

ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF
LABOUR COLLEGES

THE PLEBS

Monthly, 4d.

SEPTEMBER, 1929

FILL UP THE BLANKS



Most of the 8,000,000 Labour voters have many **BLANKS** in their knowledge of the Labour Movement. What are you doing about it? Help to put a capital **P** in publicity—see inside.

J.B. LOOKS UP HIS PAST!



He'll be able to carry our new textbook comfortably in his pocket

NOW ON SALE

94 pages, with 5 maps

A SHORT HISTORY
OF THE
**BRITISH
EMPIRE**

by **J. F. HORRABIN, M.P.**

Paper Covers, 1s. (post paid, 1s. 1d.)

Limp Cloth, 1s 6d. (post paid, 1s 8d.)

Cloth Hard Boards, 2s 6d (post paid, 2s 8d.)

NOTE SPECIAL REDUCTIONS FOR QUANTITIES

2d. in the 1/- discount on orders for 12 copies; 3d. in the 1/- on orders for 25; 4d. in the 1/- on 50 or over. (Postage extra.)

THE PLEBS

Organ of the National Council of Labour Colleges

Vol. XXI.

SEPTEMBER, 1929.

No. 9

[Published on the 1st of each month.]

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PUT A CAPITAL "P" IN PUBLICITY <i>By J. P. M. MILLAR</i>	193
FROM THE CHAIR <i>By GEORGE HICKS</i>	195
THE ANNUAL GATHERING <i>By A DELEGATE</i>	199
CURRENCY WILL O' THE WISPS <i>By ARTHUR WOODBURN</i>	202
EGYPT: THE PROPOSED TREATY <i>By J. F. HORRABIN, M.P.</i>	205
THE PROBLEM OF THE SCHOOLS <i>By R. D. DENMAN, M.P., and A. FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P.</i>	206
EDWARD CARPENTER <i>By T. ASHCROFT</i>	207
EDUCATION <i>By F. C. DRAKE</i>	209
WHY FLATTER MATTER? <i>By S. C. SOPOTE</i>	210
THE NEW PHASE <i>By H. B. B.</i>	211
MAKING MEN INTO ROBOTS	212
AMONG THE BOOKS	213
WHAT THE N.C.L.C. IS DOING	215

PLEASE NOTE

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

on Back Page

PUT A CAPITAL "P" IN PUBLICITY

THE only thing that does not require to advertise its value is money. The demand for the best of gramophones or sock-suspenders would be a fraction of what it is if there was no publicity. Without advertisement even an unlosable collar stud would sell in hundreds instead of hundreds of thousands. The same principle applies to independent working-class education. It has to be pushed and pushed hard.

September is the month when plans are completed for the winter's work. We might almost say that advertising those plans is even more important than making them. Our doleful comrades will, of course, tell us that we can't advertise on tuppence, but there are many ways of advertising. Talking cheerfully about the coming classes is by no means the least effective method and is certainly cheap enough to please Aberdonians of all nationalities.

Classes can be advertised by means of circulars, handbills, chalked notices, persuading speakers to mention the classes, getting working-class organisations to put announcements on their notice boards and so on. There are scores of ways and the only bar to them is lack of energy—our old friend, Comrade Apathy, under a longer name.

Spilling the Egyptians

Even the local capitalist press will give free "advertisements" if a little ingenuity is used. That publicity can be got by writing letters to the papers or sending in little

Court. When we think of all the efforts made to bring it into being, the sacrifices made, the hopes that were embodied in it, the devotion of many fine comrades to it, and the great work it has done—which far out-balances, in my opinion, the follies and stupidities committed by some associated with it, we shall consider its closing as a distinct loss to our movement. Perhaps its passing, at this time, in view of the unfortunate atmosphere with which it was surrounded, is for the best. It will leave the field open. Here I should like to correct a misapprehension widely current in the working-class movement that the N.C.L.C. had some responsibility for the Penywern Road Labour College. No such responsibility existed. But I feel certain that the College has but gone to make way for a bigger and better College. The N.C.L.C. executive realises the need for a residential institution, especially for the training of tutors, and is hoping to provide such residential facilities. We need a Sandhurst for the organised Labour Movement. At the same time it is essential there should be no slackening in the efforts to train tutors locally.

The N.C.L.C. and the General Election

I have spoken of our Trade Union progress. We have made considerable political progress. There is no gauging the extent of the work and influence of the N.C.L.C. on the political field. We do know, however, that we cannot have a single N.C.L.C. lecture heard, or an N.C.L.C. book read, without its carrying some political significance. Undoubtedly the work of the N.C.L.C. resulted in a great volume of support being provided for the Labour Party and the Labour Candidates at the last election. In this connection I should like to quote what Frank Horrabin said in July *Plebs* about Peterborough: "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.*" That little quotation serves as an index not only to what was done in Peterborough, but in many other places. It indicates also that no N.C.L.C. effort is wasted, no matter how difficult or seemingly hopeless it may appear, and that the harvests reaped more than compensate for the labour of sowing the seed.

We have our political triumphs. Frank Horrabin is now the Member for Peterborough, John S. Clarke for Maryhill, C. Brown (Organiser of Division 12) for Mansfield. Indeed, the present Parliament contains a dozen Labour College tutors—sufficient to give a thorough N.C.L.C. training to the Parliamentary Labour Party, and to set a curriculum for the Labour Government! This group will certainly make its presence felt, and will assuredly have some influence on national educational policy.

Women and the Cave Period

Having in mind the General Election and its results, reminds us of one aspect of N.C.L.C. work that calls for more attention—and that is the education of women. Hitherto working women have been more localised in their outlook and social and political opportunities than men. We are not so far removed from the cave period even at this time; only, instead of caves, we have small rooms where women are shut in between four walls for the major portion of their lives. Because of their very conditions, working women have been most ignorant and apathetic in regard to what should concern them most—the material facts of their lives—their economic and social position in society—the conditions under which their bread and butter is provided—the houses they live in—the communities they live in—the opportunities they have for self-expression, and culture and joyous leisure. They have been the biggest drag on the organised working-class movement—the weakest link in the chain of working-class power. They simply have not bothered with Trade Unions, or politics, or matters external to their domestic economy. Now a change has

come, and is coming. The increasing industrialisation of women has been a great contributory factor. The entry of women into politics, another factor. What is required to-day is exceptional endeavour to bring working women into the organised Labour Movement—to organise them industrially and politically. Already great strides have been taken in the direction of organising them in the Co-operative Movement. The women must be brought into the movement, and bound to the movement by the closest ties, and made active and articulate in the movement. Here is an immense field of activity for the N.C.L.C. in training women to become propagandists, Trade Union Organisers and active in politics and Co-operation. Now that the N.C.L.C. has fine new premises on the heights of Hampstead and room to expand, plans should be made to develop this side of the work.

The N.C.L.C.'s Correspondence Course Department again shows an increase in its work, the total number of students dealt with being 2404. This is by far the largest Correspondence Course department run by any section of the Labour Movement, nationally and internationally. Quite a number of workers have enrolled in the Trade Unions, in the first instance, simply in order to obtain the advantage of the educational facilities. Many of those who enrol for courses do so under the impression that education is simply a means of individual advancement, but very shortly they find that the education provided by the N.C.L.C. is designed to serve the very definite social needs of the working-class movement, and the consequence is that these students for the first time see the Trade Union Movement in its true perspective. Thanks to the Correspondence Courses quite a number of students are now contributing to their Union Journals and to the Labour Press generally.

The Volunteers

A great deal of the N.C.L.C. tutorial work is done by a body of some 250 voluntary tutors. No words of praise can be too high for the services thus rendered. The tutoring of a class is very exacting work. It involves usually, as a minimum, setting aside 24 nights in 24 weeks running, giving on

each a different lecture, probably on the same subject. This is a very arduous undertaking for a worker who is engaged all day earning his living. As the N.C.L.C. grows, so do we hope to substantially increase the number of voluntary tutors. I am sure that many of the students now attending the classes are tutors in the making. It is the pioneering work that is the hardest. In a few more years we shall, I am confident, be positively amazed at the volume of work and the vast ramifications and influence of our educational movement. Already we have reason to be proud of what is being done. The number of class students during the year was about 25,000. To have been the means of giving 25,000 young men and women education and training and a wider vision of the world and its problems is no mean achievement. We have equipped them to be of better service to the movement and the workers in their struggles. We are certain that they are better equipped, and, judging by past results, we are sure that that 25,000 serving as yeast in the body politic, amongst the workers, are going to give a good account of themselves in the future. In a very practical sense the N.C.L.C. is sowing the seed and preparing the men and women for the great deep-seated social changes which we all know to be coming.

Seize the Opportunity

The conditions are favourable for a vast extension of the movement for independent working-class education. The facts of the political situation prove that a great change has been effected in the hearts and minds of a very large number of workers. It cannot be gainsaid that the workers are thinking differently, and acting differently in a political sense, as a result of that thinking, as compared with what they did a few years ago. That over eight million men and women voted for the Labour Party at the last general election is a solid irrefutable fact. That is a stupendous figure. It signifies a tremendous advance in political thought. It is unmistakable evidence that the workers are breaking with the old faiths and allegiances—the old ideas and ruts of tradition—and that new faiths are being adopted,

new ideas are germinating, growing and spreading amongst them. They are looking out on broader horizons. They are desirous of change—are seeking to change the system. All this is, undoubtedly, a direct consequence of the propaganda and educational work of the organised working-class movement, assisted by the forward development and rapid change of economic conditions. The N.C.L.C. can justly claim to have accomplished a considerable amount of this propagandist and educational work. The fact that we now have a Labour Government is due to the efforts of the pioneers of the past, amongst whom must be counted the educational pioneers. This political change is only symptomatic of the great onward sweep of the economic forces. It is only one of many changes that have come—and that are coming. Changes are now so rapid in industry as to almost amount to revolutionary transformations. I think we are quite right in terming this the period of the New Industrial Revolution. The actions and reactions of these fundamental changes are breaking up the mental soil of the working class. The workers are being compelled to seek a way out of the hardships, miseries and complexities of capitalism. As I say, the conditions are favourable for the rapid growth of the N.C.L.C. and the movement it embodies. *It would be the greatest mistake in the world if we failed to take advantage of these favourable circumstances.* It inevitably devolves upon the N.C.L.C. to establish—as it were—the corps of officers for the different phases of the organised working-class movement; to train and equip those young men and women who, later on, are to take the lead in the Trade Union, Co-operative and Political Labour Movements. That is its principal and glorious task. It is our job to fashion educationally the Ironsides of the movement, who will provide the central strength of the movement, and who will marshal the workers for the Trade Unions, Co-operative and Local Labour Parties, and confirm their adherence to the movement. The average worker may vote Labour and pay Trade Union contributions, but the dynamic force within the movement is the active, educated element. The more active N.C.L.C.ers

we have in the movement, occupying positions of responsibility in the movement—from that of being Trade Union Branch Officials to being members of Borough Councils and of Parliament—giving the benefit of their education to the movement, guiding the movement, in their respective positions, in the light of their hard-won knowledge, the better and stronger and more purposeful will the movement be. It is from that basic standpoint that all of us here should regard our educational work. Our aim, all the time, should be the utmost service to the movement and the working-class. More and more must we induce the Trade Unions to take every possible step to encourage their members to take advantage of the educational facilities provided through the N.C.L.C. The same is true of other sections of the movement.

Education and Education

There is a popular impression that there is only one kind of education. A glance at history shows that education has changed in characteristics from period to period. Education was made to serve humanity and not humanity to serve education. A comparison of the votes given at the Universities with those given in industrial centres shows the difference between the education of the old order and the education of the new. The N.C.L.C. provides the education of the new order—the education of the working-class which is destined to be the builder of the New Order. To a certain extent we are only at the beginning of our work. There is an infinite amount of work to be done. The N.C.L.C. is certainly destined to grow immeasurably from what it is at present. We are only just beginning to occupy a position of some stature and importance. The early pioneering work for independent working-class education has been done during the past twenty years; but the larger, bigger, broader work of pioneering still remains to be done.

I trust that this conference will, by the review it makes of the past work and the plans it makes for the future, mark a definite progressive stage in the workers' educational movement. This is a big occasion. We must give that impetus to

our work, that inspiration and stimulus to our comrades up and down the country, that will cause them to make the most of the present circumstances. Never were opportunities so plentiful and the reasons so many for the development of Labour Colleges and N.C.L.C. Classes. Education is like afforestation: immediate results are not very noticeable, but the results become greater and greater as the years go on. The large

number of ex-N.C.L.C. students who are now Trade Union officials, members of local governing bodies, Members of Parliament, and so on, are only the forerunners. Now is the time for the great sowing. From now on we can colour the thought of the movement, give it depth of understanding and consciousness of purpose, in a manner hitherto undreamt of. Be sure the harvest will be splendid.

THE ANNUAL GATHERING

By A DELEGATE

INDUSTRY is moving south, we are told. Whether the N.C.L.C. Executive desired to associate itself with that tendency or not, the fact remains that this year the Annual Meeting and Summer School were held at Digswell Park Conference House, on the edge of the Welwyn Garden City estate, near London. The Annual Meeting took place on Saturday and Sunday, July 27th and 28th, and the Summer School lectures were given during the succeeding week.

Annual Meeting

Comparatively little controversial matter appeared on the agenda this time, with the result that the business was over at a much earlier hour on Sunday than was the case in 1928. In George Hicks, whose presidential address appears elsewhere, the meeting had an excellent chairman.

Of the suggested amendments to the Constitution, those proposed by Division 10 and by the Glasgow and West of Scotland College respectively, in relation to the composition of the N.C.L.C., were withdrawn after an explanation from the Executive Committee that it already possessed ample powers to prevent the affiliation of "fake" bodies.

A motion from Liverpool that Divisional representatives be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting, from nominees submitted by the constituent bodies in each Division, was voted down by 28 to 4. On the other

hand, a resolution from Division 9, prohibiting full-time officials from standing for election to the National Executive, was carried by 15 to 11, despite a moving and humorous speech in opposition from John Jagger, who certainly succeeded in creating an uneasy feeling in the minds of one or two of the delegates who had come with a mandate to support the proposed change.

The Glasgow dispute was under review, on a motion from Liverpool, the proposed instruction to the Executive to make further efforts to end the dispute by negotiation being withdrawn after a statement was made as to what had already been done in this connection.

In view of the closing of the residential Labour College, the question of a national training centre for tutors had special importance. After it had been announced that the Executive were going fully into the question, the motions submitted by Division 7 and Liverpool were withdrawn. *In this connection, George Hicks made it very clear that the Executive would be glad to receive and consider the views of any N.C.L.C.ers who have given special thought to the problems involved in providing suitable training.*

Liverpool had put down a motion providing for consultation with the Divisional Councils concerned when appointments of tutors were made. Satisfactory assurances were given by the Executive on this point, and discussion then turned on a proposal

from Division 7 to make appointments dependent upon competition among candidates presenting credentials from a local college or class group. This was defeated by 27 to 5.

The "Sub-Committee"

Division 7 were also responsible for the warmest discussion of the meeting by submitting a resolution commencing with the statement "the No. 7 Division feels that the appointment by the National Executive Committee of a sub-E.C. to deal with all matters that arise between their full meetings is contrary to the purposes of the constitution adopted at the Annual Meeting of 1928. . . ." It was soon apparent that a number of delegates from Wales and the North were under the impression that a few wily Southern Englishmen had designs upon the liberty and independence of Yorkshire and wild Wales. One might almost say that they emitted wild wails of protest against what they considered to be a sort of "tcheka"; at any rate the "Sub-Committee" remained one of the standing jokes of the school for the rest of the week. Several unfearful Scots having come to the assistance of the southern Englishman (Jack Clancy), who was put up to defend the Executive position, two close divisions were taken. The previous question was lost by 14 to 18, and the meeting then proceeded to defeat the resolution by 19 to 14. The net result seems to be that the delegates refused to accept Division 7's assurances about its own feelings; but after this had been done the meeting again assumed the character of a happy family.

A resolution was carried unanimously protesting against the exclusion of the N.C.L.C. from representation on the Adult Education Committee of the B.B.C. and instructing the Executive to interview the Board of Governors of the Corporation.

On the report regarding the Plebs League and N.C.L.C. Students' Association, Division 1 drew attention to the urgent need for a meeting of the Provisional National Committee, in order that there may be proper co-ordination of the efforts being made in the Divisions to keep contact with old students and supporters. It was pointed out

that in London a series of meetings of a social character is being planned with this end in view.

The Summer School

Tom Ashcroft set the ball rolling on Monday morning, with a talk on the Economics of Rationalisation. He had already won the hearts of the students by his reading of *The Insect Play* on the previous evening, and the lecturing part of the programme therefore started with a swing. Obviously only a few points can be mentioned in a brief report, and although the reporter is candid he cannot claim to be impartial. The most interesting and important question raised at this session seemed to be whether or not, so far as world capitalism is concerned, the average rate of profit is actually falling. Different opinions were expressed, and the point is of vital importance, because of its bearing upon the question whether the workers to-day are facing a system already in decline or one which is still capable of considerable expansion over a relatively long period of time.

On the following afternoon, Maurice Dobb, fresh from a morning's work in Cambridge, spoke on the New Industrial Revolution in Russia. Dobb insisted that the schemes of rationalisation and industrial extension now being put into effect in the Soviet Republic, while they did prevent the workers from enjoying all the immediate benefits that might otherwise be available, have for their object the creation of better conditions for the workers of the future. This, he maintained, was the fundamental difference between Socialist rationalisation and Capitalist rationalisation. Questioned on statements and figures published by Trotsky, challenging the official claim that the standard of living of the ordinary Russian wage-earner is still on the upgrade, he indirectly made it clear that our individual judgments on this matter must for the time being remain based on our views as to the relative veracity and competence of Stalin and Trotsky in selecting and interpreting the facts.

Wednesday morning was devoted to a lecture by Cara Cook, of Brookwood, U.S.A., on Rationalisation and the American Trade

Union Movement. Like the exposition given us on Thursday by P. C. Hoffman, M.P., of the enormous changes that are occurring in the distributive trades, Comrade Cook's talk was full of facts and figures. As these were in type and as, in my opinion, the Editor ought to have captured the manuscript* for subsequent use in *Plebs*, I propose to say nothing more about it here than that it was thoroughly enjoyed and keenly discussed. The same remark applies to the Thursday lecture, with the addition that a definite promise was extracted from Comrade Hoffman that he would provide articles for *Plebs*, in which the masses of data which he has collected can be given the careful study they deserve.

Mr. F. J. Osborn, Administrative Officer of Welwyn Garden City, Ltd., and Clerk to the Urban District Council, laid before us, after dinner on Wednesday, the views of the Garden City planners on the value of their work as a contribution to the solution of social problems. Seeing that this topic had naturally come up in conversation and in informal group discussions earlier in the week, W. T. Colyer obtained the permission of the chairman to state the critical position which he himself had taken up, in order that Mr. Osborn might know and be able to comment upon the points which had been put to the students on earlier days. A very lively question period ensued.

Thursday evening we had a lantern lecture from Comrade Purcell on his observations in India as a representative of the Trades Union Congress. Some of the slides were from photographs already used in the *Report on Labour Conditions in India*,† which was prepared for the T.U.C. by Comrades Purcell and Hallsworth. Quite apart from his answers to questions, Comrade Purcell mentioned a large number of personal experiences and impressions which could not be embodied in his official report, but which gave his hearers an insight into Indian problems, their urgency and significance, that could not be communicated in any other way than the easy conversational method he adopted.

* He has done.—Ed.

† 1/2 post free from the N.C.L.C.

Finally, on Friday morning, George Hicks finished up the week as well as he had begun it. His topic was "Trade Union Policy and Rationalisation," and in announcing it, Jim Millar observed that the students would be glad to know that at last they were to hear a lecture on the subject which they seemed to think had been assigned to each of the previous lecturers. This was really a tribute to the school, inasmuch as it showed how eager the listeners had been to relate the subject-matter of each lecture to the immediate problems facing them as trade unionists. Throughout the week two tendencies had been in evidence—the one in favour of struggle against rationalisation at every possible opportunity, on the ground that it was a reorganisation of industry controlled by the bosses and certain to be directed against the workers; the other in favour of recognising that rationalisation was economically inevitable, that it could not be stopped however strenuously the workers resisted it, and that the wisest use of the strength of the Labour Movement would be in the direction of securing a say in the new arrangements that were bound to come and of choosing such battlegrounds as would offer the best chances of victory without standing in the way of social progress. The latter view was developed in masterly fashion by Comrade Hicks, and even those who disagreed with him most markedly must have felt the exhilaration of the mental exercise he set them.

General Impressions

The social side of a Summer School is always of great importance. Stuart Barr, Arthur and Barbara Woodburn, Amy and W. T. Colyer, the Frys, Christine Millar, and the Band rendered yeoman service. This year the Social Committee had excellent backing from several new recruits, whose presence will, no doubt, enliven future Summer Schools. Comrade Strawbridge, presiding over the mock trial, played the benevolent, humorous old judge to perfection. The secretary naturally was in the dock; the charge, that he had made away with the numerous trade union officials who had one by one disappeared after the close

of the Conference on Sunday; the alleged motive for the crimes, that the missing had shown a disposition to object to the "Sub-Committee."

In addition to the mock trial, we had, by special request, a delightful rendering of the little play, "Finders-Keepers," which was peculiarly appropriate this year, as it was a perfect illustration of "rationalisation" as that word is understood by the psychologists (see *Plebs* textbook on Psychology).

Especially welcome was the strong Co-

operative delegation at the school, the Education Committees of the Royal Arsenal and the South Suburban Societies being officially represented by Mrs. Real and Mrs. Tucker and by Mrs. James respectively.

All in all, the School was up to the level of its predecessors, which is saying a lot. Everybody contributed something to its success, and the spirit of comradeship and mutual understanding within the Movement was strengthened. More power to our Summer Schools!

CURRENCY WILL O' THE WISPS

A Reply to H. Norman Smith

By ARTHUR WOODBURN

(Last month Mr. H. Norman Smith wrote on "After Trade Unionism—What?" and stated that "the teeth of the proletariat have been drawn with the pincers of rationalisation" and that "no back-to-the-unions campaign can restore the former glory of trade unionism.")

After assuming this premise to be accurate, Mr. Norman Smith proceeded to suggest that the fundamental cure for all these ills is the control of credit and the creation of purchasing power for the people by the Government.

Mr. Woodburn in the following article questions Mr. Smith's premise, and condemns the theory that inflation, as advanced by the "Douglas" school, is any cure for social evils.)

THE word Rationalisation is becoming as much a bogey to some folk in our Movement as "drink" is to Pussyfoot, or "Communist" is to the average newspaper reader. It is only a revival of the old devil as the incarnation of evil, to whom we attribute all the ills which afflict humanity. Once we think in this vein, it is natural that the magic word, which represents for us all the good in the world, is all we want to overcome the evil. Thus God on our side overcomes the Devil, Socialism overcomes Capitalism, Prohibition cures Drink, and the principal worry of many people just now is that there seems no spirit of good which appears a likely victor over the

new evil of "rationalisation." Up till now the main suggestion has been a monastic one, namely that of refusing to come into contact with the evils of rationalisation. Mr. Smith on his part resorts to an old cult which has afflicted the Labour Movement of this country periodically from the time of the Charter to the present day—currency manipulation.

The benefit of a study of Marxian economics is that one obtains a historical perspective, and a knowledge of relative values, which enable us to see these goods and evils in their proper proportions. As will be realised by all those who are reading J. P. M. Millar's excellent little talks in the *Plebs*, there is no absolute evil in these things, but only a relative one. It is not rationalisation which is evil but the methods and effects of its capitalist introduction.

A False Start

The important point about all reasoning is to commence with accurately ascertained facts, and there are no grounds for assuming that Trade Unionism is dead or even that it is less powerful to-day than it was in the days of its "former glory."

There has been no period when the Trade Unions have been so powerful as they are to-day, unless during the quite abnormal time when Capitalism was weakened by war

KARL MARX

HIS LIFE AND WORK

by OTTO RÜHLE. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. *Illustrated.*

This is the first full-length biography of Marx to appear in English, and truly fills a gap in our literature. The historical setting of Marx's activities is vividly sketched, and his character analysed with sympathy and insight. This brilliant study should help even his opponents to understand what manner of man Marx was, and what was his outlook on life; it shows, too, how his teaching bears on the pressing problems of to-day. 15/-

GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD., MUSEUM ST., LONDON, W.C. 1

activities. To-day we have a Movement that not only defends wage standards as well as it ever did, but in addition has a consciousness of a purpose far beyond wages and hours. Out of the modern Trade Union Movement has grown a Labour Party which to-day occupies the seat of power in the Capitalist State. That this growing power of the proletariat will suffer reverses is certain, but if the Marxian interpretation of history is correct, each reverse becomes a period of self-criticism during which the people will gather new strength and greater consciousness until eventually they will become relatively stronger than the Capitalists and direct social development towards Socialism.

Political or Economic Power ?

All Governments are more the creatures of the economic system they administer than its creators, and if, as seems to be the view of the pessimists of our Movement, the economic power of the workers—their Trade Union Movement—is played out, and Rationalisation is going to fix Capitalism

firmly in economic security, it means that there is no hope of any social emancipation unless the Capitalists commit suicide.

I take the view that it is the business of everyone in our movement to build up the Trade Unions, and by N.C.L.C. education give to their members a knowledge of the history and purpose of Trade Unionism and an efficiency which will enable the members to carry their Trade Union work to a successful conclusion. To the extent that we do this, to that extent do we increase the relative strength of Labour and reduce the relative strength of Capitalism. The fact that Labour holds the Government makes it more difficult for Capitalism to use the political power of the country to increase its economic power over the workers, and therefore increases the relative power of the workers.

Rationalisation is not, therefore, some spirit of evil, but an inevitable economic development, whether in Capitalist Britain or Communist Russia, and it is only the organised Trade Union and Labour Movement which will prevent its being carried

through entirely at the expense of the workers.

More Money for the Workers ?

Mr. Smith, despairing of Trade Union power, suggests the distribution of money to those of us who have none, so that we can buy "the goods the rationalised factories are able to produce but unable to sell." I am sure none of us would object to such philanthropy, except perhaps those who "owned" the money. But, as Mr. Smith rightly points out, the Banks CREATE NEW MONEY regularly, with as little moral right as a forger, and lend it to capitalists for profit-making purposes. Marx, as far back as 1848, laid down as one of the important steps to be taken by a Labour Government :

"Centralisation of credit in the hands of the State by means of a National Bank with State Capital and an exclusive monopoly,"

and this item is now one of the most important in the Labour Party programme. It implies what exists now in Russia, a managed currency under public control and not in the interests of private bankers.

This, however, is an entirely different proposition from the Douglas idea of departing from the gold standard, and no student of Marxian economics would favour inflation in that sense. Inflation is a method of taxation, and one which is grossly unfair in its incidence, for it is harder on the poor than on the rich, and even with the bank inflation of to-day which keeps prices approximately on a level, the workers suffer more than the wealthy. There are many reasons, however, why it is desirable to maintain the gold standard.

The Yellow God

Gold is acceptable to every people in modern commerce, and an ounce of gold is an ounce of gold in Britain, Germany, France, Italy and Timbuctoo, and the value of that ounce of gold is determined by the internationally socially necessary labour power expended in its production. Gold therefore is extremely important in commercial transactions, for it provides a means whereby

sales can be made without immediate payment, and yet the seller has a guarantee that when payment is made, it will represent the same as it did when the bargain was fixed.

The separation in time between selling goods and receiving payment is of tremendous importance, for an order for railways could be cabled from Australia, and work proceed for weeks before payment could be sent. Moreover, harvests can be sold to us for payment at a later time. One of the greatest difficulties which Russia has experienced during recent years has been the refusal of foreign merchants to sell her any goods without immediate cash. Such a demand dislocates international intercourse as much as a railwaymen's work-to-rule strike would paralyse the railway system.

Pound for Pound

In a non-rationalised capitalist world, therefore, it is of extreme importance that people abroad who sell us foodstuffs and raw materials should be able to rely on receiving value for value. If we allowed a Government to adopt inflation methods, it would introduce fear and uncertainty to such an extent that it might seriously affect our food supply.

A second very important reason for maintaining the gold standard is that it does afford a very efficient check upon Bankers and Governments against inflating the currency, and thus reducing the purchasing power of all wages and salaries. If the Douglas scheme is to give us an increase after causing a decrease, it is no satisfactory solution.

There is finally a socialist objection to Major Douglas's proposals, and that is, that it is not our business to obtain control of credit in order to recreate capitalism. Control of credit, on the other hand, though it may incidentally have at first to keep Capitalism running, will be mainly used for stimulating production which will be of social benefit and under social control.

Cut-and-dried currency schemes of the Douglas variety are Will o' the Wisps and nothing more.

EGYPT:

The Proposed Treaty

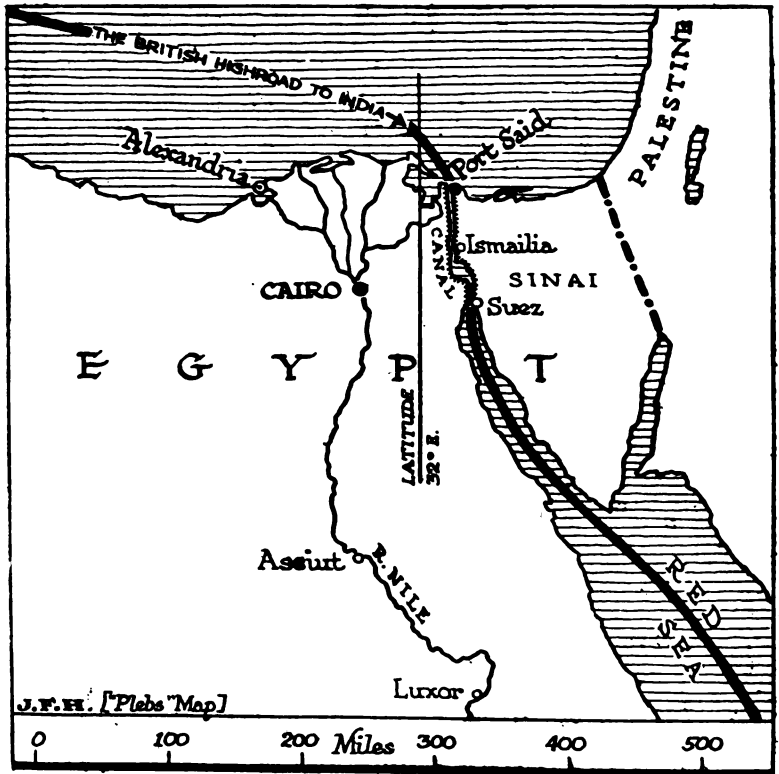
By J. F. HORRABIN, M.P.

THE essence of the "Egyptian problem" is the geographical situation of Egypt (i.) in relation to the main line of British communications with the East; and (ii.) in relation to the Sudan *i.e.*, to the upper waters of the river on which alone the fertility and economic prosperity of Egypt depend.

The first part of the problem, as Mr. Norman Angell has pointed out, bears a strong resemblance to that other international question which has recently been in the forefront of the news—Russian control of the Chinese Eastern Railway through Manchuria. In both cases a vital link of communication—in the one case a railroad, in the other a canal—passes through 'foreign' territory. The only possible permanent solution, of course, is the internationalisation both of railroad and canal. But in a world of conflicting imperialisms the question of their control means conflict, armed or diplomatic—between the Soviet Republics and the new Nationalism of China (backed by other Imperialisms), and between the British Empire and the Nationalism of Egypt.

The Labour Government's proposed treaty with Egypt is a compromise between British Dictatorship and Egyptian independence. The British garrison in Cairo and other towns is to go. But British forces are to occupy the Canal zone—east of latitude 32° E.

The other big question at issue is that of the Sudan. Whoever controls the Sudan—in these modern days of large-scale engineering and irrigation works—controls



Egypt; for the simple reason that in the Sudan you can cut off Egypt's water supply—a pretty deadly form of economic blockade! Egypt's claim to governance of the Sudan, and control of the whole length of the Nile, is old; it was a Pharaoh of Old Testament days who said:—

"Behold I am against thee, Pharaoh, King of Egypt, which hath said, My river is mine own and I have made it for myself."

But, as a matter of fact, neither the Pharaohs nor more recent Egyptian rulers ever did control the Sudan. Nor was this a matter of vital importance until modern capitalism saw the possibilities of Sudanese cotton. The quarrel between England and Egypt on this point is a quarrel between two rival groups of capitalists for the right to exploit the fertile areas of the Sudan (much greater in extent than those of Egypt) and the cheap labour-power of the Sudanese. Under the proposed Treaty, British control of the Sudan is to continue, and the vital question of water-supply is to be the subject of further discussions.

The October Plebs

With the opening of the Winter Classes every *Plebs* agent should be able to increase his *Plebs* order, so that every class will have a supply on hand. Changes in orders should be notified not later than the 24th of the month.

Orders for Text-books should be sent well before the date when the classes open.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SCHOOLS

(Last month J. F. H. wrote on "Is Raising the School-Leaving Age Enough?" The article has provoked the following comments).

MR. Horrabin is certainly right in demanding that the Labour movement should be concerned with the quality of education even more than with the quantity of it. And he represents us all in his resentment at the present use of schools as training-centres in acquiescence in "things as they are"—or are thought to be by our opponents.

But when he invites us to make national schools a conscious weapon of Labour propaganda, I submit that it is necessary to proceed with extreme caution.

Nothing is more repugnant to the proper Briton than State-made ideas. He detests them wherever he sees them, be it in 17th century England, pre-war Germany or post-war Italy. Once persuade him that a political party is deliberately using the power of the State for the purpose of furthering its doctrines, and he will react with violence against both the doctrines and the party. And herein he shows himself wise. A community trained to hold certain standardised opinions would be the poorest community imaginable, just as on the contrary the richest society would be one in which all citizens are trained to exercise their minds in perfect freedom and self-expression.

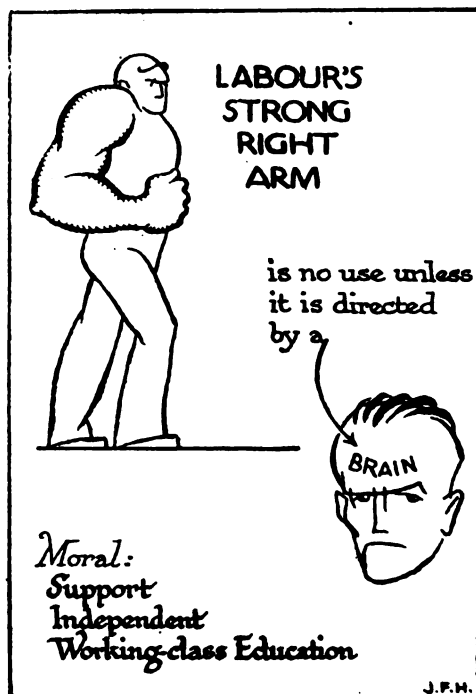
Of course all education is in some measure

propagandist, as the Roman Catholics so well know; and with each advance in the school age the problem of preventing its misuse will become more acute. I suggest that in the long run the solution will be found not so much in the laying down of curricula by a State Department, as in the fostering of a high ideal of educational duty among teachers.

R. D. DENMAN, M.P.

I AGREE entirely with Frank Horrabin's article. The time has come for a thorough investigation and overhauling of school text-books, particularly in regard to history and geography. The danger is that in many schools the raising of the leaving age will be a waste of time and worse. Better text-books, better teachers, better buildings, smaller classes, and adequate maintenance grants are required, with increased facilities to go to real Secondary Schools, rather than Central Schools. I hope we shall have an opportunity to raise these questions in the House of Commons when the Government's proposals are introduced. Meanwhile, all possible pressure should be brought to bear upon the Minister of Education.

A. FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P.



EDWARD CARPENTER

By T. ASHCROFT

"A GREAT movement will not fail in reverence to its mighty dead." Edward Carpenter* would have been the last to claim for himself the epithet "mighty"; nor need we claim it for him. But he certainly deserves a better fate than to be remembered in our movement only as the author and composer of the song, *England, Arise*. It reflects little credit upon us that our three finest singers, pioneers of Socialist thought in this country, should be either forgotten or so inadequately remembered: William Morris, whose many-sided genius and massive personality did make of him one of our "mighty" masters; Francis Adams, the eager, burning and lovable soul that poured itself out in the fiercely passionate and tender *Songs of the Army of the Night*; and, not least, the gracious, comprehending spirit of Edward Carpenter.

Born at Brighton in August, 1844, Carpenter was educated at Brighton College and graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he distinguished himself as a mathematician. He took orders in 1869 and worked for a while as curate under the famous F. D. Maurice, the greatest and most creative mind among the early Christian Socialists. But very soon, Carpenter felt that he must "leave or be suffocated." Then followed, until 1881, a period of University Extension lecturing on astronomy, physics and music. Meanwhile he had come under the influence of Walt Whitman, and Carpenter now adopted the mode of life which Whitman prescribed for poets. He was already living in a cottage on a farm near Sheffield and now built himself a small hut in the garden; and there he spent much of the two following years in writing the first part of *Towards Democracy*, his principal work. In the course of an extremely interesting Note on this book, he has recounted an experience which may prove suggestive to those who are concerned with the difficult

* Born 1844, died 1929.



A Sketch by J. F. Horrabin.

problem of the subtle influence exercised by social environment and social change upon the form—as contrasted with the content—of literary expression:

"The more universal feeling which I sought to convey refused itself from me within doors; nor could I at any time or by any means persuade the rhythm or style of expression to render itself up within a room—tending there always to break back into distinct metrical forms, which, however much I admire them in certain authors, and think them myself suitable for certain kinds of work, were not what I wanted, and did *not* express for me the feeling which I sought to express."

Having in this poem disburdened himself of an immense weight of spiritual oppression which had been growing upon him for some years, Carpenter now settled down to a new and, as it proved, lasting mode of life. For six years he devoted himself to the little

holding of land which he cultivated as a market gardener. Later he added the making of sandals as an indoor handicraft, meanwhile continuing to enrich our literature with some notable studies of society, science and art. In 1890, he undertook a long tour in India and Ceylon. Thereafter he resumed his former way of life, combining manual labour with regular if not over-much lecturing and writing; and no man of his generation so united in himself the ideal of "Spartan simplicity of manners and Athenian grace and culture."

The complete list of Carpenter's written works—including Science, Sociology and Poetry—is not a very long one. His best-known works are the two volumes of Essays, *Civilisation, its Cause and Cure*—a particularly happy title!—and *England's Ideal; Love's Coming of Age*; and *Towards Democracy*. But very important are *The Art of Creation* and *Angels' Wings*, discussing the relation of art to life.

A Saxon simplicity and purity of language in his writing we owe in part, perhaps, to his training for and experience in the Church. In his Essays, he presents us with a searching analysis and criticism of our class society, rather from the ethical and aesthetic than from the economic aspect. *Love's Coming of Age*, though decidedly revolutionary in standpoint and outcome, and altogether a unique piece of work, has nevertheless been widely recognised as one of the sanest and most satisfying attempts yet made to probe the difficult problems of sex relations. In it, Carpenter's characteristic combining of science, sociology and poetry finds a rare and beautiful expression. But it is *Towards Democracy* which forms his greatest achievement. Every aspect of his teaching is here comprehended with a wonderful translucent clarity of thought and language. The work is peculiarly his own and signally achieves his own avowed aim: "to write some sort of book which should address itself very personally and closely to any one who cared to read it—establish so to speak an intimate personal relation between myself and the reader."

Towards Democracy, therefore, though divided into parts and sections, is not a

book of selections or isolated poems, though containing poems which will bear comparison with the finest, e.g., *High in my Chamber*, the most beautiful Socialist poem ever penned, and which, by the way, has received fitting and worthy musical expression for choral rendering by Rutland Boughton under the title *Midnight; O Love to whom the Poets*, which is among the mightiest poems in the English language and is worthy to be placed beside Whitman's *Pioneers* and Shelley's *Ode to the West Wind*; and the exquisite concluding poem, *Lo, What a World I Create*. These and some others, even taken in isolation, are beyond all praise and all thanksgiving. But *Towards Democracy* does not derive its significance from such selections. It is to be regarded as a whole; and happy is he who can say of it, as Carpenter said of *Leaves of Grass*, that it has "filtered and fibred his blood." For it is essentially a new outlook upon life—the outlook of one who has seen civilisation for what it is, with all its triumphs and its tragedies, who has gathered up its treasures and, having absorbed these, has deliberately turned back to simplicity and equality, freedom and fellowship, as the fundamental needs of human life. To use a phrase of his own, "not in written words only but in beauty of deed and action and in a thousand ways" did Edward Carpenter give of himself to his generation—and, the present writer believes, to future generations—and afford a living example of what he meant when, in the last lines of his book, he wrote:

"Thus, dear ones, building up these spheres of ourselves for the joyance of each other, it shall come about that at length

We shall need no other world, no other worlds."

It is painful to think that so many blatant, overbearing people, shouldering their way into the limelight, should win our applause and that their names and "achievements" should be ever on our lips, while this gentle, retiring but very real and genuine teacher should—because of his modesty, because he was content to do his quiet but fruitful labour behind the scenes—be so little thought of. It is not given to us any longer

to prove our appreciation to the living man ; but, to a very unusual degree, he lives on in his writings, and in paying to his memory the tribute of studying these, we shall also gain for ourselves lasting joy and advantage.

EDUCATION

J F. HORRABIN has struck the right note when he says in his article, "Is Raising the School-Leaving Age Enough?" that it is the kind and not the quantity of education that is super-important. Education is easily biassed, especially in the sciences of history and geography.

Of course, in Junior Standards (I.-IV. approx.) an appeal has to be made to the imagination rather than the reasoning of a child. It is necessary with youngsters to make history live. There is, however, no reason why emphasis should be put upon the warring side of man, for man's struggles with Nature can provide tales quite as inspiring and stirring as man's struggles with man. I am confident that any child would be quite as interested in the ways the Britons lived, how they hunted and fished or bartered with foreign merchants, as they are in the capture of Caradoc or the suicide of Boadicea.

Here, I would suggest, great use can be made of the cinematograph, and the making of educational films should be considered by any government that is seriously out to develop education as it should be developed.

J. F. H. mentions the action of Sheffield Educational Committee. I find that most teachers are now teaching in a definitely anti-war strain. The value of this teaching, however, is impaired, for generally war is shown to be the result of one man's ambitions and not the climax of commercial rivalry and economic struggle. This brings us to a most important point. In spite of syllabuses and inspectors it is really the teacher who counts, for he is constantly with the children, and his ideas may be indelibly stamped on the child-mind. Attention, therefore, must be paid to the training of teachers, and it would be well if the requirements for the Teachers' Certificate were carefully considered. We cannot expect a teacher who has been trained to think of history as a tale of "princes and periwigged charioteers" to teach of "the ranker, the tramp of the road."

Now the extra year. What are children to be taught during this period? Firstly, they must be taught to acquire knowledge for themselves. So many children go out from school unable to think for themselves and having no desire to read anything more uplifting than *Peg's Own Paper* or the *Racing Standard*. It would be well, therefore, to give the pupils an opportunity during this last year to read and study for themselves subjects of their own choice. A teacher's guiding hand would, of course, be necessary, but only in guidance. Encouragement of useful and interesting hobbies also can form the foundation of a happy life in the future.

Now, let us consider the Secondary School. The work in Secondary Schools is definitely to one end, that of passing a particular examination. Thus the syllabus is designed to cover the requirements of the School Leaving or the Higher School Examinations. To a great extent Examination Syndicates determine

what shall be taught in Higher Grade Schools. We find that history is still in a large measure considered to be the tale of kings and princes—their wars, murders and marriages.

Examination papers still contain many questions such as:—

"What were the objects and results of the marriages of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII.; of Elizabeth, daughter of James I.; and of Mary, daughter of James II.?"*

or

"How were the reigns of Henry III., Edward II., and Henry VI. affected by their marriages?"*

Sometimes we do find questions on more fundamental matters, as:—

"At what dates and in what ways did English industries benefit from the immigration of foreigners during the period 1066 to 1603?"

or

"Discuss the influence of steamships, railways, submarine cable, and sea-canals upon the development of the Empire."

But such examples are few, and generally the marrying of princes is considered more important than the marketing of a nation's goods. Thus does the point of view of long dead princes linger on in the stagnant minds of school historians.

If the requirements of these examinations were modified and the examinations were developed on different lines, the teaching in Secondary Schools would naturally have to follow. There is, I think, quite definitely a need for a greater co-ordination in the teaching of History and Geography, based on the ideas and examples of Fairgrieve, Young and others.

Before we finish it would be wise just to glance at another aspect of the educational problem. Many schools are overcrowded, many are unsuitable for modern teaching, about 2000 are condemned as unfit. These facts must be faced. A worker cannot give of his best with faulty tools, neither can an educator with unsuitable conditions and lack of apparatus. So, we see, the extension of the school age brings a great number of difficult problems in its train. To misquote a now famous phrase—"Raising the age is not enough."

F. C. DRAKE.

* "Where do flies go in the winter-time?" seems a highly intelligent question compared with these.—Ed.

"I do not like acting as an N.C.L.C. Tutor without being a member of the Plebs League and N.C.L.C. Students' Association," says B.F., in enclosing her sub.

The sub. is a minimum of 1/- per year, and every N.C.L.C'er (not tutors only) should be a member, and thus help to push the movement.

Send On Subs.

to WINIFRED HORRABIN, Secretary,
15 South Hill Park Gardens, London, N.W.3

WHY FLATTER MATTER?

DEAR Comrade,—It is quite reasonable for socialists to ask: "Why scoff at matter?" It is historically true that socialism has grown up on a basis of materialism. This is easily explicable on Marxian principles, for socialism is an outgrowth of capitalism and capitalism itself is materialistic. But is socialism never to disengage itself from the swaddling clothes which capitalism provided for it. Now, materialism has no necessary connection with socialism. No doubt most socialists have been materialists, but there have also been socialists who have been out and out anti-materialists, or idealists if you like. From respect for their fellow-socialists, such socialists ought not to scoff at matter; but they may very well raise the counter-question—"Why flatter matter?" Most defenders of capitalism on the other hand have been materialists, e.g., Herbert Spencer (whose anti-materialism was little more than a pose), Bradlaugh, or J. M. Robertson. In fact, materialism is as easily combined with capitalism as with socialism. So for that matter is idealism. The arch-idealist, Fichte, was a socialist. It is true that idealists are apt to be even worse than materialist pro-capitalists. Anti-socialist idealism as a rule is reactionary even from capitalism to some form of feudalism.

The fact is that the issue between idealism and materialism is quite independent of that between socialism and capitalism. Either of the one pair may be combined with either of the other pair. This might very well be expected from the fact that the distinctions belong to different domains of thought, one to that of metaphysics, the other to that of economics. It is indeed the business of I.W.C.E. to pay attention to the metaphysical problem and to explain the alternative solutions that have been propounded. This should be an integral part of its educational policy; but it is likewise part of its business to clear up the muddle between the economic and the metaphysical problems and to show that the case for socialism is quite independent of the case for or against materialism. There is no reason why I.W.C.E. should be tied down to a metaphysical theory which lends itself so easily to the defence of capitalism and all its abominations.

It is true that idealism likewise lends itself to the defence of capitalism, but this only shows that the metaphysical issue has been unduly entangled with the economic issue. What is of importance to socialism is not the preservation of this entanglement, but the unravelling of it. This can be effected by explaining the meanings of the vague terms 'materialism' and 'idealism,' and by showing what little ground there is for the belief that socialism has any necessary connection with any one of the solutions that have been propounded concerning the relations between mind and matter.

The interest in the issue between socialism and capitalism is apt to be overshadowed in certain minds if they come to understand the real issues between idealism and materialism, but that is true not only if they take an idealist standpoint but also if they take an agnostic or materialist view. It is also true no less for capitalists who may become lukewarm defenders of capitalism than for socialists whose

attention may thus be diverted from socialism. It is the business of I.W.C.E. to guard against the latter danger. Some of these people who are idealists, under the misapprehension that socialism is committed to materialism, may actually come to oppose socialism. Therefore I.W.C.E. should aim at exposing the real indifference of socialism to idealism and materialism alike. At the same time no opportunity should be lost of pointing out that the establishment of socialism may serve to eliminate the overpowering interest of economic circumstances now present under capitalism. Thus support for socialism may be secured from those minds for whom metaphysical considerations are more important than economic conditions.

Yours fraternally,

S. C. SOPOTE.

[Perhaps it's because I'm on holiday—more or less!—but I don't quite see what Comrade Sopote is driving at. He has not attempted to disprove one of the points in my articles, nor to show in what way I've flattered matter. Moreover he appears to contradict himself. At the beginning of his letter he admits that "Socialism has grown up on a basis of materialism," and then in the rest of his letter he seems to imply that I should keep that fact dark and that socialism and socialist materialism have no connection with each other. He can't, I think, have it both ways. He says that "most defenders of capitalism have been materialists." I'm sure he'll find, on second thoughts, that that is not true. The vast majority of the defenders of capitalism, including the great cohorts of the clergy, are idealists.

Comrade Sopote, too, seems to have overlooked that there is little in common between the views of men like Spencer and Bradlaugh and socialist materialism. It's quite true that there are many socialists who are idealists. There are many who are "mechanical" materialists. There are also, no doubt, many who are Plymouth brothers, Methodists and, may-be, believers in the flat earth theory. That, however, I'm sure Comrade Sopote will agree is no reason for the I.W.C.E. movement concealing the view that socialist materialism is so far the most satisfactory explanation of the relation between man and his ideas and man and the universe in which he lives.—J.P.M.M.]

LABOUR'S DAILY

"WE presume that all readers of this magazine are readers of the *Daily Herald*. If there are any who are not, then we dare issue an editorial commandment:—"Thou shalt have none other *Dailies* before the *Daily Herald*." The *Herald* arises to meet the same working-class needs as those which called the Labour College into existence. Both meet these needs in the same independent way, both are founded on the self-sufficiency of the working-class to develop its own supplies. And both will prosper in the degree that they develop that principle."

(From PLEBS, August, 1912).

The people have been *mis*-educated. To *re*-educate them we must first *un*-educate them of wrong ideas.

*The Only
Co-operative*

|| *Cocoa* ||

Lutona Cocoa

||
Lutona Cocoa

||
ABSOLUTELY
PURE
AND A VALUABLE
FOOD
BEVERAGE
||

Lutona Cocoa

||
Lutona Cocoa

Sold in 6½d., 1[⁄] and 2[⁄] tins

By all Co-operative Societies

THE NEW PHASE

What a "Plebs" Reader Thinks

NOW that the tumult and the shouting of the Election campaign have died down, even though, as yet, the captains and the kings have not departed, we may justifiably look forward and endeavour to see, through the clearing smoke of this immediate action, how the forces are lining up for the next stage of conflict. For conflict it must be, since deeply flowing divergences of interest are not resolved by adroit taxation, or a statesmanlike conception of a "Common Purpose."

The fact is that Labour, however apologetically, has stepped into governmental responsibility for the oldest and most complex of modern industrial systems. That some of our leaders may have put on the morals and ideology of the traditional governing class matters little. Social development has a way of moulding men's minds to its purposes. The fact that many of the proposals of the Government suggest measures which would have been forced on either a Tory or Liberal government, simply indicates that social necessities override the philosophies of party politics.

For good or ill, the anarchic days of Capitalism are drawing to a close. Capital is becoming increasingly recognised as a reservoir of social credit. As a complement to this, we have the growing conception that labour power needs mobilisation, and some form of central control, in order that its stupendous powers of wealth production may be economically exploited. The cold fact that men and women, as the vessels of this power, need food, clothing and shelter, gives rise to the problems of politics and is the nightmare of industrial capitalists.

We appear to be moving toward a world in which the State will virtually control the process of wealth production and distribution. Desperate efforts have already been made to initiate policies which will reconcile this with the persistence of private investment and the fullest possible measure of private business control. The most we can expect from the Labour Government is a shifting of emphasis; the stimulation of tendencies to corporate action, the encouragement of municipal ownership and control, and, in relation to the outer world, the evolution of a policy which will make the interchange of commodities, control and development of raw materials, etc., matters for State book-keeping and negotiation.

The efforts of the Empire Marketing Board, and the inquiries of various Commissions, indicate food as the crux of the problem, so far as this island is concerned. With that problem solved, State Capitalism might secure for itself a very long lease of life. G. D. H. Cole, picturing some such world, suggests the organisation of a Labour Army, to be engaged on public works, to be paid "a not very high wage" (!) and inefficient members to be reduced to the dole! We are offered, in short, a fully-equipped "Iron Heel," complete with the amenity of a rubber pad.

What part may Trades Unionism play in this development? Much will depend on leadership. The Trades Unions may, with judicious, if sometimes forceful, management, become the organs of Workers' Industrial Control. We may anticipate a swing of the pendulum from political to industrial action. Will this bring with it a rebirth of syndicalism—a syndi-

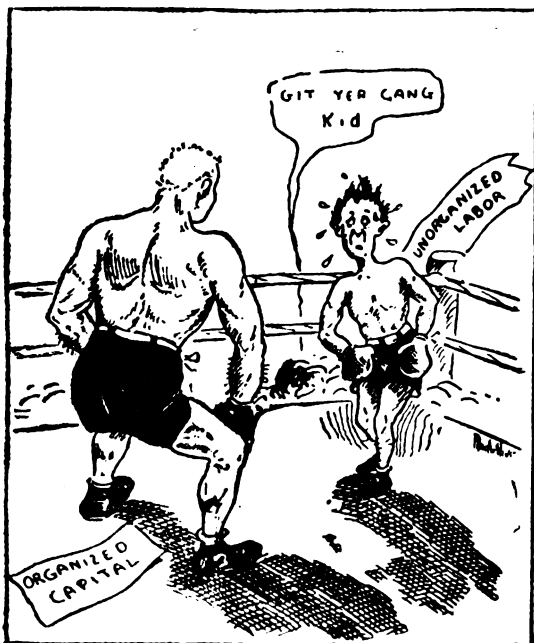
calism born of a growing consciousness of power, seeking not merely to destroy, but to supersede, the present order?

As the Labour Party is the child of Trades Unionism, was called into being by its needs, and is sustained mainly by its resources, it is reasonable to suppose that the Unions will be called into consultation concerning changes in industrial and economic organisation, and that the responsibility for working out the details of such changes and administering them will be placed in their hands. This, if it happens, will lead to the Unions becoming the dominant partners in a process which threatened to be imposed upon them from above. Can we hope that our leaders will respond adequately to the situation and, if so, will the rank and file develop the sense of responsibility and cohesion which is essential to the maintenance of the advantage which present circumstances give us? Accustomed by long years of frustration to be suspicious of the appearance of success, the working class is not easily enthused over points which seem theoretical and embrace complex issues.

Can we crystallise our conclusions into a simple and clear call to the conquest of power, which will bring forth a united response from the best and most active elements in the Movement? The material is there, in the surviving spirit of the Shop Stewards and kindred movements. The time is ripe for an intensive educational campaign, in which *Plebs* students can play a glorious part, driving home the historical significance of our Movement, and drawing from the lessons of the past our hopes of the future.

H.B.B.

THE NON-UNIONIST UP AGAINST IT



EASY MONEY

From the American Loco. Engineers' Journal

MAKING MEN INTO ROBOTS

R. M. Fox's article last month on "Work v. Toil" lends special interest to the following comments, by an engineer, on certain aspects of modern mass production.

MASS Production can be best summed up as "producing enormous quantities of a particular article in the very minimum of time." With this idea in view, apparently its advocates have produced a mechanical process of production, in which the keynote is—"one man one job—and one operation only."

One of the most elaborate processes in operation to-day is the use of mechanical conveyors. These escalators ply between two rows of workmen, usually moving very slowly, and an operation requires to be performed during its stay near any workman. The operations to be performed vary according to the condition of the article being produced in its career of development. Usually such operations are of a very simple character; for instance, one workman may insert a few bolts into their respective positions, whilst the next man will place the nuts on to these bolts. An article in a very premature state commences at one end of the human column and, by the time it reaches the other end, it is a complete thing. What a wonderful accomplishment it appears to be when viewed on the surface only. But let us consider carefully how this wonder is attained and how its attainment affects the producers.

A workman is set to toil for seven or eight hours per day for a period of five or six days per week. His job is to place three or four bolts into position in the frame of a machine. He is supplied with innumerable quantities of these particular bolts and is expected to insert one of these into each of four holes in each frame which takes up its position opposite him in its travel. The frame arrived, he has his bolts ready and fits them into place; that done, he prepares for the arrival of the next frame and repeats the same operation. What a simple and light form of employment this seems to be, no need for a keen intellect or a frame of brawn and muscle. But, although the work may be physically easy, it is really very laborious. If a workman is given a job which is really physically hard, but which is interesting, it becomes considerably lighter in performance as a result of such interest. When the interest is lacking a light task becomes heavy and cumbersome.

No matter what may be said to the contrary, men who are employed under conditions where the mass-production method is in vogue have no great regard for their combined achievement in the finished article. When a person performs a minor operation for which no initiative or fore-thought is necessary, hour after hour and day after day, interest must inevitably wane and eventually disappear altogether. The mind of the individual does not require to develop and grow to enable him to overcome difficulties and improve upon his efforts. In consequence of this state of affairs, the operator's actions become purely mechanical and, in fact, he or she functions as a piece of machinery.

FREQUENCY.

AMONG THE BOOKS

By

"PLEBS" REVIEWERS

J. F. H., in his May "Bookshelf," mentioned certain recent plays and novels as having "a real value to us as educationists." I wonder whether he would be willing to include *Adam's Opera* (by Clemence Dane, Heinemann, 6/-) in his list? It is certainly a play on an unusual theme; a theme which it shares to some extent with A. A. Milne's *Ivory Door* and G. K. Munro's *The Rumour*—the theme of the mass mind.

To Miss Dane the story of President Wilson has become the crystallising point in her wrestlings with post-war mentality; and in a disarming preface she confesses that the problem has almost defeated her and has worked itself out along lines of its own. Translated into the terms of the nursery, the tragedy of the President becomes the tragi-comedy of a fairy tale, but we suspect that what has really handicapped Miss Dane is her love of nursery rhymes and her unconquerable desire to weave them into patterns and sequences.

Adam, accompanied by two friends, Tom Tiddler, the financier, and his brother Tom Fiddler, the artist, breaks through the briar tangle that has grown up round Beauty's palace and awakens her in the legendary manner. He goes farther, and by breaking the stained glass window, lets in so much fresh air that the courtiers, Mr. and Mrs. Grundy, the censor and others, catch cold, while the audience catches sight, through the hole he has made, of the "green hill far away" on which stand the crosses of those earlier awakeners of beauty who have failed in the apparently impossible task of keeping her awake.

The awakening spreads to the cellars where the menials live, and the stage is gradually crowded with "butchers, bakers and candlestick makers," "soldiers, sailors, tinkers, tailors," "sheep and wolves," all of whom in chorus declare that "we do as we are told."

Having awakened Beauty and cleared the approaches to her palace, Prince Adam leaves his reviving people to preach the gospel of beauty throughout the world. But, during his year of treaty-making travel, things go wrong within the kingdom he has left. Mrs. Grundy confiscates the letters which Beauty sent to her love; Tom Tiddler aims at turning the park into a Tom Tiddler's ground where gold and silver can be picked up at the turnstiles at five shillings a time, to say nothing of the sideshows. Tom Fiddler dithers as all good Bloomsbury-ites are expected to dither (though why this central London district should be so libelled is somewhat puzzling to one who has lived in it for more than ten years).

Rumours of Adam's return, however, revive the hopes of the masses, but the rulers and courtiers, who have never really recovered from the draught that they felt when Adam broke the window (there is a good deal of sneezing in the lyrics) determine to discredit and dethrone him on his arrival.

Tom Tiddler persuades the masses in a lawyer-like speech, that Adam in his treaties has gone beyond the mandate which the sovereign people (who "do as they're told") had given him. Moreover, during his long absence, he has lost touch with the gradual changes

in mind of the subjects he had left. His destruction of the briar tangle round the palace leaves his people defenceless; his idea of free access to beauty is quixotic; his abolition of protections and safeguards will produce unemployment (cheers from the soldiers and sailors); hedgers and ditchers will no longer be needed when hedges and ditches shall have disappeared. (More cheers).

And so the mass is moved to stone Adam and to form itself into a republic with Tom Tiddler as President. He settles himself on the vacant throne, asks all present whether they feel comfortable, watches the masses go back to the cellars to do as they're told, and in the increasing fogg of the shut-up room all once more return to the sleep from which Adam had awakened them, apparently in vain.

Miss Dane in her exuberance has added many trimmings and sidelines to this main theme. Strictly speaking, her skit on Parliament as a Westminster Bridge party (with the lord as dummy and the speaker as a tactful butler) is an excrescence because it goes on with its game regardless of all else that happens on the stage. Nevertheless it is an amusing excrescence, inasmuch as it affords Miss Dane many opportunities for hitting every head she sees (no doubt Miss Dane has some rhyme to connect this pastime with the Irish). Whether the game is bridge or the variant known as beggar-my-neighbour, which the youngest and rosiest party thinks she has invented, the real basic game which they all play at every opportunity is Grab. The General Strike creeps in as the mouse that ran up the clock, and when Big Ben struck—well, that was the strike and the card game ceased for a while.

Another of Miss Dane's offshoots is her Publicity satire. Her two newsboys, Rumour and Wireless, are for ever running across the stage with placards bearing "intelligent anticipations" of the events which happen as soon as they have passed, shouting, beyond our gaze.

For so expert a dramatist, Miss Dane has made one serious mistake. She has tried to personify a negation in her character of Prince Adam's jester, Nobody. (I remember H. B. Irving once tried to act the same part in a pseudo-morality called "Everywoman"). Adam sends this negation for Mother Earth, the nurse of his child, and when she arrives she says that Nobody told her to come, which is absurd.

I saw *Adam's Opera* as a play before I read it as a book. I accordingly realise now, more clearly than ever, how difficult it is to judge of a play from the manuscript. As performed at the Old Vic., *Adam's Opera* was one of the few plays that remain in one's memory. Nevertheless the question "What is Beauty" remains as unanswered as Pilate's companion question about truth.

F. J. A.

* * *

The Labour Outlook, by Arthur Greenwood, M.P. (Chapman & Hall, 5/-), is a good plain statement of what Labour stands for. It expands many of the sections in *Labour and The Nation*, the Party programme. Greenwood insists that the organised workers must aim at the supersession of capitalism; that the class struggle is a cold statement of fact. He is on less sure ground when he says that Godwin, Hall, Thompson, Gray, Hodgskin and Bray "were the founders of the English school of Socialists and Karl Marx himself was completely under their influence, and more particularly under the influence of William Thompson." Again, it will be news to many Indians to learn (p. 222) of the high status of India as a member of the League of Nations and with a voice in the Imperial Conference.

NEW BOOKS BY MARTIN LAWRENCE

AN OUTLINE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

By I. LAPIDUS and K. OSTROVITYANOV

A Text Book of Marxist Economics, together with its applications to the economic conditions of the Soviet Union

Twelve Shillings and Sixpence. Postage, 9d.

THE MARXIST LIBRARY. No 1 Now Ready

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM

Cloth, 5/-

By G. PLEKHANOV

Postage, 6d.

A systematic exposition of the philosophical and historical aspects of scientific socialism

No. 2 Ready in October

FROM CHARTISM TO LABOURISM

Cloth, 7/6.

By T. A. ROTHSTEIN

Postage, 6d.

Sketches from the History of the British Labour Movement

From all Booksellers or from the Publisher :

MARTIN LAWRENCE LTD., 26 Bedford Row, London, W.C.1

The lack of an index is a serious omission in a book containing so much information about the principles and the social, economic and international policies of Labour.

However, if the Minister of Health accomplishes one half of what he has advocated in this book about housing and public health he will have done a good job.

The book gives no information upon the question repeatedly put to the reviewer here in U.S.A.—“Why does Britain retain her monarchy?” Further, in a roseate picture of the British Commonwealth of Nations, Egypt significantly is not noticed, although Greenwood insists that indigenous peoples must be protected from exploitation. M.S.

* * *

The Gate of a Strange Field, by Harold Heslop (Brentanos, 7/6) has been considerably quoted by the ‘blood and thunder’ Sunday press. Much of its mud was thus given a free advertisement. Its general flavour irritates more than pleases. The book is not too truthful. It describes the evolution of a Durham miner from pit-boy to miners’ leader, and leads us to believe that our northern comrades enter the mine in angelic innocence and end their days as vice-sodden devils. The descriptions of pit life are excellent and form the best part of the novel. Our author fails hopelessly when he leaves pit life to describe other matters.

His cynical opinions of a local miners’ leader are entirely belied by the actions he ascribes to him. A man who takes upon himself the task of solving all sorts of troubles, from wedding silly youngsters to settling colliery disputes, looking after aged widows to solving all the domestic quarrels of a mining village,

cannot be dismissed with a few imitation Michael Arlen jibes. And it is just that which spoils the book. A silly striving to be a Smart Alick at the expense of the collier and his kin. Compare, for instance, his description of a pit fatality with that of a miner’s wife. The accident is described faithfully and makes a most moving story of so common an event. But the miner’s wife, in Heslop’s hands, becomes a rather aged sow sweltering in a dirty sty.

With the same mental squint and vanity he pushes his hero through the 1926 struggle. Miners’ leaders are given the three vices of “beer, criticism and women.”

This is quite on a par with his suggestion that the N.C.L.C. fawns on T.U.C. leaders and is not different from the W.E.A. And Heslop is alleged to have spent two years at the London Labour College. Another proof that there are some things that even the college cannot do.

Then we get a splendid description of a pit flooding tragedy; the best thing in the book. It is a great pity that the two or three wonderful descriptions should lie between covers with some two hundred pages of half-baked, silly mush. N.E.

HOW MANY

new *Plebs* readers will you obtain
this month? Push your own Mag.
and see its influence grow.

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

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

QUITE a number of Colleges are holding organising conferences in September to advertise the winter classes and to obtain local affiliations. We make a great mistake if we assume that most Trade Unionists, Labourites, and Co-operators know what the N.C.L.C. stands for. To open classes without preceding them with explanatory conferences is handicapping our educational efforts from the start. Most trade unionists don't know what we stand for, and a preliminary conference with a well-known I.W.C.E'er as speaker is a tremendous help.

GET AT THE BRANCHES.—College secretaries and organisers should make a point of arranging for competent speakers to address as many branches as possible prior to the opening of the classes. These speakers can do wonders in arousing an interest in both classes and correspondence courses. It is essential that special attention should be devoted to branches of Unions with N.C.L.C. schemes (see cover). We've been entrusted to do that and it is up to us to justify that trust. Of course circulars giving particulars of the coming classes should be issued to all Labour organisations at least a month beforehand and to old students say a fortnight before the classes are due to begin. A *special* circular should be sent to all unions with N.C.L.C. schemes giving particulars of the classes, pointing out that admission is free, thanks to the Union schemes, and that these schemes also provide free Correspondence Courses. A list of the subjects taught by post should be given and members desiring the correspondence courses should be advised to write, enclosing union card, direct to the N.C.L.C., 15 South Hill Park Gardens, London, N.W.3. The N.C.L.C. has model circulars as well as propaganda leaflets which can be had at a low charge.

THE CLASS OPENING NIGHT.—At every class there should be a supply of enrolment forms, a copy of the official class register which has to be marked up each meeting, and an official receipt book by means of which students' fees can be acknowledged. Our literature, particularly the class text books and the *Plebs*, should be on sale and the tutor should give every encouragement to students to take their educational work seriously and to buy both the text book and the *Plebs*.

DIGGING OUT TUTORS.—Are you sure you've got every available tutor in your locality? Go over the movement again and see if there are not some folks who, with a little encouragement or help, would be willing to assist. Don't forget that the man (or woman)

OUT THIS MONTH War Against War

**A Collection of Pictures
Bound in Book Form
that shows what War
really is**

Show it to your friends who have been brought up on the "glories of war."
Give them a Seat first—they'll need it!

*It's the most convincing
Anti-Militarist Book
in the world*

1/6 each, or 1/8 post free, from the
N.C.L.C. PUBLISHING SOCIETY, LTD.
15 South Hill Park Gardens,
London, N.W.3

who may oppose I.W.C.E. to-day probably does so because it has never been clearly explained to him. A competent explanation may turn the opponent of to-day into the supporter of to-morrow.

NEW (NOT RENEWAL) LOCAL AFFILIATIONS
—London, 6; S.E. Lancs., 2.

WHAT THE DIVISIONS ARE DOING

DIVISION 1.

The London A.E.U. District Committee offered six scholarships to its members to our Newdigate Week-end School. Six other organisations, including the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society Education Committee, gave from one up to four scholarships. Our Annual Garden Party was held on July 20th and everyone who attended had a jolly time. Sports, a play-recital and dancing went on with gusto until a terrific thunderstorm came on and urged a large number of people to go home a little earlier than usual. W. T. Colyer is conducting a Week-end School at Westerham Hill on Sept. 28th and 29th on 'American Imperialism.' Only a few more applications can be received for places and these should be made at once to the Organiser, 71 Prebend Gardens, W.6.

A meeting of the London Tutors' Council is being

**IF YOU DON'T KNOW ANY WAY IN WHICH YOU CAN
push the Labour College Movement, see the local undertaker—he needs you**

held in October to discuss the National Executive proposals for a National Training Centre. A large number of classes have been fixed up for the coming winter while many are in the process of arrangement. The I.L.P. Guild of Youth for London has arranged a number of classes for its branches on Economics, Industrial History and Economic Geography. We are also running quite a number of classes for the Co-operative Education Committees and Guilds. A Week-end School, run by the Dover T.C. in July and addressed by Charlie Brown, M.P., and Frank Horrabin, has resulted in inquiries for five or six classes in this area, and it is hoped that the general result of this very successful school will be a very live Labour College at Dover.

DIVISION 4.

The annual Summer School, held at Rhoose, was very successful. Scholarship students attended from the Transport Workers, Municipal Workers, N.U.D.A.W., Bakers' Union, and A.U.B.T.W. Ness Edwards, Fred Shaw, Trevor David, and the Divisional Organiser contributed to the successful course of lectures upon the "Place of Political Strategy in British Working-Class History." Each lecture was followed by a very keen discussion, ably led by Dick Lewis and George Thomas. The varied weather stimulated the social spirit, and the "Rags," Sports and "Mock Trials" will live for many a long day. Edwin Richards learnt the "bum song" so thoroughly that all students rose early to enjoy his performance. What about next time? Arrangements are being made for Easter and August next year. Get your School Club Cards and book your places early.

Merthyr Labour College held a Day School, with Fred Shaw, on "Political Theory." The attendance was small but valuable. An Inter-College School is being held at Sully, between Abertillery, Newport, Cardiff and Penarth Colleges. George Thomas lectures on "The Chartist Movement," and an excellent sports and social programme is arranged. The latter feature of our work can be commended to other colleges.

The Annual Meeting was held at Rhoose, and was fairly well attended. The Report, presented by the Organiser, was well received, and all delegates left determined to wipe out the losses of last year. Fraternal delegate greetings were conveyed on behalf of the Barry Trades Council, Transport and General Workers' Union, Teachers' Labour League, and Esperanto Federation. The Tutorial Training Centre was very successful. Much useful work was done and valuable experience gained. There is every prospect of an increase in our voluntary tutors this year.

The meeting with the College and Class Secretaries was very beneficial, and the arrangements for the winter session are proceeding very favourably. Will all readers pull their weight during the winter session? Write the Organiser immediately saying whether they can address branch meetings, take classes, or act as class leaders. Write now to W. J. Owen, Waengron, Blaina, Mon.

DIVISION 5.

Bristol College is making a big effort to extend its activities during the next winter's session, and Comrade Jones, the local secretary, has the arrangements well in hand. In September a Conference of all Trade Union branches and Local Labour bodies is being held, for the purpose of bringing to their attention the claims of I.W.C.E. During the past two months the College has collaborated with the Borough Labour Party in running two classes on Industrial History and Public Speaking. Bath L.C. recently ran a very successful Day School, with Councillor A. W. Cox of Bristol and the Organiser as lecturers. During the next month, Day and Week-end Schools are to be held in Plymouth and Newton Abbot. It is hoped that all supporters of Independent Working-Class Education will attend to aid in rallying the forces for class work next session.

DIVISION 10.

EDINBURGH and EAST OF SCOTLAND.—To arouse interest in the forthcoming class session several Day Schools are being held in different parts of the south-eastern area—Dalkeith, Tranent, and Bathgate. An Organising Conference is being arranged for the Falkirk and Grangemouth district. The new feature of the winter classes will be Staff-Tutor Gibbons' subject: "The Case for Socialism and Against." Nine classes at least will be run on this subject and should prove highly successful in view of the present position of the Labour movement. Altogether, more than twenty-five classes will be arranged, including one by A. Woodburn dealing with Capitalism.

GLASGOW and WESTERN AREA.—Arrangements have been completed for the Annual Organising Conference, to be held in Glasgow on Saturday, Sept. 14th. J. S. Clarke, M.P., a very old friend of the College, and author of *Pen Pictures of Russia, Marxism and History*, etc., and also Councillor A. L. Ritchie, will address the conference. The S.C.W.S. will officially welcome the delegates and will also provide us with hall and tea free of charge. Our winter syllabus is now well in hand and a good session is anticipated.

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

To the N.C.L.C. PUBLISHING SOCIETY, Ltd.,
15 SOUTH HILL PARK GARDENS, LONDON, N.W.3

I ENCLOSE herewith.....*being.....months' postal subscription to THE PLEBS.
Please send it to me monthly at the address below.

Name.....

[Please use block capitals]

Address.....

* 6 Months, 2/6; 12 months, 5/-

PLEBS BOOKS

are known throughout the whole International Labour Movement. Some have run through seven editions. Scores of thousands have been sold in Britain alone. PLEBS books, while published as text-books for Labour College Classes, are as bright and readable as most text-books are dull and forbidding. Every real Labour man and woman should have a set and should recommend them to their friends. Here are those at present in print:

	Post free	
An Outline of Psychology	2/6	2/8
An Outline of Economic Geography (Horrabin)	2/6	2/8
An Outline of European History (Dobb)	2/6	2/8
Plebs Atlas (Horrabin)	1/-	1/3
A Short History of the British Empire (Horrabin)—		
Paper	1/-	1/1
Limp Cloth	1/6	1/8
Cloth Hard Boards	2/6	2/8
A Worker Looks at History (Starr)	1/6	1/8
A Short History of the British Workers (Postgate)	1/6	1/8
A Worker Looks at Economics (Starr)		
Paper	1/-	1/1
Cloth	2/-	2/2
Education in Soviet Russia (Nearing)	2/-	2/2
Marxism and History (Clarke)		
Paper	1/-	1/1
Limp Cloth	1/6	1/8
History of the Great Strike (Horrabin, Postgate & Wilkinson)	6d	7d
Trade Unionism—Past and Future (Starr)	6d	7d
The Builders' History (Postgate) (489 pages)	1/6	2/3
Working-Class Education (Horrabin)	8d	9d
Co-operation (Hamilton)	3d	4d
Fascism (L. W.)	3d	4d
Creative Revolution (E. & C. Paul)	1/-	1/3
What to Read	2d	3d
A History of the Miners' Struggle (Hamilton)	1d	1½d
Education for Emancipation	2d	3d
The Trained Mind—Trained for		
What? (Millar)	2d	3d
Do Your Own Thinking	1d	1½d

N.C.L.C. PUBLISHING SOCIETY, LTD.,
15 South Hill Park Gardens, London, N.W.3.

KERR BOOKS

To PLEBS readers in the early days, Charles Kerr & Co. of Chicago were THE publishers of Marxist works. To-day they are still the largest English-speaking publishers of Marxist literature.

The N.C.L.C. Publishing Society has become agents for Kerr's famous books. Here are the titles of some of the classics:—

	Post Free	
The Evolution of Man (Boelsche)	2/6	2/8
The Triumph of Life	2/6	2/8
The Theoretical System of Marx (Boudin)	6/-	6/6
Essays on the Materialist Conception of History (Labriola)	6/-	6/6
The Art of Lecturing (Lewis)	2/6	2/9
Evolution (Social and Organic)	2/6	2/9
The Struggle between Science and Superstition (Lewis)	2/6	2/9
Vital Problems in Social Evolution	2/6	2/9
Puritanism (Moilly)	2/6	2/9
The Class Struggle (Kautsky)	2/6	2/9
Ethics and the M.C.H.	2/6	2/9
The Social Revolution	2/6	2/9
Right to be Lazy (Lafargue)	2/6	2/9
Social and Philosophical Studies	2/6	2/9
Science & Revolution (Unterman)	2/6	2/9
The World's Revolutions	2/6	2/9
Marxian Economics	5/-	5/6
Positive Outcome of Philosophy (Dietzgen)	10/-	10/6
Philosophical Essays	7/6	8/-
Memoirs of Karl Marx (Liedknacht)	2/6	2/9
War of the Classes (Jack London)	3/3	3/6
Shop Talks on Economics (Marcy)	5d	6d
Critique of Political Economy (Marx)	6/-	6/6
The Poverty of Philosophy (Marx)	6/-	6/6
The Making of the World (Meyer)	2/6	2/9
Ancient Society (Morgan)	7/6	8/-
The Law of Biogenesis (Moore)	2/6	2/9
The Universal Kinship	6/-	6/6
Anarchism & Socialism (Pischanoft)	2/6	2/9
Life and Death—A Study in Biology (Telchman)	2/6	2/9
Principles of Scientific Socialism (Vail)	1/-	1/3
Marxism and Darwinism (Pannekoek)	6d	7d

NOTE THE SPECIAL PRICES.

N.C.L.C. PUBLISHING SOCIETY, LTD.,
15 South Hill Park Gardens, London, N.W.3.

HAVE YOU EVER STOPPED TO THINK?



—that your efficiency in the Labour Movement depends upon the extent, *and kind*, of your education?

Education, in the ordinary (capitalist) sense, doesn't fill the bill. Class-conscious workers want education in the Social Sciences—the sciences which treat of the basic principles on which the Labour Movement is built.

Why not join an N.C.L.C. Class?

Why not take an N.C.L.C. Correspondence Course?

Why not subscribe to THE PLEBS, the organ of Independent Working-class Education?

Why not write for a list of our publications—text-books, pamphlets, etc.?

Members of the following Unions can, under their Education Schemes, have Correspondence Courses FREE, just as they may attend N.C.L.C. classes without charge.

Others pay a small fee.

Amalgamated Engineering Union

Amalgamated Society of Dyers

Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers

Amalgamated Union of Upholsterers

Electrical Trades' Union

Managers' and Overlookers' Society

Millham Musical Instrument Makers' Union

National Union of Distributive Workers

National Union of Sheet Metal Workers

National Union of Public Employees

National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades' Association

National Association of Plasterers

National Union of Shop Assistants

National Union of Textile Workers

Nelson Weavers' Union

Padlham Weavers' Association

Scottish Union of Bakers and Confectioners

Scottish Painters' Society

Tailors' and Garment Workers' Trade Union

Applications for free courses must be accompanied by Union Card.

Send 3d. in stamps for *Education for Emancipation* (New Edition) which gives full particulars.

Write: J. P. M. MILLAR, Gen. Sec., National Council of Labour Colleges,
15 South Hill Park Gardens, London, N.W. 3