

12/11/29
ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF
LABOUR COLLEGES

THE PLEBS

Monthly, 4d.

JULY, 1929 ✓



messages
from

PLEBS M.P.s

also contributions by
R. W. POSTGATE
WINIFRED HORRABIN
EDEN & CEDAR PAUL
J. P. M. MILLAR
&c., &c.

J.F.H.

N. C. L. C., 15 SOUTH HILL PARK GARDENS, LONDON, N. W. 3

Can Capitalism Save Itself? THE NEW INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

is to be the subject of the Series of Lectures to be given at the

N.C.L.C.'s NATIONAL SUMMER SCHOOL

to be held at

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During the week beginning SATURDAY, 27th JULY, 1929

Do we, each confined as we are to our own little corners, realise the revolution that is now going on in industry, raising problem after problem for Labour, creating new trades and reducing old ones to beggary? In order that our knowledge may keep pace with the New Industrial Revolution, the N.C.L.C. has arranged the following programme:—

LECTURER.	SUBJECT.
GEORGE HICKS (T.U.C. General Council and Gen. Secy., A.U.B.T.W.)	Trade Union Policy and Rationalisation.
A. A. PURCELL (N.A.F.T.A.)	The New Industrial Revolution in India.
MAURICE DOBB (Author of <i>Plebs Outline of European History</i> , and <i>Russian Economic Development since the Revolution</i>).	The New Industrial Revolution in Russia.
CARA COOK (Brookwood Labour College, U.S.A.)	Rationalisation and the American Trade Union Movement.
P. C. HOFFMAN, M.P. (National Organiser, Shop Assistants' Union)	Rationalisation and the Distributive Trades.
T. ASHCROFT (Principal of the London Labour College)	The Economics of Rationalisation.

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The School begins after lunch on Saturday, 27th July, and finishes after breakfast on Saturday, 3rd August. The fee for the week is £2 17s 6d (including booking fee of 5s). Shorter periods 8s 6d per day. It is anticipated that cheap railway fares will be available.

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WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED WITH THIS PASS IT ON TO A FRIEND.

THE PLEBS

Organ of the National Council of Labour Colleges

Vol. XXI.

JULY, 1929.

No. 7

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"LEAVENING THE LUMP"

THE General Election has come and gone. Over 8,000,000 votes have been cast for Labour. A Labour Government once more holds office.

We shall be forgiven if we first of all express our gratification at the fact that so many friends of the N.C.L.C. have won seats in the new House of Commons. Messages from several of them appear in our pages this month. To them all we offer hearty congratulations and good wishes for their happiness in their new sphere. May they all find time, amid their multifarious activities, to use their influence—and wherever possible their voice—on behalf of the I.W.C.E. movement.

* * *

But our congratulations go out not merely to the 'winners.' We want to mention the good fights put up by other comrades in areas where victory could not be secured—this time. A. A. Purcell, for instance, who gave up a safe seat in Forest of Dean to contest a more difficult one in Manchester; Arthur Woodburn, who fought a gallant battle in that Old Tory stronghold, Edinburgh South; E. Archbold, who ran the Tory very close in Portsmouth North; H. Beaumont (Harrow), A. J. Sparks (Taunton), A. L. Williams (Southport), A. H. Paton (Leith), W. T. Paling (Burton), Stuart Barr (Tynemouth), and others; to all the PLEBS would say, "We are as proud of you as of the others." May they all win next time!

FIVE SHILLINGS

will book a place at the

N.C.L.C. Summer
School

SEE COVER

And to the many old Plebs and N.C.L.C'ers who played their part in the contest either as agents or speakers, we want to say—"Keep going! Keep on showing folk what education-translated-into-action is!"

* * *

We do not, however, want to use our space merely in expressing felicitations. We want to face up to the task ahead. What is the political position, and how does it affect us as I.W.C.Ers?

Eight million odd men and women have voted Labour—most of them, certainly, without any very clear ideas or convictions of what Labour is, or what it stands for. *How many of them can be relied upon to vote Labour again*—when the first flush of enthusiasm, or of trust in a relatively untried Party, has died down? Here is a task for working-class educationists. We, surely, have to do our utmost, between now and the next Election, to consolidate the ground won this time by turning as many possible *sympathisers* into convinced, informed *supporters*. We have, to borrow a Scriptural phrase, to 'leaven the whole lump.'

There ought, we feel, to be exceptional opportunities for us I.W.C.Ers during the next few months. Thousands of men and women who were led by nothing more tangible

than a big wave of feeling to vote Labour will be curious to know a little more about what Labour's history has been, and what its aims are. Our job is to get these folk into our classes. If this necessitates some little re-arrangement of our lecture titles and subject-matter—well, we ought to be intelligent enough to adapt ourselves to new conditions. Our main-line subjects—history, economics, geography—all have a political aspect, and can be treated, without loss of thoroughness or effectiveness, in a particularly 'topical' way.

* * *

The advance of Labour politically ought to mean a big advance educationally during this coming winter. It is not too early to be making plans and thinking out methods of approach. The field is unquestionably there. It will be our own fault—our own lack of imagination, blind adherence to routine, or sheer apathy—if we do not go in and reap the harvest.

We should be glad to open our pages during the next two or three months to any good suggestions as to how classes and colleges can best take advantage of Labour's victory at the polls to win fresh support for our own I.W.C.E. movement, at the same time as we give effective service to the workers' movement generally.

“TRAINED” MINDS AT THE BALLOT BOX

THOSE who support the W.E.A. are never tired of telling us that the advantage of W.E.A., *i.e.* University education, is that it trains the mind. There can be little doubt about that—it does train the mind in a very definite direction, as the following results of the University polls during the General Election show:—

UNIVERSITY OF WALES.

Evans, E. (Liberal),	1712
Richards, D. (Labour),	671
Mansel, Sir Courtenay (U.),	314
	—
Liberal Majority,	1041
<i>No Change.</i>	—

QUEEN'S, BELFAST.

Sinclair, Colonel T. (U.), Unopposed

CAMBRIDGE (2).

Withers, J. J. (U.),	6356
Wilson, G. H. A. (U.),	5069
Henderson, H. D. (Lib.),	3099
Wood, A. (Labour),	1463
	—
Unionist Majority,	3257

LONDON.

Little, Dr. E. Graham (Ind.),	5869
Layton, W. T. (Liberal),	2923
Gilbert, Sir John (U.),	2179
	—
Independent Majority,	2946



COMBINED UNIVERSITIES (2).

Conway, Sir Martin (U.),	...	4321
Rathbone, Miss E. (Independent),		3394
Conway, Professor R. S. (Lib.),		2281
Selby Bigge, Sir Amherst (U.),		*

Unionist Majority over Liberal,		2040
Independent „ „		1113

* Did not poll a sufficient quota of votes on first count and under the system of proportional representation his votes were distributed among the other candidates.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY (3).

Lord Hugh Cecil (Con.),	...	3822
Sir Charles Oman (Con.),	...	4112
Professor Gilbert Murray (Lib.),		3529

SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES (2).

Buchan, J. (U.),	...	9959
Berry, Sir George (U.),	...	9262
Cowan, D. M. (Lib.),	...	6698
Kerr, Dr. J. (Lab.),	...	2867

Unionist Majority,	...	7092
Liberal „ „	...	3831

Only University people are allowed to vote for the University seats. Thus the voters are people who have the finest education that the orthodox educational system provides. One would assume, therefore, that their votes would, in the main, at least, be cast for the political party whose policy is most in line with present-day needs. In fact, we find that the great bulk of University voters are staunch supporters of the

most reactionary political party in the country and that the Universities are dens of ignorance, so far as the vital social questions of the day are concerned. Not one Labour member do these centres of political darkness send to the House of Commons.

This is inevitable because the orthodox system of education in any form of society must reflect the needs and interests of the governing class. We can, therefore, excuse the University voters for voting according to the dictates of their "trained" minds. But what about those Labour people who cannot see the need for independent working-class education and look upon the Universities as wells of truth from which they can draw the facts about society and its problems?

STRIKE WHILE THE IRON IS HOT!

Every I.W.C. Er should give the widest publicity to the article on this page and should drive the moral home by selling copies of



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NOW YOU'VE DONE IT

Some Messages from "Plebs" M.P.s

FROM

ELLEN WILKINSON, M.P.

(MIDDLESBRO' EAST)

Ellen Wilkinson, who increased the Labour majority at Middlesbro' East from 927 to 3199, was for some years a member of the Plebs Executive. She played a prominent part, as one of the National Organisers of the N.U.D.A.W., in securing that Union's support for the N.C.L.C. As a frequent contributor to these pages, and as a part-author of the PLEBS "Strike History," she is well-known to all I.W.C.Ers.

NUMBERS and influence do not necessarily go together. It is surprising in how many phases of the Labour movement one finds Plebs members sticking at the job.

In the Middlesbrough election I had the Ex-President of the Leeds Labour College, Reginald Berriff for my agent. Although he has only had the job for two years, six months of it spent in bed after a motor accident, he had gathered the youth into an N.C.L.C. speakers' class which formed the backbone of our outdoor propaganda.

Plebs members may argue, fight even, about the correct academic interpretation of this or that episode, but because they have the root of the matter in them, because they *know* their side in the class struggle, they form an influential band.

I am glad we are to have such a good Plebs group in the new Parliament. Only those who dragged through the five weary Parliamentary years that have just ended will realise the opportunity that these comrades have before them. The new government will bring new problems, not merely

of criticism—heaven knows criticism is easy—but problems of how to help effectively, keeping the Socialist faith clear amid the inevitable compromises and disappointments of minority rule.

It will be the task of Plebs not merely to be "know-alls," the persons who can explain exactly how under ideal conditions the perfect theory could be realised but to understand the difficulties, to criticise (if such be necessary) intelligently, and, above all, to explain Socialism and keep the movement alive in the difficult months which lie ahead.

FROM

WILLIE BROOKE, M.P.

(DUMBARTONSHIRE)

Willie Brooke held the first Amal. Society of Dyers' scholarship at the Labour College, and for the past few years has been an official of that Union in Bradford, and a member of the Bradford City Council. He scored a Labour gain in Dumbartonshire, with a majority of 1577.

ONE of the most gratifying features of the Election has been to see the large number of N.C.L.C'ers who have been active, either as candidates, agents, or speakers, and who have worked unstintingly to be of real use to the Labour Party. The part these comrades have played is a sufficient answer to those who say that the N.C.L.C. has been content to be merely critical and doctrinaire, and far removed from the actual struggle.

I should like to pay tribute to the work of past and present N.C.L.C. tutors and students in Dumbartonshire. As you know my Division is a very large county, covering

approximately 2800 square miles, and is very difficult to organise. It is unique in that there is one part of the Division completely separated from the remainder by the intersection of other counties. One section is predominantly industrial, where the workers are mostly engaged in coal-mining, engineering, shipbuilding and bleaching, whilst the other—a large belt—is purely agricultural. The N.C.L.C. for some time past has been running classes in the big centres, and they have done exceedingly valuable work. I hope they are going to redouble their achievements and their efforts in the future.

The county areas have got to be won for Labour, and this can be done if other unions will follow the example of the Dyers and put their trade union candidates and resources in these scattered divisions. The working-class in the counties are anxious to learn more of the message of Socialism, and I hope the N.C.L.C. is going to be the same educative force in the country-side as it is in the industrial towns. Now is the time for us to justify our claim to be the *only* working-class educational organisation.

FROM

CHAS. BROWN, M.P.

(MANSFIELD)

Charlie Brown has been in the forefront of the fight for Independent Working-Class Education for many years. As a tutor he did magnificent work in the Mansfield area, and then he became Divisional Organiser for the N.C.L.C. in the Midlands. He increased Labour's majority at Mansfield in the Election to the comfortable figure of 17,899.

DEBATE and discussion in the class room are good mental training for work on the platform. A Parliamentary Election, even with the most perfect organisation, develops situations of a quite unexpected nature—emergencies occur—and a good deal depends upon how they are handled by the local movement. To discover that all such emergencies can be effectively dealt with gives cause for satisfaction, though it is a source of annoyance to the opposition.



CHARLES
BROWN, M.P.

Picture by courtesy of
the *Daily Herald*.

They cannot understand how it is that our men and women can take the platform when circumstances make it necessary, even at a moment's notice, and effectively put the case for the Labour movement. Winter evenings in Labour College class-rooms are the chief explanation of what is so mysterious to Tories and Liberals in many areas.

Interrogated by a local Tory as to how it was that one after another local comrade addressed a meeting, a Labourite smiled knowingly as he recalled the patient listening to lectures, the vivacious argument, and the interesting discussion which invariably followed. He saw all these things as the preparatory mental training fitting the individuals concerned to avail themselves of the opportunity which came on a particular occasion.

Expensive poster campaigns, amplifiers on motor vans, elaborate election addresses—all the aids which the lavish expenditure of money can procure—are not effective substitutes for that personal contact which can be established between the convinced enthusiast and an audience of electors eager to know something about proposed solutions to the problems of the day.

Living, vital personality, indignant about social wrongs and injustices, or enthused by an understanding of the possibilities of a reconstructed society, can set moving influences that no mechanism yet devised for the purpose can possibly generate.

The general development of the economic life of our times is arousing feelings in the masses of the people which become articulate only in those who have sought to understand that development, and have become aware of the prime causes of the changes which are

taking place. It is these people who become the interpreters for the many, of antipathies and sympathies experienced and deeply felt, the precise significance of which is but dimly understood by those who experience them.

Sometimes our students have effectively carried the war into the enemy's camp, by means of well-directed questions and appropriate comment, often to the great discomfiture of our opponents, though on one notable occasion much to their relief.

A sparsely attended meeting, a depressing hall, a candidate who had got into the wrong train and gone past his destination, a chairman fretful and impatient at the non-appearance of the standard-bearer, a lady speaker who rapidly exhausted her resources and then—Collapse.

Meanwhile the Tory candidate did not arrive; time passed, an N.C.L.C. student became cross-examiner in chief, doing much good work in the process, until, two hours late, the chief speaker made a belated appearance. All these things count, the prestige and authority of our opponents is undermined, whilst our own people gain confidence and support.

Much has been done in some areas, more remains to be done. There are many places we have not touched, the 'atmosphere' is such that new opportunities will occur. They must not be missed.

The real struggle is only just beginning. A Labour Government is not an end in itself, it is only a means to expedite a process that is going on in the world about us, it is but a piece of machinery to give effect to that growingly insistent demand of the working classes for a fuller life. As it seeks to do that it will meet with opposition. Already, there looms on the horizon Mr. Garvin's "National Progressive Party," the economic foundations of the Liberal Party are almost swept away, the consolidation of the anti-Labour political forces proceeds apace, conditions call for an intensification of working-class activity all along the line—politically, industrially and educationally.

FROM

J. F. HERRIN, M.P.

(PETERBOROUGH)



J. F. H. has been Editor or Associate Editor of this magazine for 15 years. He is the author of more than one Plebs Textbook—the latest, "A Short History of the British Empire," having been published in the

Book Now for the Summer School at Welwyn

July 27th—
August 3rd

early part of this year. Backed by Peterboro' railwaymen and engineers he turned a Tory majority of 5000 into a Labour one of 525.

OUR big problem in Peterborough was the formation and training of a team of speakers for the Election. The Division includes over 100 villages, so that at least six or eight meetings had to be held nightly.

Last autumn the local N.C.L.C. class—one of Mark Starr's 'children'—suggested turning itself (jointly with the local Labour Party) into a Speakers' class, and taking *Labour and the Nation* as its subject-matter for speeches and discussion. The results exceeded all expectations. Three or four new speakers were added to our regular team, while older hands rubbed up their technique and practised effective propaganda points in the course of the class discussions. *And the Election was won by the work of that team.*

I should like here to thank Comrades Bools and Proctor, the comrades chiefly responsible for the running of the class, for their efforts. And I want to point out to classes elsewhere that practical work of this kind is a sure and certain way of gaining fresh support for Independent Working-Class Education and the N.C.L.C.

FROM

WILL LAWThER, M.P.

(BARNARD CASTLE)

Will Lawther is one of the Old Guard of I.W.C.Ers. He was a student at the Central Labour College in its early days, and for the past 20 years has worked for our movement nationally and in his native county of Durham. He won Barnard Castle for Labour with a majority of 875.

MY fourth political contest has had the worst result! The first three (in South Shields) were defeats; therefore I passed out from the stage back to the weigh cabin and began again the tasks that I had left. To-day I am among

the victors, and have to start a new job. I never knew there were so many individual grievances awaiting solution! Never a post but brings its pile. There must be no quota.

And then after the autograph hunters come the message merchants!

What shall our message to the PLEBS be? Years ago we used to write of the classes we held, of the discussions that followed, of the need there was for more and more classes to be opened, of the dire necessity for more and more help to the then C.L.C. Has this second advent of Labour to be the holders of the reins of Government lessened that need of twenty years ago? We are under no illusions on this, and that after all is the real point of any message.

Whatever may have been the reasons that brought the Labour College movement into existence, the need for it is greater than ever to-day. If it were only those millions of workers who have still faith in D. L. G. or Stanley Baldwin, that would be sufficient. But then, what of those who are "of us" but not yet "with us"?

Suppose a symposium were to be taken of the members of the Labour Party, as to the factors that they counted the most dangerous to even a Labour Government. The answer of the great mass would be—ignorance, or, shall we put it, lack of understanding of to-day's problems.

Who can supply that understanding except those who themselves understand?

Here is where the Labour College movement will always be necessary. My wish in my division, which is one of the largest in the country, and semi-rural, is to have in every town and village N.C.L.C. classes. They will be the bulwarks against reaction of all types, the defenders of the faith, the inspiration for those who get tired to be reminded of the grim reality that there is no end until capitalism is superseded by Socialism.

My message to-day to all Plebians is to begin now for the task of creating that *consciousness* that will give fulfilment to our aspirations.

Labour's success is partly due to Capitalism's failure. As yet that consciousness is not developed. Here's our business!

FROM
JOHN S. CLARKE, M.P.
 (MARYHILL)

John S. Clarke, M.P., won Maryhill (Glasgow) with a majority of 3389. He was the first and is the best-known Labour College lecturer in Scotland, and is the author of "Marxism and History," published recently by the N.C.L.C. At present J.S.C. is on the staff of the "Forward."



WHAT the jolly old country needs is more work, more pensions, more houses, more wages, more freedom and more "grub." All these first things depend upon more education and the only sort of education to do the trick is the Plebs kind. When a voter knows the truth about Capitalism, Tory and Liberal liars don't cut any ice with him or her. When the voter *doesn't* know the truth about Capitalism—about History, Economics, Industry and Finance—we have to waste an unholy amount of time rebutting lies and misrepresentations. This is the outstanding thing about an Election.

There are thousands of good folk who voted Labour this time who may vote Tory next time—if we don't teach them something more solid than everyday politics. All the Tories, Liberals and Independents on earth cannot influence a solitary *Socialist*—because he *knows something*. The masses have got to be taught that something too. A Labour Government with real power; a government which will effect the sweeping changes desired; a government which will begin the Co-operative Commonwealth—can only function when a Socialist majority in the country returns it to Westminster.

There is only one way to make Socialists, that is to *educate the people against Capitalism*. That is BIAS and good luck to it. If it can be done without bias, I would like to know the method. When we get the people educated against Capitalism—Capitalism will be snuffed out. There are only two Parties—the Socialist and the Anti-Socialist. The Anti-Socialist is at least as big as the Socialist Party. The order will change when the Socialist Party is twice as big as the Anti-Socialist Party. The more education the people get on essentials, the quicker will that consummation be reached. Much of our success to-day is due to the steady and almost unseen work of the Labour Colleges. The workshop has been educated and every educated worker becomes an evangelist. Let us get on with the most powerful work in the world and we shall *arrive*.

Schools, Teachers & Scholars in Soviet Russia

With Foreword by W. T. GOODE, M.A.

Published by WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Ltd.
 Paper, 2/2 (post free); Cloth, 3/8 (post free).

A descriptive account of visits by delegates of the Teachers' Labour League to Russia, 1926, with additional information from a League investigator after six months' study of education in that country, 1927-28.

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FROM
GEORGE DAGGAR, M.P.
 (ABERTILLERY)

George Daggar was one of the earliest S. Wales students at the Central Labour College. For the past seven years he has been Miners' Agent for the Western Villages, and he is the author of a book on "Increased Production from the Workers' Point of View." He now succeeds our old friend, Geo. Barker (retired) as Labour Member for Abertillery Division.

EVERY success to the cause of Independent Working-Class Education! To those who fought for the establishment and stood for the continuance of the one Residential College which had as its object this form of education, it is regrettable that the necessary financial support can no longer be secured for its maintenance. Industrial depression, decreased membership of the two unions responsible for the College, together with the absence of sufficient regard for the importance of independent working-class education amongst the members of the general Labour Movement, are some of the reasons why it has been found impossible to continue the existence of the Labour College.

To have been successful in returning the Labour Party to office with an increase of three million votes is a wonderful achievement, and no one can state with assurance to what extent that was made possible by the dissemination of working-class ideas, due in no small measure to the untiring efforts of those who have been associated with the College and the N.C.L.C.

To have pegged out the claim, to have blazed the trail, as the National Union of Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners' Federation have done, is something of which the members of these organisations need be proud; and that the whole of the Trade Union Movement of this country may more completely achieve is my sincere desire.

Again, long life to THE PLEBS and increased strength to the cause without which effective industrial and political action are impossible.

FROM
M. PHILIPS PRICE, M.P.
 (WHITEHAVEN)

Philips Price, traveller, author, and journalist, was a member of the Plebs League Executive for several years, and a special cheap edition of his great book, "Reminiscences of the Russian Revolution," has been one of the most successful of Plebs publications. His majority at Whitehaven (Cumberland) was 1652.

THE Election shows that the country was tired of a Conservative Government. But elections are won and lost by the undecided voter who is generally put down by the canvasser as doubtful. This type of voter went Labour this time, because he or she felt that the Conservatives had done nothing to solve unemployment and had allowed the coal industry to sink into the mire. He voted Labour not for any consciousness of the needs of Socialistic measures, but just because he wanted something done. What he wanted, he never clearly thought out. He doesn't know what he wants and he won't be happy till he gets it; this, I should say, summed up the outlook of the thousands of doubtful voters who have put Labour into office.

The question is what can the Labour Government do to interpret their unconscious desires without frightening them and causing them to stampede back into the ranks of Toryism. Two things seem to me to stand out before all else—unemployment and the coal mines. As regards the latter, we are committed to a shortening of the hours of labour in mines. This is expected of us by the miners and must be done at all costs. There will undoubtedly be a financial crisis in the coal industry, if hours are shortened, but that will make it all the more essential that the overhaul and rationalisation of the coal industry be carried on at full speed.

More important than nationalisation is the question of an international agreement

between the coal producers of Europe. For nationalisation under present conditions would only mean that the State would have to give large subsidies to keep the industry going and the nation would, under present conditions, be acquiring a liability. That liability can only be changed into an asset if an international agreement is arrived at between the chief European coal-producing countries, limiting production, controlling prices and eliminating cut-throat competition.

But reorganisation of the coal industry will for a time at least lead to increased unemployment. This means that the other problem must be tackled by the Labour Government if it is going to hold the doubtful voters. The essence of the unemployment problem is finance. The Government must raise money for large public works. But if the present policy of those that control the money market be continued, we shall have nothing but dear money, high bank rates and decreasing employment. Millions of pounds sterling are exported every year in

foreign investment (£120 million to be exact). A part of this is necessary and indeed essential to finance our export constructional industries. But a lot of it is wasted in speculation and watering of capital by company promoters. The time is fast approaching when something must be done to control investments and to ensure that capital flows into the channels which create the greatest amount of employment. In fact the Labour Government will have to approach the whole question of our monetary policy and work for an international agreement for the stabilisation of prices. This is the key to the unemployment situation.

WHY SCOFF AT MATTER?

Talk No. 2

By J. P. M. MILLAR

*By the VICE-PRINCIPAL of
RUSKIN COLLEGE, OXFORD*

EXERCISES IN ECONOMICS

By ALFRED PLUMMER

*B.Litt., M.Sc. (Econ.), M.A., LL.D.
(Vice-Principal of Ruskin College,
Oxford).*

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LAST month, in discussing the controversy on Materialism that arose in the *Daily Herald*, we noticed, among other points, that the idealist view of the universe which decried matter and material things appealed immensely to the governing class as a weapon in the class struggle. "The Kingdom of Heaven is within you" suits them beautifully as a battle cry or, better still, as a lullaby with which to sing the workers to sleep.

The fact is that the "Kingdom of Heaven" is only partly within us. It is partly within and partly without. Man's needs are neither material (in the narrow sense of the word) nor mental. They are both, but it is impossible to satisfy his mental needs without satisfying his material needs. It is true that man is not happy merely in having something to occupy his stomach; he requires something to occupy his mind; but he will be a rash man who will argue that the former is not the primary need.

One of the characters in Shaw's *Heartbreak House* makes short work of the reactionary idealists by saying, "We now know that the

soul is the body and the body the soul. They tell us they are different because they want to persuade us that we can keep our souls if we let them make slaves of our bodies."

The cardinal mistake of the common or garden idealist lies in the fact that he looks upon matter and mind as two absolute opposites.

Where the Idealists are right.

In one respect the idealists are right. Mind and matter are not absolutely identical, just as a man's body and his thoughts are not identical. But the idealists are wrong when they separate mind completely from matter. Mind is simply a bit of Nature that makes mental pictures of Nature. Without the other pieces of Nature there would be no mental pictures.

The schoolmaster of a generation ago used to tell his scholars the story of the daft laddie who one night, on looking into his mother's wash-tub, saw the reflection of the moon in the water. The boy thought the reflection was something quite separate from the water and carefully emptied out the water in the hope of finding the moon floundering in the bottom.

That is precisely the mistake that the idealists make. They think that ideas are quite separate from the objects thought about. They fail to see that mind exists only along with or in relation to objects outside the mind, in the same way as the reflection of the moon existed only in relation to the water in the tub.

What some of the *Daily Herald* champions of idealism were tilting their broken lances against was an old-fashioned materialism, that is quite distinct from what we might call socialistic materialism. This old-fashioned type looked upon thought simply as the product of the brain. Haeckel appears to have been an exponent of that school, unless we misunderstand his statement, "The brain secretes thoughts as the liver secretes bile." The astronomer, for example, who accepted this view of the mind-and-matter question, were he logical, would, instead of directing his telescope to the stars when he wanted to learn something about astronomy, simply have stayed in bed, shut his eyes and allowed his brain to produce the truth about the stars.

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But he doesn't. Apparently then, thought is not the mere product of the brain.

No one can deny that thought is derived from the brain, just as no one can deny that hearing is derived from the ear or sight from the eye. But the eye alone does not produce sight, nor the ear, hearing. Sight requires not only the eye, but light and things that can be seen. In a really dark cellar the keenest-eyed detective couldn't see the biggest bomb ever made!

What the mind is

The mind or thought is not merely a product of the brain, but of the brain and things outside it. The sharpest edge in the world cannot cut unless there be something to cut; the most biting cartoon is not biting unless there be someone to hurt; the finest brain in the world cannot produce a single thought unless there be something to think about.

Because they do not understand the nature of mind, many brilliant physical scientists have the most foggy notions of thinking itself. Professor Soddy, for example, says in one of his books, *Matter and Energy*, page 44, "Just as at present it would be futile

to ask what is matter, so it would be to ask what is gold or copper or any other of the eighty elements. Each is a separate and distinct thing and has to be accepted as such; all its properties may be learned, studied, classified, but not one can be explained."

Professor Soddy apparently thinks that explaining is more than classifying the properties of an object, but on examination we find that explaining is simply nothing else than classifying. In explaining water we say it is composed of oxygen and hydrogen, that it freezes in cold, becomes a gas in heat, causes rheumatics, floats ships, dilutes whisky, preserves rubber, rusts iron, quenches thirst, and so on. Professor Soddy would probably admit that science can explain water, but he says it cannot explain gold? Does it not explain gold to say that its colour is yellow, it is heavy for its bulk, sinks in water, does not rust, is wonderfully elastic, causes crime, and so on? "Ah, stop!" the Professor may say, "that's all very well, but you are not telling us what it is made of." True, that is something that has still to be found out, but even when it is found out that will not provide the explanation of gold; it will simply *add to the explanations we now have*. It is important, for example, to know that a table is composed of wood and glue, but it is equally important to know that it rots in water, burns in fire, and supports weight.

Socialist Materialism

The socialist view of the Universe implies that the Universe is not composed of two absolutely separate things, mind and matter. The Universe is composed of one mixture of things like

- (a) Iron, stone, wood, sand, sox, sausages, etc.
- (b) Odours, tastes, colours, sounds, etc.
- (c) Pains in the stomach, headaches, feelings of affection, anger, etc.
- (d) Hallucinations, dreams, ideas.

In the Universe, there are no absolute dividing lines. There are none between man and animal, animal and plant, plant and inorganic matter, or between black and white. Plains are pushed up and become mountains, mountains become rivers, inorganic matter becomes vegetable matter, vegetable matter

becomes animal matter. The material dinner that Mr. Churchill eats becomes transformed into mental energy that enables him to deliver a rousing attack on Labour.

All things together, tangible and intangible, known and unknown, form the material Universe. Just as it takes all sorts of people to make up the world, so it takes all sorts of things to make up the Universe. Socialist materialism, therefore, absorbs the idea.

Of course, this materialist outlook is quite different from the narrow materialist view that tangible matter is everything and thought nothing. It is also different from the idealist view that thought is everything and matter nothing. The material Universe, in the eyes of the Socialist materialist, is composed of ponderable matter and imponderable thought.

Next month we shall go into the question of the differences between mind and matter in the narrow sense of the latter term.

STOCK EXCHANGE GOSSIP

The New Masses cartoonist has evidently heard of the recent pronouncement of a great Liberal financier that the adult population is largely composed of capitalists.



"I tell ya Radio will go up fifty points!"
 "Ya? What d'ya think o' General Motors?"

[From *New Masses*]

HASTENING DAMNED SLOWLY

By R. W. POSTGATE

IN G. D. H. Cole's important new book (*The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy*, Macmillan, 15/-) there occurs a statement in the chapter on Education which at first annoyed me as a rather small-minded sidekick in a serious discussion. But later I considered that it was perhaps only a symbol of the whole tone of the book. It was a passage in which he argued that the new Labour government should give greatly increased subsidies to the W.E.A. and nothing at all to the Labour Colleges. "God send good things to me and my wife's husband, not forgetting myself"—it looks at first sight as naive a piece of axegrinding as the traditional Yorkshireman's prayer. But it is more than that. Cole advances as a reason the necessity that a Labour government is under of not appearing to take sides, in case a Conservative government later should do the same (dear, dear) and finance the Philip Stott College. So it is throughout the book—admirable as it is in many ways, one observes that "taking sides" is no longer considered. Indeed, I believe that "class war" are two words which nowhere occur in the book. This is not necessarily wrong, though it is significant. Even Solomon, whose amorous appetites are well known, said "There is a time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing," so we may admit that there may be a time to refrain from talking about the class war. And if an atmosphere of slight melancholy forms round one as one reads Cole's book, that may be because the facts of the world around us justify a slight melancholy. In any case, the character of Cole's book is due to the fact that it is an honest and pedestrian attempt to put out a practical immediate programme for a Labour Government. And as there is now a Labour Government in office, and as Cole

is possibly the only person with a fully-thought-out programme, what he proposes is likely at least to receive serious attention.

A National Labour Corps

At the moment, therefore, rather than criticise further, I propose to set forth a general outline of Cole's programme, for the benefit of readers who cannot see the book itself. His argument runs as follows (and will the inattentive reader please note that it is Cole's views that are being expressed henceforward, not mine?):—

"The new Labour Government must first of all tackle unemployment; this can only effectively be done by giving work to the unemployed. A National Labour Corps must be formed for the purpose of doing useful work of social reconstruction, including especially slum clearance, electrification, afforestation and drainage. This corps to be paid a not-very-high wage and inefficient members to be liable to dismissal and return to the dole.

"As for the nationalisation of industry, a prior step must be the creation of a Board of National Investment which will have power to raise loans and to guide and retain the investment of private capital. Thereafter the State may and should encourage rationalisation, subjecting the rationalisers to various conditions, of which the most important appears to be publication of their accounts.

Control by Experts

"Actual nationalisation of a whole industry is now an obsolete programme. State control is not the cure we once thought it to be. Nationalisation should take the form of control of industry by expert commissions, responsible only generally to Par-

IS YOUR PARTY SELLING PLEBS BOOKS?

liament. These commissions will take over not industries but individual concerns and will not attempt to break up 'vertical' combines. There follows an elaborate scheme of encroaching control, by which State directors, as capital is lent to various concerns through the National Investment Board, will gain control of various firms. The shareholders will not lose their ownership, but they will lose control, and the fate of their shares will be left to the tax collector." (Parenthetically, I still cannot see how the State will avoid being deluged with the responsibility for huge inefficient old bum concerns in the ship, coal, and engineering trades, but that is by the way).

"The trade union movement needs to concentrate on works committees, and as socialisation of this kind is undertaken, works councils should be legalised. Also, Family Allowances should be established; the banks should be brought under public control and a license-system introduced for the floating of new loans or capital issues. The only practical system of Labour co-operation with the Empire is the adoption of a system of bulk purchases of raw material and foodstuff from the Dominions."

The rest of Cole's book is less interesting; one may notice that he strongly supports "regionalism" (or the reorganisation of local government into larger areas corresponding with modern capitalist development) and has a careful analysis of the financial devices by which the proposed expenditure is to be met.

The book needs considerably more reflexion and discussion than can be given it in this review. At the moment, the present writer will merely say that he proposes to give it that consideration and urges PLEBS readers who can borrow the book to do the same.

WE BLUSH

"Just one more word and that is that I think your paper, the *Plebs*, fine. I eagerly await its coming."

A. JENNINGS, Lofthouse.

THE WILD SENSELESSNESS OF WAR

By WINIFRED HORRABIN

HERE are two fragments of the history of the Great War.* They contrast as vividly as two opposing coloured pieces in a kaleidoscope and yet they are part of a pattern. They describe two entirely different groups of people; the one, German youth on the Western Front, 1915-18, the other, Cossack soldiers and peasants in the Polish campaign of 1920-21. The uniting pattern is their common human suffering in the holocaust of War.

The most startling thing about the two books read together is the great difference between the way in which each group reacts. If one changed their names from Detering, Kemmerich and Müller to Smith, Jones and Robinsons, the Germans are exactly like our own countrymen.

Red Cavalry is quite another proposition. Here one feels acutely a racial difference. The Cossacks in Babel's stories seem to have come from some Russian fairy tale. Not that there is anything of fantasy in his vivid stories of rape, murder, triumph and disaster, but that people seem to move in a different world from ours. Kemmerich and Detering, familiar "Jerries" as our men were familiar "Tommies," we know and understand; but Prishyopa, the Kuban Cossack—revenging his murdered parents, clad in his black felt cloak, sword in hand, going from neighbour to neighbour, "leaving behind him the trail of his blood-stained footprints," shooting the cow in its stall and finally burning his father's cottage—is not of our civilisation. And yet the suffering from War is the same. The wild senselessness, the anarchy of it all.

It seemed at the close of hostilities as if that human suffering had been so devastating that it had rendered its victims inarticulate.

* *All Quiet on the Western Front*, by Endi Maria Remarque (Putnam, 7/6). *Red Cavalry*, by I. Babel (Knopf, 6/-).

But now a real literature is emerging which will give us the spiritual history of that terrible time. All over Europe men and women are recording their memories so that soon we shall be in possession of a detailed scientific record, not only of the actual happenings, but of their effect on the lives and minds of men. To what end?

It is difficult to predict. If mass suffering automatically brought mass wisdom, the world would have been saved long ago. But it does not. The creation of a written history from which men may learn is useful. But do they learn? Can they learn? It remains to be seen.

In childhood one often feels that to be grown-up will be to be admitted to membership of a sort of responsible committee of clever people who are infinitely wise and good, who control everything. As one grows one realises what an illusion this is. The world, one discovers in amazement, is run by accident. The imagined committee of wise men and women changes into one's own rather amusing, sometimes foolish and scarcely ever very clever companions! A sense of insecurity follows.

Remarque expresses the disappointment of youth confronted in the war suddenly with a full realisation of the haphazard nature of this control, when he writes:—

"For us lads of eighteen they (the elders) ought to have been mediators and guides to the world of maturity, the world of work, of duty, of culture, of progress—to the future. We often made fun of them and played jokes on them, but in our hearts we trusted them. The idea of authority which they represented was associated in our minds with greater insight and a manlier wisdom."

Remarque says in his preface that his book "will try simply to tell of a generation of men who, even though they may have escaped its shells, were destroyed by the war." But were they destroyed? May it not be that the survivors have as great a task yet to accomplish as those who fell?—to make war an impossibility in the world.

Surely that is not now a Utopian dream. More and more the mass of the working class is realising internationally the folly and crime of war. In our closely linked economic relationships with neighbour states war is a wasteful form of suicide.

At home the rise of the Labour Party owes much of its success to a deep belief in its pacifist intentions amongst the rank and file of the workers. More and more it is becoming apparent to the meanest intellect that capitalist competition and world armament manufacture lie at the root of war. The children of this world are at last beginning to be "grown-up" about the causes of war. The international working-class when it unites against war will begin to build up something that youth may trust.

Both books are translations. Babel, we are told by his translator, writes such beautiful Russian, that one, at least, of the short stories in *Red Cavalry* is learnt by heart in Russia because of its poetic power. If this is so it is missed by the translator. The terror and horror are there but the poetry is lost. His task was a difficult one, for he says "the speech of Budyenny's men was as far removed from good Russian as Cockney from the King's English," so it may be that there is a good excuse.

Remarque's translator had, one imagines, an easier task. The short crisp sentences are easy to read. It would seem as if the translator had read the original, and then written it in his own language. We Plebs could wish that certain other German classics had been translated into such easy and readable English.

A FINE PRODUCTION OF "MASSES AND MAN"

PLEBS have been particularly interested in Toller's great play, *Masses and Man*, not only because of readings of it in various centres, but also by reason of the special cheap edition which we were able to issue by arrangement with the Nonesuch Press. I wish more of them could have seen Gibson Cowan's remarkable production of it at the London School of Economics on June 14-16.

With quite simple, but wonderfully effective staging and lighting, and with a quite small cast, Mr. Cowan "got the last drop" out of the play. His own acting of *The Nameless* was very good, as indeed was that of most of the other characters. But it was the collective effect, the groupings and general stage pictures, which live in one's memory. Would it be possible, I wonder, to get him to bring the production down to the N.C.L.C. Summer School? Even apart from the interest of the play itself, this would be extraordinarily well worth while as an object-lesson in staging and stage technique generally. J.F.H.

WHAT MAKES THE MIND—AND WHAT THE MIND CAN MAKE

By EDEN and CEDAR PAUL

THIS article is hung round a book, James Harvey Robinson's *The Mind in the Making* (with an introduction by H. G. Wells, Cape, 3s 6d). It is, as Wells says, "a cardinal book." Readers of the PLEBS will find it of cardinal importance both in what it says and in what it fails to say; in its stressing the tremendous possibilities of an enlightened psychology, and in its disregard of the much more tremendous possibilities of an economic reconstruction of human society. For Robinson's main point is that (to put it colloquially) "thinking will do the trick," if only we can get our thinking right. Then, all the other graces will follow in their proper places!

The author would certainly not deny that man's most immediate need is to extend man's mastery over nature in the direction of mastery of the social environment. We must, he says, reconsider our traditional opinions about man and his relations to his fellowmen; and, as a preliminary, we shall have to create an unprecedented attitude of mind to cope with unprecedented conditions and to utilise unprecedented knowledge. He stresses the way in which, while our knowledge of physics, chemistry, and biology has been revolutionised, there has been no corresponding revolution in sociological science. "Aristotle's treatises on astronomy and physics . . . have long since gone by the board, but his politics and ethics are still revered. Does this mean . . . that the progress of mankind in the scientific knowledge of human affairs has remained almost stationary for over two thousand years?" (pp. 20-21). Robinson answers his own query in the affirmative. He wants us to be as free from respect for hoary traditions and vested interests when we undertake the refitting of human society, as a modern mechanic in a roadside garage is when he has to repair a broken-down car. "The garage man . . . takes his mechanism as he finds it, and does not allow any mystic

respect for the earlier forms of the petrol engine to interfere with the needed adjustments." (p. 22). Could Lenin, with his views on the State and Revolution, could Marx with his conception of proletarian versus bourgeois ideology, could even Bakunin with his gospel of pandestruction as a preliminary to the establishment of the anarchist commonwealth, display a more magnificent irreverence for the established? "Intelligence," says Harvey Robinson (p. 39), "in a creature of routine like man, and in a universe so ill understood as ours, must often break valiantly with the past in order to get ahead." The mind, he therefore infers, must be thoroughly reconstructed and brought up to date.

The Three Ways

There have, says our author, been three chief ways of trying to better human society. First of all there has been the method of those who think it will be enough "to change the rules of the game"; annual parliaments, votes for women, referendum, recall—these are stepping-stones to the millennium. Then there is the method of those who put their trust in spiritual exhortation, those who advocate a change of heart: "Little children, love one another." The third panacea is that of the educationists. Having shown that all three methods have failed, Harvey Robinson asks: "Have we any other hope?"

Yes, there is intelligence. It is not discredited because it has not yet been tried on any large scale outside the realm of natural science. "Intelligence has completely revolutionised men's notions of the world in which they live, and of its inhabitants, with the notable exception of man himself" (p. 39). Harvey Robinson is as plain spoken as any Marxist could be on the need for breaking with the past in the matter of what Marxists term "bourgeois morality." He writes (p. 40): "Those who pretend to study society and its origin seem often to believe that our present ideals and

standards of property, the State, industrial organisation, the relations of the sexes, and education are practically final and must necessarily be the basis of any possible betterment in detail. But if this be so, intelligence has already done its perfect work, and we can only lament that the outcome in the way of peace, decency, and fairness, judged even by existing standards, has been so disappointing."

Reason's Back Seat

The fundamental contention of the author of *The Mind in the Making* is that man's mind is in very large measure the mind of an animal, a savage, and a child. The thoughts of the animal, the savage, and the child within us are tintured by a small admixture of reason; but much of what we, and even our associates, believe to be reason is really little more than rationalisation. (See PLEBS *Outline of Psychology*, pp. 2, 68, 82, etc.).

terms it "creative thought." But by nature man is lethargic, easily pledged to routine, suspicious of innovation. Creative thought must teach him how to make fresh starts. The tools and machines which man has invented are ceaselessly, and of late very rapidly, revolutionising his environment, habits of conduct, and purposes of life. But tradition still enmeshes him. His critical thought does not keep pace with the changes that are being forced upon him (p. 195). Hence his present plight.

When Robinson has gone as far as this, one is inclined to expect him to go farther. One wants him to make the explicit admission that "circumstances make men quite as much as men make circumstances" (Marx, in *German Ideology*). Then one expects him to recognise, as social changes vital to the remaking of the mind, a revolution that will establish a world-wide order wherein warring nations will have ceased to exist,

Karl Marx on the Labour Government

"Philosophers have done little more than interpret the world in various ways; our business is to change it."—KARL MARX in *Feuerbach*.*

"Most of our so-called reasoning consists in finding arguments for going on believing as we already do" (p. 56). "Perhaps almost all that has passed for social science, political economy, politics, and ethics in the past may be brushed aside by future generations as mainly rationalising. . . . This conclusion may be ranked by students of a hundred years hence as one of the several great discoveries of our age" (pp. 62-63). Robinson quotes various contemporary bourgeois thinkers in exemplification, but, as usual, he ignores Marx. True, the concept of "rationalisation" is post-Freudian, but for practical purposes Marx anticipated it by several decades.

The Tolls of Tradition

We need reason that is tintured with the least possible amount of rationalisation; then reason can be creative, and Robinson

and wherein (still more important) "living by ownership," that is to say by the exploitation of those who live by work, will be unknown. One expects him to say, with Marx: "Philosophers have done nothing more than interpret the world in various ways; our business is to change it" (*Theses on Feuerbach*). Then, one supposes, he will proceed to ask, How?

Something for Nothing

Well, he doesn't. We are, it seems, to go on thinking. "Of course," he writes (p. 233), "there is no more flagrant example of a systematic endeavour to get something for nothing than the present business system based on profits and absentee ownership of stocks." There must be supplied some "other than the traditional motives for industrial enterprise, namely, the slave-like docility and hard compulsion of the great

* 2/9 post free from the N.C.L.C.

mass of workers, on the one hand, and speculative profits on the other, which now dominate in our present business system" (p. 240). "So long as our schools and universities are under the control of those who are bent on preserving the existing system from criticism, it is hard to see any hope of a kind of education which would effectively question the conventional notions of government and business" (pp. 238-239).

Agreed! Agreed! Agreed! But what are you going to *do* about it? "Go on thinking"—Thinking in the void? The "big thinks" of H. G. Wells' Monkey Men in *The Island of Dr. Moreau*?

No, we have to *do* as well as *think*. We have to remake the social and economic environment, that the social and economic environment may help to remake our minds. And we have to guide that remaking with the aid of a mind which, as Wells says truly enough in his introduction to Robinson's book, "being a product of the struggle for existence, is essentially a food-seeking system, and no more necessarily a truth-finding apparatus than the snout of a pig." Furthermore, we have to keep our "food-seeking system" at work while we are trying to better our "truth-finding apparatus" and trying to speed-up the social revolution. As Engels said in his funeral oration on Marx: "Marx discovered the simple fact (heretofore hidden beneath ideological excrescences) that human beings must have food and drink, clothing and shelter, first of all, before they can interest themselves in politics, science, art, religion, and the like."

Perhaps that is why we sometimes seem only to have been marking time since those words were uttered in Highgate Cemetery, forty-six years ago. Mankind is too busy trying to get food and drink, clothing and shelter, to attend seriously to other things. But at anyrate in the meanwhile there has come into existence the I.W.C.E. movement, a creative movement, which aims simultaneously at remaking the mind and speeding up the social revolution!

SQUEEZING LABOUR OFF THE ETHER

By J. P. M. M.

OUTSIDE of Russia there has, we believe, been only one Labour broadcasting station in the world—that run by the Chicago Federation of Labour for slightly more than two years. It is crowded on a wave-length with two other stations and has to shut down when the majority of workers are free to listen. The American Labour movement has made a big effort to have allocated to the Labour broadcasting station one of the 90 clear channels which would enable the station to speak to all parts of the States. This application was opposed by Employers' Associations and attorneys of capitalist broadcasting stations. The matter went before the Federal Radio Commission* and the whole American Labour movement united to present a case in support of Labour's modest plea for one channel out of ninety.

Needless to say, the Commission has found that "public interest, convenience or necessity will not be served by granting the said application." It is naturally in the public interests that any number of broadcasting stations are owned by various commercial interests like the Buick Automobile Co. In some cases the commercial interests which largely control the privately-owned broadcasting stations on occasion graciously permit a representative of Labour to speak over the ether—provided his speech is first censored by them.

The action of the American Radio Commission is, of course, quite on a par with the action of the B.B.C. in denying representation to the N.C.L.C. on its Adult Education Committee. The capitalist class takes the utmost care, whether it is American, British, or, for that matter, Japanese, to control the channels through which the workers are supplied with ideas, and the fact that the B.B.C. on occasion graciously permits a Labour politician to speak over the ether is only the exception which proves the rule.

During the General Strike the workers on the Continent were intensely interested in what was happening, especially as the European transport workers were co-operating in order to prevent black-legging on the British transport workers. Those who were at the N.C.L.C. Summer School in August of last year will

* In the course of evidence given in favour of Labour's broadcasting station, it was stated that there had been a striking decrease in the number of American daily papers in recent years. On January 1st, 1922, there were 2324 morning and afternoon papers. At the beginning of 1929 this number had been reduced by almost 500.

Hundreds of thousands of people voted for

Labour for the first time.

Have you introduced *The Plebs* to any of them?

THE BOOKSHELF

By J. F. HERRIN, M.P.

WHAT a treat, after the hurly-burly of an Election, to be able to sit down quietly and read a book again! (Armchair Socialist? Well—sometimes, anyway). And especially, after all the rhetoric and inevitable emotionalism of a campaign, to get down to a good, solid, full book; the fruit of leisure and research—the kind of thing our own working-class scholars will be able to write when . . . well, in a generation or so from now, we hope.

The particular book in front of me is Vol. I. of *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* (Camb. Univ. Press, 35s net). It runs to 920 large pages—and there are seven more volumes to follow! (I had to write a history of the Empire in about 100 small pages).

* * *

This first volume deals with "The Old Empire—from the Beginnings, to 1783." It barely touches India, which is to have two volumes to itself later. Its chief concern, after chapters covering the beginnings of British overseas trade and maritime activity under the Tudors, is with the North American colonies and the West Indies, down to the establishment of the United States as an independent nation. And it is not merely a very full and very heavily documented chronicle of events, but it also has chapters discussing those events from the angle of constitutional law, reaction on British home politics, etc., and their expression in literature. The Bibliography runs to 66 pages, and the Index to 42. A whale of a book!

It is the result of co-operation. There are three editors and 15 or 16 contributors (all, of course, orthodox academic gentlemen) to this volume. Dr. J. A. Williamson, whose little 'Cambridge Manuals' on *British Expansion* and *Europe Overseas* have been highly commended in these pages before, writes on "England and the Opening-Up of the Atlantic," and "The Beginnings of an Imperial Policy, 1649-1660." Dr. J. Holland Rose does the chapters on "Sea Power, 1580-1660," and "Sea Power and Expansion, 1660-1763." Prof. J. F. Rees, of Birmingham, writes on "Mercantilism and the Colonies," Mr. Cecil Headlam on "The Constitutional Struggle with the American Colonies"—and so on. There is a remarkably interesting final chapter on "The Literature and Social Life of the Old Empire," by the late Prof. H. E. Egerton. As is inevitable in a work carried out on this plan, there is some difference of quality, and even of 'key,' in the various sections. Dr. Holland Rose, for instance, is a good deal more flamboyantly patriotic than some of his fellow-writers. "Sea dogs," "men of Devon"—all the old clichés come out in full song. Dr. E. C. Martin, writing of "The English Slave Trade and the African Settlements" is very studiously non-committal. He discusses African natives and their exploiters almost as calmly, with as little human feeling, as if he were talking about chemical by-products.



KEEPING HIM OFF THE AIR!

Drawn for LABOR by John M. Baer

recall that Edo Fimmen, the General Secretary of the International Transport Workers' Federation, stated that in order that the European workers might get the real facts of what was happening in Britain, as distinct from the falsehoods that were being circulated by capitalist interests, he arranged to broadcast a message through the Dutch wireless station, which is used at intervals by the Dutch Labour movement. It appears that following upon his broadcast the Dutch authorities received protests from the British Government, and subsequently Comrade Fimmen had to submit his wireless speeches for censorship.

In the event of any great industrial upheavals in Europe the control of a wireless station might well be vital to success, and no doubt the lesson international working-class organisations had during the General Strike will result in arrangements being made to have, by hook or by crook, a means of communication by wireless in the event of a similar upheaval. As things stand now, anyway, the Labour movement has only a very small voice in the press. On the ether it has practically no voice at all. But who is Labour, anyway?

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All the writers, of course, take the Conservative-capitalist viewpoint, though none of them (Holland Rose excepted) are so militant or rhetorical about it as one might have expected. There is, for instance, a good deal more about *trade* than about a "civilising mission" or the "call of adventure."

From the beginning (writes Sir Chas. Lucas in his Introduction) with the notable exception of the Puritan colonies,* outward expansion was initiated and promoted chiefly with a view to returns in the form of trade.

And, as Sir Charles admits, a page or two later, "the trader is at best a calculating patriot."

The 18th century saw the reign of sugar; the reign of cotton was yet to come. Though, as the century grew older, the riches which flowed from India into Britain grew rapidly in volume, yet almost to the end the West Indies bulked larger as a source of wealth and of the political and social influence which is derived from wealth. . . Sugar demanded slavery and the slave trade, and the powerful cities and classes concerned with this carrying trade were solidly behind the West Indian planters and merchants. The richest planters spent much of their time in England, with ample means to pull the strings of State.

(Introduction, p. 10).

Not until the West India sugar monopoly began to decrease in economic importance as compared with other interests did the "voice of humanity" get a chance—and the slave-trade was abolished.

Here is another fairly frank statement of Sir Charles's:—

It is true that there was no need of an empire in order to create trade monopolies, that without any British colonies there might have been a large British carrying trade in slaves and sugar, and without any British possessions in India there might have been, as there actually was, relatively speaking, in the early days of the East India Co., a flourishing commerce between Great Britain and India. But is it conceivable that without the permanent over-sea bases, the colonies, the settlements, and the factories held on freehold tenure, British trade could ever have attained to the dimensions to which it did attain or would have been so sure in foundation and growth as it actually was, or, as a consequence, that the monopolies in Great Britain would have been as powerful as they were?

(Introduction, p. 19).

* * *

Dr. Williamson's chapters are as full of interesting and vivid little bits of detail as his smaller books would lead one to expect—with the advantage that he has here full scope and space to bring them in. An ordinary textbook, for example, just mentions the merchants of Bristol, Southampton, or London in Tudor times; Dr. Williamson here gives us "potted biographies" of typical individual *entrepreneurs*, as well as details, financial and other, of particular voyages. Here is an interesting bit of historical portraiture in a few lines:—

The Brazil ventures of Wm. Hawkins of Plymouth have already been considered. He helped

*Where "the motive to be quit of the government of England rather than any desire to widen her territory or expand her power" was "the driving force of English colonisation."

[Thomas] Cromwell in the Dissolution; engaged largely in privateering, and afterwards acted as a contractor for victualling the Navy and fortifying Plymouth Sound. He represented Plymouth in three Parliaments and twice served as Mayor, an office which was important as an outpost of the central authority.

It has almost a modern ring to it, hasn't it? Or, again, take this, which has a rather more materialistic flavour to it than the old stuff about sea-dogery:—

The significance of all these men, and of many others, in the national development was considerable. By voyages to the Peninsula, the Levant, and the Atlantic islands they acquired ideas and knowledge of highly-organised business methods, of shipbuilding and navigation, and of the new world-conditions which were to dominate the future. They accumulated capital in the old trades and were fearless in using it in the new. They were necessarily individualists, breaking with the old tradition of incorporation [guilds] and as active in challenging vested interests afloat as on shore. Some of them mingled trade with privateering, which was legitimate warfare, and with indiscriminate roving against neutrals, which was not. . . . Finally, they filled administrative posts while carrying on their private activities; they did much hack-work for the nobles of the Privy Council, made themselves indispensable, admitted their superiors to good investments, and so acquired influence over national policy. . . .

* * *

N.C.L.Cer.s should see that this book—and the succeeding volumes as they appear—are on the shelves of the local library. Here is a mine of material for tutors and students of the history of Imperialism.

PANDEMONIUM

broke loose at a Catholic Meeting during the General Election when one good Catholic shouted out "How many Children has the Archbishop?"

Only after a considerable time was sufficient order restored to allow the interrupter to explain that he didn't intend to cast any reflections on the morals of the Catholic Archbishop. What he intended to convey was that whereas the Archbishop had no children to support, the interrupter had seven

No better illustration could be given of the importance of expressing oneself accurately, and the best way to do this is to get a good grasp of English.

The N.C.L.C. has two

CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

on the subject. Send a stamped addressed envelope for particulars to J. P. M. MILLAR, General Secy., National Council of Labour Colleges, 15 South Hill Park Gardens, London, N.W.3.

AMONG THE BOOKS

By

"PLEBS" REVIEWERS

Topsy-Turvy, by Vernon Bartlett Constable, 5/-.

THE author, during and since the war, travelled Europe as a British Press correspondent, attended the Paris Peace Conference, and at present is a League of Nations official.

The thirteen stories which comprise his book are probably derived from his personal experiences and contacts. The book gives one glimpses of the misery of post-war Europe, interspersed with pictures of the mediocrity of the big statesman at the international conferences. The author is probably discreetly indefinite in his Fascist and his Bolshevik Delegation stories. All the thirteen are good because they are credible.

They appear to represent the material from which the author suggests to the reader his problem of how to eliminate hatred between the nations. His assumption is that troubles between the nations are due, merely, to psychological factors. G.

The word "Everybody" in the title of *An English Course for Everybody*, by S. P. B. Mais (The Richards Press, Third Edition, Six Shillings) is, we imagine, too inclusive. PLEBS readers, at any rate, are not likely to find themselves catered for, inasmuch as Mr. Mais begins the second paragraph of his introduction thus: "We learn English primarily to widen and deepen our capacity for enjoyment" and he adheres to this point of view throughout, whereas PLEBS readers improve their English as a workman improves his tools or a soldier his weapons. Since the present edition is the third in eight years, it has evidently proved its usefulness to many students, and the stressing of the fact that the effective use of any language is an art, is at first sight encouraging.

The book is in five parts—The Art of Reading, of Speaking, of Writing, of Criticism, of Literature, and it is interesting to read and full of extracts.

Nevertheless when we turn, by way of a test, to the Art of Speaking and find that he leads us first to meal-time talk (with wise asides about silence at breakfast), then to recitations and charades and on to Roget's Thesaurus of Synonyms and the Oxford Dictionary ("to be a good speaker you must be in love with the sound of words") till at last we reach the twin peaks of North's translation of Plutarch's "Demosthenes training in Oratory" and Pitt's speech on "the atrocious crime of being a young man," we begin to fear that we are not of his fold, however anxious he may be to include us in his "everybody." F. J. A.

The mighty mountain of the Synthetic Philosophy has been almost submerged by the rising tide of post-Victorian scientific development, and in a little while it is possible that Herbert Spencer's immortality will be left depending perilously on that famous *bon mot* about proficiency at billiards. To postpone this calamity, the R.P.A. have now reprinted his *Education* (Watts, 1/-) as No. 2 of their *Thinker's Library*. Well printed and a handy size, it is good value for anyone who required "a rational and lucid outline of ideal training for the young" (*vide jacket*)—as evolved by

the great philosopher in 1861. Needless to say, it is somewhat antiquated in parts, as where the author pleads at length for sports for girls. But still, it contains much sound commonsense, and no doubt parents and teachers may study it with advantage even to-day. I suppose the science of Obstetrics has made considerable progress in the last half-century or so, but Bishop Chavasse's *Advice to a Wife* is still devoutly read and re-read by many expectant mothers. E. J.

Industrial Psychology (C. S. Myers, Home University Library, 2/-) deals with the application of modern psychology to the conditions of production. Unfortunately psychology is still looked upon by many as a science which is of very little—if any—utility, merely lending itself as a subject about which so-called "highbrows" may spend hours in discussing metaphysical riddles, far removed from present social problems. This bias against psychology as a science is the outcome of the unfortunate relationship which this subject has had in the past with metaphysical philosophy.

Modern psychology has now passed through its theoretical stage and has emerged as a practical science, applicable to the problems and conditions of modern industry. The capitalists have fully realised the importance of psychology applied to industry, which fact is fully brought out in the above-mentioned volume.

The old idea of treating the worker merely as a machine, or rather as a factor of very little importance, has here given way to a consideration of the worker as a human being, and consequently the study of working environment, fatigue and rest, mental attitudes of worry and fear, length of working day and week are all passed under review, and as is pointed out, "improved conditions are followed by an increased productivity on the part of the worker."

There are those who would condemn Industrial Psychology because at the present time it helps to obtain greater profits for the capitalist. One might as well condemn any new invention which displaces the worker or any method of reorganisation of production which has the same results.

Such condemnation is wrong; we want scientific management, new labour-saving inventions, the beneficial fruits of Industrial Psychology. It's the system of Capitalist production which is wrong, not the methods of production.

The book makes interesting reading because of the propaganda value to be found in it, both as to the actual conditions to-day and as to the great possibilities of production under Socialism. D. A. K.

It is extremely remarkable that a book on World History published nearly sixty years ago is, despite our enormously greater knowledge, bought and read at the present time with as much eagerness as during its first years of publication. Yet this feat has been accomplished by Winwood Reade's *Martyrdom of Man* (Travellers' Library, Cape, 3/6). As probably the case with many others, my first glimpse of the sweep of world history came with my reading of this book before the war. It sent me very quickly to other books which, written much later, filled in the details of the world picture. Many of the facts of the book are now out of date and the reasoning is very frequently faulty but—perhaps here one's judgment is unduly influenced by the sentiment attached to that early reading—I think it is still difficult to find a better book to re-

commend to the worker who has no wish to know something about the past. When this desire has been created by Reade it is easy to pass to sounder, if less "readable," historical fare. G. P.

LABOUR CLUBS

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By GEORGE HICKS
(Hon. President).

OUR aim is to draw all Trade Union, Labour, Socialist and Co-operative Clubs—all clubs constituted of working men and women—into the closest possible relationship to the organised working-class movement—industrial, political, and co-operative—so as to enable them to form an integral part of the movement, and be of the utmost service to the workers in their struggle for progress and freedom. We realise that these clubs can be an enormous power for good; for developing comradeship and mutual understanding, and as means through which the workers can establish a higher and better social life and carry on educational and cultural work of all kinds. We regard them as potentially most effective agencies for gathering the workers together and closely binding them to the movement, and as centres about which the power of the working-class can be gathered and united in the respective localities. We feel that there is need to give the clubs new life and purpose, to broaden their activities, to give them the wider vision which Socialism alone can give, and to inspire them with the spirit of Socialism. Our desire is to see them engaged in practical service to the movement in all its phases. We want them to be centres of propaganda, centres of light and leading, real rallying points for the workers in their industrial and political struggles. We want them to be organising and recruiting agencies for the Trade Union, the Co-operative Societies and the Labour Party. We want them to be the mediums for developing still further the cultural and educational work of the movement. Just as the workers of Belgium, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, and other countries, have made their clubs the centres around which they have established educational societies, dramatic circles, choral societies, and clubs for various kinds of sport and physical culture, so we desire the workers to do the same here in Britain. We are confident that, in this way, the workers can establish an entirely new social life for themselves, and break away from the pernicious influence of the Capitalist Press and Capitalist sport and social organisations. We are of the opinion that the movement can, and should, through the clubs, provide the workers with ample opportunities of a fuller life and scope for self-expression. We are convinced that there is nothing the Capitalist can do, in respect to the social and cultural life of the workers which the organised workers cannot do, on a better scale, with a higher and finer purpose, for themselves.

It is for these reasons that the Federation of Trade Union, Labour, Socialist and Co-operative Clubs has been formed. We heartily invite the affiliation of all bona-fide Workmen's Clubs to the Federation. Application should be made to the Hon. Secy., Harold George, East Islington Labour Club, 16 Highbury Grove, London, N.5.

P's and Q's

DURING the year 1928 Industrial Profits, according to the *Economist*, increased by £12,060,339, or 7.2 per cent. During the same year the wages of the workers were reduced by £141,900 a week, according to the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*. Who said there was no progress?

* * *

Lecturing under the auspices of the Belfast Labour College, John S. Clarke (Author of the *N.C.L.C.'s Marxism and History*) said that Robert Burns "sat upon the threshold of the Industrial Revolution." All we say is, that we hope it wasn't damp.

* * *

J.F.H.'s Liberal opponent in Peterborough gave some free advertisement to *A Short History of the British Empire*. That book, he declared, was based on a point of view known as the materialist conception of history which had been abandoned by all intelligent people half-a-century ago. He was, he went on, an admirer of the Noahs in the *Daily News*, and he thought it probable that Mr. Horrabin's long association with the inhabitants of the Ark had given him antediluvian ideas!

* * *

What J. S. Clarke in *Marxism and History* has to say about slavery and the struggle between North and South is confirmed from an unexpected quarter. Dr. G. P. Gooch (p. 34 *Wider Aspects of Education*): "We always think of the struggle of North and South as a struggle about slavery. That was the way it appeared to people like Garrison and the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; but to the man in the street and the statesman it was a problem of centralisation or decentralisation, between the sovereign power of the Federal Government and the traditional freedom of the separate State."

* * *

Readers of J.F.H.'s 'footnote' on Canadian railways in the April PLEBS, and of Walton Newbold's further article last month, should make a note of the *Manchester Guardian Commercial's* Special Canada No.—Thursday, June 13th. It included an interesting map (p. 9), "Bringing the Wheatfields nearer to Europe," showing the Fort Churchill railway and the steamship route through Hudson Bay.

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WHAT THE N.C.L.C. IS DOING

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BRANCH Lectures form one of the finest means not only of giving publicity to our Movement and of winning new adherents, but of selling literature. This is again borne out by an entry in an organiser's report, which reads:—

"43 present at a Branch Lecture and 14 PLEBS sold."

I.L.P. GUILD OF YOUTH.—The Annual Conference carried a resolution that all Guilds should have educational classes under the auspices of the National Council of Labour Colleges. No doubt College Secretaries and Organisers will follow up this resolution.

MARK STARR'S NEW BOOK.—The Hogarth Press are to issue Mark Starr's latest book, which we understand is to deal with bias in the schools.

NEXT WINTER'S WORK.—It is good to notice that Glasgow is already making arrangements for next winter's work. Other colleges would find it an advantage to follow suit. The early bird catches the worm!

NATIONAL SUMMER SCHOOL.—You will make arrangements much easier if you book now. An ounce of help is worth a ton of sympathy!

NEW (NOT RENEWAL) LOCAL AFFILIATIONS.—Lanarkshire, 4; London, 1; Sheffield, 1. Others out for duck apparently!

COUNCILLOR PILKINGTON.—Councillor Pilkington (N.U.D.A.W.), Chairman of the N.C.L.C.'s Scottish Divisional Council, has been elected Vice-Chairman of the Scottish Labour Party.

WHAT THE DIVISIONS ARE DOING

DIVISION 1.

The Whitsun School at Westerham Hill, with W. J. Colyer as the principal lecturer, provided a large number of students with heaps of enjoyment and instruction. Comrade Colyer was a hard and willing worker—except at an outdoor election meeting we ran in the district, when he refused to use the branch of a tree as a platform, stating that the harmonious relation between his beard and the tree would concede too much to the would-be heckler! The Westerham Hill comrades have asked for another school and one is being arranged for the autumn. All our tutors were busy during the Election campaign, addressing meetings, canvassing and doing other election work. A very large number of the temporary and full-time

election agents in the London area are N.C.L.C.'ers. The Women's Scholarship to the N.C.L.C. Summer School has been awarded to the Brixton Women's Co-operative Guild, whose nominee is the Guild Secretary, Mrs. Lock. Our annual Garden Party is being held on Saturday, July 20th at Highfield, Golders Green. We hope a number of N.C.L.C. members of Parliament will be present. A Week-end School on July 6th and 7th is being held at "Treetops," near Guildford, with Jack Jones as lecturer. Subject, "Imperialism." Details from Geo. Phippen, 71 Prebend Gardens, W.6.

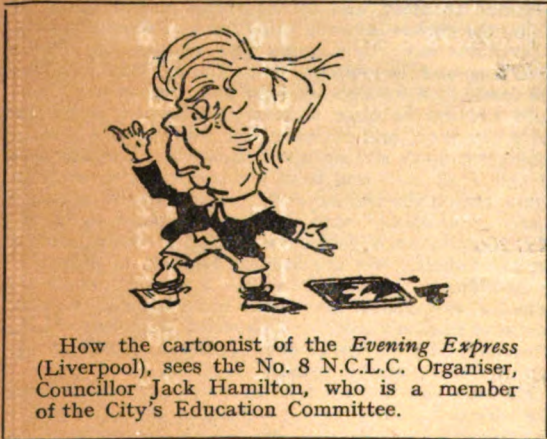
DIVISION 4.

Newport L.C. is setting up a local Woman's Committee and running a special class for women on "Social History." In addition, a class is set up for members of the N.U.R. and a series of interchange Day Schools have been arranged with Penarth and Abertillery. The Annual Dance and Social Evening returned a profit of over £7, which is to be utilised to provide Summer School Scholarships and Tutorial Training. West Wales College has been compelled by financial circumstances to discontinue the services of the Tutor for the remainder of the summer session, but Clydach, Crosshands, Ystalyfera, and Aberavon classes will still continue to meet, and arrangements are in hand for filling the coffers in preparation for next winter session. Abertillery L.C. is running two classes, on Public Speaking and Psychology, with the assistance of our old friend Len Roberts, and the Div. Organiser. Comrade Chivers as class secretary is keeping everyone fully occupied, and active in the interest of I.W.C.E. Abergavenny is setting up a class under the auspices of the T. & L.C. and with a new secretary, we shall again attack the countryside. Taylorstown class has fixed up a debate with the local minister upon the M.C.H. and Nun Nicholas is expected to enter the field on our behalf. We are looking forward to more joy in heaven. The Rhondda L.C. is setting out to re-organise the classes and enlist more tutorial support for next session's work. Comrades Wilkinson, M.P., Strachey, M.P.; Ashcroft; Jenny Lee, M.P.; J. Maxton, M.P., are being asked to assist.

Ogmore Vale and Garw have not yet recovered from the Election. Maesteg L.C. is again trying to enlist the support of the Miners' District for the continuation of the Educational Scheme. The Div. E.C. have completed arrangements for the Divisional Summer School at Rhose during August 3rd to 10th. This year we have booked a private boarding-house, and are arranging accommodation in both Hostel and Camp at reasonable prices. Our programme includes an analysis of "The Place of Political Strategy in British Working-Class History," with Comrades Thomas, Edwards, Shaw, David, Nicholas, and John Strachey, M.P., as lecturers. Five scholarships are offered to class students in the Division, to be allotted by means of a Divisional examination. Further particulars of School or examination can be obtained from College Secretary or Div. Org., Waengron Street, Blaina, Mon. During the School a Week's Tutorial Training will be held for all students taking tutorial training. The Div. E.C. are offering Five tutorial training scholarships, and all colleges are asked to immediately send in their nominations. During the Elections the College and Classes threw themselves wholeheartedly into the fight. The tutors and students of the Newport L.C. addressed over 130 meetings, Abertillery over 30, Abergavenny 27. The students in Maesteg, Ogmore, Rhondda, Swansea, West Wales formed the foundation of the local working-class machinery that determined success.

DIVISION 7.

The Inter-Meet and Day School held at Hardcastle Craggs on Whitsunday was highly successful. Seventy-seven students attended from the various colleges of the West Riding, N. Lancs. and S.E. Lancs. The response was so good that there is every possibility of this school being repeated next year. Barnsley organised a day school at Monk Bretton, near Barnsley, with the Organiser and Div. Chairman as lecturers. The college is to organise a further school later on. The Halifax College had a school at Haworth with Frank Dixon as speaker. This event will be followed by day schools and rambles at regular intervals. Comrade Lygo of Sheffield is organising a day school, to be held at Comisboro, near Mexboro, on July 20th, with the late Organiser of No. 12 Division, Charlie Brown, M.P., as lecturer. Colleges in South Yorkshire, along with all Labour organisations, have been notified and a bumper school is expected. The Bentley class group have arranged a day school at Wentbridge, with Com. Lygo as lecturer. Colleges in the S.Y. area are arranging chara. parties for this event. On July 6th, the Brighouse College will hold a day school in the Dyers' Club, Elmroyd, with J. Backhouse as the lecturer and on Sunday, the 14th, the Slaithwaite



How the cartoonist of the *Evening Express* (Liverpool), sees the No. 8 N.C.L.C. Organiser, Councillor Jack Hamilton, who is a member of the City's Education Committee.

College will hold a day school with Edwin Nelson and the Div. Organiser as lecturers. The school will be held in the Socialist Club and tea will be provided. On July 20th the Bradford College will hold a day school at the Clarion Camp, Otley Chevins. On July 21st, an inter-meet with S.E. Lancashire, will be held at Castleton. The lecturer will be provided by S.E. Lancs. Winnats at 2.30 p.m. Castleton is a place worthy of a visit and colleges should arrange chara. parties. Arrangements are well in hand for the Divisional Week-end School at Heathmount Hall, Ilkley, on Sept. 14th and 15th. Please keep this date in mind. Summer classes are being held at Halifax, Slaithwaite, Leeds, Brighouse, and Hebden Bridge. Re the discussion between the Organiser's motor cycle and a tram standard, receipt of flowers at No. 1 Fernleigh premature, but they have been sent on to the motor insurance company as a consolation.

DIVISION 8.

Seventy-six students attended the Day School and Inter-meet at Newton Labour Club. The students were drawn from Manchester, Salford, Bolton, War-

ington, Leigh, Stockton Heath, Widnes, Earlestown, Liverpool and Wallasey districts. The lectures by A. A. Purcell on India were much appreciated, and community singing and a Lancashire dialect recitation by Comrade Bratt of Leigh rounded off an enjoyable and instructive day. Future Day Schools have been arranged for Penketh Labour Club, Aug. 24th, and Birkenhead, Aug. 25th, when Charlie Brown, M.P., will lecture at both schools. Tom Lowe (Warrington Co-op. Society) will lecture at a Day School to be held Sept. 1st, at Walton Labour Club, Liverpool.

DIVISION 10.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND—Short summer classes are being run in Glasgow, Greenock, Whiteinch, and a special tutorial class is being conducted by the Organiser. Eight new tutors are expected from this effort. The annual meeting was held in Glasgow on 15th June. The report showed 38 classes on various subjects, with an attendance of approximately 850 students, had been run and that 43 branches of unions, etc., had been addressed during the winter session. On June 4th, the Tutors of the College met in Keir Hardie Inst., Glasgow, to arrange the winter's work. All were tired with many election meetings they had taken part in, but were eager to again aid the College in its work. 21 were present. Arrangements are now completed for the publication of Comrade T. M. Watson's Plays. They will be issued for sale to readers and other dramatic groups in early August. The College and Players' combined week-end rambles are still continuing to be the most popular in the West of Scotland.

LANARKSHIRE—This College, by an overwhelming majority has, we are pleased to say, agreed to re-establish its connection with the N.C.L.C. Councillor Ritchie, the Glasgow Organiser, is to give the Lanarkshire College some assistance. We hope the secretary, John Wilson, and his colleagues, will have a record winter's work in front of them.

EDINBURGH AND EAST OF SCOTLAND (WESTERN SECTION)—Speakers' and tutors' classes were kept going throughout the election. A class has been arranged on teaching methods. Mr. J. S. Clarke, M.P., and others, have been arranged for Ramble Lectures. (We fear this is almost a libellous statement—Ed.).

EASTERN SECTION—Several of the students of the Electioneering classes acted as Election Agents. In three cases their candidates were successful. Many others were Polling Agents, Committee-Room Clerks, etc., and proved very efficient in these roles. Several Day Schools have been arranged—one at Roslin Castle on June 30th, and others at Dalkeith, Tranent and Bathgate. A combined Conference and Day School is being organised for the Falkirk and Grange-mouth area.

DIVISION 11.

IRELAND—All Branches of affiliated organisations in the Division have been offered Branch Lectures. The subjects chosen deal with current problems such as Unemployment, Shipbuilding, Textiles, The Finances of Northern Ireland, Safeguarding, De-Rating, Housing, Transport, etc. The Summer Class on Logic by the Organiser is being well attended. Arrangements are in hand to run our N.C.L.C. Conference to coincide with the visit of the T.U.C. to Belfast in September.

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