, W. Morris, J. Townend, J. Murgatroyd, G. W. Brown, C. P. Dutt, C. Watkins, J. H. Woodman, R. Mell, Mrs. Townsend, J. D. Walmsley, C. Butterworth, J. Baker, A. Corbett, Countess of Warwick, M. Hughes, W. Auston, E. Wainscott, F. S. Rimington, J. E. Ellis, E. J. Howells, F. W. Fox, T. Hamilton, A. J. Whitlock, C. Moxon, H. Haytor, F. J. Smith, E. Bradshaw, B. J. Davies, A. M. Keating, "A Tyke" (Huddersfield), G. Wright, J. T. Deakin, B. Jenkins, C. Fletcher, W. G. Williams, T. Liddington, F. W. Francis, "W. P. and D. J." L. Benson, T. Foxall, Miss J. N. Couston, T. D. Copeman, J. Robertson, Chopwell History Class (per J. Gilliland), "Sheffield Woman," T. Yates, W. Jameson, J. Oxley, Carlisle S.L.P., J. Halkett, Mrs. Tattersall, J. W. Deakin, L. Tilling, Plebs League (Birmingham Branch), Mr. and Mrs. F. W. Fox, "A Slacker" (Ashton-under-Lyne), L. Couldrey, F. Harper, H. Dix.

THE "KEEN-A-BOB" FUND.

Our best thanks to:—W. Reece, 10s.; R. Robson, 10s.; T. Foxall, 3s. 6d.; J. Robertson, 1s.; J. D. W., 4s.; F. Jackson, 1s. 6d.; J. D. Lawrence, 5s.; W. Pentney, 1s.; E. Handscomb, 5s.; Nell Casey, 8s.; J. Craig Walker, 2s.; A. H. Flavell, C. Marchant, 4s.; D. Mills Jones, £1; A. Walker, 2s.; J. Tierney, 1s.; J. D. W., 4s.; F. S. Rimington, 4s.; A. Keating, 5s. 6d.; A. Walker, 1s. 6d.; J. W. Evans, 2s. Total, £4 15s.

WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION IN BELGIUM

THE Belgian Socialist Party, which in its attitude towards the revolutionary problems of the present day is markedly behind the British and the French movements, in one respect is considerably the most advanced in Western Europe: that is, in its educational organisation. The *Centrale d'Education Ouvrière* (Central Office of Working-Class Education), situated at the famous *Maison du Peuple* at Brussels—was an important centre of activity long before the war, and appears to be rapidly building up its shattered organisation again. From its monthly organ, *Education-Récréation*, we gather that its functions are two-fold:

- 1 To organise libraries, Socialist Extension lectures, and Socialist Schools;
- 2 To co-ordinate the efforts of local permanent Committees of Working-Class Education, such as existed before the war at Brussels, and have sprung up during the last few months in the Centre, the Charleroi district, Herstal, and other places.

Several of the new local committees—the existence of which is considered to be still more important than that of the Central Office—have sent in their first reports. We quote a typical

example, that of the town of Écaussinnes:—"The Committee consists of about 20 members, representing trade unions, friendly societies, co-operatives, 'Young Guard,' Women's Circle, and librarians. The Committee has decided upon:

- 1 The re-opening of the (elementary) Socialist School; this will take place at the beginning of December;
- 2 The organisation of a Socialist Extension course; in connection with this a conference will take place November 16—December 1.
- 3 The official re-opening of the libraries (closed as a result of the German occupation), to take place on the first Sunday in November. A discussion is expected on this occasion.

The necessary funds for the setting up of these organisations were raised immediately. The labour organisations will form, by means of regular subsidies, a capital fund of at least 500 francs (£20). It is also proposed to seek the financial help of the Communal authorities.

The following initial list of lecturers, who have placed their services at the disposal of the C.E.O., is published by *Education-Récréation*:—

L. Boyarski (publicist):—"Russian Literature"; "The Evils of Tsarism"; "Political Parties in Russia"; "Marxism."

J. Bourquin (Social Insurance Official):—"Capitalist Concentration"; "Collectivism"; "General Evolution of the World and of Man"; "The Machine"; "The Commune"; "The Region"; etc., etc.

Decroÿère (professor of literature):—"Impressions of Dutch Town and Country" (slides); "Impressions of the Front" (slides); "Belgian Drama"; "Beethoven" (if it is possible to organise a musical evening with local elements); etc.

Frédéric Denis:—"Proletarian Art"; "Our Drama"; "The Theatre and the People" (to precede the representation of some interesting play).

Henri de Rasquinet (solicitor):—"Labour Laws"; "Collective Contracts of Labour."

Léon Delsinne (journalist):—"Trade Union Evolution"; "Wages"; "Taylorism."

Ch. Gillian (provincial councillor):—"The Precursors of Socialism."

Gaston Hoyaux (teacher):—"Industrial Concentration"; "Syndicalism"; "Collectivism"; "One must read, and read well"; "Jean Jaurès."

Eugène Rousseau (Sec., Jolimont Co-op.):—"Co-operation" (with slides).

Arthur Hormeau (director of Library Office):—"The Organisation of Socialist Libraries."

A. F. R.

MR. MACDONALD AND THE WORKMAN STUDENT

LIFE is full of surprises. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has been writing an "Open Letter to a Workman Student." And he has actually been dogmatising, too!

"Socialism is the heir of the ages," is one of his *obiter dicta*, "and you must know something of the ages before you understand Marx." Which nobody would deny! All the same, we may be forgiven for observing that you can learn quite a lot about the ages *from* Marx.

How do the apostles of the Broad Highway (*née* ladder) from elementary school to university, like this:—"Believe me, Oxford has very little to give democracy. It is a beautiful and impressive place, alive with allurements. But to us it is a painted lady. . . . You have to be stronger than Oxford before you trust yourself in Oxford."

What better tribute to the need of education based on the class-struggle than this:—"You can have a Labour majority in Parliament, but unless it feels that it is a ruling *class* it will produce a servile Government." (The italic is ours.)

To develop his mental outlook the "democratic aristocrat" is exhorted to "roam a little in the wider field of culture." Milton and Scott he must learn to appreciate. "Understand Isaiah,

and you understand the best that is in our own Labour movement." Without entirely identifying ourselves with Mr. Macdonald's homage to Isaiah, who was doubtless not a little of an agitator, and who (in translation at all events) had a truly moving style, we endorse his recommendation as to not ignoring "the wider field of culture." And in this connection we suggest to the workman-student that he might be interested—and Mr. Macdonald, too—in the Literature Syllabus just issued by the Labour College (Correspondence Dept.).

But to whom did Kneeshaw, of Birmingham, refer when he wrote, in a letter evoked by Mr. Macdonald's, of "a small clamant group of people who are organising the men who desire to know into study circles and economic classes of a narrow calvinistic character, dealing only with the external, material side of life . . . ?" Can it be—no, surely, we have done nothing to deserve those terrible adjectives. But one needn't be a Calvinist, or even calvinistic, to believe that some folk are predestined to talk an intolerable deal of rubbish when they talk about education!

M. S.

THE PLEBS BOOKSHELF

THE *Nation* recently had an exceedingly interesting article on "Philosophy and Fiction," in which it was held that an artist, if he laid any claim to be considered an interpreter of life, "must not shrink from the formidable title of philosopher, for to hold a philosophy, in its broad and practical sense, merely means that a man believes in some attitude to life and accepts some principle of value, or else that he definitely believes in the futility of belief. . . . It does not matter, from the point of view of art, what he believes in; he may be a sceptic and believe in the folly of faith provided that he is a whole-hearted sceptic. Unless he so believes he falls at once into the futility of art for art's sake, a conception ridiculous beyond words." And then the writer proceeded to use an illustration of especial interest to ourselves:—"In the world of education it is often said that teachers of economics should be impartial, and

when the meaning of this vague impartiality is canvassed it appears to mean that the teacher should have no views of his own, that he should be disinterested. But the person who can study economic facts without being interested has no claim to the title of man: if he does not like economic facts let him leave them alone and nobody has a right to complain. But to go on studying economics, nay, even to teach them, and all the time to be as disinterested as the remote and careless gods of the Epicurean system, that is not folly, it is a crime." To which excellent statement of the case I can only suggest one amendment, in the last phrase; to teach economics disinterestedly *would* be a crime—if it were not an impossibility. The point for us to remember being that people who imagine they are teaching economics—and kindred subjects—disinterestedly are deceiving themselves, whether or not they succeed in deceiving anybody else,

The British Empire Union—

FOR	AGAINST
British Influence	German Influence
“ Labour	“ Labour
“ Goods	“ Goods

which includes among its prominent members two Dukes, and a whole bunch of Earls, Viscounts, Brig.-Generals and Baronets, ending up with J. A. Seddon, Esq., M.P., C. B. Stanton, Esq., M.P., and J. Havelock Wilson, Esq., M.P., has just issued a Manifesto on Industrial Unrest. “In considering the present widespread industrial unrest,” it begins, “it is necessary to emphasize one principal cause; that is the continuous teaching and preaching of false economics by speakers who have studied summaries of Karl Marx or obtained a one-sided knowledge at Labour Colleges.” Very regrettable, isn’t it? One is sure C. B. Stanton, Esq., M.P., lies awake at night pondering over it—and its probable consequences to “broad” minded politicians. Moreover, this pernicious teaching has lately been reinforced by “the spread of Bolshevist ideas from Russia.” This is too much. What has J. Havelock Wilson, Esq., M.P., been doing to allow such a thing? What’s the use of J. Havelock, etc., etc., if he can’t refuse transport to such pernicious doctrines? . . . Anyhow, it is comforting to learn from the B.E.U. that “the vast body of the workers in this country are not revolutionary”—“their instincts are sound, but they need elementary questions answered.” The B.E.U. is undertaking the job of counter-propaganda. “We owe it to the workers to give them the chance of hearing both sides of the case.” I hope Plebs classes will seize the opportunity. Write the British Empire Union, 346 Strand, W.C.2, and book a date for a discourse AGAINST “the extinction of private enterprise as advocated by the Triple Alliance,” and FOR “the Necessity for Increased Output.” Who knows—Stanton himself might come down and lighten your darkness!

* * * * *

From the chapter on Robert Smillie in E. T. Raymond’s latest volume of biographical sketches, *All and Sundry*—

“The Right Honourable Robert Smillie who might have been (had this country possessed any tolerable system of discovering and training for its higher purposes all the talent born in it) would have doubtless shown great talents for administration; and the Citizen Robert Smillie who may possibly be would make the wheels of his iron world revolve in earnest. It is too late, no doubt, for society to secure the lost ally; and if it is to make Citizen Smillie impossible it must do more than rail at him. It should study with care certain words of his. ‘I have been one of seven persons,’ he said on one occasion, ‘who have had to wash in a small kitchen, one little tub serving all of us as our only bath, and a change of water taking place only when the water would no longer serve its purpose of removing dirt.’ Now, this bestial state of affairs cannot be wholly set to the charge of ‘capitalism.’ . . . But one thing is certain. It may not be specially dangerous to allow stupid men to live

in stupid dirt; it may be even dangerous to deprive them too suddenly of their dirt. But to allow the clever and ambitious to grow up to manhood in such conditions is madness. Every vivid nature that grows up warped and embittered by Robert Smillie’s experiences is a social danger, and more dangerous, perhaps, if he becomes an honest man than he would be if he joined the ranks of scoundrelism. It is easy to understand a lack of passion for social justice. It is less easy to understand the carelessness of the comfortable classes concerning social security. One would think that the mere instinct of self-preservation would lead to the construction of some educational net which would make sure that youths of brains and character are not permanently ranged against the existing order by the bitter contrast between their potentialities of mind and soul and the degradation of their physical life.”

Quite interesting, isn’t it? Excellent advice to far-sighted capitalists whose “instinct for self-preservation” is aroused! “The construction of some educational net”—a priceless phrase. . . . But the advice comes a little late in the day. “The youths of brain and character” are making doubly sure of being permanently ranged against the existing order by thinking for themselves, and by going in for an education which will tell them WHY, under the existing order, there will always be a “bitter contrast between their potentialities of mind and soul and the degradation of their physical life.”

* * * * *

We are indebted to a friend up north for a sight of the following postcard, which we are having framed for the Plebs office. (Names, etc., omitted):—

The Workers’ Educational Association.

Unsectarian, Democratic, Non-Political
— Branch.

Dear Mr. —, I’m sorry I cannot undertake to lecture for you as I am really too busy to prepare anything. I gather you have some connection with the Plebs League. If so, I wish you luck as they are certainly in sore need of Education.

Yours cordially, —.

There’s a heartless wretch for you! He sees we’re in sore need of his especial commodity, but he’s “too busy” to bother with us. So we must go down uncultured to our pauper’s graves.

* * * * *

If I had known of the actual conditions under which Bruce Glasier wrote *The Meaning of Socialism*, I should have phrased my short review last month slightly differently. That review expressed my honest opinion of the book; but I should like to add, in view of what I have learned since, that that opinion does not prevent me admiring and respecting as highly as anyone the single-hearted devotion of its author to the cause he believes in, and the courage which in spite of even the severest physical pain enabled him to complete his work.

I must get on to a brief mention of the pile of books and pamphlets lying on my desk. From the National Labour Press we have received Kautsky's *Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (trans. by H. J. Stenning. 2s. 6d.); *Democracy and the Press*, by F. H. Hayward and B. W. Langdon-Davies (1s. 6d.), both of which we hope to review next month. I am sorry Kautsky did not arrive to be dealt with side by side with Lenin this month. Plebeians will, of course, compare the two books with considerable interest. Also from the National Labour Press come Bruce Glasier's *Socialism in Song* (6d.), an appreciation of Morris's "Chants for Socialists"; *Pre-War Diplomacy—Fresh Revelations*, by E. D. Morel (6d.); and *Workers' Control in Industry*, by G. D. H. Cole (I.L.P. Pamphlets, No. 25. 2d.), which contains a very interesting paragraph on the "Difference of Temperament" of Guild Socialists and Marxian Industrial Unionists. . . *Village Trade Unions in Two Centuries*, by Ernest Selley (Allen & Unwin. 3s.), is a useful history of trade unionism amongst agricultural workers, from Tolpuddle (1833) down to conferences held in the early months of this year. It takes up the story of the village labourer, therefore, exactly where Mr. and Mrs. Hammond dropped it in their first book, and is a useful "postscript" thereto. Another publication on the same subject is an I.L.P. pamphlet, *Towards the Dawn: The Revolution in Rural England*, by Tom Mackley (1d.). . . . From the Reformers' Bookshop, Bradford, come two spirited pamphlets by Joe Walker—*Capitalism and War*, and *Newspapers and War* (4d. each). Walker is a propagandist with ginger—and with a knack of apt quotation. These pamphlets consist of articles contributed to the *Bradford Pioneer* from 1915 onwards, and contain a lot of useful press-cuttings, and comments. Their author, moreover, never misses an opportunity of putting the case for Independent Working-Class Education, or of commending THE PLEBS, so that Plebeians will assist their own cause if they obtain copies and "place" them in likely quarters. . . . *Direct Action*, An Outline of Workshop and Social Organisation, by Wm. Gallacher and J. R. Campbell, is published by the National Council, Scottish Workers' Committees

31 North Frederick Street, Glasgow (3d.). When I get my pamphlets bound in book form (when!) this will go in with *The Miners' Next Step* and other S. Wales programmes, and Murphy's Shop Steward pamphlets. . . . Another item from Glasgow is *The Scottish Reformers' Year-Book and Diary* (Reformers' Bookstall, Glasgow, 2s., postage 1½d.), a really handsome little book which has already been commandeered by the Plebs secretariat for use in the office. . . . *Anarchist Communism in Plain English*, by L. A. Motler (47 Crowndale Road, London, N.W.1. 1d.), is a short but lively statement of the case for Communism. . . The Workers' Socialist Federation (400 Old Ford Road, E.3) send us *Soviets for the British*, by L. A. Motler (1½d.), excellently simple propaganda; *Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, Thesis submitted to the First Congress of the Communist International, Moscow, March, 1919, by N. Lenin (2d.), certainly to be studied alongside of Kautsky and Macdonald; and *The Hungarian Revolution*, by C. H. Schmitt (9d.), a weak translation of a not very effective "impressionist" account of the revolution which ended Nov. 16, 1918—before Bela Kun (who does not even get a mention) and the workers had seized power. One can only suppose that the W.S.F. arranged for its publication without having read it through. From a pamphlet entitled *The Hungarian Revolution*, its members would expect something rather different to this. . . . The series of Lectures on *Economic and Industrial History*, by A. P. Yates, now being issued by the Labour Pioneer Press, Merthyr (1½d. each, post paid) should be exceedingly useful to classes short, at present, of a tutor. . . . *Trade Unionism for Clerks*, by J. H. Lloyd and R. E. Scouller, Introd. by G. Bernard Shaw, (Palmer and Hayward, 3d.) is (1) an appeal to clerks to organise, and (2) a scheme for the better organisation of the N.U.C. Of interest to all students of industrial organisation.

Geo. Harvey asks me to state that he is now able to supply copies of his *Industrial Unionism and the Mining Industry* (1s. 3d., postpaid). Send your orders to him at Miners' Hall, Wardley, Pelaw-on-Tyne. J. F. H.

IF YOU LIKE US
GET US NEW
READERS



THE PLEBS LEAGUE

OBJECT

To further the interests of independent working-class education as a partisan effort to improve the position of Labour in the present and to assist in the abolition of wage-slavery.

MEMBERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT

Each member shall pay 1s. a year to the Central Fund of the League, Subscriptions to date from January to December.

Individual members, wherever possible, shall form branches to which local organisations can affiliate. Every such branch to be responsible for its own expenses and to have a voting strength at the Annual Meeting according to its membership.

Any alteration in the constitution shall be decided by a Postal Ballot of the individual members.

The seven Executive Members of the League, the Secretary and the Editor of the Magazine shall be elected by Postal Ballot.

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