

*Vol. XII. No. 11*

*November, 1920*

# THE PLEBS

AGITATE EDUCATE ORGANISE

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“The working-class has been  
in the habit of Sending Out  
its Thinking.” It’s a bad  
habit. It has to learn to  
Do Its Own.

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*Monthly*

*Six Pence*

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*the money* and we rely on you.



# THE PLEBS

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

Vol. XII.

November, 1920

No. 11

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
OUR POINT OF VIEW (Editorial) .. .. .	187
WORKING-CLASS CULTURE. By A. Lunacharsky ( <i>Concluded</i> ) .. .. .	189
THE GENERAL PLAN OF OUR STUDIES. By T. A. Jackson ( <i>Concluded</i> ) .. .. .	192
TEN-MINUTES' TALKS WITH NEW STUDENTS—I. By J. P. M. Millar .. .. .	195
R. H. TAWNEY'S DAMP SQUIB. By Eden and Cedar Paul.. .. .	197
THE LATEST CRITIC OF MARX. By Noah Ablett ( <i>Concluded</i> ) .. .. .	199
PRODUCTION AND POLITICS—IV. By J. T. Walton Newbold .. .. .	201
GEOGRAPHICAL FOOTNOTES TO CURRENT HISTORY—I. By J. F. H. .. .. .	205
CORRESPONDENCE: From C. T. Cramp, M. B. Reckitt, and "Nordicus" .. .. .	207
NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT. By W. H. .. .. .	209
STUDENTS' PAGE .. .. .	212
THE SOUTH WALES "TEXTBOOK" CONFERENCE. By A. Bevan .. .. .	213
REVIEWS. By A. P. L., W. H., K. M. H., and J. F. H. .. .. .	214
THE PLEBS BOOKSHELF .. .. .	218

## OUR POINT OF VIEW

(Which is Prejudiced, Partial and Partisan)

**W**E got a heap of compliments on our first sixpenny issue, and along with them some criticisms. A criticism, to be exact; for every one of our correspondents concentrated on a single point. We included no feature (they pointed out) appealing specially to the beginner, and our contents generally were a little too "advanced" for any but those who had grown grey—or bald—in the study of Marxism. New readers (our critics continued) are mostly beginners; if, therefore, we aim at an increased circulation, it is up to us to provide reading-matter which does not demand a previous course of class-training for its enjoyment.

\* \* \*

Our critics were right, and we will waste no space making excuses. If there is one job which more than any other we of the Labour educational movement need to set our hands to, it is the job of Simplification. *Simplification* of style and treatment; *elimination* of unnecessary detail and technical phraseology; *concentration* on broad essentials, and on making these rightly understood. We have done our best to mend our ways in the present issue; and we urge our critics to let us know how far, in their opinion, we have succeeded.

*We Acknowledge  
Our Fault*

If you, dear reader, happen yourself to be a new reader of THE PLEBS, will you, after looking through this issue, write us a postcard telling us whether it meets your needs, or what alterations or new features you suggest? You will help us greatly by so doing. THE PLEBS is written and produced by working-class students for working-class students. There's no call for any false modesty on your part. We were all beginners once—and all of us are still beginners in most subjects. We can only make THE PLEBS what you want it to be if you let us know what you do want.

\* \* \*

Meantime, as we have already said, we have borne in mind the suggestions already made to us while planning the contents of this month's *Some New Features* number. The first of a series of short "Talks with New Students" appears on another page. These "Talks" are written specially for the beginner, and beginners would greatly assist the writer if they would send along any points they would like to see discussed or explained. In our "Students' Page," also, we include items especially interesting to the new student; and here again we urge readers to forward any queries (for instance, on any article or sentence in the magazine), answers to which would be useful to them. But we don't want merely to include certain special features for beginners; we aim at helping them to read and enjoy everything in THE PLEBS. We have accordingly put at the head of each article a line or two of explanatory comment, with the object of making clear the particular point or main interest of that contribution. Lastly, we urge new readers (as well as old) to read—and *make use of*—our Correspondence pages. Live articles ought to produce lively discussion. We have no doubt that PLEBS articles *are* discussed; but most Plebeians have yet to cultivate the habit of writing down their criticisms and sending them along to encourage discussion in the magazine. This must be due either to excessive modesty, indifference, or simple laziness. We leave it to themselves to decide which cap fits them.

\* \* \*

One word, also, to our contributors, for this matter of simplification can scarcely be taken in hand without their help. When writing *To Our Contributors* for THE PLEBS, take Blatchford for your model—as regards style—rather than the translated version of Marx. Don't try to impress people by the extent and variety of your knowledge; it's a little weakness we're all prone to, but it is a weakness. Remember Elbert Hubbard's advice and never mind about being clever—*be fresh*. Try and come down from the lofty mental levels on which you yourself move to the bottom of the hill—to the beginner just starting the climb. It isn't easy, but it can be done. And (this for quite practical reasons) pay a little attention to the *length* of your contribution. It's quite easy to count the number of words in a page of THE PLEBS, and therefrom to estimate the space you're filling. You will thus save the editorial department hours of time, inches of blue pencil, and many swears.

\* \* \*

We hope that the success of the new PLEBS will be repeated in the case of every organ of real working-class opinion. Labour needs *The Need for a Labour Press* its own daily, weekly, and monthly periodicals. A clear-cut working-class point of view needs to be put from every angle, and applied to every department of social activity.

If you want to realise afresh this urgent need spend twopence on the excellent pamphlet just issued by the I.L.P. Information Committee—*The Capitalist Press*, “showing what the Press is, who owns each paper, and who directs its policy.” Ponder upon the particulars given therein about the Harmsworth, Hulton, Dalziel, Bottomley and “Cocoa” groups of newspaper proprietors. Remember that however fiercely Harmsworth may quarrel with Hulton about circulations, or Bottomley rave at “Cocoa’s” policy, the whole crowd of them “are united against Labour, and, when the word goes forth that common action is necessary, the Press organs through which they control public opinion speak as one gramophone.” And if you hesitate to pay a little more for your own periodicals until such time as they get on to their feet, may God pity you for a chicken-hearted wobbler.

\* \* \*

But observe that we emphasised above a *clear-cut working-class point of view*.

In the last issue of the *Socialist Review*, Ramsay Macdonald “regrets to think” that what you and I call Independent Working-Class Education “is, as a culture, devastating in its effect, narrowing and destructive to originality as all creeds are that can be put into waistcoat pockets.” (One tries to picture the waistcoat pocket which would accommodate *Capital*, Vol. I.) Mr. Macdonald admits that such books as Starr’s *A Worker Looks at History*, or Paul’s *The State*, “are very fine testimonies to the intelligence and studious habits awakened by this creed.” Still—he “regrets.” . . . May we briefly point out to him that Independent Working-Class Education aims precisely at being “devastating in its effect,” and at “narrowing” its scope to the very definite job confronting it (*i.e.*, the abolition of capitalism); that, therefore, it is not greatly concerned about “originality,” though Mr. Macdonald, like the Athenians of Paul’s day, may insist on the charm of telling or hearing “some new thing”; and that *intelligentsia* of his type and theirs have always stammered feeble protestations about “dogmas” and “formulas” when confronted with any clear-cut *positive* point of view. For the rest, let him read Lunacharsky’s article (concluded in this issue) and then reconsider his position. In the meantime we remain unrepentant.

## WORKING-CLASS CULTURE

By A. LUNACHARSKY (Moscow, 1918)

Translated for THE PLEBS by E. BERNSTEIN

(Concluded)

**I**T would hardly, however, be true to suggest that this subject of the relation of *class* culture to human culture in general is an everyday theme of the workers. Quite the contrary. The working class on its march has grown into a long procession. An immense distance divides the vanguard from the rear, and in the interval there are many sections with but little consciousness of their destination. I cannot deny that you will find amongst us Socialists some—not always uneducated—who angrily exclaim: “To the devil with bourgeois culture!”

But you will notice that such definite and resolute antagonists of the Past can be classified into two types. First, the ascetics, the puritans—the Hebraic type, as Heine called it. When these contemplate the future they simply rule out the

need of "luxuries." Hence those serious-minded ones who take no pleasure in the "toys" of Art, particularly during the period of conflict. They will waste no time to obtain knowledge which does not bear directly upon the facts of life. Sorel, the Syndicalist, is an outstanding representative of this tendency. He conceives the Socialist order of the future in such severe practical forms as would appeal to the most rigid Quaker.

But there is also the Hellenic type—those who expect Socialism to lead to an outburst of joy in life, expressing itself in a glorious paganism. . . . And these are prone to declare quite definitely that Socialism must destroy the old temple and build up a perfectly new one.

Against either extreme we cannot protest too much. The first is the result of the narrow-mindedness of the *backward* section of the proletariat. The second is the outcome of the romantic sweep and self-confidence of the *advanced* section, full of energy and adventure, but still heedless of that immense and abundant inheritance bequeathed to us by former ages; an inheritance which calls for a process of sifting because it is a medley of both beautiful and ugly. We have a brief and simple answer to all such wrong ideas. The proletariat is, in its very essence, a *cultured* class. In its very self, in its organisation, programme and outlook it is the product of a highly-developed economic machine, created by capitalism. . . . As the Socialist process is a result of the capitalistic process, which it alters and elevates, so the whole culture of Socialism is like a fresh branch on the great tree of human culture. The new class-culture is a new orientation. It is an organic metamorphosis of the culture common to humanity.

The proletariat must use all the nutriment of the soil tilled and dressed by a long line of ancestors. This it must do with care and consideration, like an industrious husbandman who has inherited great possessions. But it would be folly to expect the inheritor to be cramped by the old regulations, to hesitate to call a spade a spade, to be afraid to take stock of things and improve them in the way which suits him best.

## II

When people speak of proletarian culture they frequently mix up Socialist culture with the culture evolved by the proletariat while still struggling with the capitalist order. Such a confusion hinders a clear understanding of the problem. Thomas Aquinas drew a picture in which he compared and contrasted the Church Triumphant and the Church Militant; the first the assembly of the Saints, the second the company of Martyrs and Confessors. The *Ecclesia Triumphans* was full of glory, victory, peace, harmony, blessedness. The *Ecclesia Militans*, on the other hand, was exposed to trials and afflictions, toil and tribulations. Yonder the City exists. Here it is to be sought. There, all is perfect knowledge. Here, we see in a glass darkly.

Such a contrast applies in every movement which marches under the banner of an ideal. The day is coming when human culture will be in full blossom. But as yet we only see the frail stalk forcing its way upward. The culture of the coming Socialism will be identical with the culture of humanity as a whole. But the culture of the struggling proletariat is a highly-specialised *class* culture, fashioned in conflict. It has no time to bother about exact and perfect form. Every class, like every nation, having reached its blossoming time, evolves a *classical* culture. Every class, while striving to grow, is *romantic*, and its romanticism takes the typical forms of "Storm and Stress." (A class doomed to over-

throw and decay is likewise romantic, but in a different sense. It has the romanticism of sadness and disillusionment.)

But we must not conclude that a profound kinship does not exist between the cultures of Socialism and of the proletariat, simply because there are many divergencies between them. It is, indeed, for the sake of the ideal of culture that the conflict is being waged—for the sake of brotherhood and real liberty. It is a struggle against an individualism which is crippling mankind, aiming at the triumph of that mass-life, Communism, which springs not from the principle of compulsion, nor from herd instinct, but is due to the principles of an altogether new organic—or, rather, super-organic—coalescence of individualities into supra-individual unities. . . . The ways and means whereby we shall reach our ideal cannot, of course, be in antagonism to it. But we cannot demand from the "culture of conflict" the fair fruits of perfect form or easy energy which will certainly appear in future; and we may expect that proletarian culture, just because it is struggling, suffering, aspiring, will have many features quite undreamt of in the general conception of a triumphant Socialism.

But, to begin with, let us ask whether this fighting proletariat has any kind of culture at all. Certainly it has. First, in Marxism, it has an exact and mighty *method* for the investigation of social phenomena, the corner-stone of a complete philosophic conception of the world. In this alone the proletariat already possesses an *intellectual* weapon which can compare with the most notable triumphs of human understanding.

Again, in the sphere of *politics*, it has in many countries revealed a great capacity for organisation. The dead hand, to be sure, retards its growth. Bourgeois parliamentarism, bourgeois nationalism still infect the young political organism of the proletariat and of the International as a whole. But, however severe the crisis may be which must be gone through, the disease will be checked and cured, and the political organisations of the proletariat emerge the stronger for the struggle.

[ Let us turn to another side of ] proletarian culture: *the educational struggle*. The emergence of higher proletarian schools among many Socialist parties; the increasing number of all kinds of clubs with scholastic and æsthetic aims; specially the more and more direct approach, through the childhood and youth organisations, to the problem of organising the proletarian lower school—a problem of fundamental importance; the search for a basis of reform for the proletarian *home*, the proletarian *kitchen* (from which woman must be emancipated) and the proletarian *nursery* (which has scarcely yet come into existence)—these form a series of problems to which proletarian Socialism has begun to give both theoretical and practical answers. Only a few Social Democrats realised prior to the war the truth which Spencer irrefutably demonstrated—that the very best *intellectual* education affects the will only in a small degree if the *emotional* life is not at the same time organised. It is absolutely essential that the rising generations of the proletariat should have an *ethical and æsthetic training* under the inspiration of the Socialist ideal. . . .

The war and waste have brought about a tragic situation in Russia. All of us are crushed by a dread of possible calamities. To-day, famine ; to-morrow, unemployment; the day after, an attack; and so on. Anyone shutting his eyes to these dangers would be a madman. Yet the proletariat, having just awakened to a life of freedom, though standing on the edge of such an abyss, is everywhere eager to pluck the fruit of spiritual enjoyment. This is the sign of a great and

inveterate spiritual craving, and at times of a pathetically definite consciousness, on the part of the proletariat, of the necessity to organise its soul, its mind, its heart.

Art is first of all the organisation of the emotions of particular persons, groups, classes, whole nations, and so on. Proletarian art must express the proletariats' emotional life. Should proletarian art, then, be tendencious? What do you mean by tendency? You remember those lashing and self-scourging pages in Chekhov's works in which he speaks of the productions of so-called "non-class" artists. You can find "no kind of God" in them. But it is not possible that a God should be absent from the work of artists permeated by the proletarian spirit. Experience of actual conflict; wrath towards oppressors; passionate hope of a future brotherhood; the solidarity of those engaged in the same task; the sense of the supreme importance of that work to mankind in general; all this must pour like a cataract into the soul of such an artist and impart to his work a spiritual content. Such art cannot be without a purpose. It need not seek tendenciousness. "Tendency" is something tacked on artificially to the product of the creative imagination. In genuine art such tendenciousness is out of place.

There were already noticeable in 1905-6 in Russia movements in this direction among the proletariat of Petrograd. You say, nothing came of them. I answer, History, at the time, tore with a cruel hand the gold thread of a free cultural activity in Russia. It was the February days of 1917 which bound it together again, and the social forces of to-day are weaving that thread of gold. Let us help them. Let us continue the activity which reaction had cut as with a knife. It is our task to solve the cultural problems of the working-class; problems which must be solved not merely for the sake of Russia, but for the sake of Socialism and humanity.

## THE GENERAL PLAN OF OUR STUDIES

(Concluded)

*T. A. Jackson, lecturer and organiser for the North-Eastern District, Labour College, here concludes his brief discussion of "What we study, and Why."*

**W**HAT a man *wills* depends primarily upon what he *must*. Nature creates the *necessity*—geography and brain power in reciprocal interaction provide the *possibility*. Man's first motive cannot be other than to keep alive—his second, to have the best kind of life possible to him.

So far as his possibilities extend at a given point in time and space, he manipulates the forces of nature to the satisfaction of his needs. The more easily he satisfies his physical appetites the more time and energy he has available for the satisfaction of his mental needs—if any. The more, under pressure of necessity, his brain is used, the greater grows its power and need for use. If his fundamental emotion is to have life and have it more abundantly, his detail volitions will depend upon his opinion of what circumstances and acts are best calculated to give him his ideal of an abundant life. This, in turn, will vary as his experience has varied, and this again is an expression in summary of his relations with nature. Man's experience, and the resultant ideas and ideals, provide motives for his acts.



On the basis of a wide variation of geographical possibilities, human society specialised into innumerable social forms, each with its locally-adjusted consciousness. Geographical differences beget the specialisations of thought, language, and institutions. How can a World-society arise? How can man join together those whom the earth has thrust asunder?

*The Tool—the Mother of Strife and the Father of Unity.*

History is much more than a record of man's endeavour to attain a good time. Were it merely this we should find steady advancement in (so to say) a straight line. We should expect to find in all stages of social growth one idea of that-which-is-good expressed in varying degrees of clearness. Once a thing had been discovered to be good the knowledge of that fact would be preserved and universally acted upon. But has it been so?

Man lives in groups. That at any rate is an enduring fact. With it history begins. Grouping is a means of survival so essential that it is taken for granted in all disputes. Nay, more!—the chief disputes which have disturbed societies in the past, as in the present, have all arisen upon questions of how the *group* should act.

Upon what does the existence of the group depend? And why should these disputes arise continually? To maintain the existence of the individual units there must be a continuous supply of food (and its concomitants, clothing and shelter) and of the means to its maintenance, while to keep the group in being there must be some effective bond of association.

The quantity and quality of the food, clothing, and shelter depend upon the relation between the group-knowledge and the potentialities of the group-territory. The bond of association is provided by natural compulsion—negatively in the fear of enemies, animal and human; positively in the common need for food, companionship, and sex-expression. The existence of a group depends upon its command of the forces of nature—upon its knowledge of how to adapt natural materials to the satisfaction of human needs. What particular group arrangements these adaptations require, will, of course, vary with the concrete natural peculiarities; but just as the *fact* of human grouping gives the starting point for all history, so its general condition is the production from nature-given materials, by intelligent labour, of the requisites of human satisfaction.

Production implies *tools*, and skill in the use of them. The history of production is the history of the tool. But tools require users; hence the history of tools is the history of craftsmanship, which in turn implies specialisation. Thus this history of tools gives as its first outcome the social sub-division of productive labour. This social division of labour in turn implies complex diversity of experience and consequent variation of knowledge. It also implies the ever-increasing inter-dependence of the specialised parts, all being functionally necessary to the whole. Specialised tool-users lose freedom of movement in relation to the group, in the same measure that the group as a whole gains freedom in relation to nature. Capitalist society possesses the power of circumnavigating the globe in a few days; but only a tiny minority of those whose labour-activity makes this possible ever go more than a day's journey from their homes. Thus, the more the compulsion of combination the more there arises, in diverse knowledge and opinion, the possibility of dispute. The tool unites—yet foments antagonism!

The prime incentive to all improvement in tools and processes is the need to secure increasing control over nature. The productive activity of man is thus first directed to the creation of a surplus of necessities beyond his immediate needs. And, wherever a surplus actually results, the tools which have made it possible have created, in addition to the abstract possibility of dispute, a concrete object for it. Fortunate tribes are raided by unfortunates—to the tools of production are added the tools of war; to organisation for internal social maintenance is added organisation for external defence, and, then, conquest. External war creates the possibility of internal. Property arises as a means of conserving the surplus in the hands of a class of proprietors. The State is invented to safeguard those proprietors and their possessions. Class conflicts arise for control of the State. Religions, originally expressions of group emotions, become revised and reinterpreted in terms of class-experience, class-ideals, and class-interests. The general ideals of good, conditioned by man's needs, are thus integrated into national, and differentiated again into class ideals; and the fights for the ideal become national wars and revolutionary class-struggles.

#### *What then is History?*

History is the record of the progressive inter-action of man and nature; of the method whereby mankind has acquired predominance in the struggle; of the mental processes involved in that acquirement; of the surplus of wealth resulting; of the changes of form assumed by that surplus in keeping with the transformations of social-relations consequent upon changes in the nature of the tools and the forms of their reaction upon social structure; of the varying mode in which man has organised his forces; and the conflicts which have arisen for the control and direction of the production process and the enjoyment of the results. It is a record of the growth of the social organism from ignorant necessity-driven agreement, through group and class-antagonisms, into universal intelligent association for the common well-being.

This is the Materialist Conception of History, and this gives the ground plan of our studies:—

- (a) *Evolution*:—The growth of man and nature.
- (b) *Economic Geography*:—The particular relation between man and nature, and the general transformations of man's activity thence resulting.
- (c) *The Science of Understanding*:—The study of man's chief tool—the organ of understanding and the general method of its use.
- (d) *History*:—The record of man's general struggles with nature and the particular social transformations resulting.
- (e) *Economics*:—The particular study of the inner mechanism of capitalist society, its specific dependence upon history, and its general revolutionary potentialities.

We may be told that this programme is sordid, material, and unspiritual; or on the other hand that it is utopian, romantic, and abstract. It is all these, and more also!

Invited to choose between the idealist, who explains man's being by his thinking, and the formal materialist, who explains man's thinking by his being, we solve the contradiction by interpreting man's history as the progressive result of a struggle between man's thinking and being—between his ideas and

his experience, his ideals and his needs, his desires and his powers—between the nature behind and the nature before.

Historical materialism does not deny the existence or the power of ideas or ideals—it remembers only that they arise in the life-activity of concrete, living men. The question which came first, the thought or the deed, is idle; for the direction of brain-activity is given by the needs of the material organism, and the activity itself is a “deed” of nature. The thought is a deed and the deed implies thought. History records the development of man’s understanding, not as the master but as the servant of his body.

The Materialist Conception of History emphasises the fact that the quantity and quality of man’s economic activity determines relatively and absolutely the quantity and quality of the rest of his intellectual activities.

After all, why should we flatter the brain any more than the liver? A thought is a reality—a relation between material things—an activity of a material brain induced by its relation to material things. Knowledge is consciousness of relation, and sound thinking about History gives us as a result consciousness of the progressive relation between thoughts and things.

THOS. A. JACKSON

## TEN-MINUTES’ TALKS WITH NEW STUDENTS

### I.—ON THE POWER OF IDEAS

*This article is the first of a series specially written for the beginner by J. P. M. Millar, late student of the Labour College, and now lecturer for the Edinburgh district, Scottish Labour College.*

**N**O ONE who has done any active work in the Labour Movement can fail to have noticed the enormous influence which *ideas* have in holding back or helping forward the progress of the working-class. A century ago (or less) many rebels believed that the reason why the workers remained the drudges of society was because they did not possess the vote. But nowadays working-class voters greatly outnumber those who live on rent, interest and profit. Yet the workers are still drudges; and though their lot may in many respects be better than that of their grandfathers, they are still *dependent* upon the few who own the land and the factories for their “right” to earn their food. Voting-power has not as yet enabled them to alter the *system* of society.

Why? The workers are not held down by sheer force—driven to work at the point of bayonets, or encouraged to “increase output” by a loaded revolver at their heads. (Though it is true that their masters hold the bayonets and the revolvers in reserve, and would unhesitatingly use them if the need arose.) But in ordinary circumstances the owners of the land and the factories—the masters of the industrial machine—rely on something else to “keep the workers in their place”; something stronger than horse-power and even more effective than gun-powder:—*persuasive power*.

What does this *persuasive power* consist of? Of *ideas*—ideas favourable to the maintenance of things as they are, to the upholding of the capitalist, profit-making social system. And the important point is that, so long as these ideas are swallowed by the worker, he is shackled to capitalism by chains stronger than those which of old bound the galley-slaves of Rome.

To-day, the capitalists are a little bit afraid of using harsh measures; they are not at all sure what might be the outcome. They may adopt such measures in the case of little Irish villages or Indian towns. But in the big mining or industrial centres of this country they prefer to try the *soothing word*. And they are accordingly redoubling their efforts to make full use of that deadly weapon of *persuasion*. They are forced to do this, because ideas of a very different kind are already spreading amongst the ranks of the workers—ideas which come from the workers themselves!

The capitalists, therefore, through their hired writers and speakers, are desperately preaching what from their point of view are "safe" and "sane" ideas; for example, that, without the directive ability of themselves, the whole machinery of production would go to pieces, that it would be like a ship without a rudder; or that "just as the worker is entitled to wages, so the investor is entitled to profit"; or that any changes in society must be very, *very* slow; or that history teaches us that there always have been rich and poor, and that, therefore, there always must be; but that nevertheless the interests of rich and poor are not antagonistic but identical, and that you can't hurt the rich without hurting the poor even more (the poor always manage to get more of the hurts, but less of the ha'pence).

Now obviously such ideas play a big part in keeping the mass of the workers in an indifferent and backward frame of mind. They may not be contented—they generally aren't; but, because of the influence of the bosses' *persuasive power*, they doubt whether things can ever be made much better. The bosses' *persuasive power* is accordingly a Power for Reaction which we workers who desire something better have got to fight.

How? Why, by spreading other ideas—ideas which will be a Power for Revolution. To the bosses' claim that industry would go to pieces without him to direct it, the worker must reply that it would go to pieces even quicker without him and his fellows to work it. Against the idea that "just as the worker is entitled to wages, so the investor is entitled to profits," the worker has to insist that his wages are the outcome of his work, whereas profits are the result of shoving work on to somebody else. When the boss-class insists that all changes must be very, very slow, the worker will point out that if the boss saw a chance of making bigger profits, he would turn his factory upside down in twenty-four hours, if practicable, to ensure his grabbing them; and, moreover, that history teaches that the bosses themselves were by no means averse to Revolution in the State when it was a case of ousting anybody else—kings or landed gentry—who stood in their way. When the boss asserts that the interests of capitalist and worker are identical, the worker will reply that his experience has taught him that the precise opposite is true.

In short, the intelligent worker will realise that the working-class must provide *its own ideas*, its own *persuasive power*; and that to do this effectively, it must *look after its own education*. The price of liberty is knowledge.

Next month we shall consider how it is that most current ideas on social questions are opposed to the idea of "all power to the workers," and whether the leisured, owning class deliberately fosters ideas which it knows to be untrue or is blinded by its own interests and traditions.

J. P. M. MILLAR

## R. H. TAWNEY'S DAMP SQUIB

*A review of a much-talked-of book by a prominent W.E.A.-er, which affords striking illustration of the fundamental difference in aim between the PLEBS and "a foot-in-both-camps organisation like the W.E.A."*

*The Sickness of an Acquisitive Society.* By R. H. TAWNEY. (Fabian Society and George Allen and Unwin. 1s. net.)

THE vice-president of the Workers' Educational Association has written a notable booklet—notable alike for what it says and for what it leaves unsaid. It is one which Plebeians with a shilling to spare will do well to buy. They will find in it little that is new to them; but what the work states is stated in a way to challenge thought, and to justify the revolutionary outlook which so sharply distinguishes the Plebs League from the W.E.A. We believe that the book has already had a considerable success; and we consider that, though it is full of faults from the standpoint of literary craftsmanship, the success is well merited. But what a mystery is the gaining of a literary success. Why should an admirably written little work like Loftus Hare's *Tariff without Tears*, a masterpiece of Socialist criticism and one enlivened throughout by subtle humour, fall stillborn from the press, while Tawney's damp squib sells in its thousands? And why, while praising the book, do we call it a damp squib? Of that anon.

The work contains eleven chapters. In the first, which is introductory, the writer gives us the impression (continually recurring throughout the book) that he is going to blow the revolutionary trumpet. "There are times which are not ordinary, and in such times it is not enough to follow the road. It is necessary to know where it leads, and, if it leads nowhere, to follow another." Increased productivity has been the one characteristic achievement of the age before the war, and "it is precisely in the century which has seen the greatest increase in productivity since the fall of the Roman Empire that economic discontent has been most acute." But, as he shows in this and subsequent chapters, the main purpose of industrial organisation under capitalism has been to enrich functionless property owners; and thus, as the class-consciousness of the workers develops [ Tawney does not so phrase it ] one of the immanent contradictions in capitalist society becomes accentuated. The capitalist organisation ceases to give the high productivity which might be expected from modern technique, ceases to do this because the workers are in revolt against the rôle assigned to them under capitalist production. Accepting without criticism Tawney's use of the terms "rights" and "duties" (for a discussion of the philosophical implications of these terms would lead us too far afield), we may quote the closing paragraph of the Introduction as a summary of the main drift of his book:—

The conditions of a right organisation of industry are . . . permanent, unchanging, and capable of being apprehended by the most elementary intelligence. . . . It [industry] should be subordinated to the community in such a way as to render the best service technically possible . . . those who render that service faithfully should be honourably paid; and those who render no service should not be paid at all. . . . The direction and government of industry should be in the hands of persons who are responsible to those who are directed and governed, because it is the condition of economic freedom that men should not be ruled by an authority which they cannot control. The industrial problem, in fact, is a problem of right, not merely of material misery, and because it is a problem of right it is most acute among those sections of the working classes whose material misery is least. It is a question, first of function, and secondly of freedom.

This idea of function is defined more clearly in the second chapter on

"Rights and Functions." Function means *social* function, and Tawney recognises explicitly that the tendency of capitalist development has been to encourage the enormous growth of an exploiting capital which is utterly devoid of social function. This capital is the controller, or rather the legal "owners" of this capital are the controllers, of industry—the drones control the bees. And explicitly or implicitly Tawney recognises that the effective control of government is in the hands of functionless exploiting capital. Nay more. Though at times he writes as if the "nation" under capitalism were a real unit, elsewhere he states clearly enough that the class struggle makes the unity purely fictitious. Thus, on page 67 we read:—

If work were the only title to payment . . . a body of workers who used their strong strategic position to extort extravagant terms for themselves at the expense of their fellow workers might properly be described as exploiting the community. But at present such a statement is meaningless. It is meaningless because, before the community can be exploited the community must exist, and its existence in the sphere of economics is to-day not a fact, but only an aspiration.

Nevertheless, when he comes to consider the means by which the "functional society" he desiderates can be brought into being, Tawney seems to assume that after all there is a community to which he can appeal. The constructive side is the weakest part of the book. Where the issues of the class struggle are involved, the author leaves all the t's uncrossed and all the i's undotted. He has got beyond Fabian collectivism (see p. 64), and seems to aspire towards something which leans rather towards the syndicalist than towards the collectivist integration of Guild Socialism. He sees that the existing productive system is breaking down (p. 70). "The first symptom of its collapse is what the first symptom of economic collapses has usually been in the past—the failure of customary stimuli to evoke their customary response in human effort." And, in effect, he recognises the Marxist truth that a new economic system can replace an old system only in virtue of the greater productivity of the new. For on page 79 he writes: "The road along which the organised workers, like any other class, must climb to power, starts from the provision of a more effective economic service than their masters, as their [the masters'] grip upon industry becomes increasingly vacillating and uncertain, are able to supply."

But how, precisely how, is the new functional society to arise, phoenix-like, out of the ashes of the old? Tawney does not tell us. The terms "parliament" and "revolution" do not, we think, occur in the book. There is a passage on p. 61 which we may quote, on the one hand as an unfortunately typical example of inelegant writing, and on the other hand because (aimed at the Plebs League and the revolutionary school in general) it emphasises the author's laodicean contention that the constitutional route and the revolutionary route are not incompatible:—

If at the same time private ownership is shaken, as recently it has been, by action on the part of particular groups of workers, so much the better. There are more ways of killing a cat than drowning it in cream, and it is all the more likely to choose the cream if they are explained to it. But the two methods are complementary, not alternative, and the attempt to found rival schools on an imaginary incompatibility between them is a bad case of the *odium sociologicum* which afflicts reformers.

But that is precisely where the reviewers must part company with their author. They have read Tawney's book with sympathetic interest; they honestly believe themselves free from *odium sociologicum*; but they are absolutely convinced that the two methods are alternative, not complementary.

As they have shown elsewhere in an extended work (*Creative Revolution*) they are utterly unable to accept the notion implicit throughout *The Sickness of an Acquisitive Society*, and at times stated with more or less clearness, that the transition to the new order will be effected by something analogous to the theological "conviction of sin." The owners of "functionless property" are to be shown the error of their ways. Then they will meekly vacate the saddle—like the American slave-owners in 1861, and like the Old Man of the Sea in the Arabian tale! Nay, nay, we hold that, while individual specimens of the converted and conscience-stricken capitalist may be willing to support a foot-in-both-camps organisation like the W.E.A., capitalists *as a class* will cling to their functionless property and its associated privileges till the system which produced them welters down in bloody ruin, and the strenuous revolutionary minority, the elite of the class-conscious proletariat, steps in to inaugurate a new and better system of production. The effective cause of the final collapse of capitalism, and the effective cause of the upbuilding of the new order, will be the revolutionary will of the industrial workers, who have totally discarded the ideology of the ancient order. R. H. Tawney, for all his eloquence, and despite the shrewdness of much of his criticism, is still the trick-rider bestriding two horses at once.

That is why, to change the metaphor, we term his book a damp squib. The parliamentarians of 1640–50 (nay, was it not the saying of Cromwell himself?) are said to have charged their soldiers, "Trust in God, and keep your powder dry." Tawney has too much trust in God, and too little dry powder! He is fond of literary allusions, and uses them with taste and skill. Here is one for him to consider. Throughout our perusal of his book we were haunted by thoughts of *Middlemarch*. An alliterative refrain, "Mr. Tawney of Tipton Grange," was continually running in our minds. Like Mr. Brooke of Tipton, R. H. Tawney, in his reformist zeal, "goes into all that—but not too far, you know, not too far!"

EDEN and CEDAR PAUL

## THE LATEST CRITIC OF MARX

(Concluded)

*Noah Ablett (S.W.M.F.) concludes his castigation of Dr. Scott, Lecturer in Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, and author of a recent book on Marx.*

**S**O we have a problem stated in a way that makes it admittedly insoluble, and an answer which cannot answer anything; Marxism has been given its final blow; yet Marx continues to be the "most widely read Socialistic author," and to have "the largest following of believers." Strange! But is it not just possible that Scott has failed to state the problem correctly as well as to understand the answer?

Let us first try to settle what the problem really is. The actual words used by Engels in the preface to Vol. II are—"If they can show in which way an equal average rate of profit can and must come about, not only without a violation of the law of value, but by means of it, I am willing to discuss the matter further with them." Scott thinks the problem is to show "how the price of the article still follows the labour, although it admittedly follows the total amount of capital requisite for the thing's production." But Marx wrote three volumes to

show why the price of the article *cannot* follow the labour; is it not, then, somewhat ridiculous to ask now that he should deny the results of his own analysis?

The position is now reversed. Instead of Marx having to show "how the price of the article still follows the labour" we have to show Scott how Marx showed that the price of the article (except under certain limited conditions) could not follow the labour. I have already done this in *Easy Outlines of Economics*, and it has been done scores of times by accomplished Marxian scholars, notably by Louis B. Boudin. I shall, therefore, attempt here only the briefest possible summary. The first thing to get hold of is the way Marx viewed capitalist production (and, for that matter, the world). He saw its roots in feudal society (and further back), and by a logical historical progress gradually oust feudalism and become the dominant method of production. But it never stopped and it never can stop until it, too, is ousted in its turn. Marx minutely and elaborately analysed each step of its development, from the simple circulation of commodities to the highly complicated categories of conversion of surplus-value into Profit, Interest, and Ground Rent—a labour of 40 years. (And, by the way, the rough draft of Vol. III was in its essentials completed before Vol. I was published.) It was a stupendous achievement, to portray the law of movement of the whole of industrial production and circulation.

In Vol. I he deliberately assumes that prices equal value, but he is careful to remind us constantly (pp. 203, 293, 533, 576, etc.) that this assumption, necessary at this stage of the analysis, must be qualified in Vol. III. Now, if prices equal value, then in Scott's words "the price of the article still follows the labour." Why, then, do prices not equal value? In order that production shall develop—and, note, on an ever-increasing scale—at any given moment in any given industry there must always be from factory to factory lower and higher stages of development. This means that per £100 invested in the high-stage factory more will be spent in machinery and less in wages than in the low-stage factory. This is no matter of theory, but of fact. But the market is unconcerned with these varying stages of development in the factories. It says, "Whatever your stage of development, if you bring your goods here you get the same price." What is the effect of this? By means of this equal price on the market the low-stage producer does not receive the value he (his workers) has produced, while the high-stage producer receives *more* than he has produced. And these differences in the producing and the receiving *must* balance each other so that over the whole of the industry value does equal price, though neither in the low nor the high-stage factory can value equal price. Capitalist production is social in its character, and is not concerned with what Scott calls a "thing" or an "article," but with commodities as a whole.

Let us now look at the diagram showing the five capitals that so puzzled Scott. Marx gives this table as though they were five factories at different stages of development. But they were not chosen by chance. They were, at the time Marx wrote, analogous to the different departments of a cotton mill (carding, preparatory spinning, spinning, and weaving rooms), and immediately after giving the diagram Marx adds them up as if they were the capital of a cotton mill. By this means he brings the average of all the capitals to 78 c, 22 v, 22 s.v. Now, Scott will not be able to deny that is actually the process in either a cotton or any other mill. In every industrial undertaking some departments have a



bigger proportion of machinery to wages than others. But the capitalist only receives the profit on the whole concern, high and low departments combined. What is true of the different departments in one factory is true of all industry, and Marx in his analysis proceeds to show the actual process.

The Theory of Value boiled down is very obviously true. It simply asserts that only living human beings can create value. To deny this is to compel the introduction of miracles into industry. In Bolshevik Russia, where capitalist production has practically been ousted, the denial of this theory would be laughed to scorn. Why? Because, as Marx discovered, the mode of production determines the conception, and the mode of production in Russia is that the workers control and operate the means of production, and under such conditions the conception that labour creates value is as natural as breathing is to the body. And when capitalism has been finally abolished throughout Russia the Theory of Value will be no more than a statement of the obvious.

It is seventy-five years ago since Marx began to propound his Theory of Value. Since then considerably more than 700 books have been written with the object of refuting that theory, with the result that Marxism is immeasurably stronger than it has ever been. In the light of these facts are we not justified in demanding that before another capitalist-university "economist" writes a criticism of Marx, he should have thoroughly drilled into him the plain fact that it is not the same thing to *produce* as to *receive*; that he should learn the meaning of the technical terms used by Marx, and should be compelled to quote them; and above all that he should endeavour to understand that the world, including capitalist production, is not static but in constant motion?

Dr. Scott is like all the other Marx critics. He states the wrong problem and uses the wrong terms; so it is not surprising that he has to make a guess at the "solution." The "central economic principle of Marxism" has withstood a good many bombardments during the last half-century. It is hardly likely to be seriously damaged by Dr. Scott's pea-shooter.

NOAH ABLETT

## PRODUCTION AND POLITICS

*This article is the fourth of a series written by Walton Newbold for the PLEBS, the earlier instalments of which appeared in the June, July and September issues. Its object is to show "the striking confirmation of the Materialistic Conception of History," which the author found in the course of studying "the nature and origins of British political institutions." Everywhere he discovered "the impress of the tool scored across the material and spiritual expression" of the people; and the various instances he gives constitute a series of illustrative footnotes to Industrial History, which should be of the utmost value to tutors and students.*

### IV

#### MANOR AND PARISH

**I**N the last article we traced the development of the essential means of primitive production up to the stage when the pasture lands were supplemented by arable lands furrowed by the wooden plough, drawn not by man, but by oxen. Now, instead of living on the milk and milk products of their cattle and the meagre crops grown on little hand- and spade-tilled plots, the members of the community had an augmented fare of meal, cakes,

and bread to consume, along with the richer milk foods their cows now yielded when stall-fed in winter with the crops of the arable land. Living conditions were steadily improved by the newer social economy. Gradually and laboriously arable cultivation was added to pasturage, until in time it became in the better lands of England and Lowland and Eastern Scotland the more important element in agriculture.

It is with this plough-land that we have to do all through the Middle Ages in England and in Scotland south of the Highland line. It is this plough-land which constituted the foundation ground plan on which was erected the whole structure of manorial economy and feudal polity. Where the cow pastures predominated the Clan and the Kin system survived. Where the ox and the plough prevailed the Kin relationship fell into disregard and political society emerged and flourished.

From this point, therefore, we can begin to observe and to explain the rise and progress of the political and ecclesiastical superstructures whose institutions and functionaries selected and codified such of the tribal customs as seemed to them in harmony with the interests of that class of Thane-worthy men who were, by the eighth and ninth centuries, transforming the free village communities into manors with more or less servile tenants.

At the time of their coming to these shores, and subsequently, the Angles and Saxons were organised in and designated as *tribes*. These tribes comprised an irregular and unknown number of families, who occupied steadings which came to be known as *tuns*. Blackstone, in his *Commentaries*, would have it that the *township* or *tithing* comprised ten free families or households. This township is considered to be considerably older than the manor, something destroyed in essence by English feudalism. Stubbs, in his *Constitutional History*, says:—"The unit of the constitutional machinery, the simplest form of social organisation, is the township, the *villata* or *vicus*." (Vol. I, v. 39.)

Clamped down upon this popular basis, this geographical area inhabited by a Kinship group, was the *manor*, wherein the headman shed his patriarchal responsibilities to his folk and assumed those of a lord over his people and a henchman responsible to his sovereign-lord, the King. In a later article we shall trace the rise of the territorial state, compounded of manors and of the ecclesiastical system based upon parishes. At this juncture we are concerned with the units of feudal polity, secular and ecclesiastical.

Everywhere, locally as well as nationally, with the development of territorial lordship marched the usurper of more or less arbitrary labour dues, the collector of tribute, the assessor of taxes. Until the spread of arable culture, the contribution to the headman or chief consisted of food-rents. Regular settlement had to precede the levying of a tax on land, as also of a whole calendar of labour-services. What strikes one in going through any detailed record of manorial customs is the endless and varied exactions which the lord demanded. The whole manorial system reveals itself as a method of levying tribute in one form or another. The heavy father of patriarchal society has become the grasping master.

The gradations of social status and of local prestige are decided by the conditions accompanying land tenure and the manner of the tillage. The lord of the manor has villeins and cottars to do his ploughing for him. The sok-man

ploughs for himself. The villein ploughs for others, but has a plough-land of his own. The cottar ploughs for others and has no plough-land of his own.

The court-roll of the manor and the accounts of the reeve have all to do with the tenures of plough-lands, their fractions and their multiples; with sowings, harrowings, weedings, reapings, leadings, threshings; with hedging, ditching, turf-cutting; with payments of pigs and sheep, hens and eggs, butter and cheese; with all the diverse and tangible applications of labour and its concrete embodiments. The lord is concerned to annex to his own use and enjoyment every emolument of the acres which the uncertainties of war, the innovations of royal power, the dooms of anti-popular witenagemots (or councils of the magnates of the realm) and the sanctions of an alien church have enabled him to claim as his in trust for God and the welfare of his people.

One of the most unscrupulous myths that pass muster for truth in the history books is that which represents the introduction and spread of Christianity in Britain as being favourable to and favoured by the common people. The Christian propaganda, especially that of the Roman Bishopric, was assuredly "revolutionary," but it was anti-popular in origin and purpose. It was used to destroy the sanctions of common right and Kinship duties. It was directed to weakening the claims of human birth-right and blood-relationship. It was aimed at the rites, beliefs and institutions of real fraternity, and elevated in their place a mystical and meaningless gospel of "brotherhood," of salvation by "blood," of a hierarchy of "fathers," of a reward beyond the grave, of a heaven "in the sky, by and by." The dignitaries of the Church were almost all drawn from royal or noble families. The abbeys and priories were alternative lordships and estates for the brothers, sisters and cousins of the ruling aristocracy.

The would-be lord of one or many manors welcomed the missionary of Rome with his new and infallible faith, his intolerance of old ways, his stern advocacy of authority and his advice to men to be humble in anticipation of a beatific hereafter. He gave him the use of barn or hall, he accepted baptism and thrust it upon his Kinsmen, putting himself and his into the hands of Holy Church. Oft-times he set up a chapel in his homestead or transformed his "burh" into a church, levying tithe, acting as priest, and paying a subordinate to read the services and to officiate at mass. In this useful capacity he became the father of his people, holding open or barring to them the doors of heaven and hell. Despite the statutes of the Church and the encyclicals of Popes, this state of affairs continued until the 13th century. The lord remained the tithe-receiving *rector* and employed a *vicar* to do the work.

In the Welsh *trefgordd*, we found that in addition to a common churn, the social group had a common *oven*. With the development of plough cultivation, the accessories of village industry came to include a common *bakehouse*, a common *brew-house*, a common *ale-house* and a common *mill*. Even as the common fire and altar of the family homestead evolved into the lamp and candles and high altar of the parish church, remaining under the control of the lord of the manor, who collected his tithes at the church door himself or by deputy, so the common oven, the oven of the patriarchal homestead, became with the increase and variation of the corn crop a more important institution, and as an accessory of the manor house or the parish church formed a valuable source of revenue for whichever local officer controlled it. "In England," says Mr. Addy, in his *Church and Manor*, "the sale of bread was a monopoly in the

hands of the lord or in that of the local community. Not only were the tenants of a manor fined if they did not grind their corn at the lord's mill, but also if they sold bread which they had not baked in the lord's oven."

Another institution was the manorial or parish brew-house, where the grain was mashed and made into beer or ale. The times of sowing and of reaping were in pagan days great occasions of drinking. Later, these drinking bouts coincided with Easter, and celebrated the "Lord's Supper" along with the "Master's Feast" on Maundy Thursday, or on Our Lady's Day—which became the customary rent-day. The tenants drank deep of scot-ale or penny ale, but paid a sum greater in value than the liquor that fuddled their brains. The autumnal feasting coincided later with Michaelmas, the time of winter servant hirings. From the lord's or the parish scot-ale-house evolved the village inn, leased out to some tenant with the proviso that it should be available for the customary drinking occasions.

Finally, we come to that later but all important adjunct of a plough-using and corn-growing economy, the corn-mill. For many ages the grinding of corn had been the laborious work of the woman in the home using the quern to pound and bruise the ears of barley, oats and other grains. The original quern, said the Northmen, had been stolen from behind the back-door of Hell. This wearying method of making meal survived in the Orkneys and Hebrides within living memory, and I have myself seen the primitive meal-mills by the stream-side, three or four to a clachan, owned in common by the villagers though standing on the landlord's ground.

The manorial mill belonged to the lord, and all his tenants had to bring their corn to be ground there. What they thought of this custom and of the miller is evident in the ribald tales and folk-songs of the peoples of every land as well as in the records of such townships as Manchester and such burghs as Glasgow.

The township meeting or assembly of the fathers of free families was wont to be held at some open place, on a slight elevation in or near the village, at the "cross," the parish-pump or in the church-yard. Immemorial custom required that it should be held in the open-air, in an open space where neither evil spirits nor concealed weapons could work ill. With the rise of the manor this assembly, or *moot*, fell into desuetude (though there is reason to believe that its successor was the vestry, composed as this was of the free-men or land-owners of the parish).

The parish church, again, *cf.* Mr. Addy's extraordinarily painstaking and thought-provoking study, *The Church and the Manor*, was an intensely interesting feature of the manorial society. Mr. Addy points out that the two parts of the church in the manorial parish, the chancel and the nave, belonged respectively to the lord and to the community. He shows how the early churches conform in design to the early abodes of the chieftains. He brings out clearly the well-recognised fact that the parish church was the common assembly hall, the granary and the chaffering place of the township.

When we come to the title to pews recognised in law, we discover it to be appurtenant to a *messuage*—*i.e.*, the plot of land or tenement on which the house originally stood and which was the source of the owner's rights in the community, including his lands. It was these free-holders of messuages who had been *mote-men*, who sat in the manorial court or Court Baron of manorial free-holders and composed what came to be known as the *Vestry*. They had to do with the rights of common and other matters affecting the township.

The chairman of this body appears to have been the *reeve*, chosen frequently by the community of tenants and approved by the lord of the manor. He was at once the representative of the tenants and the agent of the lord. He was responsible for the care of the church, and in the 15th century came to be known by the name of *church-warden*. He had to take charge of the brew-house and keep an eye on the bake-house. He was assisted in his duties by other elected or nominated officers, the beadles, the ale-tasters, etc.

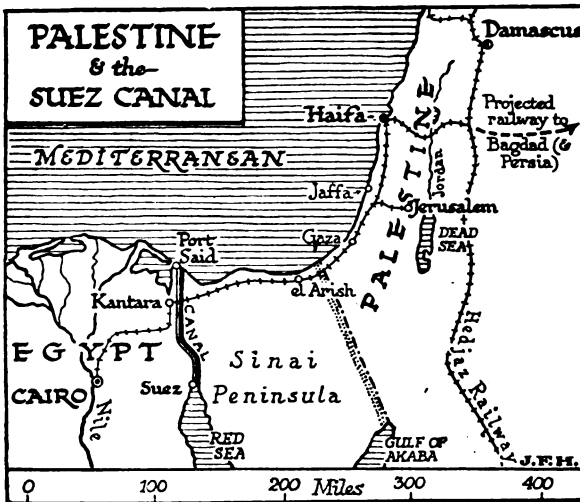
In the pre-Reformation and manorial period, the secular and the spiritual were but aspects of a single system. Rights in the community began with free tenements in the village street and went on to free acres in the open fields, pasturage in the common and the waste, pews and rights in the church-nave, attendance at town meeting, manor-court or vestry, eligibility for the office of reeve or church-warden. On the one hand was the manor—on the other the parish. Both were institutions rooted in the land settlement that went with plough cultivation.

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

(To be continued)

### GEOGRAPHICAL FOOTNOTES TO CURRENT HISTORY.—I.

*If you have an atlas at hand, look up the land- and sea-routes discussed in this article, as the map here reproduced only covers the area in the immediate neighbourhood of Suez.*



**T**HOSE PLEBS readers who took the trouble to study the “generous” and “statesmanlike” terms of the recent British agreement with the Egyptian nationalists, doubtless set themselves (being instinctively suspicious when governing-class activities are under consideration) to discover what factors made such a settlement “practical politics” in Egypt, while the, in some respects, parallel case of Ireland continued to be handled in a very different spirit. It is the purpose of this

short note (and map) to indicate one or two geographical facts which have a bearing on this point.

The British Government's primary interest in Egypt was the existence of the Suez Canal. A writer in the *Manchester Guardian* (August 28) puts the position pointedly and picturesquely:—

For countless ages before the Canal was dug traffic between Europe and Asia went in large measure across the neck into which Palestine and Egypt narrows. There were two routes—one up the Gulf of Akaba and through Palestine (the route which helped Solomon and the Crusaders to their wealth); the other across the Isthmus of Suez and through Egypt. The latter was the more important, because the shorter, easier, and more secure. So long as it was a land route it did not specially interest England, the great sea Power. We did our traffic with Asia via the Cape. Once the Canal was dug it became of the first importance to us. It created a short sea-road. If we controlled that road, then our commerce and communications were by so much the easier and more secure. If some other Power controlled the Canal, then our commerce and our communications were exposed. It was the knowledge of this which took us to Egypt and kept us there. Egypt was the base from which we could defend the Canal. It had little other meaning for us. Our economic interests in the country were, and are, less than those of other countries.

Why, then, have we in effect abandoned this base? *Because we have established ourselves on the other bank of the Canal*—as the mandatory power in Palestine. "Palestine is to take Egypt's place as the bulwark of the Canal. The Imperial Colossus is to transfer the weight from one leg to the other."

When the British Army pushed across the Sinai Desert from Kantara, it left behind it a trail of standard-gauge rail tracks, all the way into Palestine. Across the old desert route, which has been followed since the days "when the Sphinx was a pup," and which it took Moses and the chosen people 40 years to traverse, "Egyptian, L. & N.W., L. & S.W., and Franco-Belgian locomotives now trail their smudges of Welsh coal smoke," doing the journey from Kantara to Haifa in six or eight hours.

To quote the *Guardian* writer again:—

The Palestinian communications, therefore, behind the Canal are all in being. They are not very long, and they are very reasonably secure. The desert railway traverses an uninhabited country and is therefore safe from attack. *Let it be added that there are economic potentialities of a high order in part of the country tapped by the Kantara-Haifa railway, and of a somewhat special kind.*

Moreover, Palestine is a hill country—much healthier as a station for European troops than Egypt. So what more could you want? Why not be "generous" and "statesmanlike" to Egypt?

Yet there is another, and equally good, reason for "transferring the weight from one leg to the other." Britain now has important interests in Mesopotamia, and in Persia—both lying due east of Palestine. The shortest route to these new spheres of influence is not *via* Suez, the Red Sea, round Arabia, and up the Persian Gulf (see your atlas). It is by sea to Haifa, the future port of Palestine, and thence across land east to Bagdad. Let me quote from an article in *The World's Work* (March, 1920):—

A £2,000,000 harbour scheme is already prepared to convert the bay at Haifa into a port and naval base [the Suez Canal can thus be defended by sea-power]. Haifa's present population is 20,000, but it is predicted that it will be 100,000 within ten years. It will be the port not only of Palestine, but of Mesopotamia as well, for it is the sea-terminus of the projected Syrian Desert railway to Bagdad, which is to be conveyed by a pipe-line, conveying Anglo-Persian oil direct to the British Navy in the Mediterranean. . . . Hereafter, the Canal lies back of Haifa.

No wonder that it is Haifa "which interests the British War Office and the British Admiralty." A base for Suez—a port for Mesopotamia, Persia, and Arabia (*via* the Hedjaz railway)—this indeed is a "fair exchange" for the concession of Egyptian "independence."

J. F. H.

C. T. CRAMP AND THE W.E.A.

To the Editor of the PLEBS

DEAR SIR,—My attention has been called to a letter which appears in your October issue, expressing surprise at the fact that I am speaking at a meeting of the Workers' Educational Association to be held in Sheffield during October. Let me at once say that it is quite true that I have always emphasised the view of independence in working-class education, and that all my experience confirms the belief that I was and still am right, but surely this does not prevent me from expressing my views at any meeting, whatever its composition may be. During the past twelve months I have put my point of view at meetings of undergraduates at Glasgow and Oxford—in the former case with considerable difficulty. I have also addressed a meeting of railway shareholders, steadily upholding the working-class point of view. Is there any reason why this should not be done at a gathering of working-men whose opinions upon education differ from my own? I am inclined to think that convictions which have to be hedged about by a policy of fear of actually coming in contact with our opponents are of hot-house growth and would be improved by contact with the outer world. If we are to be more than a sect we must be prepared to declare our faith in the face of all men, and not merely before believers. That has been and is my policy. If I had an opportunity of addressing Old Nick and all his angels I should gladly welcome and take advantage of it—my enemies will say that I shall certainly have this opportunity.

By the way, in an earlier edition of the PLEBS, some beloved comrade "understood" that Hodges and I had stated that there was little difference between the education given by the W.E.A. and the Labour College. Hodges will answer for himself. So far as I am concerned the statement is a lie.

Yours faithfully,

Unity House.

C. T. CRAMP

[We are very glad to have Cramp's assurance that his views on independent working-class education have not changed, and trust that he was able to convince at least some of his audience at Sheffield of the futility of W.E.A. methods and the W.E.A. point of view. Our suggestion that an explanation from him was desirable was only made because we were loth to believe that he was speaking at a W.E.A. Conference as a W.E.A. supporter.

We must leave it to our friends to decide whether we of the PLEBS are characterised by a "fear of actually coming in contact with our opponents." As opponents we think we may boast that we are ready to come in contact with them at any time. It is only when "contact" means conciliation that we have a healthy fear of it, and we hope and trust Cramp shares that fear.—Ed. PLEBS.]

SOCIOLOGICAL CALVINISM

SIR,—I cannot claim to be in any sense a Plebeian, but I have been for so long an interested PLEBS reader that I do not feel altogether out of order in appealing to other readers to look very long and very hard before they leap to the conclusions to which your contributor "Nordicus" invites them in his extraordinary article entitled "The Mechanism behind the Mind." It is the most extreme example I have so far encountered of the literally soul-destroying mechanism behind the mind of the Neo-Marxian propaganda which is ransacking every department of modern science to reinforce its claim to establish a dictatorship over the will and personality of the common man. If a similar interpretation had been placed upon psychological research—with a view to ensuring that "the interests of these dull people" should be permanently removed from their own control—in some outpouring of the anti-Labour Press, with what indignation might we not have expected it to be greeted by every decent revolutionary! On the cover of the PLEBS runs the statement that "employing class education is not good enough for the workers." I suggest that this sort of "science" is not good enough for the workers, even when it is preached to them from within the covers of one of their own periodicals.

"Nordicus" is, of course, perfectly right in criticising "our sentimental comrades of the 'democracy' school" for their foolish contention that any theoretical education could remedy the natural inequalities in man's inborn mental capacity. One does not need to be a "Scientific Socialist" to brush aside this sort of sentimental faith in the case for democracy. But "Nordicus" must know that it is not upon any such patent intellectualist fallacies that the validity of the fundamental case for democracy rests. If he really does not know the essentials of the democratic creed (by which I do not mean the sacredness of political "representative institutions") this letter cannot be made long enough for me to explain them to him. Clearly, if the "low degree of the average man's intelligence" is sufficient ground for excluding him from all initiative and choice in his life as a worker and as a citizen, society might decide to entrust itself and its fortunes to the concentrated mental power of the council of the Royal Society or the Convocation of Oxford University. It does not seem to follow from "Nordicus'" contempt for the masses that the only hope for society lies with a particular school of scientific sociologists who are saved by the grace of Marx. But even if this result were to follow on the repudiation of the democratic idea, this sort of sociological Calvinism could not lift from the workers of the world those chains which they can only lose when their salvation is achieved (as Marxians were once not too proud to declare) "by their own act!"

Yours, etc.,

MAURICE B. RECKITT

"NORDICUS" writes:—Apart from irrelevancies, Mr. Reckitt raises two important questions; one of fact, one of opinion.

The question of *fact* is whether the average mental level of human adults is much lower than has hitherto been assumed. As to this, Mr. Reckitt is presumably no more competent to decide than I am. I quoted the views expressed in the book I was reviewing; which views have, since the book was written, received strong support from the results of mental tests applied to more than a million and a-half men drafted into the American army during the war.

The question of *opinion* is whether, in a state of society undergoing rapid dynamic change (which must presumably last for many years before comparative stability is reached), dictatorship by an intelligent minority will be a necessity. On this point, Mr. Reckitt and most Plebeians will presumably disagree.

As to his apparent suggestion that I contemplate such a dictatorship as permanent, I can only say that no Marxian expects it to be more than a phase, shorter or longer; and most of us believe this phase would be followed by a stage in which dictatorship would be unnecessary. I did not suggest that "the low degree of the average man's intelligence is sufficient ground for excluding him from all initiative and choice in his life as a worker and a citizen"; but rather that, just as short-sighted or colour-blind individuals, whose defective visual mechanism might result in disaster to others, are precluded from becoming engine-drivers or officers on merchant ships, so it will be necessary to ensure that individuals with defective mental mechanisms, incapable of forming views as to the destinies of the community as a whole, shall not be in a position to land that community in calamity, perhaps in ruin.

Finally, with regard to the assumption that determinism relieves us of individual and collective responsibility to emancipate ourselves "by our own act," I can only reply that that assumption is not warranted. But the question is too big to tackle here. I hope, in collaboration with another Plebeian, to contribute an article on this oft-repeated misrepresentation of the Marxian position (as I understand it) at an early date.

[Letters from other correspondents discussing "Nordicus's" article are unavoidably held over till next month.—ED.]

#### PROHIBITION

DEAR COMRADE,—The useful summary of the case for and against Prohibition in the working-class point of view, in the Students' Page October PLEBS, is timely. Prohibition is in the air. The time may arrive sooner than we expect when the left wing of Labour will have to consider whether it will throw its weight on the Pro- or Anti- side, or be "impartial." It is probable that the official Labour Party will not dare to take sides. It will want to please both the nonconformist conscience, teetotal school, and also the type of worker who, in the *Daily Herald* (October 5) suggested that we have a revolution

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in order to restore the pre-war licensed hours! All the more need, then, that we of the left wing should discuss Prohibition in its bearing on the struggle ahead of us.

Meantime, I am not going to be impartial. I enjoy my beer and a tot of spirits now and again as much as anyone. But when the time is ripe for taking sides, unless some powerful reason to the contrary is shown me in the meantime, I shall support Prohibition.

Alcohol is, in the capitalist and transitional stages of society, one of the finest dopes which the resourcefulness of a master-class can find to offer to the workers. (Others are betting—the chance of getting something for nothing—and the forms of religion dished up by the churches.) Byron recognised the value of such dopes when, in *Don Juan*, describing the shipwreck and the means adopted by different sufferers to obtain forgetfulness, he wrote:—

"There's naught, no doubt, so much the spirit calms  
As rum, and true religion."

And not only is it the case as "M.S." says, that drink reconciles many a potential rebel to his lot; but the man who drinks is very often the man who, without the dope, would make the creative rebel. Many employers of labour say openly that they prefer the workman who gets drunk. Probably he has creative impulses which come out, even in work for a capitalist system; but which only find full expression in the world of unreality to which alcohol admits him.

Freudian psychology is illuminating on this subject. Man's everyday life involves an incessant conflict between his inborn instincts, which urge him to gratify his desires, and the restraints offered by his environment, his reason, his experience of life; between the "pleasure principle" and the "reality principle." To the man with creative imagination, the man with the mind to see that things could be better, that his lot is damnably unjust, but that anything better can only be got by hard fighting, alcohol offers a way out. Reason yields to alcohol. "Under the influence of alcohol the adult again becomes a child who derives pleasure from the free disposal of his mental stream without being restricted by the pressure of logic" (Freud, *Wit and its Relation to the Unconscious*, p. 194). Hard facts lose their hardness. The poor consumptive clerk proudly challenges the burly navy to fight: the navy sings, with all the creative pride of an operatic tenor in his achievement, the jingo songs provided for such occasions by the master-class.

I suggest that Prohibition will probably release a volume of creative material which will be a real strength to the class-conscious left wing; material already consciously or unconsciously striving against present economic environment, but which now finds, as the American pork-packer "hand" did, that "drink is the shortest road out of Chicago."

Yours fraternally,

NORDICUS

## NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT

### BRANCH DIRECTORY

**A**NY Plebs League member willing to form a branch in his or her locality should write to the Secretary at once, and get his address added to this list.

**BIRMINGHAM**.—A. W. Morris, 58, Colville Road, Small Heath.

**BRADFORD**.—Mrs. A. Coates, 141 Girlington Road.

**BURY**.—J. Ainsworth, 24 Openshaw Street.

**CHESTERFIELD**.—F. Rogers, Rock Side, Brimington Road, Tapton.

**COVENTRY**.—H. Hinksman, 11 George Eliot Road.

**DERBY**.—W. Ellison, 184 Brighton Road.

**GARNANT**.—D. R. Owen, Stepney Villas.

**HALIFAX**.—Miss A. Crabtree, 1 Tyson Street, Parkinson Lane.

**LEIGH**.—T. Brookes, 41 Tunnicliffe's Old Row, Firs Lane.

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**NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE**.—T. A. Jackson, Soc. Rooms, Royal Arcade.

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**PONTNEWNYDD**.—W. G. Davies, Myrtle House, Pontrepiod.

**SHEFFIELD**.—J. Madin, 109 Devonshire Street.

**TREDEGAR**.—F. W. Francis, 132 Charles Street, Tredegar.

(UPPER) **RHONDDA**.—D. W. Thomas, 29 Clark Street, Treorchy.

**WORTHING**.—H. H. Hellier, Claremont, Browning Road.

*Branches are urged to concentrate on organising and increasing sales of PLEBS in their localities. Who'll break the record?*

Just a line or two to begin with about the reception of the "Sixpenny." It exceeded our hopes. We printed nearly 1,000 copies *more of October issue than were actually ordered* at the time we went to press. By the 7th or 8th of the month we had sold right out—5,000 copies. We could have sold another 500 at least. Heartiest thanks to our friends everywhere, and regrets to those who were disappointed in not getting enough copies. The moral is—*Send your orders in good time.* We're printing more this month. *Keep shaving.* We must get the circulation up to 7,500. Can we do it by the end of the year?

\* \* \*

A word about the annual postal sub. for single copies. We were compelled, in preliminary announcements, to fix this at 8s. (4s. for six months), thus allowing 2d. per month for postage. We had to do this, because we could not ascertain the precise weight of a copy of the enlarged Magazine, and *could not afford* to make a mistake on the wrong side (for ourselves). Last month's Magazine went for 1d. postage, but the margin was so narrow that the smallest variation in weight of paper will make it 1½d. We have now fixed the rate at 7s. 6d.; and we don't anticipate that any friends who have already sent us 8s. will grudge us the extra tanner. It all goes to oil the wheels! One or two correspondents have assumed that we put up the rate for single-copy subscriptions deliberately, in order to discourage single-copy subscribers. *This is not the case.* We want them! If our present circulation was entirely made up of them, we should be paying our way *now.* We can only afford the reduced rates for bulk orders (on which we have to pay postage) as a means towards increasing circulation. Help us to get our figure up to 7,500, and we shall be able to stand on our own feet, and do without special appeals.

\* \* \*

Even the 32-page PLEBS is not large enough to permit of more than a brief reference to the pile of reports to hand this month. . . . ABERDARE VALLEY classes started October 4, with W. J. Edwards, T. Phelps and Phil. Thomas as tutors. It is hoped to run at least twelve classes in the two subjects (Econ. and Indust. Hist.). . . . BENTLEY (Doncaster) class has enrolled over forty students, is affiliating to Sheffield Labour College, and has increased its order for the Magazine. . . . BRADFORD is running three classes—"Historical Basis and Development of Society" (Geo. Malton), "Science of Understanding" (M. Collins), and "Indust. Hist." (Coun. Fred. Ratcliffe). It has also struck out a new line by inaugurating a Women's Study Circle; we hope that after a few meetings, the Bradford ladies will be so bursting with self-confidence that they'll break into the other classes and show the mere males that women make the most promising students. (Sec., Bradford Branch, Lab. Coll., Agnes Bancroft, 54 Duckworth Terrace.) The Bradford Plebs branch is seeing to it that the classes—and the Magazine—"go." . . . WHITEFIELD (Manchester) Labour Party has started a class in Economics, with T.

Nelson (Bury) in charge. Thursdays, 8 p.m., Co-operative Store, Whitefield. Sec., H. Redford, 11 Nipper Lane. We hope this class will affiliate to the local College movement. . . . BLACKBURN has found a successor to Archbold, whose departure is much regretted, in the person of S. Rees, now resident in that town as Org. Sec. to the Shop Assistants. P. Mather writes that they anticipate a more successful session than ever. . . . P. Evans writes us that about fifty were present at ROCHDALE'S "kick-off" for the season. He increases his order for the Magazine, too—bless him! . . . And East Anglia is moving! The NORWICH Plebs branch is looking after a class in English Indust. Hist., lecturer, R. Lay. Fridays, 8 p.m., Hardie Memorial Hall. Sec., A. A. Segon (see Branch Directory above). This is the Rt. Hon. G. H. Roberts' "home town," isn't it? Rocks ahead for him! . . . COLCHESTER, too. Colchester dates from Roman times. And it still has inhabitants, we believe, with pre-Roman ideas. But there are others. And they've got a Lab. Coll. class started. Lecturer, Ness Edwards. Coms. Pope (late of Liverpool) and Calthorpe (5 Parson's Heath, Colchester) are putting their backs into it. Good luck to 'em!

\* \* \*

The MANSFIELD Conference on September 25 was attended by over 100 delegates (including four women) from T.U., Labour Party and I.L.P. branches. Two splendid addresses, writes G. Abbott (org. sec., 37 Carter Lane) were delivered by Jim Griffiths (who attended in place of W. W. Craik) and W. H. Mainwaring; both speakers put the case for Independent Working-Class Education with admirable effect, and both were loudly applauded. After tea, provided by local ladies, the discussion was opened by H. Hickin, treasurer of the Derbyshire Miners' Association, who delivered a rousing attack on the "dope" administered in elementary schools and Universities, and urged that the efforts of the Mansfield and district members who had taken up this educational work should receive the support they deserved. A resolution was passed unanimously appointing a committee of twelve to undertake the work of creating an organisation to carry on educational activities, and to draw up a draft scheme for control, financing, etc., of classes. (A scheme has since been formulated for running ten classes). . . . During the tea interval, the energetic Literature Secretary (see address in Branch Directory above) got busy with a parcel of 144 copies of the new 6d. Mag., specially rushed through for the Conference. And a day or two later he sent for another parcel! Some shover!

\* \* \*

EDINBURGH District (Scot. Lab. Coll.) is the abode of Millars. John of that ilk is Secretary (30 Newhaven road, Leith) and J. P. M. (late of Penywern road) is staff tutor, and commercial traveller for PLEBS. John reports 490 students already enrolled in eighteen classes (as against 120 in four classes last year) and sends us neatly got-up little syllabus of classes in Econ., Indust. Hist., Econ. Geogy, Biology, Science of Under-

standing and Esperanto. Six part-time lecturers, besides J. P. M., including two ladies. Here is J. P. M.'s syllabus for Econ. Geog. course, which will interest Plebs generally:—1 Effect of Geog. Conditions on Mankind. 2 Importance of the Sea. 3 Natural Ways and Artificial Roads. 4 Europe, and effect of its geog. conditions on Man's Development. 5 Asia and Modern Problems. 6 Africa and the Scramble for Colonies. 7 The *New World*. 8 Struggle for Ocean Supremacy. 9 "Land of Five Seas." 10 America To-day. 11 New Map of Europe. 12 The New Russia. 13 The Future and its Possibilities.

\* \* \*

Very sorry to hear, by the way, that W. Leonard and W. McLaine have both resigned from Scottish Lab. College staff. Their loss will be felt. . . . And best thanks to those Scottish comrades who have increased their orders for PLEBS.

\* \* \*

Jack Hamilton sends us a whole pile of well-got-up syllabuses for each of the lecture courses which the LIVERPOOL Council for Industrial Working-Class Education is running this session. W. F. Hay is Economic lecturer, C. L. Gibbons and Hamilton himself are taking Indust. Hist. courses, J. Manus takes Public Speaking classes, C. Samuel—Grammar, and Dr. J. Johnstone a course on Biology and Evolution. The first-named lecturers will not, we are sure, regard it as in any way a slight on them if we quote Dr. Johnstone's syllabus only, as being of particular interest to all Plebeians in view of the science textbooks now preparing for publication. Here it is:—

### COURSE OF 20 LECTURES

Part I.—*Evidences of Human Evolution—an Historical Study.* (1) Geological periods and phases of life on earth. Quaternary Period and Glacial Ages. Early environment of Man. The time scale. (2) Races of Man. Neolithic Man. Paleolithic Man. Neanderthal Race. Pittdown and Pre-Neanderthal Man. Pithecanthropus. Anthropoid stock of Prehistoric Man. (3) Cultural Phases. Iron, Bronze and Stone cultures. Evolution of human weapons and tools. (4) Historical evidences of evolution of Man from pre-human stock. Evidences from palæontology and embryology.

Part II.—*The Study of Organic Action.* (5) Main facts of animal physiology. Meaning of life. The living impulse. (6) Animal structure and function. Apparatus of movement and sensation. (7) Brain and nervous structures and their workings. (8) Perception, brain and mind. Meaning of instinct and intelligence. (9) Animal mechanism in relation to energy. Digestion and assimilation. (10) Food. Labour power. Vital production.

Part III.—*The Study of Organic Evolution.* (11) Meaning of reproduction. Reproductive process in animals. (12) Development. Process of Embryogeny. (13) The Germ-plasm. Hypothesis of Weissmann. (14) Heredity and its study. Mendelism. Eugenics. (15) Theories of Evolu-

tion. Lamarck. Darwinism. (16) Theory of Natural Selection. Modern views on Evolution. (17) Factors of Human Evolution.

Part IV.—*Cosmic Evolution.* (18) Origin of the Earth. (19) Structure of the Universe. (20) Modern views on Cosmic Evolution.

\* \* \*

Now for one or two international items. Ontario Labour College, TORONTO, Canada, sends us its prospectus and syllabus of classes. It stands for our own educational policy, and wishes to affiliate to the Plebs League, and to use the Plebs badge. It is out against "impartiality," and bases its appeal for support on our own two headlines—"The Fact of the Class Struggle" and "No Compromise with Capitalist Culture." Classes in Elementary Economics and Industrial History—textbooks, Ablett, M. Starr, Gibbins, and *Value, Price and Profit*; Advanced Economics—textbooks, *Capital*, Vol. I, the *Critique*, and Boudin's *Theoretical System*; Political Science—textbooks, *Origin of the Family*, Paul's *The State*, Lenin's *State and Revolution*, and Labriola's *Essays*; Modern Working-Class Movement—textbooks, Webb and Craik; and courses in Evolution, Grammar, Public Speaking, etc. Address—28 Wellington St. East, Toronto. We're growing! !

A comrade just back from RUSSIA brings word that Craik's *Short History* is being translated for use as a textbook by the Soviet Educational Dept.

A CAPE TOWN correspondent writes:—"That excellent little book, *A Worker Looks at History*, was gone through a few months back by a study class here organised by the Industrial Socialist League, and the comrades consider it a gem."

DETROIT (U.S.A.) Proletarian Club sends us a prospectus of lectures and classes in Economics, Social Evolution, and Philosophy. Same old slogan! One particularly interesting feature—Plebs please take note—a *Beginner's Class in Socialism*; textbook, the *Communist Manifesto*.

Admirers of De Leon will be interested to hear that his son, Solon de Leon, has recently paid several visits to the Labour College, and spent some time discussing with the students "the American scene" in general, and American working-class educational activities in particular. Another recent visitor was Prof. Dana, of the Boston (U.S.A.) T.U. College, who came over here expecting to find the W.E.A. "filling the bill," but who confessed to being much more interested in and impressed by the work of the Labour College and THE PLEBS.

\* \* \*

We have to thank very heartily a friend resident just outside the London area for a very welcome donation of £50, which he declares is "surplus value" not created by him, and which he accordingly feels cannot be put to better use than to help in showing the workers how they are at present relieved of the "surplus value" they themselves create. A few friends with *consciences* like this one, and we should be relieved of a lot of worry! We have also received many other donations, which are not less gratefully appreciated because

they are for smaller amounts. We hope to publish a full list next month.

\* \* \*

In conclusion, a word or two of thanks to certain individual supporters. Not that they expect it—they're not that sort; but to encourage the others. . . . W. Hoare, of Coleford, Glos., has got us 25 *regular subscribers* during the past two or three months. Which shows what a chap can do who puts his back into it. . . . J. R. K. sends us a bob or two over and above his sub-

scription to the Magazine, remarking:—"The odd bits left over go to any fund you like. Thank Gawd I'm a railwayman and able to throw my vast surplus to the cause." . . . Another friend sends his subscription and something over, and says:—"As a T.U. official I find the PLEBS a constant inspiration and refreshment—even if one doesn't agree (as I don't) with much it contains. Every success to the new venture." . . . These are the little items which sweeten the monotony of office work!

W. H.

Will all Plebs Leaguers please note that the E.C. now meets regularly on the *second Sunday in each month* (next meeting November 14). Members or branches desirous of putting forward suggestions, &c., are invited to write to the Hon. Sec. before the date of this monthly meeting. The most important decisions at the September and October meetings were: (1) To hold the Annual Meet in February or March each year at different centres—next year probably at Sheffield; particulars later. (2) To issue a new propaganda pamphlet in place of *What Does Education Mean to the Workers?* (now out of print) at earliest date possible, probably during November. (3) To proceed with the various textbooks now in hand, and, if possible, to issue that on *Economic Geography* not later than February, so that it could be used for Spring Session classes.

## STUDENTS' PAGE

### ECONOMICS

Several students have sent along questions which can be dealt with under one heading.

Q.—"Are the services of a lecturer, a musician, an actor, a doctor, a lawyer, or of other such workers, commodities?"

A.—Perhaps, for the sake of clearness, it would be well to point out that the doctor owning his own practice or the lawyer is not a wage-worker. To a great extent they are in the position of the old guild-worker who sold the result of his labour. This does not apply to the wage-receiving policeman, soldier, sailor, or Civil Servant, who do not produce commodities, but are part of the State machinery needed to administer Capitalism. In other words, they are supplementary to the main business of Capitalism—exploitation of the worker in the sphere of production.

Having ruled out some of the "services" performed by various classes, let us next notice that commodities (articles or services produced for exchange) need not have a tangible, ponderable existence. I buy a theatrical entertainment, the advice of a lawyer, the services of the doctor, a lecture, the music of a band or a pianist, just as I buy a pair of boots or a pound of tea. The latter are first produced and then afterwards sent out to find a buyer. The former must be produced and consumed at the same time.

Q.—"What relationship is there between *Wages and Prices* and what governs them both?"

A.—Wages are the price of labour-power. Price is the monetary expression of value. Wages, then, are merely the price of one particular commodity. The value of a commodity is determined by the amount of socially necessary

labour-time needed to reproduce it. Value expresses itself in price which is governed in its temporary fluctuations above or below value by supply and demand.

The supposed relationship by which the employer is able to transfer the cost of an increase in wages on to the price of his commodity exists only in exceptional circumstances. (See Students' Page, February, 1920.) Given organised strength, the worker can raise his standard of life, which means an increase in the value of labour-power and in its money expression (wages) at the expense of profits.

The elastic nature of the standard of life to which custom and tradition give strength explains the differences in local and national wages. (See *Capital*, Vol. i, chap. xxii.)

### HISTORY

Q.—"What is the meaning of the sentence in T. A. Jackson's article (p. 166, October PLEBS)—'The periodical overflow of the Nile, which was no doubt an unmitigated nuisance to the Palæolithic savage, is the life-saving gift of kindly gods to men who have acquired a plough and learned to till.'" ? \*

A.—Jackson is illustrating the fact that "the gifts of nature" are wasted on man until he has developed sufficient *knowledge and skill* to make use of them. Egypt is a rainless desert except for the narrow valley of the Nile, which is made fertile by the periodic flooding of the river. To the earliest savage this flooding would be merely

\* We trust that other readers will follow the example of the correspondent who sent us this query, and will ask for explanations of any sentences in the PLEBS the meaning of which is not clear to them.

a nuisance—washing him out of his camping-place. But to the men of a later time, who had learned to plough and till, and to “harness” the flood-water to do irrigation work for them, it would no longer appear as a nuisance (or as the work of hostile demons), but as “the life-saving gift of kindly gods.” *Life-saving*, because it enabled them to turn the desert into fertile land; and *the work of kindly gods*, because they did not realise that the real factor in their change of outlook was man’s own increasing knowledge and skill.

#### EDUCATIONAL

Q.—“Do you Plebs, after all, do anything more than tell the worker he is being robbed? Does it need elaborate study and your classes to prove this fact?”

A.—Yes, we do tell the wage-worker something more than the fact that he is being “done down.” Our classes are necessary because they provide the wage-worker with something which is more helpful to him than a vague suspicion, an undefined sense of injury.

That sense of injury is one result of Capitalism, and defenders of Capitalism—men like Garvin and Gough at the present moment—realise that it must be met by all kinds of tosh about capital being the savings of the Capitalist, profits the result of his organising ability, and so forth. Such fallacies reappear in our branch meetings and lodge rooms. Therefore, even only from the destructive point of view, our work is a very necessary antidote.

But we believe, further, that for successful working-class action it is imperative not only that we should be able to meet current fallacies, but in addition root out entirely the old capitalist-

nationalist outlook and replace it by a working-class outlook which realises the definite break it must make with the present scheme of things. This is beyond compare more important than a mere feeling of discontent. “Destroying we create.”

The worker of average intelligence, unless very successfully doped, usually feels that something is wrong. He is like a man with a pain in the stomach. The Capitalist quacks try to prove either that the pain does not exist or that it is inevitable. One type of Socialist shouts: “You’ve got a pain. You’ve got a pain. Shift it. Get cured.” We try to show exactly what that *something wrong* really is, how it came about and how to cure it.

The immense widening of outlook coming from a knowledge of previous forms of society and of the ever-changing nature of human institutions, the encouragement arising from a study of past struggles, these we maintain do create a readiness for change, a boldness, a moral stamina—call it what you like—which is playing and is going to play a big part in the future of the Labour Movement.

That desire of the worker to live better has to be rationalised. Facts and figures showing the possibility of its realisation must end in action to secure that end. Without Plebs’ education Labour is at the mercy of any crank and his pet idea. Our studies give us more than “suspicions” and vague discontent. They give us a reasoned point of view.

Without depreciating the work of other wings of the Movement, we claim that the educational work is emphatically worth while.

M. S.

## THE SOUTH WALES “TEXTBOOK” CONFERENCE

THE Conference at Cardiff on Sept. 4 was far and away the most representative yet held in S. Wales in connection with the Class Movement. The miners, as usual, turned up in force, and so did the railwaymen, practically every N.U.R. Branch in the S. Wales area being represented. But the most cheering feature of the Conference, and one which augurs well for the future, was the presence of so many delegates from other organisations. The vigour and keen interest displayed by some of the newcomers made erstwhile pillars of the Labour College appear old and blasé in comparison. Indeed, it was delightful to watch the expressions of mingled incredulity and amazement on the faces of some of the “Rhondda boys” as they listened to the demands of “young Cardiff” for lecturers. A cynic whispered to me—“Can any good thing come out of Nazareth”? “Brother,” I replied, “he that hath ears to hear, let him hear.”

In the absence of Noah Ablett, Arthur Jenkins took the chair and opened the Conference with a few well-chosen remarks concerning the objects of the Conference, and the latest developments regarding the new College premises at Kew.

A letter from Principal Craik, in reference to a Memorial Fund to the late Mr. Dennis Hird, was read, and the delegates pledged themselves to do all in their power to support the fund.

Mark Starr opened the debate on Textbooks, and outlined what had already been done in the direction of getting the books written. The History, Philosophy and Biology books were soon dispensed with, as it was felt that most of the ground had been covered by the previous conferences at Manchester and Bradford. The delegates concentrated on the need for a readable, compact Economics textbook, which would be, in brief, a simplification of Marx. The need was there, the hour had struck, but where was the man? Some of us felt strongly inclined to pray for a Huxley in Political Economy! One delegate denounced the manner in which we had taught Economics in the past, and came down on the side of descriptive rather than dialectic Economics. Chas. Gibbon (who had now taken the chair) effectively combated this view. No finality was reached on this question, though it was suggested that Headquarters be urged to give the matter their earnest—and earliest—consideration.

A Publication Fund was next discussed, and

resulted in the appointment of a committee of twelve charged with the task of deciding upon a money-raising scheme. The following were those elected:—Messrs. Truermans, Benetter, Pickles, Edwards, Watkins, Dicks, Thomas, Chappell, Francis, Pope, Lewis and Jenkins. Mr. T. Watkins, of Bedwas, has been appointed secretary.

The most animated debate took place on the subject of "Class organisation and co-ordination." Many districts like Cardiff, where the desire for classes is strongly felt, are without teachers, and even the Rhondda during the coming session will be sadly lacking in this respect. One of the deplorable features of such a situation is the competition among districts for the teachers available, some places being able to offer more money than others—and class teachers, being only human, must pay some regard to the question of income. The result is that weak districts are thus rendered weaker and the movement tends to develop a dangerous lopsidedness.

We were encouraged to learn that the S.W.M.F. Executive Council had recognised the need for a wide-spread scheme of Class Organisation, and a more efficient allocation of teachers, and to effect this had appointed an Education Committee. The Conference decided

that the best plan would be to work with this committee, and urge it to co-opt, if possible, representatives from outside organisations, and to throw the classes open to the members of every industrial organisation. In the meantime, the Committee was urged to consider the advisability of distributing over six or eight divisions the S.W.M.F. scholarships to the College, thereby ensuring the widest possible distribution of trained teachers, and avoiding the necessity of teachers having to live away from their homes. The Committee was also asked to see to the formulation and printing of syllabuses for the classes throughout the coalfield. But no permanence or stability can ensue for the S. Wales class movement unless a Central Educational Council is formed, composed of representatives from all the industrial organisations in the area. That must be our next step.

An appeal from Mark Starr on behalf of the Sixpenny PLEBS concluded the conference, which was marked by praiseworthy application to business and an obvious determination to build up in S. Wales a stable independent working-class educational organisation against which not all the forces of darkness, with the W.E.A. at their head, shall prevail!

A. BEVAN

## REVIEWS

### THE LABOUR PARTY AND RUSSIA

*Report of the British Labour Delegation to Russia.* (Labour Party, Eccleston Square, S.W.)

*Russia before and after the Revolution.* By S. CARLYLE POTTER. (C. W. Daniel, Ltd., or Free Age Press, Tuckton, Bournemouth. 1s.)

The Labour Delegation to Russia consisted of diverse elements; among its members were our chief "hot-air" merchant and leading exponent of *fortiter in modo, suaviter in re* (note the changed position of the essential words); one anti-Socialist Trade Union leader; two Liberals; Ben Turner, the somewhat old-fashioned Textile Workers' official, who alone among the more prominent Labour leaders, when "accused" of being a Bolshevik, refused to regard this as a term of opprobrium; and Mrs. Philip Snowden!

The members of the Delegation were not conspicuous for their knowledge of things Russian and their Report makes this plain. It lacks any foundational structure about pre-war Russia from which the reader can obtain a proper conspectus of the events of the last three years. To some extent this deficiency may be remedied by Mr. Carlyle Potter's book, which, besides supplying some account of the various Dumas and the way "justice" was administered under the Tsar, gives numerous pre-war extracts from books and newspapers about Russia; these compared with other extracts from the "war-propaganda" period given in the introductory chapter form in themselves a short and instructive study.

But even without making allowances for the

generally anti-Bolshevik outlook of the Labour Delegation their report constitutes a record of achievement by Soviet Russia, under the most terrible difficulties (including wars on never less than three fronts), of which any nation might feel proud. To real Socialists it means more, for it is the record—using the words of William Morris written thirty years ago—"of a revolutionary administration whose definite and conscious aim has been to prepare and further, in all available ways, human life for a Communist system."

Take the following (p. 6):—"Large masses of the town population are now enjoying a share of the available national wealth (including house accommodation) greater than they enjoyed before; new possibilities of life and culture are opening out before them; and this is true in a very special degree of the child population." Of what other country in Europe can this be said?

The Report goes on: "Social equalisation is, indeed, far from complete. . . . Large numbers obtain special privileges, and some make fortunes. But when all is said the material advantages enjoyed by the new bourgeoisie over and above the rest of the population are extremely small when compared with the advantages enjoyed by the propertied classes in every capitalist country. . . . *The striking difference in economic position between rich and poor no longer exists in Russia.*"

Sentimentalists like Bertrand Russell may shudder at "dictatorship," but they cannot get away from this tremendous economic fact.

The Delegation bears eloquent testimony to the educational work of the Soviet administration:—"Opportunities of education are now open

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in the towns to large numbers of children and adults from the elementary stages up to the University. . . . All this is *free* and is to include the supply of free food and clothing to all young persons up to 16 years of age; and besides this, open-air and summer-colonies for children are being established everywhere as rapidly as possible."

The part of the Report which our capitalists and anti-Bolsheviks have most eagerly seized on is that dealing with the loss of "liberty" in Russia; but what is said on this subject only takes up *one page* out of 25. The Delegation says: "The achievements of the Soviet Government represent what we are aware only one side of the picture, but as Socialists [*sic*] we feel they should be emphasised at the outset. We must state our conviction that these achievements have been bought at a very heavy price."

Doubtless! But what is the price we here in England are paying for liberty? Is it not—Unemployment? At the present moment, when thousands of workers are out of a job and "at liberty" to starve, the signatories of this Report talk of the lack of "freedom" in Russia! Surely liberty is not an aim in itself unless it leads to better things?

It is a little comic to find representatives of such alert and sprightly bodies as the T.U. Congress and the Labour Party criticising the Soviet Congresses as large and unwieldy bodies,

tending to the concentration of power<sup>1</sup> in the hands of Executive Committees.

Also, the Report does not indicate that nationalisation in Russia is not nationalisation as envisaged by Sir Leo Chiozza Money. In Russia there are no shareholders or bondholders; the industries have been taken over by the people without any "buying-out" of the capitalist owners.

The peasant question is, of course, most important, but is so huge that it is barely touched upon in the two publications under review. Mr. Carlyle Potter's book devotes one or two chapters to the question and draws particular attention to the Communism inherent in the "Mir." On p. 24 of the Labour Delegation's Report there is a somewhat misleading statement:—"The Russian people consisted, before the Revolution, of peasant owners (the *vast majority*), a town proletariat, a small bourgeoisie and a still smaller class of large capitalists." The words I have italicised convey an erroneous impression. If peasant "owners" had formed the vast majority of the peasantry there would have been little need for the programme of the Social Revolutionary party, for the activities of Spiridonova or Tchernov, or for the "Land demands" of the peasant delegates in the summer of 1917—in fact the November (Soviet) Revolution, founded on "peace, bread *and land*," might never have taken place. A generation ago, as a consequence of oppressive taxation, etc., following on the

land-redemption schemes provided by the Russian Government (after the abolition of serfdom) the peasants had reached such a miserable condition that large numbers of them had to endeavour to subsist on holdings of half an acre and even less! It is surely a little ironic to describe these people as land-owners—especially when it is remembered that, with Russian methods of cultivation, 22 acres was reckoned as the minimum necessary to support a family!

But the Report omits from its enumeration of pre-revolutionary classes two very important items: the Imperial family and the landed gentry, who between them, less than one million in number, were the real "owners" of Russia. The private estates of the Imperial family and the State lands (also regarded as the private property of the Crown) amounted in 1914 to 400 million acres—about 35 per cent. of the area of European Russia, exclusive of Russian Poland. In the same year the landed gentry owned some 245 million acres—*i.e.*, about 21 per cent. of the area of European Russia. At the time of the Revolution, therefore, nearly two-thirds of European Russia was in the hands of the Crown and the landed gentry—and on these estates there could be no question of the peasants "owning" the land.

Mr. Potter's book mentions the following facts about Soviet Russia: that banking is a State monopoly, that charges on the railways have been abolished, and that the carriage of letters is free—all which items should surely have found a place in the Delegation Report—but do not.

One point more. The Report ends:—"The responsibility for these conditions [in Russia], resulting from foreign interference, rests not upon the revolutionaries of Russia, but upon the capitalist governments of other countries, including our own." That statement, I urge, is inaccurate. The heaviest responsibility rests upon our Western Labour movements. Which of the signatories of this Report spoke a word in defence of the Bolsheviks during the early days of the Soviet régime? Turn up the files of the *Herald* (then a weekly) or of the *Labour Leader*—even of the *Call*—and see what our Labour leaders were writing in 1917. Note especially Mr. Philip Snowden's comments in the *Labour Leader*, May 10 and 24, 1917 (on the Petrograd workers' demonstration against Miliukoff's imperialism); July 26 (on the demonstrations against Kerensky and the July offensive); and November 15 (on the Bolshevik revolution). And then recall that Mrs. Snowden—one of the Delegation—declares that she went to Russia "with an open mind. . . ." But perhaps she never reads her husband's editorials!

A. P. L.

#### A SENTIMENTALIST UP AGAINST REALITY

*Through Bolshevik Russia.* By Mrs. PHILIP SNOWDEN. (Cassell, 5s. net.)

Mrs. Snowden's book is valuable, not as evidence about the Soviet Republic, but as a revelation of the "mind" of the sentimental



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Socialist. It can be studied with profit by all revolutionaries as a very perfect illustration of the futility of heart-aches, tears, and yearnings as qualities likely to assist in the solution of actual problems.

Two things stand out clearly from this sticky mass of sentimentality. One is its author's complete inability to achieve what she admits was necessary for the fulfilment of her task—"some straight-looking and hard thinking." She wrote the book, she tells us, "with the object of promoting peace" with Russia. The measure of her success may be gauged by the reception it has met with at the hands of the counter-revolutionaries of the *Morning Post*. The amount of "straight looking" she did while in Russia can be estimated from the comment of a German journalist who was there at the same time. He took with him, he tells us, two pairs of extra strong boots, both of which were worn out on his return; Mrs. Snowden, he declares, arrived in Russia wearing a pair of quite lightly-built shoes, and would doubtless get a good deal of wear out of them after her return to Britain. As for the "hard thinking"—well, the very clearly defined view on the cover of the author's exterior is in strong contrast to the awful picture revealed by her book of the inside of her head, which recalls the phrase in the Book of Genesis about something "without form and void." But in her case nothing "moves upon the face of the waters."



Yes—something moves. It is not "hard thinking." Still less is it Christian charity. Mrs. Snowden very obviously does not "love her enemies," but she has not the courage to *hate* them, or to hit hard at them. Indeed, the appalling smallness—tinyness—of mind which characterises her comments is beyond belief. The sort of mentality which, after seeing the Russia of to-day, could take any pleasure in a feebly-clever (anti-Bolshevik) parody of "The Red Flag," and print the poor little doggerel in a book, is a fit object for pity. And do they esteem it good taste in Golder's Green to decorate the cover of a book on such a subject, written in such circumstances, with a portrait of the author? (The photograph is printed on a red ground. Why red, one wonders?)

The other point the book makes clear is that these sentiment-wallowers want no fundamental social change. They are happier as they are. They want to go on dreaming "tender dreams" about a Perfect Commonwealth; not to get down to the dirty work of building one. Their notion of "building" consists of reserved places in the limelight, and guaranteed audiences of applauding "comrades," to whom they can perorate endlessly about a hypothetical Freedom for All Humanity. And when such people come in contact with real builders—men and women who go on with the building *under fire*—they, the limelight orators and word-warriors, can only splutter and squeak about "the sordidness of mere materialism."

Poor little egoists!

W. H.

*A British Nurse in Bolshevik Russia.* By MARGARET H. BARBER. (Fifield, 1s. net.)

This little book is by a non-Socialist; but whether as evidence of the actual state of affairs in Russia (by one who has *lived* there since the Revolution, and not merely visited the country), or as a reflection of a human personality (its author is a worker, and neither a *poseur* nor a sentimentalist), it is infinitely preferable to the "stunt" book by the Socialist woman reviewed above. Miss Barber's comments on the educational work of the Communists are particularly interesting.

K. M. H.

#### SOME PAMPHLETS

*What is this Shop-Stewards' Movement?* By TOM WALSH. (Nat. Fed. Shop Stewards, Building Industry, 6 Dorset Street, E.C.4. 3d.)

An effective little statement of the case for the Rank and File Movement, with five diagrams to make the matter clear to the meanest intelligence. We like this sentence—"The working-class have been in the habit of *sending out their Thinking*," and commend it to the notice of our own propagandists.

*Irish Nationalism and Labour Internationalism*  
By BERNARD SHAW. (Labour Party, 33 Eccleston Square, S.W.1. 3d.)

A very clear and forceful statement (not quite so clear and forceful as a recent article by T. A. Jackson in *The Communist* on "England, Russia and Ireland") of the attitude of an International Socialist to Irish Nationalism. Two sentences may be quoted to show that even G. B. S. and the Labour Party move with the times:—"The clear moral for Labour is that only economic change can produce real political change," and "The Labour Party foresees clearly that all civilised countries must be controlled industrially and fiscally in the near future. . . by Labour parliaments of workers by hand or brain virtually representing occupations rather than geographical areas." Soviets!

*The Government of Egypt.* With Notes on Egypt by E. M. FORSTER. (Labour Research Dept., 34 Eccleston Square, S.W.1. 6d.)

These recommendations of a Committee of the Labour Research Dept. (International Section) as to the future of Egypt should be studied alongside the terms of the provisional agreement between the Milner Mission and the Egyptian Nationalists, made public since this pamphlet was issued. Mr. Forster's Notes form a useful appendix to the chapter on Egypt in Brailsford's *War of Steel and Gold*, covering the years 1914-20. Students of Geography and its influences on history will note with interest his remarks, in the section dealing with the Suez Canal, that "from the Egyptian point of view the Canal is a misfortune, for it provides foreigners with a permanent excuse for interfering."

*To Engineers (and other Wage Slaves).* By JOHN OWEN. Foreword by Tom Mann. (Co-operative Printing Society, Tudor Street, E.C.4. 3d.)

An able sermon on an old text—"We must fight the 20th century master with 20th century weapons"—*i.e.*, with Industrial Unionism. Recognisable by the metaphor employed in its very first paragraph as in the true succession of Marxist propaganda; but in this instance the T.U. movement is the doctor, while the midwife is not mentioned.

*Socialism Made Plain.* By PHILIP SNOWDEN. (I.L.P. 2d.)

Mr. Snowden does his best to make Socialism plain while Mrs. Snowden does hers to make it ridiculous. Peroration:—"We believe that Socialism will not only abolish undeserved poverty and bring the means for a healthy and cultured life within the reach of all, but that it will be a real blessing to those who *seem to* (!) profit and succeed under the present immoral and unjust economic conditions, giving to them a greater satisfaction in seeing all their fellows happy and comfortable than the mere possession of riches can afford them." So Socialism is quite harmless. If this is Socialism plain, we prefer ours coloured—red. J. F. H.

## THE PLEBS BOOKSHELF

I DON'T know if there are any reasons—of etiquette or otherwise—why an illustrator should not comment on (I'm not going to attempt to review) a book he has illustrated. If there are any, I shall say they're *bourgeois* and ignore them. I have been eating, breathing and drinking *Outline of History* for eighteen months, and naturally I'm rather full of it. For one thing, one doesn't get so interesting or so satisfying a job many times in a lifetime. For another, one doesn't often get the chance of working with or for anyone as generous, as encouraging, or as ready to discuss criticisms as H. G. Wells. I'm quite well aware that the *Outline* is not written from our point of view—except here and there, and more or less unconsciously. I know that a lot of us (myself included) feel that they could have made a far better job of certain sections, if not of the whole book! The point is that we'd got as far as vaguely feeling the need for such a book when Mr. Wells had already written it. And whenever the Marxian who's one day going to write the outline of history takes the job in hand, he'll have his work considerably simplified for him by the mere fact that somebody has already surveyed the ground. In precisely the same way, our students and teachers will find the book enormously helpful to them now—and doubtless are doing so already.

A word about the different editions. "If only we'd known," write numerous correspondents, "about the one-vol. (Cassell) edition, we shouldn't have bought the fortnightly parts." Well—I wonder. If they had actually been offered the choice a year ago of waiting a year and paying a guinea down, or getting the work chapter by chapter and paying fifteen-pence a fortnight for it, wouldn't a lot of them have done just what they have done—bought the parts. What might have been desirable, of course, was a compromise—the issue of the Cassell edition, without "extra" illustrations, etc., in a proportionately less number of fortnightly parts. But, unfortunately, that wasn't a commercial proposition, and it ought not to be necessary to remind PLEBS readers that we live in the Capitalist Era. The Newnes edition, in two vols., will be a handsome feature of any bookshelf; the "extra" illustrations were well and carefully chosen (I know, because I chose them), and the inclusion of "Errata" notes and Index makes the work as much a revised edition as any other. The Cassell edition is a model of "much in little"; the whole text is there, and none but *essential* illustrations are included. It is admittedly a *student's* edition, and, at present book prices, it is a wonderful bargain (proving that "large scale production"

is the most economical economic process). The new Waverley edition is the Cassell edition, plus a number of photogravures and colour-plates, and bound in two vols. You pay your money, and you take your choice! But whichever edition you've got, you've got good value.

Having scorned etiquette, I'll proceed to flout ordinary decent behaviour altogether, and mention that Cassell's are publishing this month *Some Adventures of the Noah Family, including Japhet* (2s.). I should have assumed that Plebeians all had souls above such trivialities, had not quite a lot of them referred to Japhet in their correspondence with H.-Q. And anyhow, a second generation of young Plebs is growing up so rapidly that we may have to start a Children's Corner ("Marx Without Tears"?) in the magazine itself shortly.

Among the items in the December PLEBS will be a review of H. N. Brailsford's new book—*After the Peace*. (Parsons, 4s. 6d.) It is a bitter book. But the workings of Economic Imperialism are apt to make decent people bitter. If you want chapter and verse for telling illustrations of how the thing works, beg, borrow or buy *Korea's Fight for Freedom*, by F. A. McKenzie. (Simpkin, Marshall, 10s. 6d.) You will therein discover that Japan has adopted other Western ways besides bowler hats and factories. It is a book of the same kind as Morel's Congo exposures, or Woolf's account of certain happenings in British East Africa.

All book-lovers like book catalogues—whether they can afford to buy all the items they mark or not. Messrs. W. and G. Foyle, Ltd., have just sent me their "Educational," "Philosophy and Logic," and "Literature, Biography and Encyclopædias" lists. And I've ticked no end! The lists are sent post free on application.

I have never studied a book on the subject before, so I have no standard of judgment for the subject-matter of *How to Conduct a Meeting: Standing Orders and Rules of Debate*, by John Rigg. (Allen and Unwin, 2s. 6d. net.) But it's an admirably got-up little book, and appears to cover the ground in a very careful and comprehensive manner. Whether or not Bolsheviks will feel it incumbent upon themselves to depart of set purpose from "Parliamentary procedure," I don't know. But even if they do, they'll need to know all about Parliamentary procedure first—or they'll be liable to invent something that turns out to be the same thing. J. F. H.

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