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August, 1922

THE PLEBS

AGITATE EDUCATE ORGANISE

**WORKING-CLASS
EDUCATION**
teaches you to look at
facts in a working-class
way. Any other way is
**SOME-OTHER-CLASS
WAY**



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THE PLEBS LEAGUE

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THE PLEBS

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

Vol. XIV

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OUR POINT of VIEW

WE have every reason to be proud of the educational scheme adopted by the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers. It represents in concrete form a real Labour Educational policy and scheme such as we have been advocating "since our day began"—educationally. And it is not the less matter for congratulation that more than one of the original and present Plebs Leaguers have had a hand in shaping

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the scheme—while it is not without interest to remember that a popular Welsh Organiser of the Operative Bricklayers' Society, by name George Hicks, was an enthusiastic supporter of the Ruskin College "strikers" and an ardent Plebeian. The larger Labour Movement has lost us the active assistance of Hicks in later years, but the General Secretary of the A.U.B.T.W. may yet retain a warm spot in his heart for us and a certain measure of agreement with our educational aims. In any case, the A.U.B.T.W. education scheme is the most thorough bit of work for providing for the educational needs of a Trade Union—or any Labour organisation—yet devised, and we congratulate the Labour College, the National Council of Labour Colleges, ourselves and all responsible for its production.

At the A.U.B.T.W. Annual General Meeting, on July 20th, a debate took place between speakers representing the W.E.A.—W.E.T.U.C. educational policy (Messrs. Mac-tavish, Pugh and Cole) and the point of view of the Labour Colleges (Messrs. Craik and Sims). On the 21st the delegates considered the question in session, and on a division being taken, support of the N.C.L.C. policy was decided upon by 58 votes to 10—a pretty decisive margin in favour of the principles of Independent Working-Class Education.

We need not attempt to conceal our disappointment at the failure of the Railwaymen at their A.G.M. at Bradford, to get level with the Building Trade Workers. The N.U.R. was one of the two Unions which pioneered our educational work by undertaking financial responsibility for the Central Labour College. That was a first step, and an important one. But to rest content with that step is to make manifest a lack either of vision or of courage on their part. To establish a residential college for a handful of students is a desirable thing; but it is only worth while if it is as speedily as possible made a part of a wider scheme, *i.e.*, the provision of educational facilities for all the members of the Union in every part of the country. The N.U.R.'s partner in the control of the Labour College, the S.W.M.F., had already taken in hand this further—and more important—business of organising classes for its rank and file. The Building Trade Workers had gone one better than either by inaugurating an educational scheme which provided both for residential scholarships at the Labour College, and for classes for its members in every district—the main emphasis being rightly placed on the latter side of the work. At the Railwaymen's A.G.M. a resolution was considered which raised this question of the education of the

*A Smashing
Victory.*

*Wake up
Railwaymen!*

membership as a whole, and called for a national organisation of *classes*, "whereby the education provided for our students at the Labour College can be brought to and spread among the rank and file of the Union." The resolution was lost, the voting being 27 for, 41 against.

Not unexpectedly, Mr. J. H. Thomas took the floor against it. His main arguments—though these take some sorting out from the jumble of miscellaneous observations which constituted his "speech" on the subject—were (1), that education was "a State function," and that Trade Unions ought therefore to have nothing to do with it; (2), that the N.U.R. was already spending as much as it could afford on education (in the Labour College) and that it must spend no more on "fancy schemes"; (3), that the education provided at the Labour College was all wrong—"was warping the judgment of some of their young people"; (4), that the question of working-class education was under consideration by the T.U.C. and was going to be dealt with on "a national and not on a sectional basis"; a "sectional" College, for miners and railwaymen only, being in his view "a wicked mistake."

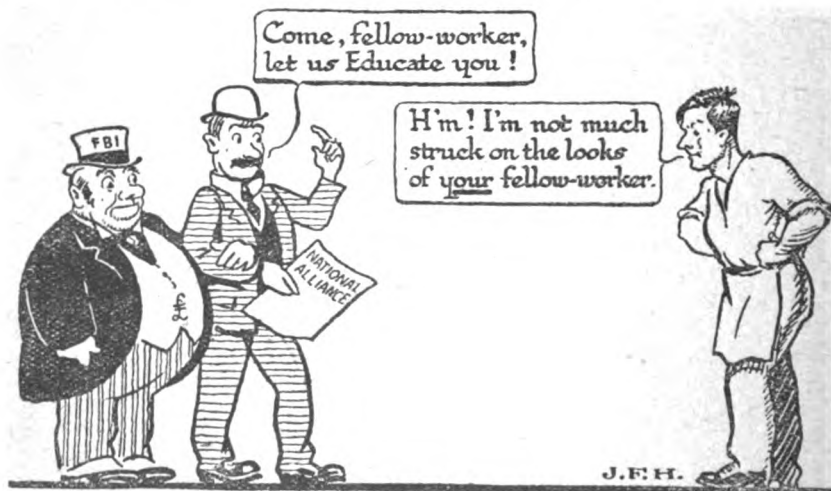
We simply have not space in *The PLEBS* to waste on answering such "arguments." If Mr. Thomas, after being for some years General Secretary of one of the Unions controlling the Labour College, can still go on repeating that "Education is a State function," then the most charitable comment to make is that he must be completely impervious to ideas. And he is apparently incapable of thinking out the implications of his own position. If education is a "State function," what business has the T.U.C. to meddle with it, and why is he not opposed to such meddling? If it is not wrong for railwaymen to organise "sectionally," *i.e.*, as railwaymen, why is it wrong for them to take "sectional" steps to educate themselves? And if the education of rank and file working men and women is a mere "fancy scheme," will Mr. Thomas, when he attains his heart's desire and occupies a comfortable office somewhere in Whitehall, have the courage to oppose the spending of any more money by the State on such nonsense? . . . We will only add that every time he opens his mouth Mr. Thomas makes painfully apparent his own lack of what it is the aim of real working-class education to give—a clear-cut, *reasoned* working-class point of view. But we should shrink from the task of trying to "educate" him now!

We should like to add to the above comments one further remark, and that is this:—The N.U.R. Governors of the Labour College have, in our opinion, been sadly remiss in making little or no attempt

at systematic propaganda on behalf of the College and its educational principles *inside their own Union*. We heard recently of an N.U.R. member, who, in a public meeting, offered to bet on his emphatic assertion that the Labour College was not as yet in actual existence, but was still in the stage of a "fancy scheme." Now The PLEBS does its best, and the Plebs League also, to make the work of the Labour Colleges known. But when a big National Union undertakes joint financial responsibility for a particular educational institution, it ought not to be left to an outside body to inform the members of that Union of the facts about the work which the Union has undertaken. And opposition, or indifference, on the part of Union headquarters is in this case sufficient reason for such propaganda not having been undertaken; since it could pretty easily, and with little financial outlay, have been organised from the College itself, in co-operation with the N.U.R. students in residence there. The price of lack of vision is diminishing support!

We hope that every reader of The PLEBS will show the article by J. P. M. Millar in this issue to his Trade Unionist friends. It sets out certain significant facts in such a way that their full significance is apparent. There is a good deal of muddled thinking—largely due to inadequate information on the question of Working-Class Education. But we decline to believe that any keen Trade Unionist, once he has studied the facts, will pin any more faith to

*Blind Leaders
of the Blind.*



men and organisations who have hopelessly compromised themselves—as *Labour* men and *Labour* bodies—by participating in capitalist-subsidised attempts to pull the wool over the

eyes of the workers. Show the article also to any W.E.A.ers you know ; for we don't think that the rank-and-filers who support the W.E.A. are aware of, or appreciate, the facts there stated.

It is a pretty story which Millar tells ; a story which emphasises in striking fashion the vital need for *real* working-class education, if working-class leaders as well as working-class rank-and-filers are not to be betrayed, through lack of capacity for clear thinking, into helping their class enemies to hoodwink themselves and their fellows.

Another little bit of ammunition for propagandists in the fight with the W.E.A.:—In the Postal Workers' Report on Education, the delegates to the W.E.A., Messrs. Nobbs and Middleton, report that the W.E.A. "is fast being manœuvred into a difficult position." On the one hand, they say, it is assailed by those who declare that "its working-class position is not sufficiently definite" ; and on the other, by people "who allege that it is fast becoming the educational wing of the Labour movement." "Your representatives," the Report proceeds, "*have seen little yet to justify the fears of the latter type of critic!*" Yet they go on to appeal for additional financial assistance from the Union for the W.E.A. ! Really, one feels at times that Alice's Wonderland was a sane and straightforward world compared with the funny one we live in.

In an article in the *Daily Herald* (July 7th) on "Local Trades Councils," G. D. H. Cole wrote :—"Then there is the question of education. The Trades Council and not the local Labour Party is the proper body to take the lead in working-class educational effort. *I need not emphasise the close connection between industrial solidarity and working-class education.* The Trades Council should have the energy and funds to promote the work ; but this it can hardly do while it is regarded as a mere annexe of the electoral machine." That is excellent sound sense—and it is up to us to take this or any other hint from our opponents, and get busy on it. The Trades Councils, as *the* representative bodies of *all* workers in a locality, should be the mark for all the propagandist activity we can put in ; and we trust that N.C.L.Cers working on the A.U.B.T.W. scheme will preach a good many sermons on the text italicised in the quotation from Cole above.

IF YOU LIKE US—TELL SOMEONE ELSE ABOUT US
NOTHING ENCOURAGES US LIKE A NEW SUBSCRIBER

The W.E.A. SPIDER and the T.U.C. FLY

ALL sorts of educational bodies are angling just now for working-class support. Their anxiety is a reflection of the fact that day by day the workers are growing more conscious of their power; and that *he who is allowed to educate the workers can either greatly hinder or greatly help them* in their struggle towards a new society, as well as in their everyday industrial and political difficulties.

Big Business "educates" the Wage-worker.

One of the bodies undertaking to educate the workers in Social Science is the Scottish Economic League. It does so, says its chairman, in order "to furnish an adequate and effective antidote to the poison of revolutionary doctrine"—in the eyes of the League the Labour Party's policy is "revolutionary doctrine." The League has the following Committee—the Marquis of Linlithgow, Sir John Cowan, of Redpath Brown and Co. (non-union engineering shop), Professor T. H. Beare, Alexander Johnston (Managing Director, North British Rubber Co.), and Captain Michael Wemyss (landowner).

Another body is the Economic Study Club. The worker is assured that the sole object "is to teach men to study and think for themselves." He is further informed that in Lancashire and Cheshire, in 18 months, sixty study circles were formed and that this success was due largely to the fact that "the Economic Study Club is an entirely independent organisation, not associated in any way with any political party, nor subsidised by any body either of employers or workers." We find however that the London address on its circulars is that of the British Commonwealth Union. This Union, according to its own announcements, has "received the cordial co-operation of the Federation of British Industries, the Engineering Employers' Federation, the National Union of Manufacturers, the British Empire Producers' Association," etc. The amount of paid-up capital represented by the Union is £345,000,000.*

National Propaganda is another organisation, the business of which is to set afoot Economic Study Clubs or Circles. Upon its executive are, among others, Sir J. W. Beynon (Ebbw Vale Steel); Sir Vincent Caillard (Vickers, Ltd.); Sir Holliwell Rogers, M.P. (Birmingham Small Arms); Sir Allen Sykes (Bleachers' Association);

* *Socialist Review*, March, 1922.

Sir Harry McGowan (British Dyestuffs Corporation) ; W. A. Saxon Noble (Armstrong Whitworth).

Telling the F.B.I. "all about it."

Next in the procession comes the National Alliance of Employers and Employed. Its principal object is to promote industrial peace, not of course by abolishing capitalism, but by means of "elementary economic teaching." Its Educational Director, Mr. Harry Dubery, in an article written for the *Bulletin, the official organ of the Federation of British Industries*, states that the Alliance "does not provide education for education's sake"—a phrase on which he pours great scorn. It chooses subjects that "have a direct relation to industrial conditions." It also runs classes in elocution, "so that the trained students not only have a knowledge of the subject (economics), but the capacity to express it satisfactorily without hesitation or nervousness." The National Alliance provides education "for a specific object, the object being to train a great number of working trade unionists—*preferably those holding minor positions in the unions*—who may, in the lapse of years, *lead their National Movement.*" [Italics mine] Meantime these men

"can be utilised for open air work, or for lecturing to brotherhoods, trades councils, works' meetings, clubs and other working-class bodies. Such men have a distinct advantage as class leaders over the normal educationalists or the paid propagandist, inasmuch as, though on the whole they may be less educated and certainly less polished in style, it is a fact—as one of the reports states—that a great mass of the working men with whom they are brought in contact will 'take things from them' that they would take of no other type, because they are one of themselves."

Poisoning the Trade Union Movement.

This scheme is so admirably conceived that it is worth summing up. Trade Unions are by far the most powerful working-class bodies. Their existence is a real or potential menace to capitalism : hence the need to "educate" trade unionists, especially those who are local officials and are likely in course of time to become national officials. Labour's case against capitalism stands or falls on economics : thus the need to teach "economics." The students make far better class lecturers because the workers unfortunately suspect University gentlemen, hence the need for the less polished workman—"one of themselves"—but who will deliver the *University gentleman's message just the same.*

Who is behind this scheme? Quite a little galaxy of stars from the industrial heavens. On the Executive Committee there are, for instance—J. J. Burton (National Federation of Iron and Steel Manufacturers); Sir Vincent Caillard (Vickers, Ltd.); F. Dudley Docker, C.B. (Federation of British Industries); J. W.

Madeley (Brassfounders Employers' Association); E. Manville, M.P. (Associated Chambers of Commerce), A. E. Marlow (Incorporated Federated Associations of Boot and Shoe Manufacturers); Christopher Turner (Central Landowners' Association); &c., &c.

The "Through" Connection.

Quite a nice assortment of friends of Labour! Notice, moreover, that we find on the Executive of the National Alliance the same kind of gentlemen representing similar and often identical interests as those represented on the Scottish Economic League, the Economic Study Clubs and National Propaganda. The F.B.I. seems to be directly represented on all, and the Landowners on most; while Messrs. Vickers are represented by the very same man, Sir Vincent Caillard, on the National Alliance of Employers and Employed, and on National Propaganda!

But we have not yet finished with the National Alliance. In addition to the above-mentioned gentlemen we find on the Executive these (among other) *trade unionists*—W. A. Appleton, C.B.E. (Gen. Fed. of T.U.); J. W. Brown (Shipping Guild); Charles Duncan (Workers' Union); Rt. Hon. John Hodge, P.C., M.P. (Steel Smelters); Haman Porter, J.P. (Workers' Union); Arthur Pugh (Iron and Steel Trades Confederation); Miss Julia Varley (Workers' Union); Lt.-Col. John Ward, C.B., C.M.G., M.P. (Public Works and Const. Operatives' Union); James Wignall, M.P. (Dockers' Union). Mr. Pugh is one of the Hon. Treasurers.

We now turn to the Workers' Educational Association. Its principal subjects are economics and industrial history. Its aim is to "stimulate and satisfy the demand of working men and women for education, *i.e.*, University education." It says it is "unsectarian, non-political and democratic"—though it is not so democratic as the National Alliance, as it does not give such direct representation to the employers. It does, however, give the employers a great deal of indirect representation, for it works in close co-operation with the Education Authorities, which (as a writer in its own organ recently remarked) are nearly all under capitalist control, and its secretaries are advised to keep on good terms with them.

Working in conjunction with the W.E.A. and educationally directed by it is the Trade Union Education Enquiry Committee and the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee.

The W.E.A. shakes hands with Capital.

Just as we found that the interests represented on the Scottish Economic League were also on the National Alliance, so do we find that the W.E.A. supporters find themselves quite at home in the same company. Mr. W. A. Appleton, besides being an Exec. member

of the Nat. Alliance, is also on the central council of the W.E.A. Mr. T. Chambers, C.B.E., Exec. member of the Alliance, is also a member of the Trade Union Education Enquiry Committee. The Workers' Union, represented on the W.E.A. by Mr. G. Dallas, is represented on the Enquiry Committee by Mr. W. F. Hobbs, on the National Alliance by Messrs. Duncan, Porter, and Miss Varley. Mr. Pugh, who is on the W.E.A. Central Council, is chairman of the Trade Union Education Enquiry Committee, Chairman of the Workers Educational Trade Union Committee, and Exec. member and hon. treasurer of the National Alliance of Employers and Employed.

In other words the National Alliance with its sinister educational policy is a link joining the Scottish Economic League, Economic Study Clubs and National Propaganda on the one hand, with the W.E.A., the T.U. Education Enquiry Committee, and the W.E.T.U.C. on the other.

One Tune—though many voices.

It may seem incredible to the ordinary trade unionist that there should be such continuity of control right through from educational bodies run obviously in the interests of the employers to those professing to educate the workers in the interests of the workers. And the more he thinks about it the less any plain, honest trade unionist will like it!

Let us see what type of education is provided by these bodies. The Scottish Economic League draws its most important lecturers from the *University*; and in one case at least one of its economic lecturers lectures on the same subject for the W.E.A. ! Its literature takes the form of the recently issued *Oxford Tracts on Economics* which it sells or distributes free of charge. National Propaganda makes much use of a book entitled *The Facts of the Case*, some of the sections of which are headed as follows :—"The Essentially Democratic Character of Capitalism," "Capitalism is not Economically a Failure," "Capitalism is Essential to National Progress." The National Alliance states that its local committees get in touch with the local Universities in order to obtain lecturers, and that the textbooks used are those of Clay, Marshall, Milne, or any of the *orthodox* economists, *i.e.*, those economists who *accept* the existing (capitalist) order of society. The W.E.A. boasts of close connection with every University in the country and nearly all its tutors are University men. Its textbooks are likewise Clay and Marshall.

Co-operation with the F.B.I.

In other words, all those organisations go to the selfsame source for their knowledge of economics—the orthodox economists of the Universities. *In so far, therefore, as the W.E.A. supporters and the*

Labour supporters of the National Alliance both accept the orthodox textbooks, they are perfectly logical in co-operating in the closest possible way with the Federation of British Industries in the education of the workers.

Why, then, should Mr. Pugh and his colleagues of the W.E.A. want the T.U. Congress to take over the Labour Colleges and run them independently of the employers? Why—if the employers are willing, as they *are* willing, to have the subjects taught by orthodox lecturers with the orthodox textbooks—not advocate that the T.U.C. and the F.B.I. co-operate in a scheme for running the Labour Colleges? That at least would be a logical policy. To have a Labour Party if its programme were the same as that of the Coalition, would be simply silly; the Labour Party's separate existence is only justified because its policy is *different*. In the same way it is only reasonable to have a separate organisation for educating trade unionists *if the theories to be taught are quite different from those taught in employers' educational organisations.*

Manufacturing Reaction.

Let us now look at the results of the work of the educational organisations we have described. The Scottish Economic League, whose secretary is a notorious anti-Labour man, declares proudly that the League's lectures on economics have a powerful effect in "eradicating extremism," *i.e.*, Labour views. The National Alliance "claims to have played a substantial part and *by its particular methods the only effective part*, in the changed attitude of mind [the existing apathy, we suppose] of the worker to the general problems of industry." During the Miners' Lockout this body [note its Labour Exec. members] ran open-air lectures on the "Identity of Interests between Employer and Employed," "Dangers of the Strike Weapon," and "Conciliation *versus* Force in Industry." From the Economic Study Clubs, we are told, "is emerging an evergrowing band of volunteers, who having heard every point of view, are fully equipped to meet extremist argument with reasoned reply." In many localities, says the report, the effect of this challenge has been to remove "socialist officials from the places they have long occupied as the leaders of the men."

As for the W.E.A., the very fact that such anti-Labour Education Authorities as that of Edinburgh finance W.E.A. classes is a clear indication that from them comes no growth of Labour opinion. Even more direct testimony was given to the work of the W.E.A. by the capitalist *South Wales Daily News* in a leading article a short time ago:—

"We suggest that it (the W.E.A.) should receive the strongest support from employers of Labour, if for no other reason than that it provides an antidote and a corrective to the mischievous propaganda of the various sorts of revolutionists in our midst."

Labour thinks for Himself.

We now turn to an entirely different type of educational movement—the Labour College Movement; *i.e.*, those colleges connected with the National Council of Labour Colleges. (Ruskin College is not included as it comes under the same category as the W.E.T.U.C.).

Let us first glance very briefly at the history of this movement. Roughly speaking, about two decades ago a number of workers began to realise that industrial and political action could only be successful if rightly guided, and could only be rightly guided by knowledge. At first it was thought that any kind of education would provide the understanding needed, and that the University type of education would enable the workers to fight their battles in industry and politics. Later on, however, it was found that the teaching provided conflicted with the worker-students' practical experiences. This happened for instance at Ruskin College and gave rise to the 1909 strike. At the same time the worker students began to realise that society, on the whole, was governed by men educated under University auspices and that the *most urgent problem for the workers was just how fundamentally to alter that society*. Naturally, then, to some of the workers it seemed that education contained no solution for working class difficulties and appeared to be simply a form of recreation or a means of allowing the few to "lord it" over the mass by getting a good job. The result was that many turned away from education altogether.

Others took a different view. They saw that just as Labour had its own particular needs, so must it have its own particular views, and therefore its own particular education. They recognised that the conflict in industry between employers and employed was bound to give rise to a conflict in ideas and that these conflicting ideas were bound to appear in such subjects as History and Economics—the subjects of most interest and importance to Labour. It became clear to them that all the accepted educational institutions, such as the Universities, could not but reflect the ruling-class point of view. And in Capitalism, despite all disguises, the capitalist class is the ruling class as surely as in Feudalism the ruling class was bound to be the feudal landholders.

A new "Protestant" Movement.

In other words, it became plain to those workers that, so far as their own problems were concerned, they had little to expect from University culture. As a matter of fact, the workers are finding themselves in the same position as the capitalists found themselves in at the beginning of the capitalist era. By the time of the Reformation the more intelligent merchant capitalists saw that the great

educational organ of feudal times, the mediaeval church, could not provide them with the intellectual backing required by the new capitalist system. They found that backing in the rise of a new educational and religious organisation, the Protestant church. In the same way, the workers in their struggle to solve working-class problems by fundamentally altering society find no support in the knowledge of the capitalist Universities—they find that the class that *fights* against them must *think* against them. In consequence, they begin to rely on their own resources. They are compelled to build up a new organisation for Independent Working-class Education ; and to set up their own *Labour Colleges*.

Where the F.B.I. does NOT enter !

As a result, it is not surprising to find that the extraordinary continuity of control that extends through the W.E.A., the T.U.E.E.C. and the W.E.T.U.C. right into such notorious anti-Labour educational bodies as National Propaganda and the National Alliance *does not extend into the Labour College Movement*. No member of the executive of the N.C.L.C. is on the executive committees of S.E.L. the E.S.C., National Propaganda, the National Alliance, the W.E.A., the W.E.T.U.C., or is on the T.U.E.E.C. ; no representatives of the two unions that control the Labour College, London (the N.U.R. and the S.W.M.F.) are on the executive committees of these bodies ; and no member of the National Committee of the Scottish Labour College is on their executives.

We do not find men like Mr. Lloyd George appealing for funds for the Labour Colleges as he has done for funds for Ruskin College, nor do we find the Labour Colleges getting the lavish care of the capitalist-controlled Education Authorities.

As for the results of Independent Working-class Education, here is an unsolicited testimonial from the *Colliery Guardian* (journal of the coal and iron trades) :

“ The growth of the revolutionary spirit [anything that threatens to reduce profits is ‘revolutionary’] has been fostered by the unfortunate fact that the education of the miners has been left in the hands of a particular school of economists (those of the Labour Colleges), who have found in the closely packed valleys of Glamorganshire a suitable field for the development of class consciousness.”

Without which the *Guardian* might have added, Labour will never get into power ! It went on to urge that the work of educating the miners should be *handed over to the University !*

A Shoddy Substitute.

“ But,” someone may ask, “ does not the W.E.T.U.C. claim to provide Independent Working-class Education as understood by

the Labour College?" It does. How it comes to do so, we do not know. Either it does not know what I.W.C.E. is, or it is attempting to palm off its shoddy goods as the popular genuine article. That the W.E.T.U.C. does not provide I.W.C.E. is made perfectly clear by the fact that, although it is controlled by two trade unions, its educational work is done by the W.E.A. I.W.C.E. means that not merely must workers' education be controlled by the workers, but that it must be of a working-class character. It must provide the New Knowledge, not the old. That is the vital point, and the W.E.T.U.C. fails because it is merely a body for providing University education under trade union auspices. It is simply an ingenious attempt on the part of the W.E.A. and the National Alliance to dope studious trade unionists with capitalist social science. In justice to the Universities it should be said that they do not pretend to be able to provide I.W.C.E. : it is some of their Labour friends outside who credit them with being able to achieve the impossible.

In reply, the W.E.T.U.C. says : " Never mind looking at our policy, never mind observing the fact that our national secretary and our local secretaries are the secretaries of the W.E.A. ; never mind the fact that our chairman, Mr. Pugh, is the Hon. Treasurer of the National Alliance, which is doing the educational work of the Federated Bosses. Does not our constitution allow our members, if they like, to accept the educational facilities of the Labour Colleges? What more do the Labour College people want? Is it not fair that if some of us pin our faith to capitalist economics, history, and philosophy, etc., we should be provided for out of trade union funds?"

As to the first argument, the Labour Colleges must drive University social science outside the Labour movement, as the first lesson they have to teach their students is that one of the principal purposes of University culture is to preserve the existing order. How then can there be any co-operation with the W.E.A. and W.E.T.U.C.? As for the second argument, one may as well say that, as many trade unionists are Liberals and Tories, the trade union political funds should be divided among the Liberal, Tory and Labour Parties, according to the desires and predilections of each individual trade unionist. If it is intelligent policy for a trade union not to support all the political parties but to wait until it can support only one, it is equally sensible policy not to try to support two antagonistic educational policies, but to wait until it decides which is the right one.

The Latest Development.

For some time the W.E.A. has been finding increasing difficulty in maintaining its hold on the rank and file trade unionist, and its prospects financially and otherwise have become steadily more

clouded* in consequence of the rapidly growing demand for *real* working-class education. To get over its difficulties the W.E.A. has been making desperate efforts to get at the funds of the T.U. Movement. As a means to that end, it recently formed the Trade Union Education Enquiry (!) Committee and the W.E.T.U.C. and last year took steps to get a certain resolution passed at the Trades Union Congress.

The Congress, under the impression no doubt that the T.U.E.E.C. was a genuine Enquiry Committee containing trade unionists of all views on workers' education (when as a matter of fact it was a mere catspaw of the W.E.A.), was persuaded to pass a resolution instructing the General Council to co-operate with the T.U. Education Enquiry Committee in drafting recommendations for the taking over and running of the existing T.U. Colleges. The result was that the General Council had a Sub-Committee appointed to go into the matter. The following is a list of the members with a note of the educational bodies to which they are directly or indirectly attached :—

A. Pugh	W.E.A.	T.U.E.E.C.	W.E.T.U.C.	—
J. W. Bowen	"	"	"	—
A. Findlay	"	"	"	—
C. W. Bowerman	"	—	—	Ruskin
J. M. Mactavish	" Gen. Sec.	"	W.E.T.U.C.	—
T. W. Burden	"	"	"	—
G. D. H. Cole	"	"	"	—
A. Creech Jones	"	"	—	—
Mrs. E. Calthorpe	"	"	—	—
G. Hicks	—	—	—	Labour College

We ask every trade unionist to look at that list. Out of the ten members, *nine are officially connected with the W.E.A. or its satellites, the T.U.E.E.C. and the W.E.T.U.C.* Despite the fact that the N.U.R. and the South Wales Miners' Federation are the pioneers of independent working-class education, and together control the only trade-union owned residential College in the country, they have no representative on the Committee. Despite the fact that the W.E.A. has directly or indirectly nine representatives on the Committee, Ruskin College one, the W.E.T.U.C. four, and the T.U.E.E.C. eight, neither the Governors of the Labour College nor the National Committee of the Scottish Labour College nor the N.C.L.C. have a single direct representative on the Committee. And the Chairman of this "impartial" Committee is Mr. Pugh—executive member and hon. treasurer of the National Alliance of Employers and Employed—the educational body which lectured the miners on "The

* Compare the fact that at the time of writing the W.E.A. is compelled to suspend publication of its monthly journal, while THE PLEBS (the Organ of the Labour Colleges) is increasing its size from 36 to 48 pages.

Danger of the Strike Weapon" when they, unassisted, were trying desperately and heroically to stem the great capitalist offensive of 1921.

Hoodwinking the Unwary.

There can be no doubt of the sort of scheme this Committee will recommend: the recommendation, although it will be prefaced with a lot of eyewash about independence, without which the W.E.A. gentlemen would have no excuse for asking for T.U. funds, is a foregone conclusion. It will recommend the Congress to take over Ruskin and the W.E.T.U.C. (the W.E.A. organisation largely financed by the Steel Trades Confederation and presided over by Mr. Pugh). It will not recommend taking over the National Council of Labour Colleges,—the original and by far the most extensive local tutorial movement of a definitely working-class character, depending entirely on Labour support. In order, however, to hoodwink the unwary, it will in all likelihood recommend the taking over of only a part of the Labour College Movement, the Labour College, London, which unlike the N.C.L.C. and the Scottish Labour College with their thousands of students per annum, deals only with about forty residential students every two years.

In other words, the W.E.A.'s Committee, masquerading as the General Council's Committee, hopes to sell the September Trades Union Congress a pup. It is for the Congress* to say whether it will buy, and incidentally whether it considers that any of the recommendations of such a scandalously packed Committee can be accepted without a very searching inquiry. Certainly, every trade unionist who believes in educating the working-class in the interests of the working-class will throw his whole weight against this attempt to saddle the T.U. movement with the type of education dear to the heart of the University-inspired W.E.A., the National Alliance of Employers and Employed, and the Federation of British Industries.

J. P. M. MILLAR.

TWO PIONEERS

EARLY in its history capitalism brings in its trail pressing social problems. Poverty and misery become the normal lot of the masses; while the fortunes made first in commerce and later in industry bring into ever-increasing prominence a moneyed class. The Industrial Revolution did not start this tendency; though it both accelerated its speed and intensified its effects.

The miserable conditions of the poor soon attracted the attention of thinkers who set out to investigate the causes of poverty. Speaking

* Unless the General Council itself recognises the obvious bias of its sub-Committee's recommendations and takes steps to have them revised.

generally one may say they start from one or other of two premises. First, the *bourgeois* standpoint ; at best such writers seek for a few palliatives. Capitalism to them is the natural order. To the extent that society has had a past history it has been merely a deviation from this natural state of capitalist economy. Secondly, the *democratic* standpoint ; these writers want a complete transformation of society. Society is a "natural" order. Its past history—previous to the appearance of exchange and money—has been quite "natural." With the appearance of capitalism, however, these "natural" laws were abrogated by and in the interests of a few. The "natural" laws are still latent ; but human laws prevent their beneficial expression.

Throughout mediæval and early capitalist thought there was this idea of "natural" laws, "and" "natural" rights. It becomes the test of institutions ; to be "natural" is the supreme claim of an institution to existence. Unless this is borne in mind students will find it difficult to understand a book of Thomas Hodgskin's just issued by the Labour Publishing Company.*

Up to 1825 the Combination Laws had been a heavy fetter on the Trade Unions. The repeal of these Laws, in the year 1825, marks the birth of the modern working class movement. In this same year appeared this book of Hodgskin's. It was not a mere accident that both make their appearance together. Indeed this little book may well be called the first manifesto of the modern labour movement.

Thomas Hodgskin takes as his natural premise the labour theory of value. This he found at hand in the writings of most of the economists from Sir Wm. Petty to that time. Petty had developed his theory in opposition to the Mercantilists and the Scholastics. The Mercantilists maintained that profits arose in circulation. From that theory came the obvious Scholastic conclusion that unequal things were exchanged. Trade was therefore unjust.

As Capitalism developed, a theory more in line with dominant economic interests was demanded. It was Petty's task to show that profits were legitimate and natural. His theory of value—that trade is an exchange of equal masses of labour—proves this—at least to the satisfaction of the traders. But Petty never means the labour of the propertyless wage worker—at that time regarded as a vagabond rather than a labourer worthy of his product. The labour that created value was the labour—administrative and other—of the man with capital. Smith and Ricardo made but slight modification of this theory. Nowhere in the political economy of the bourgeoisie is the propertyless wage worker regarded as the creator of value.

The Labour of the capitalist as the source of value is so obvious to these capitalist economists that they never take the trouble to

* *Labour I ejed.ed* : by Thos. Hodgskin. Introduction by G. D. H. Cole. (1.8 postpaid).

prove it. To them it is a natural fact. Ricardo is a good instance of this. After postulating that labour is the source of value he goes on to demonstrate that capital is the great dynamic and creator of progress.

Ricardo, however, went far enough to clear the ground for an anti-capitalist theory of value. And this first appeared in an ethical form—a form which it retained until the appearance of the *Communist Manifesto*. The Socialists of the time made use of the theories of the greatest capitalist spokesman for anti-capitalist ends. If, they argued, labour is the creator of value, to the labourer belongs the value of that product. With the laws of their logic they tried to supplant the laws of society. Hence they were called Utopians.

With the trend of anti-capitalist economics Hodgskin thoroughly agrees. But despite this Utopian trait he displays a masterly ability to analyse economic questions. In his analysis he is entirely scientific : it is only in his deductions that he strays. He makes it quite clear that the class struggle—he does not call it that—is inevitable ; it is in the very nature of capital to engender such a conflict.

He complains, justly, of the halo woven by the economists around the word capital, and proceeds in this work to strip it of its aureole. And how well he does it ! With masterly logic he arrives at the conclusion that the labourer is exploited. But how ? The labourer must give more labour to the capitalist for his wages than he can buy for that sum of money. In common with Thompson, Gray and others, Hodgskin sees the *fact* of surplus value. But he fails to explain the *method* by which the capitalist obtains this. Nor is Hodgskin very much concerned about the way in which surplus value is created. To prove the fact of surplus value is the purpose of his inquiry. When the fact is proved the only thing to do is to draw *reasonable conclusions from the fact*. But the solution to Hodgskin is the problem to Marx. Marx sets out to explain this fact. Which alone should refute the oft-reiterated assertion that Max only plagiarised from Hodgskin and others.

From economics Hodgskin passes on to the question of politics. Government, he rightly asserts, is only the instrument of the dominant economic class. Because the political machine is in the hands of the ruling class it is futile for the working class to attempt to achieve their emancipation through political action.

Previous to the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 there were two dominant tendencies in Socialist thought, the political and the non-political. After the disillusionment of the masses which the Reform Bill brought in its trail, the advocates of political action were discredited. Petty reforms came to be despised : the only thing for which the workers should fight was a complete transformation of society. Logically, the proposition appeared quite sound. But

the logic of facts ruled otherwise. The workers lacked the power to carry through a single reform. Yet they were assumed to be strong enough to overthrow the system.

The absurdity of such a procedure, however, soon became evident. The need for political action was as great as or even greater than ever. This need found expression in Chartism, with which movement the subject of a new pamphlet awaiting review* is closely connected.

While William Lovett was an ardent believer in the principles of Owenism yet he never accepted his master's philosophy in its entirety. He always insisted on the supreme importance of universal suffrage as the starting point of a properly organised society. And this political power would have to be won by the workers themselves. That was his opinion in the first stages of the Charter agitation. But later he gives up hope in the workers. The time had come for the "good and the wise to reason together." It is not necessary to seek far for the reason for this change of attitude on Lovett's part: the Chartist movement was more and more shedding its middle-class coating and was appearing with ever-increasing virility as a proletarian movement with proletarian aims. To the extent that it does this Lovett loses influence.

Thus do these two publications bring before us some aspects of the theory and practice of the Labour Movement in its first march on the stage of history. Both in economics and in politics it is a period pregnant with great issues for the working class. And Hodgskin and Lovett played no mean role in moulding the policy of the movement in this, its formation period.

D. J. WILLIAMS.

From CROMWELL to HARDING 1651 and 1922

(Concluded).

THE events of 1922 filled our last article. Here let us glance at 1651—and the intervening years—notice certain differences between capitalism then and now, and observe the position of shipping in capitalist development. History is merely "news from the graveyard" if it does not help us to realise the significance of present events and to place them

* *William Lovett*. By Mrs. Barbara Hammond (Fabian Biographical Series No. 9. 3d.)

in proper perspective. If, for example, we cannot trace the parallel between America's attempt to make the Carribean Sea an inland sea (see last month's Geographical Footnote) and the fact that the Portuguese for 80 years made the Indian Ocean into their private lake, we lose much of the meaning of both facts.

A common religion and opposition to Catholic Spain did not hinder the war between the English and Dutch, any more than a common culture will hinder it between Uncle Sam and John Bull. Cromwell's Navigation Acts were a declared offensive against a dominant maritime nation. In the Reaction after the Protector, Charles II. did not revoke but renewed the said Acts. And one of the causes of James II.'s departure was his intrigues with Britain's trade rival, France. William III. was more subservient to commercial capital.

There are, however, differences as well as likenesses to be noticed. The 18th century contests, great as they were, will be flea-bites in comparison with the gigantic struggles and the horrors of poison gas and aeroplane bombs which will accompany the War or Wars of America, Japan, Britain and France. And there is a difference in the purpose as well as in the technique and extent of War. There is it is true a similarity of spirit between the Navigation Acts, 1651, and the United States Merchant Marine Bill. Compare the following with our summary of last month of the latter. The aims of the Navigation Acts were:—

- (1) To reserve an area for British shipping.
- (2) To make England the chief distributing centre of trade.
- (3) To confine colonial trade exclusively to English ships.
- (4) To replace Dutch by British built and owned ships and British seamen.

But here note the differences. In regard to (1), America is inclined to claim the carrying trade of the world. And this monopoly is now sought not merely to stimulate *trade*, but *industry*. Industrial rather than commercial supremacy, and the export of capital rather than the carriage of goods, are the things desired to-day. America is not merely going to be a world entrepot. It is not a case as in the 17th century of first conquering markets, and then these open markets acting as a spur to the Industrial Revolution during the two succeeding centuries. America wishes, on the contrary, to complete her industrial supremacy by a commercial superiority which will enable her to ship her own commodities—already made—as capital to every part of the world.

Differential railway rates were not possible in 1651, but Aim No. 3 was carried into effect by heavier pilot dues and heavier duties on all goods brought by foreign ships. England never had the opportunities of internal expansion that its huge area gives to America,

hence there could be no attempt in the elaborate code of the Navigation Acts to restrict emigrants to English ships.

In order to carry out Aim No. 4 and encourage long voyages by British ships it was not permissible to fetch coffee from Amsterdam or cotton from Marseilles. Just as the Americans want to keep trade with South America and the Philippines in their own pocket so the Dutch were not allowed to take any part in the coasting trade. And in Cromwell's time Lord Inchcape would not have been allowed to employ many Lascars, for at least threequarters of the crew besides the captain had to be English born. The great argument for all these restrictions was that of national defence. Even Adam Smith—free trader in theory as he was—approved of all the intricate regulations because national safety was much more important to him than opulence.

The Navigation Acts achieved their purpose. England took the lion's share of the harvest of the Age of Discovery as she was soon supreme on the seas; and during the next century she became the Workshop of the World. As a result of the 18th century Industrial Revolution she was able to throw away the supports necessary during the infancy of industrial capital. When this last became predominant—in the 19th century—the last remains of Mercantilism were swept away. Minor relaxation of the regulations began in 1796—a lesson taught by the breakaway of the U.S.A. Between 1822—1854 all the Acts were repealed or abandoned by treaties with other countries. If the beginning of regulation in 1381 is taken into account then in England—the home of Manchesterism—control of shipping extended over a period of 473 years.

Since then many writers have insisted that shipping should be the last industry to come under Government control. Railways, it is argued, are not subject to the fierce international competition in world shipping. The huge amalgamations of shipping companies, which emerged from the fierce rate and rebate war from 1873 onwards challenge that view. Another idyll of Free Trade is smashed finally by the return to attempted shipping monopoly. [Before the War ten great German lines working in co-operation with each other controlled 60 per cent. of the shipping of Germany besides having close relations with many of the smaller companies.] The enormous increases in freightage during the War owing to the scarcity of shipping also gave the shipping trusts a golden opportunity.

But to continue the historical survey. Just when the restrictions were lifted iron cargo steamships had been proved to be a success.* Steam almost completely displaced sail. The never-ending process of better engines, bigger steamships and fewer men went forward with a leap. Steel ships began to be used in the 70's, and

* Play-going Plebs will be reminded of Arnold Bennett's *Milestones*.

this again meant more speed and greater cargoes. Oil fuel is the latest great revolutionising factor. Let figures speak of its growing use :—

Oil-using Tonnage, British Mercantile Marine.

	Tons.
July, 1914	1,310,209
July, 1921	12,796,635

Those interested will see in the *Manchester Guardian Commercial* (April 13th, 1922), a very interesting diagram of the saving in bunkering by the use of oil fuel, which also needs only one funnel instead of two.

Built of iron and steel and burning coal and oil the modern ships and the great mammoth liners are factors of immense importance in the Iron and Steel Age of to-day.

England's shipping supremacy in the days before oil was based upon her coal. She not only had manufactured commodities to export in return for food, but also her mineral wealth. British coaling stations on all the important routes—the most important of which she wholly controlled—made Britain the pivot of world trade. U.S.A. shipping diminished after 1870 owing to the results of the Civil War, and her concentration on the internal construction of factories and railways. This was only a temporary eclipse of a dangerous rival, for when the U.S.A. came back to shipbuilding during the War it was with "mass production" and a ship a day from some of her yards.*

Germany was in 1914 Britain's nearest rival, with 11.9 per cent. of the world's tonnage against the 47.9 per cent. of the British Empire. Japan's total stood then at only 4 per cent. in the same table. But that total (1,048,000 tons) had been attained from the 171,000 tons of 1890 by State aid and encouragement, and incidentally has been more than trebled during the War, being now 3,354,000 tons (*Saturday Review*, 3/6/22). Germany nursed her merchant marine by low railway rates and tariffs and exclusive privileges in the emigrant traffic. She gave grants to help the trade in East Africa and the Levant and paid postal subventions to lines going to the Far East and Australia.

Britain paid a decreasing subvention for purely postal and military reasons. The most notable case of a trade subsidy was £40,000 paid annually between 1900—1910 to the Elder Dempster Line by Britain and Jamaica to encourage mutual trade. It will be well if those who are protesting against unfair trade will remember that in 1897, when it was proposed to link up the colonies more closely to the motherland, a shipping subsidy was an important part of the proposals. The

* See Scott Nearing's *American Empire*.

proposed American construction loan was anticipated by the British Government in 1903, when, in order that the "Lusitania" and "Mauretania" might be built in order to win back the blue ribbon of the Atlantic from the "Kaiser Wilhelm," it lent to the Cunard Line £2,600,000 at the low rate of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

Despite her professions of Free Trade Great Britain will retaliate. The new Navigation Acts will multiply and know no end. Great Britain, as her only hope, will endeavour to link up the colonies in a defensive alliance; but she is by no means sure of Canada, for as the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* (New York, 20/5/22) points out, "50 per cent. of the Canadian industrial securities is owned outside the Dominion, mostly in the States. . . the total of American holdings . . . will pass the billion dollar mark before 1923." Great Britain will have on her side her widespread Empire, her traditional skill and experience. The U.S.A. will have its wealth of raw materials, its vast productivity, and its creditor position to the Old World. It is pathetic to hear the English papers pleading that a bankrupt Britain would ruin the U.S.A. Have they learnt the lesson of Versailles—or is it just the alteration of the English position in the present case, which has taught them this wisdom?

And how does this world situation affect the workers? In one sense, not at all; since whether their exploiters gather under the Stars and Stripes or under the Union Jack, they remain just—exploiters. But in other senses, international problems are of vital concern to the workers. For if it come to war, they will once more be the cannon-fodder. And come to war it assuredly will—unless the workers, *conscious of what is happening*, organise to prevent it, and to destroy finally the capitalist imperialism which to-day makes wars. As Scott Nearing points out (*American Empire*), England and America are already as truly at war as were England and Germany during the ten years before 1914. The only insurance against a World War eclipsing in horror even that through which we have recently passed is a militant, *educated*, working-class, whom their exploiters cannot cajole or deceive by "patriotic" war-slogans.

Let a new song replace the old—"Britons (or any other people) never, never, never shall be *wage-slaves*!"

MARK STARR.

[I have to acknowledge with sincere thanks the material placed at my disposal for the above articles by J. T. Walton Newbold, whose various pamphlets should be studied by all workers interested in international affairs. M. H. Dobb's articles (PLEBS, September—December, 1921), and Part V. of Knowles' *Industrial and Commercial Revolution* (postpaid, 7s. 6d.) are also useful sources of information.—M. S.]

A final instalment of Fred Shaw's "Pages from Trade Union History" will appear next month.

“SEDITIONOUS PROPAGANDA”

Lord Sydenham has done us the honour, in a speech in the House of Lords, of including the Plebs League among the seditious agencies which are poisoning the minds of the British workers. His lordship will peruse with interest the following admirably clear summary of Plebs propaganda—an outline speech for a Plebs or N.C.L.C. propagandist addressing a Trade Union Branch. And leaving Lord Sydenham out of account, a good many of our propagandists will, we think, find Robert Holder's outline an excellent model.

(1) *Education a question very much discussed at the present time.*

(a) Social chaos resulting from the War finds the Labour Movement divided and demoralised.

(b) Lack of and consequent need for knowledge demonstrated more clearly than ever before.

(c) Demand for a United Front implies the necessity for Unity in thought.

(2) *The need for education not in dispute.*

(a) Controversies about working class education centre round the *kind* of education.

(b) Some educationalists take for granted that all education is good. A fetish is made of the word “Education.” “Education” is a generalisation embracing all kinds and forms of knowledge.

(c) To obtain knowledge we have to specialise and classify, according to the subject we desire information about. Specialised industrial and political aims necessitate specialised education.

(3) *The kind of knowledge one requires determined by the aim and object to be attained.*

(a) What *kind* of knowledge do the organised workers need?

(b) For what *purpose* is this knowledge required?

(4) *To answer these questions we must first know :—*

(a) Who constitute the working class? The working class includes all those who have to obtain their livelihood by means of the sale of their labour-power.

(b) The term “working class” implies the existence of another class who do not work—*i.e.*, do not perform any useful work. This class—the governing and capitalist class—consists of those who obtain their livelihood from the sale of the products of labour. The members of the working class, in order to live, have to sell themselves to the capitalist class for sums of money—called wages.

(c) Society is not one community—one harmonious organic whole with a community of interests—but is divided (for all practical purposes) into two classes with antagonistic interests.

(d) These antagonistic interests give rise to antagonistic theories concerning those interests.

(5) *What are the fundamental problems, aims and purposes of organised Labour?*

(a) The fundamental problem of the workers is their economic subjection to the owning or capitalist class.

(b) This problem has compelled them to organise into Trade Unions, establish their own political party and build up their own Labour Press.

(c) This economic subjection of the workers gives rise to what is termed the class struggle.

(d) The industrial character of this struggle takes the form of Trade Unions fighting the owning class for more wages, less hours and better conditions.

(e) So far the workers have not organised or fought *as a class*, but simply in sections seeking improved conditions, etc., for their respective sections or crafts. The Trade Union movement has hitherto accepted its own exploitation; it fights or negotiates with the employing class only about the *degree* of its exploitation, as proved by its motto—"A fair day's wage for a fair day's work."

(6) *We can now see the kind of education Labour needs:—*

(a) Labour requires a kind of education which will provide the necessary knowledge to solve its problem of economic subjection.

(b) Economic subjection has involved mental subjection. The workers have gone to their capitalist masters for knowledge. They view their problems through their masters' eyes.

(c) This fact is responsible for the chaos and confusion in the Labour Movement at the present time.

(7) *Elementary education and technical education:—*

(a) Elementary and technical education provided by the employing class, through the Government, because they required a working class who could read, write, reckon, and operate the technique of modern industry.

(b) Elementary and technical education is not given with the idea of developing and perfecting the worker as a human being—but to make him a more efficient wealth producer for his capitalist master.

(8) *Universities and educational bodies financed and supported by the Government and the employing classes:—*

(a) Education derived from either of these sources will not provide the knowledge required by the workers.

(b) This is a point upon which the Labour College Movement differs from Ruskin College, the Workers Educational Association, and the Workers Educational Trade Union Committee.

(c) R.C., the W.E.A., and the W.E.T.U.C. through their teaching endorse the view that those institutions which train men to govern Labour will also train Labour to overthrow that government. They all deny and ignore the social division in society and the consequent antagonism between Capital and Labour. They profess "impartiality" and stand above this struggle. Hence such institutions are of no use in fitting Labour for its everyday struggle. Not recognising Labour's fundamental problem, namely, economic subjection, they throw no light upon it. They have no definite aim or end in education—but simply make a fetish of the word—and thereby confuse instead of clarifying the mind of the worker. They advocate theories in the educational sphere similar to Whitleyism and Co-partnership in the industrial arena, or the Coalition in the political sphere. They offer the working class a cheap education by means of Government grants and tutors from the subsidised Universities.

(d) We do not question the sincerity and sympathy of many members of these bodies for Labour. But sympathy and sincerity is not sufficient—especially if it leads in the wrong direction and does not enable the workers to find the easiest and quickest way out of the existing social wilderness.

(9) *The struggle between Capital and Labour grows more intense :—*

(a) This struggle accompanied by a growth of organisation on an ever-expanding scale, e.g., Amalgamations : Council of Action : General Staff.

(b) There also develops a *change of objective*.

(c) Control of industry replaces the struggle for wages and hours. From merely fighting within the Capitalist system for fair wages and less hours, the Trade Union Movement is being compelled to fight for a new system.

(10) *Whole progress of the Labour Movement characterised by the growth of independent structure :—*

(a) Independent Industrial Movement.

(b) Independent Political Movement.

(c) Independent Press.

(11) *Experience has proved Labour's need for independence :—*

(a) Labour could not function against Capital without organising independently of it.

(b) This principle of independence must now be applied to the educational sphere.

(c) Independence in education is the inevitable and logical outcome of the development of the Labour Movement.

(d) The Industrial and Political enemies of Labour cannot be its educational friends. The Co-partnership of institutions like Ruskin College and the W.E.A. with the employing class and the Government in the sphere of education helps to keep the workers' minds confused as to the true nature of the social relations between them and the exploiting capitalist class.

(12) *Class Consciousness on the part of an educational institution for Labour an imperative necessity :—*

(a) An institution that seeks to promote class-consciousness among the working class must itself be class-conscious.

(b) It must understand and interpret the cause of the struggle of Labour against Capital.

(c) It must at all times come out openly on the side of Labour in this struggle.

(d) It must clearly and fearlessly place the point of view of Labour as against the writers and representatives of Capital.

(e) It must assist the representatives of Labour not only to meet but defeat the representatives of Capital.

(13) *All these conditions are met by the Labour College Movement :—*

(a) The Labour College Movement has a definite Labour purpose, namely, the provision of knowledge whereby Labour can solve its problem of economic subjection.

(b) The Labour College Movement has a definite point of view in social science.

(c) The Labour Colleges are definitely controlled by Labour organisations.

(14) *The working-class point of view versus the Capitalist point of view in social science.*

(a) The industrial and political struggle between the employers and the governing class on the one hand, and the working class on the other, as a consequence of the *antagonism of interests* over such questions as profits, wages, hours, conditions of work, and social affairs generally, give rise to *antagonistic theories* and explanations regarding these questions; hence there is an employers' or governing class point of view—and a working class point of view in social science (*i.e.*, in the sciences which treat of the social system).

(b) The working class point of view in social science is partial only in the sense that it is the definite view of a part of society—of a definite class.

(c) It is impartial in the scientific sense of the term because the working class is the only class who can embrace a really scientific view of the world and human society. The capitalist and governing class with their paid teachers in the Universities and the Press dare not and will not accept any scientific explanation of social problems.

(d) The "workers have nothing to lose but their chains," no interests within the existing order to protect; they have no prejudices to place in the way of scientific truth. Only the oppressed can remove oppression.

(15) *The Labour College Movement and its independent education :—*

(a) The education of the Labour Colleges is condemned by the industrial and political enemies of the workers.

(b) The education of Ruskin College and the W.E.A. receive the blessing and support of the workers' enemies.

(c) The Labour Colleges have a clearly defined object and policy.

(d) Ruskin College and the W.E.A. are vague and indefinite, for example, they use such phrases as "educating the Democracy," "broadening the mind," etc.

(e) The Labour Colleges recognise the class division and class struggle in society.

(f) Ruskin College and the W.E.A. deny these—hence they are useless to the workers in their everyday struggle.

(g) The Labour Colleges specialise in Social Science because the Labour Movement is a *social* movement, and the Labour problem a social problem.

(16) *The Labour College Movement is a means to an end :—*

(a) The end is the education of the rank and file.

(b) The rank and file to be educated by means of classes conducted in the areas where they live and work.

(c) This education will only become efficient when the Trade Union and Labour Movement assumes full responsibility for the independent working class educational movement.

(17) *What Independent education in social science means to Labour :—*

(a) Membership of a Trade Union or the Labour Party is not sufficient, a worker to help his *class* must acquire a working class outlook upon life and human society.

(b) Independent education will bring that *unity of thought* to the working class which is the necessary condition for the formation of a United Front against the Capitalist attack on the workers' standard of living.

R. HOLDER.

AN ELEMENTARY TEXT-BOOK of WORLD HISTORY

TO write a history of mankind from the Old Stone Age down to the Great War in a little book of 128 pages might seem an almost impossible task.

A teacher and propagandist well-known in the North of England—Alf. Barton, of Sheffield—has achieved it; and in September the Labour Publishing Co. are issuing it—at half-a-crown.

When the Plebs E.C., early this year were shown the manuscript (by courtesy of Mr. Langdon-Davies of the Labour Publishing Co.) they decided, in order to do everything in their power to ensure its publication, to give a guaranteed order for 500 copies. The book was read and highly praised by three or four Plebs, and they made various critical suggestions to Comrade Barton, some of which he adopted.

The 500 copies will be available early in September—postpaid from Plebs Book Dept., 2s. 8d. each.

Now a short “outline” course in World History will be a magnificent feature for our winter classes. It might well indeed form the best of all *introductory* courses for new students, giving them a good *background* of general knowledge before they proceed to more specialised studies. Here’s a textbook ready to hand. Make your plans accordingly, and book your orders now. This book is written from the workers’ point of view; it is divided all through into headed paragraphs, each one a self-contained whole. It is, in short, admirably adapted for the use of students—in class, or working individually.

Send along your orders.

A Synopsis of Twelve Lectures on THE STATE

(Continued from last month.)

VIII —“*The State within the State,*” and the Reformation. — Roman Catholic Church greatest factor in social life of Middle Ages. Coercion may be exerted either physically (as under slavery), or mentally (as under feudalism and capitalism). Under feudalism mental coercion performed by Catholic Church. Christianity a banner for aggressive feudal chiefs. The Church the greatest economic power of feudalism; her wealth obtained (a) by giving protection to oppressed peasants and

receiving their land in return ; (b) by working on superstitious fears of both lords and serfs by means of her educational monopoly. Power of feudal exploiting classes buttressed by Church teaching serfs that in order to inherit the kingdom of heaven contentment, and obedience to authority on earth, were essential. The Church a social safety valve ; to the more intelligent of the serfs it offered wealth and power ; to thinkers and artists a refuge.

Merchant class's opposition to Church. Church's attitude to usury. Merchants required free development of productive forces. Advancement of science. The Church, founded on Faith and its twin brother Ignorance, forbade development of positive knowledge. Bourgeoisie supported by king and nobility jealous of Church's economic and political power. Strong central government required to overthrow Church ; its fall left control of State in hands of Crown. The way cleared for attack on rest of feudal institutions by bourgeoisie.

IX.—*Disruption of Alliance and Revolution of 1688.*—Bourgeoisie, by time of Stuarts, strong enough to dispense with absolute monarchy. Struggle of Commons for control of taxation and direction of legislation. State legislates, administers, and coerces—all in interest of section economically dominant. When two or more property-owning interests clash, settlement of the disputes in peaceful fashion is known as politics. Politics function on basis of compromise ; when compromise is impossible, struggle is taken to field of force—military, economic, or both. Parliamentary Civil War physical force struggle between two sets of private property-owners for control, *i.e.*, between bourgeoisie and absolute monarchy. Denial to king of any political rights or State control. There being no basis for compromise, politics became useless ; law and precedent discarded ; powers previously vested in king revoked ; king brought to scaffold and Republic established. Resulting control of State by bourgeoisie. Legislation for capitalist interests—Navigation Acts, etc. Administrators (judges and magistrates) interpreted the law in bourgeoisie interests.

Cromwellian dictatorship. Religious phase of struggle—puritanism. Treatment of Diggers and Levellers, who went further in their demands than bourgeoisie. Economic strength of bourgeoisie insufficient to retain all the power won. Owing to fear of proletariat, coalition formed between landlords and bourgeoisie. Reaction found expression in Restoration. Landlords abolished feudal dues to king, legalised expropriation of land, placed tariff on corn. Industrial capitalists instituted protection by tariffs, etc. Final settlement of struggle the compromise known as " The Glorious Revolution " of 1688. Henceforth, monarchy controlled by Parlia-

ment ; administrative and legislative power its undisputed possession. Parliament controlled by landlords and bourgeoisie—the former more influential of two sections of ruling class.

X.—*Rise of the Capitalist State.*—Restoration of debased currency. Colonial exploitation. Growth of Navy. Founding of Bank of England. National Debt (safe outlet and steady return for surplus capital). Ireland ; strangulation of her commercial and industrial possibilities. Enclosures—class function of State in dealing with same (historic precedent that when any class has political power, backed by economic organisation, it expropriates the property of any other class in interests of society). Historic mission Capitalist class in 18th Century to establish and consolidate Parliamentary State at home and extend Empire abroad. Identity of interests between squircarchy and bourgeoisie. Landlords obtained the lands, capitalists the “hands.” Machine process made this mode of obtaining labour somewhat unnecessary. Industrial Revolution made possible social production of wealth. Nations in early stages of capitalist development forced to adopt protection. Advent of machino-facture made protection unnecessary.

Nineteenth Century England “Workshop of the World.” Demand for Free Trade and “Laissez Faire.” Tariffs gradually taken off, but landlords refused to take off corn tax. Economic antagonism between manufacturers and landlords. Strained relations found expression in agitation for Repeal of Corn Laws. Reform Bill (1832) placed political power in hands of bourgeoisie. Both contestants appealed for working class support : Working class agitation for redress of its own grievances ruthlessly suppressed. Repeal of Corn Laws represents victory of industrial capital over agricultural capital, and political supremacy of industrial capitalists ; Capitalist State, by concentrating and centralising means of wealth production, has made its contribution to evolution of society ; finally brought into being modern working class, whose historic function is to supplement past development by owning and controlling the socially produced and distributed wealth.

XI.—*The Modern State.*—International rivalries for markets. Home market—workers can only buy one-fifth of total products. Change in political policy. Free Trade to Protection. World market becomes smaller ; undeveloped countries in turn take on capitalist mode of production. Standardisation and specialisation inevitable outcome of international rivalry.

Contradictions within capitalist system ; over-production—under-consumption. Unemployment and reduction in wages. Capitalist economy forced to preserve itself by waste ; millions spent on arma-

ments, etc.—inevitable basis for war. *Imperialism*. Every new territory opened up only another unit in a highly organised and centralised social system. Capitalist control of Parliament, Education, and the Press. Parliamentary Democracy—a machine functioning in interests of capitalism.

XII.—*The State and the Future*.—Every social movement a political movement, and *vice versa*. Political movements presuppose class antagonisms. Class antagonisms presuppose social evolution, and cause political revolutions. Present social movement result of antagonism between Capital and Labour. Workers in mass unconscious of class struggle; “a fair day’s wage for a fair day’s work” compatible with continuance of capitalism. But logic of machine teaching workers that struggle for existence is getting keener. Development of productive forces compels capitalists to leave production and to assume purely repressive functions. Owners become non-users; and users non-owners. Psychological change slowly brought about in minds of the users and non-owners (working class) which will demand ownership; then they will act as a class against the capitalist class. Capitalism will not allow itself peaceably to pass out of existence; compelled to rely more and more on State as means of coercion. But tremendous developments of productive forces tearing control out of hands of capitalists.

Proletarian dictatorship. Victory of working class the victory of all classes. With disappearance of classes the State will die out. Hence working class victory means an end to all class antagonisms, all political power, and the State.

Additional Reading :—

Lectures II., III. and IV.—

Engels' *Origin of the Family*. (3s. 4d. post paid.)

Lecture IV.—

De Leon, *Two Pages from Roman History*. (4d. post paid.)

Lectures V., VI., VII. and VIII.—

Newbold, “Production and Politics,” articles in PLEBS, 1921.

Lecture VIII.—

Bang, *Crisis of European History*. (10d. post paid.)

Lectures X. & XI.—

W. Paul, *Communism and Society*. (2s. 9d. post paid.)

Lenin, *The State and Revolution*. Pavlovitch, *Foundation of Imperialist Policy*. (3s. 9d. post paid.)

General Reading :—

Morris and Bax, *Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome*.

Jenks, *The State and the Nation*.

JACK HAMILTON.

STUDENTS' NOTES and QUERIES

A. C. (North Kensington) asks : " *Is Capital vital to the production of wealth in a communist society ?* " He refers to a recent discussion in *The Herald* and wrongly suggests that in Craik's *Modern British Working-Class Movement* there is a statement that the capitalist system, and not capital, can be abolished. However, he rightly answers his own question by tracing the general error (which cannot be found in Craik's primer) to the confusion of capital with the instruments of production. To quote an often used example, just as monarchy might be done away with without necessarily hurting a man named Windsor, so capital can be and will be destroyed (we hope) without injuring in the least the railways, ships, mines, or factories. Capital is not an instrument of production, or of saving, until those are used as instruments of exploitation. Remove exploitation and Capital, as such, is destroyed.

There were some excellent pictures in the *M. G. Commercial Reconstruction Supplement No. 3*, which "jump to the eye" with the immense contrast between spinning and weaving by hand and by machinery. [A-la-Lanternists please note.] In the same No., Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Co., endeavoured to calm the fears of the industrialists that the huge loans made by the bankers to Europe would mean a loss to American industries owing to rivalry with the restarted competitors. Having, according to Lamont, 60 per cent. of the entire world supply of gold, America has ample credit for any commercial enterprise ; and because Lamont wants to export these credits to the most advantageous markets he attacks the mercantilist fallacies of the farmers who want cheap credit at home, and of the industrialists who want the loans to be spent only in U.S.A. Outside of some descriptions of Genoa and articles on the position of Austria, cotton occupies the chief space in this particular issue of a valuable series.

G. writes concerning the repudiation or lowering of the rate of Interest on the National Debt. Sidney Webb's main arguments against it are : (1) The loans were made to the Government when the purchasing power of money was high, and not low, as generally argued. (2) The Sacredness of Contract, which, if broken, would have a ruinous effect for the Government in future borrowings. (3) The fact that many individual workers, trade unions and friendly societies would suffer from this legal "theft."

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THE NEW WORLD: PROBLEMS IN POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

By I. BOWMAN

(Director of the American Geographical Society)

640 pp. Illustrated with 215 maps and 65 photographs.

A mine of material for the student of current World Problems. Chapter headings include "Problems of Imperial Britain," "Political and Colonial Aims of France," "The New Hungary," "Rumania and its New Frontiers," "The Political Geography of Russia," "Persia in Relation to British Interests," "The Far East," "Latin American Trade and the United States," &c., &c., &c.

21s. net. By post (*from Plebs Book Dept.*) 22s.

London: GEORGE G. HARRAP & Co., Ltd.: 1922

The Glasgow *Forward* (17/6/22) smashed argument No. 1 by showing that though if some of the loans had been raised when prices were low (1914—16) they were all converted into bonds higher rate when these were issued in 1919 and onwards. And in bearing the regard to (2) it can be urged that when a bargain means paying back £16,000 millions instead of £8,000 millions borrowed, its "sacredness" is open to question. The *Labour Year Book* (1919) gives some information which helps one to get Mr. Webb's third argument into proper perspective. Among other things it says—"Not more than 2s. 6d. out of every £5 is owing to the millions of working class investors."

Naturally there are some sections of the capitalist class itself which object to this high fixed rate of interest. Probably these sections in the boom period got elsewhere a higher rate than the $5\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. offered by the Government. Now in the slump they wish they had been more "patriotic." However, the capitalist class as a whole is not going to give up this chance of automatic enrichment and besides they know that once interference began there would be no end.

Mr. Webb, of course, wants no startling "breach of faith" to frighten away timid voters from the Labour Party; he would rather see a greater army of tax officials and the stealthy capture of Whitehall by "rubber-soled Fabians." It is up to us to make the utmost propagandist use of the fact that vested interests in this case do really get "9d. for 4d."

Apropos of shipping, a Cardiff student has sent along an interesting cutting from the *Daily News* (12/6/22) *re* affairs in that town. Because of the general slump and the feared American and German competition, the huge bubble fortunes made in the shipping boom period have been badly burst. Shares which then quadrupled their price are now worthless, and only the old established companies are expected to survive the enormous slump. The banks shared in this inflation of shipping capital and they also will benefit in the compulsory "re-organisation." The *D.N.* man wrote—"It is questionable whether there is any other area in the country in which the banks have so much at stake, or in which they control so many businesses." Sad experience is forcing many business men to repeat what has been said in *PLEBS* (*e.g.*, see article in March, 1922, on Hilferding's books) and in many a Marxian primer about: (1) The steadily increasing consolidation and centralisation of control of industry and capital. (2) The power given by the interlocking share system to a small group of men who can inflate the capital of the various industries they control. (3) The elimination of the independent shipowner, mine-owner and manufacturer by the financial controllers who replace the former by salaried men.

STUDENTS will already have observed that while the users of cotton spindles are feeling the slump their makers are doing well and enlarging their concerns. The Platt Brothers new issue reminds us of the continued prosperity of the makers of the means of *production*. According to the *D.N.* (10/7/22), the company manufactures the machinery for the greater part of $18\frac{3}{4}$ million spindles in the Lancashire cotton trade and has a large export trade with Japan, China, India, Canada, and elsewhere. Its average profit over the past five years was £611,460 which has meant over 25 per cent. on its ordinary shares. It has enough work in hand for the next two years. All this will be very encouraging to the textile workers of Great Britain

M. S.

INCURABLE !!

OR, *Don't Waste your Time trying to Convert Hopeless Cases.* I met a fellow t'other day—to be precise, he was a jay!—His life in arduous toil he'd spent, his face was drawn, his form was bent; his hands were but two shapeless paws, his fingers just two sets of claws—(though two were gone from where they'd been—he'd ground them off in some machine). His narrow chest held but one lung, his feet were flat, his knees were sprung; he shuffled badly when he walked, and uttered nonsense when he talked.

I felt quite sad about this wight, and thought “ Though he seems far from bright, there still may be some little hope of clearing from his mind the dope; Why shouldn't I, then, have a try to show him where his interests lie?”

I said, “ How are things going, chum?” and he replied, with visage glum, that everything was shocking bad, that he had never “ justice ” had, that, though he'd worked hard all his life, he barely could maintain his wife and find his kids their daily bread—that life was naught but care and dread! He finished, “ Something should be done!” “ Yes,” I replied, “ and you are one of those who should that *something* do. It's up to such as me and you.”

I then proceeded to explain that ev'ry effort would be vain to win the capitalist game; that t'was for us to change the same into a new society in which the workers would be free from need to search and beg a job of those who own and rule and rob; that we ourselves must own the tools, that we ourselves must make the rules; that in *our* hands we held the pen to write *new* rights for working men.

At this he rose and pawed the air, and said it never would be “ fair ” to take the masters' “ rights ” away—I've said above he was a jay. I said, “ You may in ignorance stew, I waste my time on such as you. I'll stir my stumps and get me hence, and try to find a man of sense!”

W. G.

REVIEWS*

The Second and Third Internationals and the Vienna Union. (Plebs Book Dept., 1s. 2d. by post).

THIS is an official report of the conference called to establish a United Front against the capitalist offensive. Theoretical agreement between the three Internationals was and is impossible ; was it possible to arrange some temporary working pact for securing certain ends ?

The debate on the " conditions " put forward by the " Second " occupies the major portion of the report. It was a battle between masters of rival schools, clear, crisp and direct. But Radek, replying for Moscow, dominated the debate. Nowhere do we recollect such a relentlessly logical presentation of a case, nor the marshalling of such an armoury of facts backed by a wealth of historical references. Against the background of these pitiless pictures of events the arguments of his opponents seem pathetically unreal. Convicted of lack of foresight, courage or historic perspective ; faced with the results of past dependence upon the promises of capitalist rulers and statesmen ; and finally exhibited remorselessly as still trading in the ideas of the ruling classes, the spokesmen of the Second and Two-and-a-Half cut very poor figures.

This book affords a truly remarkable study of the philosophy and the tactics of the different wings of International Labour, viewed in the historic setting of recent eventful years. It is a book for the student to test his theories upon. If it were only for the insight into the men and groups holding the leadership of the Internationals which it gives it would be well worth while. As a proletarian commentary on recent history it is priceless.

This book should be of immense service in clearing the ground for a better understanding of principles and tactics. " To understand is to leave behind." As a textbook for study circles and discussion classes for the better appreciation of international working class relations it is capable of untold good. Buy it, read it, study it and discuss it. G.

In a Russian Village. By C. Roden Buxton. (Labour Publishing Company. Cloth, 3s. 6d., paper 2s. 6d.)

This is an exceedingly interesting sketch of Russian village life as seen by a member of the Labour Delegates which visited Russia in 1920 ; and it portrays in a very simple way the difficulties with which the Soviet Government is confronted.

* Owing to unusual pressure on our space this month we are compelled to hold over a large number of reviews.

The shortage of necessary agricultural implements and the decreasing acreage of land cultivated demonstrates the obstacles to be surmounted in the reorganisation of agriculture. And these are in large measure due to the Allied Blockade and the subsequent refusal to trade. The book gives some idea of the efforts being made to introduce modern methods of agriculture, and evidences the growing power and constructive work of the Communists in Russia.

A book worth reading, though it is a matter for regret that it could not be produced at a cheaper rate.

L. G. F.

LETTERS from PLEBS

THE LONDON LABOUR COLLEGE CURRICULUM

DEAR COMRADE,—The article in last month's PLEBS on the Labour College curriculum gives me an opportunity of summarising certain long-meditated criticisms, based upon personal observation of the College and conversations with many of the present students, together with a personal experience of the orthodox "educational ladder" from elementary school to University. I yield to no one in my admiration for the College and the way it has overcome, and is overcoming, the colossal difficulties in its path. But these same difficulties have made its development sporadic and lopsided, so that now its existence is secure it needs thorough reorganisation if it is to attain the maximum of efficiency.

The first obstacle to effectiveness lies in the small amount of general education that most of the students bring with them. The College syllabus says that intending students must give evidence of elementary education; but how elementary this can sometimes be a single example will show: at an economics lecture at the College a student was unable to follow a numerical illustration because he had never learnt decimals!

The students have, of course, the advantage of workshop experience. How great this advantage is only those who have come into contact with the typical "public school and University" type can fully realise. But there is no reason why the public school man should have the pull in the matter of academic training. All that is

necessary is that scholarship holders *should defer entrance to the College for a year*, during which time they should concentrate on passing the Matriculation, or a similar examination set by the College itself. The tuition can, in most districts, be obtained at evening classes, or our dear old friend the W.E.A. could be pressed into service. From what I know of the students, I am sure they could easily manage the Matric. in a year by spare-time study. Nor is it essential that they should actually pass an examination, provided they had done a year's intensive study. The increased facility for "swotting" that such practice would give would more than repay the time spent, and reaching London Matriculation standard in, say, English Language and Literature, Arithmetic and Elementary Mathematics, German, Geography, and General Elementary Science, would certainly not be waste of time.

The foundation of *general knowledge* having been thus well and truly laid, the next need is to make provisions for extending it during the period of residence. This boils down to access to books. The students themselves cannot provide anything more than the essential textbooks. I have never seen a single work of fiction on a student's bookshelf, and the only poetry books were presentation copies of Wordsworth and Ella Wheeler Wilcox. It is a case for co-operative enterprise. I suppose funds prevent the building up of a College library of general literature; though, if every student, on finishing his course, were to perpetuate his memory on the fly-

leaf of a presentation volume, a respectable collection would soon be acquired. But why shouldn't the College make use of the excellent Kensington Public Libraries? The Governors, as ratepayers, should see to it that every student is automatically enrolled as a member.

Now to come to the curriculum proper. The most obvious thing about it is the enormous amount it tries to do in two years. There is enough matter in it for at least four years' work at a bourgeois university. And, as a natural consequence, I have yet to meet or hear of a student who is not behind-hand in his work or reading. (Though this, of course, would be partly overcome by the preliminary training suggested above.) I do not know whether any research has been done on mental "input," similar to that on industrial output. Perhaps some of our psychologists will oblige, and tell the worker how much learning he can assimilate, and his best method of tackling it. But I should say that about half to two-thirds of the present material is all that can be profitably attacked in two years—by an average student.

With the criticisms of the Plebs E.C. on the "make-up" of the curriculum I am in hearty agreement. The lecturers appear to have proceeded on the principle, "What do I know best? I'll tell them that"; instead of "What do they most need to know?"

The best way to make the most of the two years would, I think, be to institute a system of specialisation. The first year should be devoted to an elementary general survey of social science—philosophy, universal history, economics, modern politics, the workers' movements, etc. This should be planned without any reference to the specialised studies of any member of the staff, but solely from the point of view of the needs of the student. Then the staff should undertake to master the various subjects, even if it does mean a lot of work, so that they can hand on to the students a well-balanced scheme of knowledge—instead of the present oases of erudition in a desert of ignorance! The second year should be devoted to deeper study of one or two subjects. The specialist on economics, for instance, would

study the orthodox economists as well as Marx (the lack of opportunity for which is a grievance amongst them at present); the industrial historian could pursue his studies untroubled by metaphysical speculations on marginal utility, and so on.

Another curious feature of the College is its neglect of the advantages given by its situation in London. It is quite near the museums, but makes no use of them. The students could make the London County Council teach them biology, gymnastics, or almost anything else by enrolling at evening institutes. They complain of lack of facilities for sport, but neglect to take advantage of the playing fields in the public parks. The College is now sufficiently individualised to take all it can get from bourgeois sources without losing its independent working-class character; and the more it gets from capitalist sources in the way of education in non-social subjects and of recreation, the more resources it will have for developing its purely proletarian work.

Lastly, there is a fault which can only be remedied by the students themselves. The bourgeois Universities are recognised as wonderful promoters of class solidarity. The effective agent is not the lecturer or the professor, but the *tradition*, the corporate life of the place. This is a something hard to describe, but easy to recognise. Now at the Labour College this is almost entirely lacking. A visitor does not *feel* that he is at a college. Of course, the lack of this corporate spirit is easily understood. The place is comparatively new. The students are overworked and overcrowded. But something can be done by conscious and enthusiastic effort. An outsider can do little to help. Suggestions such as a manuscript magazine, college football and cricket elevens, and so on, will occur to anyone. But beyond that, the College should stamp a man as indelibly as an Oxford man is stamped, but, of course, in an entirely different manner.

To sum up, the Labour College is conservative where it should be progressive, and inert where it should be active in building up a conservatism. And some "renovation" is needed, if

the College is to fulfil its destiny as the nucleus of the Workers' University.

Yours fraternally,

London, E. B. WOOLF

[We have received several letters on this subject, but do not wish to use an undue amount of space in the magazine in discussing the peculiar problems of one particular educational centre—even though that centre be the "parent" College. The above letter makes, so it appears to us, many useful suggestions, some of which are also applicable to our work generally, in the wider field outside the London College.—Ed., PLEBS.]

SCIENTISTS AND THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

DEAR COMRADE,—May a down-trodden, sweated, disgruntled wage-slave of a scientific worker venture, ever so tentatively, to trespass on your valuable and valued space to ask a question?

Query: Whether Comrade Millar's able propagandist pen hasn't ever such a little bit run away with his sense of justice and proportion?

The first few pages of that otherwise admirable pamphlet, "More Production—and More Poverty," contain a violent, almost a virulent, attack on scientists.

It is difficult to know how to meet criticisms which one knows to be wrong-headed, when one is completely in sympathy with the critic's ideals, and when his muddle-headedness is so marked that he can, if he wishes, quote against one's attack on one part of his criticism passages from another part of his criticism that are quite inconsistent with the first.

As that sounds a bit involved, let me illustrate it. Comrade Millar takes as his text certain *obiter dicta* of Sir Richard Gregory. Sir Richard was clearly referring to scientific men and science in the strict and narrow sense of those words. He had in mind, obviously, physics, chemistry, mathematics, engineering, geology, and possibly less practical subjects like astronomy and biology. That Comrade Millar quite understands this would seem clear from his paragraph on "What Science Offers to Workers" at the top of page 3. Then he sets to to attack all scientists, ostensibly, for not having achieved socialism. He quotes a pas-

sage from H. G. Wells—ignoring the fact that Wells's antithesis is between "the problems of *material science*" and "*social and political problems*"—where Wells is careful *not* to use the word science in connection with social and political problems. Does he (Millar) produce a shred of argument for his criticism of chemists, biologists and the rest? Not a bit. His actual charges are brought, and rightly, against "the university economist and sociologist," and all the polite gentlemen who tell us what a wonderful thing is this economic system of ours. But what in the name of common (*i.e.*, Plebeian) sense have these to do with science? Surely Comrade Millar is not the kind of simpleton who is bamboozled by their naive habit of referring to political "science," "social science," etc.

No, Comrade Editor, I am *not* going to define science. You and Millar know as well as I do what the intelligent—and even the unintelligent—worker means when he talks of science and scientists. He doesn't mean *any* of the subjects which are taught, rightly and well, at the Labour Colleges, even if they happen to have slightly misleading names like the "Science of Understanding."

Comrade Millar says that "Orthodox science has no message." Nor has orthodox betting nor orthodox mining. But that is no reason for attacking bookmakers or miners, as such.

Finally, what of the tactlessness of such onslaughts as Comrade Millar's? Scientific workers are feeling the pinch at the present moment more than ever before, nearly as acutely as many other members of the working class. Their class-consciousness is just beginning to be aroused on the economic field. Some of us are trying to stimulate it. Comrade Millar isn't helping us.

Yours fraternally.

WAT TYLER

[J. P. M. M. writes:—(1) *More Production—and More Poverty* was not intended for the scientific workers; a pamphlet suitable for propaganda among them would not have served the purpose for which mine was written. (2) Science does not stop with physics or astronomy, although some of the scientific men try to maintain that

it does. It includes the social sciences and the science of understanding. (3) There is no contradiction in my treatment of the word science, as "W. T." will see if he refers to p. 2. (4) I don't attack the scientists for not *achieving* socialism. (5) The business of science is to provide the knowledge necessary for the solution of human problems; that is not the business of betting. (6) "W. T." seems to have overlooked the fact that mine, as it happens, is not an attack on scientists, but a *reply to a scientist's attack on the workers*. Why did not Gregory bring down the whip of criticism on the flanks of the other learned gentlemen—economists, historians, sociologists—gathered together along with him under the auspices of the British Association for the Advancement of *Science*? According to newspaper reports, he said nothing about them.]

THAT SIMPLE IDEA.

DEAR EDITOR,—It's so simple! says Winifred Horrabin in your July issue (an excellent number).

Well, I admit your theory looks very simple, clear and beautiful, in a sort of way. But is it? I try to get hold of it, but I cannot. Only a bit of it—and that does not work; that is, for me.

All very well to say truth is what works. But works to what sort of an end? And how does it work to a given end? Who can prove the value of this theory or any theory if applied or used to illustrate or explain a society, with its religion, laws, morals and the rest? The extension is far too big. Why not come nearer, say to the individual?

It is impossible to state a conclusion regarding a society, or even a group, for the quite sufficient reason that the individual lives in all their complexity are not revealed. In fact, hardly expressed at all. Your big, sweeping generalisations tend to obscure, belittle and ignore the individual. Let persons ask themselves if all things and all their experiences are "based on, conditioned by, the way our group earns its living." Each one for himself, not hiding behind or within a particular social and economic theory.

Are my religion, or manner of life and conduct and other things determined in the way suggested above? Speaking for myself, they are not. Many others could probably answer in the same way. If the way a group or individual gets a living determines or conditions this, that and a thousand things, what, I ask, determines or conditions the economics of life?

Yours cordially,

Letchworth.

F. R. SWAN

[Com. Swan won't expect us to answer his hail of questions in a footnote. But as his curiosity about Marxism has evidently been roused by W. H.'s article, we trust that, as a seeker after truth, he will go on to study one or two Marxist classics and get the confusion in his mind cleared up a bit.—Ed., PLEBS.]

A WARNING

DEAR COMRADE,—In the July PLEBS we had an article, "Cromwell to Harding"—very good as depicting the economic motive force of history. I doubt very much if any capitalist could or would disagree with it. He might not like the publicity; all the same, he would not deny the statements of his own people. A page or two later, we got another very interesting article, "Geographical Footnote to Current History—America and the Caribbean."

I wish to point out the danger there is in handling these subjects. Look how easy it is to inveigle the workers into national partisanship in their masters' quarrels. Why shouldn't the British shipbuilder (the actual worker, I mean—not the man or group of men who have their name on the brass plate and stationery and do their shipbuilding by proxy) get quite keen on his master beating their American competitors? If he displays this "our-side" in the industrial field, it is only logical that he should do so on the battlefield. Very quickly the "Cromwell to Harding" article might resolve itself into "the foreigner has got your job," etc.

I will quote a short passage sufficient to explain the meaning of my warning:—"An elevenfold increase in the U.S.A. output (shipping) meant the end of that (British) supremacy. We

could afford to laugh at 'tin lizzie' motor cars, at American films and type-writers, but here was a blow at *our* very vitals. It is even more important than the struggle over oil."

Very unfortunate for the British shipowner, and of course his wage slaves, as it robs them of "work." Then who the deuce is *We*? Somebody interested in motor cars evidently, and so "*our* very vitals" turn over.

Get down to brass tacks, *i.e.*, the *commodity status* of the workers. If the timber and minerals, etc., entering into the composition of a ship could speak, they would have as much justification as the worker in saying "we" and "our."

Yours fraternally.

F. L. RIMINGTON

[We beg Com. Rimington to believe that neither of the authors whose articles he refers to had forgotten the commodity status of the workers for one moment. But when writing for PLEBS one can surely take certain things as understood—and indulge in a few ironical phrases without having to add as a footnote Artemus Ward's (was it?) notice, "This is Wrote Sarkastick."—Ed., PLEBS.]

MARX & MARSHALL

DEAR COMRADE,—I am afraid I cannot deal adequately with the interesting point raised by Comrade Kershaw in the short space of a letter. I admit my expression may have been rather too vague. What I meant was that Marx postulated certain *assumptions* for the sake of analysis, and worked out the logical *implications* which followed from them. These assumptions are not *in detail* in line with reality, but are *in general*, so this is the method of abstract deduction, and both deduction and induction are necessary to the use of "the scientific method."

Comrade Jackson, I think, does not fully understand the orthodox theory. Utility is measured in the mind of the consumer in terms of price. It is relative prices we want to measure; and therefore we can measure the relative utilities of things to persons by the relative prices which consumers are willing to offer. What does our comrade mean by "supply

and demand being equal"? Supply and demand may balance at a *certain price*. Marx showed that prices tended to balance in the long run at their price of production. If compositions of capital were equal, this equilibrium price would equal labour value. I rather feel that Comrade Jackson becomes metaphysical in his last four lines. I cannot quite perceive in the concrete the mystic operation which he postulates.

I feel that the Marxian criticism of orthodox economics is so strong, that it is a pity to spoil our case by putting forward unsound criticisms, largely based on misunderstanding of what the bourgeois economists really teach. I may be doing him an injustice, but I rather feel that this is what our comrade is doing.

I think Comrade Bell is wrong in implying, as he does in paragraphs 5 and 6 of his letter, that price cannot be dependent on two factors, but must be dependent on only one. You can have a thing as the resultant of two or more forces; and price is in fact the resultant of the interacting forces of Supply and Demand just as two books leaning against one another *mutually* determine one another's position. Pareto speaks of the continual conflict in the economic world of Wants and Obstacles to the satisfaction of those wants, and calls Price the resulting point of balance between these two psychological forces. Personally I accept this explanation. It does not, however, get us very far in analysing existing social institutions unless we know how Price *tends* to move under certain conditions—these conditions governing the psychological factors which influence Price. The importance of Marx is that he did this. He would have been a metaphysician if he had deduced *a priori* an abstract law of value (for labour-value is an abstract conception) and then tried to prove that this governed concrete facts in some mystic manner, as Jackson and Bell seem to want to do. Marx was scientific—and here we are back at Kershaw's point—precisely because his law of value was a *generalisation from the concrete*—a generalisation about movements of price.

Yours fraternally,

MAURICE H. DOBB

TRA LA MONDO :

Esperanto Notes

Banned.

The French Minister of Education has issued a circular banning the teaching of Esperanto in French schools on the ground that it is a medium for the propaganda of revolutionary ideas. . . . It only remains to add that copies of *The Esperanto Teacher* cost 1s. 2d. post paid from PLEBS Book Department,

Tramvojojtoj.

Tramvojjista Unuig'o Esperantista en Vieno.

La 8. junio fondis la partoprenantoj de la kvin kursoj de s-o R. M. Frey la sukces-promesantan "Tramvojjista Unuigo Esperantista en Vieno" La bone vizitatan kunvenon ĉestis s-oj Frey, Siedl (kiu printempe 1921 gvidis la unuan kurson por tramvojjistoj), d-ro Sós kaj direktoro Schamanek. La direkto de la urba tramvojo sendis kiel oficialan delegiton s-on d-ron Bäcker, kiu fervore paroladis pri la kreskanta

Esp. movado inter la vienaj tramvojjistoj kaj promesis en la nomo de la direkto efikplenan subtenon. Ĉestis ankaŭ la konataj Esperantistoj red. Schröder, so-j Sikor, Schade kaj Zimmermann. Rimarkinda estis Esp. parolado de s-o Lorber, tramvojjisto. Paroladis plue la organizantoj, prez. Wehsely, vicprez. Berdau kaj s-o Frey, kiu substrekkis la grandan signifon de la nova unuigo precipe rilate al la estonta kiel eble plej internacia fakkongreso de Esp. tramvojjistoj okaze de nia XVI-a en Vieno (1924). La unuigo jam havas pli ol 100 membrojn. Instruontaj tramvojjistoj por la venonta vintro ĉe la vagonarejoj jam 8.

Tramvojjistoj, kiuj povas sciigi pri ia Esp. movado ĉe tramvojjistoj en diversaj urboj de la tuta mondo, bonvolu sin turni al la prezidanto de la Tramvojjista Unuigo Esperantista de Vieno, s-o Karl Wehsely, konduktoro, Wien 12, Steinhagegasse 3/11, Aŭstrio.

N.C.L.C. NOTES

The Education Scheme launched by the Building Trade Workers is the biggest step forward made by the working-class educational movement since the founding of the Central Labour College. Its possibilities are immense—if we are alert to take full advantage of them. Remember that we prove our worth by the use we make of opportunities—not by mere repetition of our aims and purposes. We have received copies of draft plans and organisation under the scheme from all N.C.L.C. affiliated bodies; the one printed in full below is reproduced as a model example of how to tackle the problem of "making it work."

TO the Education Committee. No. 6 Division, A.U. Building Trade Workers.

(1) In accordance with your Education Fund Manifesto (particularly Part II.), we have studied the No. 6 Division and hand you herewith a blue print showing the branches therein.

(2) In order that an immediate move may be made towards putting

the scheme into operation, we have in the first place divided the division into three parts:—(a) South Staffordshire; (b) Warwickshire, Northants and Leicestershire; (c) Staffordshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire.

(3) We would point out the necessity, in a scheme of this description, of the Trades Council, Labour Party and Co-

operative Society in each town being approached for their help, since, although your organisation are taking the initiative, it is realised that our objective is the education of the whole of the working class; and we look upon these as centres of working-class activity.

(4) It should be remembered that the National Union of Railwaymen are joint controllers of the London Labour College, and their local secretaries should be approached by the A.U.B.T.W. local secretaries. Steps are being taken to acquaint the N.U.R. men of the scheme.

(5) We suggest that in the following Midland towns, Wolverhampton (inc. Tettenhall), Bilston, Walsall, Wednesbury (inc. Darlaston), West Bromwich, Birmingham (inc. Aston, Erdington, Sutton, Balsall Heath and Ladywood) Brierley Hill, Dudley (inc. Gornal), Kidderminster, Redditch and Smethwick, the local secretary should see the Trade Council secretary with a copy of the pamphlets and ask for a meeting to be arranged representative of all bodies mentioned in paragraph 3.

(6) The meeting should preferably be on a week-night, and will be addressed by a representative of the N.C.L.C. We have drawn up a suggested circular, but at the present juncture are withholding this for the sake of brevity.

(7) With regard to Lichfield (including Tamworth), we suggest that the Labour Party agent should be asked to co-operate and that in Stourbridge (where there is a strong branch of the N.U.R.) the latter be approached for joint action.

(8) In the case of Black Heath, Halesowen and Old Hill, in the first place these might be dealt with by a joint meeting, say at the last-named, arranged through your local secretaries.

(9) SMALL HEATH, although co-terminous with Birmingham, is so large an industrial area that we consider it should be dealt with separately, especially in view of the large number of railwaymen at Tyseley.

(10) We have dealt at some length with the Black Country branches as they are in the midst of a thickly populated area, with towns sending Labour M.P.s and with every possibility of successful class work. The

tram routes allow of rapid transit, and if this district could be dealt with in two months, it would certainly mean that a great move had been made towards the greater solidarity of the workers. It may be mentioned that this week in Birmingham the Trades Council are holding a Conference with the object of the unification of the Trade Union movement, and from our knowledge of the district we can say that nothing is calculated more to get that unity than the education of the masses and the associations formed through class attendance.

(11) Reports of each Conference would be sent to your Committee, and the personal contact and conversation of our representatives with local delegates and your officials should help considerably to make the scheme a success.

(12) We then come to the outlying portions of the Division, where it is obvious that the procedure suggested for South Staffordshire is impracticable. As shown on the blue print, the two sections are adapted for touring on the lines set out in the pamphlet.

(13) We think that the same procedure might be adopted as set out in paragraphs 3 to 6 and here arises the difficulty of "timing" the meetings so that the ground may be covered with as little delay as possible. We believe the best plan would be to fix dates for the meetings in each town and to ask the local secretaries to engage a room and advise other bodies. If this were all arranged prior to the date fixed for the commencement of the tour, any delay in one town might be covered by visits to officials of other organisations in the vicinity with explanations of the scheme, so paving the way for its local adoption.

(14) With regard to the Eastern portion, we suggest the following groupings, the meeting to be held in the town marked by capitals:—**COVENTRY** and Foleshill; **LEAMINGTON**, Kenilworth, Warwick and Stratford; **RUGBY**; **NORTHAMPTON**, Wellingboro', Rushden, Kettering and Market Harboro'; **LEICESTER**, Melton Mowbray, Loughborough and Coalville.

(15) We have grouped these branches but in view of our later remarks re outlying branches and their strengthen-

ing, we favour separate meetings in each town.

(16) Respecting the West, we have outlined a tour. The most important section here is the Potteries. We leave it to the experience of your local officials to decide whether a joint meeting should be held for Stone, Longton, Leek, Hanley, Burslem, Newcastle and Stoke, though in our opinion the towns mentioned warrant separate meetings (with the exception of Longton and Stone).

(17) The other towns towards the Welsh border are nearly all served by the G.W.R., and here again N.U.R. members may be expected to help considerably in arranging meetings.

(18) Whilst some of the towns may be small and in rural districts, we think it would be wise to arrange meetings as far as possible in each, since your members would then feel that the Education Scheme was something that catered for both town and country dwellers, and undoubtedly the meetings would help to consolidate the Trade Union position in the outlying districts.

(19) We realise that the suggestions made are open to considerable modification, but in placing them before you we have in mind the necessity for immediate action in the Division and the immense possibilities of con-

certed T.U. activity on educational lines which they foreshadow.

(20) We may mention that one of the signatories to this report has traversed practically all the towns in the Division on a cycle, and the suggestions made for joint working with other organisations are based upon personal knowledge not only of the towns geographically but of their industrial conditions and the relative strength of the T.U., Labour and Co-operative movement in each.

(21) Finally, as workers keenly interested in the furtherance of independent working class education, we shall be only too pleased to discuss ways and means with your Education Committee, which would probably form the basis of a further "working" report after consultation with your officials. In any steps which are taken we can assure you of our sincere co-operation.

Yours fraternally,

T. D. SMITH, Midland Sec., N.U.C. and A.W.; Financial Sec., West Bromwich Trades and Labour Council; Midland representative N.C. Labour Colleges.

A. D. M. TAYLOR, A.E.U.; Past Student, London Labour College; Class Tutor, N.C.L.C., Midland Division.

OUR FIRST "NATIONAL" AFFILIATION.

Sec., N.C.L.C., c/o PLEBS, 162a, Buckingham Palace Rd., S.W. 1.

National Council of Labour Colleges.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose herewith cheque for £5 5s. in payment of Affiliation Fee of this Society to the above.

Yours fraternally,

GEO. HICKS

(Gen. Sec., A.U.B.T.W.).

MANCHESTER and District are holding a Garden Party on Saturday, August 19th, to which all Plebeians are cordially invited. Particulars from A. L. Gwilliam, 69, Heywood Street, Alexander Park, Manchester.

LEEDS Labour College have forwarded their programme for the winter season—excellent! Particulars from

the General Secretary, S. R. Walker, 2, Darlington Street, Kirkstall Road, Leeds.

N.C.L.C. LANTERN SLIDE SCHEME.

In response to various inquiries, the scheme, as outlined in the June PLEBS, is intended for *affiliated organisations only*.

Colleges; N.C.L.C. District Councils; or organisations affiliated *nationally* to the N.C.L.C. can buy or hire sets of slides. Organisations affiliated to the local sections of the movement *can hire slides only*. Much as we may desire to serve everyone, our time will only permit of the above arrangements. It is impossible for us to make slides, at present, for all applicants.

On behalf of the Liverpool and District Labour College.

J. HAMILTON, Sec.

The PLEBS Bookshelf and the PLEBS Book Department

DON'T send in any further orders for the wall-map of World Trade Routes advertised in last month's PLEBS. We sold out our stock within ten days, and though we tried hard to procure further supplies, we were unable to do so, and had to turn down a good many orders. MORAL:—Get in quick on PLEBS bargains.

The Book Dept. has just got in a parcel containing cheap editions of four books recently published by the Rand School, New York—all of them worth while. The first is Scott Nearing's *American Empire*. This is a really first-class piece of work—a historical sketch of American Imperialism, with facts and figures of immense value to working-class propagandists. It was good value in its original edition at a dollar; it is a bargain, in paper covers, at half-a-crown (2s. 9d. postpaid). For the same price, also, you can have *The Workers in American History*, by Jas. Oneal—a sort of "Worker Looks at American History" (208 pp.); and Morris Hillquit's *From Marx to Lenin* (157 pp.), an interesting piece of present-day Socialist polemics. The fourth book is *Triumphant Plutocracy*, by ex-Senator R. F. Pettigrew. This "story of American public life from 1870 to 1920" is another useful work of reference for the proletarian propagandist; it runs to 445 pp., and can be supplied at 5s. postpaid.

The *Observer* recently (July 2nd) supplied a pathetic example of a scientist gone maudlin. This was a review by Sir Harry Johnston of a new American book, *The Revolt Against Civilisation*. Now Sir Harry Johnston had earned one's respect. As an explorer, an administrator with (apparently) a conscience, an opponent of conventional religion and of various sorts of stupid orthodoxy, and an anthropologist with courage and independence, he had compelled admiration.

But this review....! It is Bolshevism which has completely upset Sir Harry's scientific detachment. "This insensate outbreak of Anarchism"—"childish unreason"—"incoherent raving against hard-working burgesses"—these are some of his milder phrases about it. And his ignorance of the subject is appalling. The Anthropologist is suddenly hauled out of his laboratory and confronted with the economic-social problems of twentieth century Europe. He gasps—splutters—and then begins to burble anthropologicoid "explanations." This "outbreak" is due to "wild-eyed Slavs and semi-Tatars" (note the scientific precision of the adjective "wild-eyed.") He proceeds to analyse the population of pre-war Russia—from the racial point of view:—Two millions of aristocracy "mainly of Norse, Finn, German, Polish, Caucasian descent"; 30 millions of middle-class, same stock, "with large Slav and educated Jew elements superadded"; about 100 million peasants, "proto-European, Slav, Mongol, Tatar in composition"; "and lastly, and terribly (!), there were some 600,000 Anarchists—Bolsheviks whom we had formerly known as Nihilists—of very mixed racial origin, Aryan, Finn, W. Asiatic Mongols and long-embittered Jews." Note the racial distinction between each separate social class! And the anthropological basis of Nihilism—which is now Bolshevism! Some scientific method.

And Bolshevism is "a movement against the teachings and the love of science, a movement connected with bad religion or raging irreligion.... a love of murder and unreasoning destruction." Poor ignorant little man. And what a noble example of culture and "love of science" his own little outburst affords us.... In *Russian Information and Review* a day or two later I read an article by Lunacharsky, on a production of *Carmen* at the Moscow Grand Theatre, which

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This list is by no means complete. We can get anything else you want.

discussed in a masterly way certain recent European movements in the Art of the Theatre. It was a piece of writing by a cultured man—and it was part of a newspaper controversy in *Isvestia* on methods of theatrical production. I should imagine—judging from his novels—that it would have been a little out of Sir Harry Johnston's depth; I should guess that he would have been happier listening to a gramophone record of George Robey than in discussing the right way to produce *Carmen*.

We do not often include reviews of art exhibitions in these pages, but an exception may well be made in the case of the show of "Labour Party Portraits and Caricatures," by Mr. Colin Gill, at the Little Art Rooms, Adelphi, recently. For one thing, the Chosen Twenty whose portraits made up the show gave one to think furiously about what really would happen if Labour—official Labour, that is—got power into its hands. For Mr. Gill, besides being a fine draughtsman, has a sense of character; and the contrasts between some of the heads here hanging in close proximity were interesting to note, and to ponder upon. There were Lansbury and Smillie—Honest Men! There was the old-style T.U. official, bluff if not brainy—Will Thorne; two later types, with waxed moustaches and rather more brains (of a sort)—Clynes and Thomas; and the newest type of all, looking like a *jeune premier*, with a fashionable collar and an air of Hampstead intellectuality (so superior to the "Asiatic mind," of course)—F. Hodges. Then there were the Non-conformists, trying to look like Statesmen—MacDonald and Snowden. And assorted Intellectuals—Shaw, Webb, Cole, Angell, Bertrand Russell. Three women—Susan Lawrence, Margaret Bondfield (who looked rather more Prosperous than Prophetic) and Mrs. Webb. There was a rather distressingly Vegetarian and Soulful air about the party; it was almost a relief to go back to Thorne and reflect that that complexion and that neck couldn't have been brought up on carrots and lemonade.

By the way, it would be a graceful touch for the London Labour College

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Governors to purchase the portrait of J. H. Thomas and hang it in whatever place they considered appropriate in the College buildings. (Only six guineas.)

Jack Hamilton forwards, for our delectation, a Report of an Educational Scheme being run by the Merseyside Area of the A.S. Woodworkers. The pioneers of this scheme have evolved a new slogan:—"Direct Contact." The Direct Contact is to be with "the University and the Local Education Authorities;" so the Woodworkers are likely to get their rough corners rubbed off and to become polished gentlemen. There are some exciting reports of the classes run under these auspices, our Prize Biscuit being awarded to this one:—"Great progress both in the speaking and writing of English has been made by the students who specially chose the subject of 'The Study of Shakespeare' in order to qualify them to give due expression to their views on economies [economics?] from their own standpoint."

J. F. H.

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