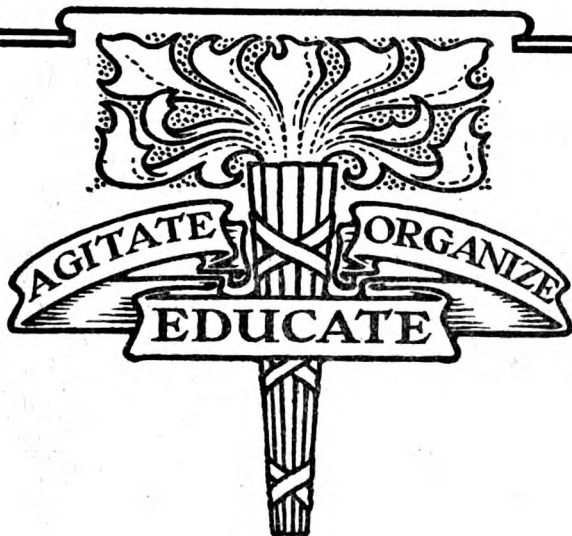


Vol. VI, No. 8

September, 1914

The
PLEBS
MAGAZINE



*Printed by Fox, Jones & Co., at Kemp
Hall, High St., Oxford, & published
♦ by the Plebs League ♦
at the same address.*

MONTHLY

TWOPENCE

The "Plebs" League

NOTICE

To clear off the debt on Magazine the Annual Meet decided to hold a *Grand Concert and Free Distribution of Gifts* to purchasers of Tickets for same (Tickets 1d. each, book of 30, 2/-). Will those willing to assist sale of Tickets write at once to the Concert Secretary,

W. H. MAINWARING,
13 Penywern Road,
Earls' Court, London, S. W.

Management

An Executive of five members elected annually, and the Editor of Magazine, who shall be responsible as to publication and meets, &c.

The Magazine shall be 2d. per copy, 2½d. post free.

Subscriptions payable in advance: Quarterly 7½d., Half Yearly 1/3, Yearly 2/6

 **The Seventh Annual Meet will be held in London (Bank Holiday), August, 1915**

G. SIMS, Secretary-Treasurer

To whom all P.O.'s should be made payable

13 Penywern Road, Earls Court,
London, S.W.

The PLEBS MAGAZINE

Vol. VI

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CONTENTS

- 1.—ANNUAL MEETING C.L.C.
- 2.—C.L.C. POLICY AND WORK
- 3.—LETTERS ON LOGIC: ECONOMICS
- 4.—THE JEWISH QUESTION—S. JONSSON
- 5.—PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNISM

CENTRAL LABOUR COLLEGE

Fifth Annual Meeting, August 3rd, 1914

THE MEETING opened at 11.15 a.m. In the absence of the Board nominee, Mr. Ernest Edwards, N.U.R., through inability to obtain leave, the Chair was taken by Councillor B. Skene MacKay, of Kensington. The Secretary reported on credentials of delegates, as follows:—

National Union of Railwaymen ...	...	by 57 delegates
South Wales Miners' Federation ...	..	" 8 "
Trades and Labour Councils ...	..	" 7 "
Amalgamated Society of Engineers ...	..	" 3 "
British Socialist Party ...	..	" 3 "
Building Trades Amalgamation Committee	..	" 2 "
Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding		
Amalgamation Committee ...	..	" 2 "
United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers	..	" 1 "

Domestic Workers' Union	...	...	by	1	delegate
N. A. Society of House and Ship Painters and Decorators	...	...	„	1	„
Postal and Telegraph Clerks' Association			„	1	„
Labour Representation Committee	...		„	1	„
Central Labour College Classes	...		„	1	„
Derby Clarion Club	...	...	„	1	„

The following resolution was then moved by Mr. Haigh, *Hornsey and Wood Green* N. U. R., and seconded by Mr. W. R. Ayres, *Reading T. & L. C.*, and carried :—

That this Meeting expresses its heartfelt sympathy with the relatives of our late Comrade Jaurès in the loss that they, and the whole working-class movement, have sustained by the untimely death of that fearless fighter for the emancipation of the Proletariat.

Correspondence was then read from Miss Hacking, Mr. Ernest Edwards, N. U. R., Mr. E. Gill, S. W. M. F., and Alderman J. V. Wills, Treasurer, expressing regret at inability to attend, and conveying wishes for a successful gathering.

The Secretary then gave his Report.

The Secretary's Report

The past year has probably been the most critical year of the College's existence. Time after time it appeared as though we must close down, but at the critical moment something has always turned up to save us. We opened deep in debt; with an uncertainty about students; and with a good slice of our income already spent in the effort to avert disaster the previous year. The Benefit Tickets Scheme—for which the Chairman of the Board, Mr. Ernest Edwards, N. U. R., was responsible—saved the situation on three or four occasions; on other occasions, the friendly action of our supporting Unions in advancing fees had the same valuable result, notably the Rhondda and Pontypridd district early in the year, and Rhondda I., S.W.M.F., quite recently. This assistance has been suitably recognized by the Board. In addition to the above we have to thank Mr. J. A. Fallows, M.A., three resident students, and Mr. Frank Horrabin, for timely loans amounting to £65.

As will be seen from the Balance Sheet assistance has again been generously given to the College by a host of friends, chiefly among them as usual being the Railwaymen's branches—due largely to the generous recognition of the College's work by their official paper, *The Railway Review*. The Scientific Instrument Makers' Society has decided to make three annual grants of £10 to the College funds; the Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association have also joined the list; and it will further be noticed that several branches of Unions have levied themselves one penny per member per year in

accordance with the suggestion contained in the College leaflet. The Penygraig Labour Club have again added a generous donation, while Ton Pentre and other Clubs have followed suit.

The personnel of the Board and the Trustees has remained unchanged during the College year. The Board met four times during the year, the principal business relating to Finance. Complaints have been received by them as to the internal management of the College, principally concerning the Secretary, but owing to uncertainty regarding the College's future, the matter has not yet been dealt with. The Board have made some slight alterations in the Staff. The Staff appointments and pay are as follows:—

Mr. Hird, Warden and Lecturer,	£10 a month	honorarium.
Mr. Craik, Sub-Warden and Lecturer	... £40	a year.
Mr. Sims, Secretary and Lecturer	... £40	„
Mr. Hacking, Corr. Dept. and Lecturer	... £20	„
Mr. Reynolds, Assistant-Secretary	... £12	„
Mrs. Walker, Cook and Charwoman	... 15/-	a week.

Approximate Total £271 a year.

Needless to say some of the salaries are greatly overdue.

At the last Trade Union Congress, arising out of the recommendation of the Parliamentary Committee that Ruskin College be endorsed by the Congress, the question of the Parliamentary Committee making enquiries about the Central Labour College was raised, and a spirited appeal on our behalf was made by many supporters, notably by Messrs. E. Gill and F. Hodges. As a result, the recommendation of the Parliamentary Committee was taken back, and a promise made to inquire into the support, &c., of the Central Labour College. The inquiry authorized by the Manchester Trade Union Congress was held at the College on July 27th, the College Board being represented by Messrs. Gill, Ablett, and Hird; and the Parliamentary Committee by Messrs. J. Seddon, H. Gosling, and J. B. Williams. A written statement of the College's educational aims and work was handed to the Parliamentary Committee representatives, in addition to all the information requested being afforded. We confidently await the decision of the next Trade Union Congress.

We are pleased to report that Mr. Hird resumed his work at the College in June, after his long illness. With Mr. Craik he attended the Cardiff Conference on behalf of the College, and made a spirited and successful appeal for the support of the South Wales Miners. Mr. Craik has also been called upon by the Staff Committee to do a considerable amount of other organizing work during the year. The Board has thanked both Mr. Hird and Mr. Craik for assistance given in this way. The action of the Miners and Railwaymen in meeting the Bank Overdraft relieves the College from any immediate danger,

but still leaves the financial position in a far from satisfactory condition. First, we have a matter of £250 outstanding debts, and, in addition, the income from scholarships is not sufficient to meet the College expenses. We therefore appeal to other Trade Unions, Societies, and friends of the College to make a great effort to secure, not only the bare income needed on the present basis, but to supply us with funds sufficient to enable us to make certain necessary additions and extensions to our work. The thanks of the College Board are due to a number of friends who have voluntarily helped in various ways in the work of the institution, and in particular to Mr. J. A. Fallows, M.A., Miss Bunn, Mrs. Travers-Hyndman, and Mr. J. F. Horrabin (lectures); Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Horrabin (socials, Press articles, typewriting, designs for College Prospectus, &c.); Mr. Harold Batho (cartoons); Miss Bügge (typewriting); Mr. Rowland Kenney; and the members of the Women's League for assistance at various times.

Moved by Mr. C. T. Pendrey, *Acton A. S. E.*, and seconded by Mr. W. Chilton, *Kentish Town N. U. R.*, that the Secretary's Report be accepted. A long discussion then followed, among those taking part being Messrs. A. J. Cook, *Hafod Lodge S. W. M. F.*, George Mason, *King's Cross N. U. R.*; L. Harries, *Vivian Lodge S. W. M. F.*; B. W. Dupree, *Swansea N. U. R.*; W. Rose, *Colwick Junction N. U. R.*; J. Owen, *Hull N. U. R.*; R. Mell, *Hull N. U. R.*; J. Baggin, *Sheffield N. U. R.*; Dennis Hird and W. W. Craik, *C. L. C.* The Secretary's Report was then adopted.

The Warden's Report

Mr. Dennis Hird then presented the Warden's Report, which he pointed out had been mainly prepared by the Sub-Warden, Mr. W. W. Craik, who had been in charge of the College during his absence.

The College opened its fifth Session in September, 1913, and concluded on July 30th, 1914.

Number of Students in residence during the year, 12.

Women Students (non-residential), 2.

The National Union of Railwaymen sent	2	Students.
Rhondda Valley No. 1, S. W. M. F. „	3	„
Rhondda Valley No. 2, „ „	2	„
Monmouth Western Valleys „ „	1	„
Notts Miners	1	„
Women's League C. L. C.	2	„
Private Scholarships	2	„
Part-Paying	1	„

Mr. Hird was unable to resume his work at the College until this year, and the Sub-Warden acted in his place, except during intervals

when organizing work in the Provinces necessitated his absence. During such periods the Secretary acted as Warden.

The lectures given at the College throughout the year have comprised Political Economy (First and Second Year Courses), Industrial History, General History, History of Social Movements, English, Formal Logic, Theory of Knowledge, Literature, and Elocution, also (since Mr. Hird's return) Sociology and Essay Writing.

The Lecturers conducting the above courses have been Messrs. W. W. Craik, A. J. Hacking, Dennis Hird, and George Sims, of the permanent Staff; and Honorary Lecturers: Mr. J. A. Fallows, Miss Bunn, Mrs. Travers-Hyndman, and Mr. Frank Horrabin.

This year has been the most trying yet experienced in the career of the Institution; but there is now every prospect of the College being freed for the first time in its history from the financial burdens which have hitherto weighed it down. The National Union of Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners have through their delegate conferences decided by substantial majorities to take over and jointly own and control the College. In addition, the N. U. R. have decided to increase its students from two to six. There are good prospects of an increased number of students being sent from the S. W. M. F. The National Union of Clerks has voted in favour of sending a student, and there is promise of new ground being opened up in the immediate future.

The new Lectures-by-Post Department opened up during this year has met with a fair amount of success, and gives promise of extending its scope in the immediate future. Only one course is so far operative, viz., Industrial History. Classes of this character have been formed at Wolverhampton N. U. R., Shrewsbury N. U. R., Wellington N. U. R., Carlisle N. U. R., Long Eaton Trades Council, and a few other places. A new departure has been made by the Rhymney District of the S. W. M. F. in connexion with the work of the College; this District has given scholarships in a special Correspondence Course in Industrial History to thirteen of its members. The Provincial Classes' work has been carried on throughout the year in the North East Lancashire District, lecturer Mr. Edward Archbold; in the Rochdale district, lecturer Mr. C. L. Gibbons; in the Rhondda Valley, lecturer Mr. W. F. Hay; Ashington, lecturer Mr. Ebby Edwards; Barry, lecturer Mr. A. J. Cook; Bradford, lecturer Mr. Meredith Titterington; at Halifax, lecturer Mr. J. W. Thomas; Birmingham, lecturer Mr. Paul; and Edinburgh N. U. R. Class (affiliated), lecturer Mr. J. S. Clarke. Mr. Barton of Burnley has also assisted by lecturing in the N. E. Lancashire District.

The Women's League of the C. L. C. has again rendered most valuable assistance to the Institution. It has maintained two scholarships at the College during the greater part of the year, which

have been held by Miss Mary Howarth, of Bury, and Miss Alice Smith of Oldham, both members of the Lancashire Textile Operative's Union. The Women's League has also contributed financial assistance in other ways. In addition, it has done much to develop the social side of the life of the College.

Amid all the storm and stress of our early career from 1909 until to-day, we have never once wavered in our conviction that working-class education is a reality and has a future. Had it not been a reality, the C. L. C. could never have survived throughout those few painful, pioneering years and we should not to-day be encouraged by so promising a prospect.

A long and interesting discussion followed, principally with a view to arriving at ways and means of increasing financial support for the College, and extending its educational facilities over a wider area. The adoption of the Warden's report was moved by Mr. G. Mason, *King's Cross* N. U. R. and seconded by Mr. W. Rose, *Colwick Junction* N. U. R., and carried.

Treasurer's Report and Financial Statement

In the unavoidable absence of the Treasurer, the Secretary acted as his representative. The Financial Statement was presented by Councillor B. Skene MacKay.

Statement of Accounts, 1st July, 1913, to 30th June 1914.

		INCOME					
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Scholarship Fees	...	423	9	4			
„ Correspondence Dept.	...	18	8	6			
„ Lectures by Post	...	16	15	6			
„ Evening Lectures	...	3	8	0			
„ General Fund	...	206	4	11			
„ Rent	„	3	17	9			
„ Sundries	...	9	13	6			
„ Loans	...	45	5	0			
„ Benefit Tickets	...	316	7	2			
		<hr/>			1,043	9	8
„ Overdraft at Bank, 3/7/1914	...				2,319	15	5
					<hr/>		
					3,363	5	1
		<hr/>					
		EXPENDITURE					
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Loan (1912-1913) repaid	...	2	15	7			
„ Catering	...	389	5	4			
„ Laundry	...	14	0	0			
„ Rates, Taxes and Insurance	...	121	16	1			
„ Library and Furnishing	...	18	8	11			
„ Lighting and Heating	...	52	2	4			
„ Printing and Stationery	...	55	3	1			

To Salaries	...	...	...	149	10	10		
„ Postages	...	...	...	37	13	7		
„ Sundries	...	...	...	6	18	6		
„ Bank Charges	...	...	...	126	17	5		
„ Travelling Expenses	...	...	...	25	1	9		
				<hr/>				
„ Overdraft at Bank, 1/7/1913							999	13 5
							2,363	11 8
							<hr/>	
							3,363	5 1
							<hr/>	

BALANCE SHEET, 1st July, 1914.

LIABILITIES

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Accounts due	250	0	0
Overdraft at Bank	2,319	15	5
				<hr/>		
				2,569	15	5

ASSETS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Premises	1,700	0	0
Furniture	350	0	0
				<hr/>		
				2,050	0	0

DEFICIT £519 15 5

I hereby certify that I have audited and found correct and checked receipts this 29th day of July, 1914.

Signed (COUNCILLOR) B. SKENE MACKAY,

London District Secretary, U.K.S. of Coachmakers.

After some questions, and a little discussion, it was moved by Mr. W. G. Davies, *Barry C. L. C.*, and seconded by Mr. Geo. Mason, *King's Cross N. U. R.*, and carried, that the Financial Statement and the Treasurer's Report be accepted.

Correspondence Department Report

Mr. Hacking presented his report :

The subjects of study with the number of students engaged in each are as follows:—

English Grammar	...	...	47	Students
Economics	...	...	27	„
Logic	...	...	19	„
Industrial History	...	...	17	„
English Literature	...	...	6	„
Evolution	...	...	3	„
			<hr/>	

Total ... 119

It is to be regretted that the number of students is not quite so large as at the end of last year.

It should be said, however, that the quality, intellectually speaking, of the students in regular work is very good, and has improved

indeed. Several students have been through all the Courses of the Department, earlier difficulties have been overcome in many cases, and an earnestness has been exhibited equal to what has been seen in the past. Testimonials as to the value of the Courses have been given by many—a particularly encouraging fact. Enquiries as to the work have not been wanting, and it may be confidently hoped that these will bear abundant fruit in the near future.

There is abundant promise of an enlargement of the work in view of the brightening prospects of the College.

Moved by Mr. T. A. Foot, *West Brompton* N. U. R.; seconded by Mr. E. Barnard, *Bolton* N. U. R.; and carried, that the Report be accepted.

Women's League Report

Mrs. W. Horrabin, the secretary, presented the report.

The Women's League of the C. L. C. was formed, in response to an invitation by the Staff Committee, in December, 1912, and was formally constituted a League at a general meeting held in May, 1913.

Its two main objects,—(1) of helping forward the educational work of the C. L. C. by collecting funds for scholarships for men and women, and (2) developing the social side of the College,—have both been forwarded during the year.

Seven social evenings have been arranged—three dances and four (private) dramatic performances. Particulars of these latter are as follows:—

August 4th, 1913, (evening of the Annual Meet)—

Riders to the Sea, by J. M. Synge.

The Workhouse Ward, by Lady Gregory.

November 29th, 1913,—

The Rising of the Moon by Lady Gregory.

How He Lied to Her Husband by Bernard Shaw.

May 17th, 1914.—

The Showing-up of Blanco Posnet by Bernard Shaw.

June 7th, 1914.—

(Special Invitation Social to N.U.R. Branches in London.)

Riders to the Sea by J. M. Synge.

The Showing-up of Blanco Posnet by Bernard Shaw.

At this latter performance (held just before the A. G. M. of the Railwaymen) a member of the College Staff delivered a brief address, outlining the aims of the College, and urging the necessity of support. It is hoped that during the coming year the League will be able to arrange many similar meetings, at which the pill of propaganda may be administered with a sugar-coating of drama.

The League's chief work during the year has been the enabling of two women Trade Unionists to become students at the College. The Staff immediately agreed to the League's proposals, as close on £60 has been contributed by the League at one time or another towards scholarships for women students. Since February last, Alice Smith, of the Oldham Cardroom Association, and Mary Howarth, of the Bury Weavers Association, have been studying at the College.

The significance of this fact can hardly be overestimated. It is essential that in the near future more and more women should have the same opportunity. One of the undoubted dangers to Trade Unionism to-day, is the uneducated, unorganized woman worker. It is imperative that women, who can be Capitalism's biggest asset—in breaking strikes and undercutting labour—should be educated on the same class-conscious lines as their men comrades. The League recognised from the beginning that the chances of getting independent working-class education for women, depended on the success of the C. L. C.; that is why it has worked for it in every possible way during the two most critical years of its life. To help the College to an assured position before attempting to carry out its own plans has been the League's aim. It has no prospects as a League—but only as the woman's side of this great educational movement.

Its aim now is to make it possible to have scholarships and a hostel for women in connexion with the C. L. C. If scholarships were given for women, arrangements could be made for the women to attend lectures at the College for a certain sum, and have their own house in which to live and study. In this way the women's side of the College would be a help financially, as the house arrangements and the payment for same would be under the care of the League.

Mary Howarth and Alice Smith will, in the near future, be able to speak on behalf of the College to the organized working women of Lancashire. The Weavers' Amalgamation now sends three men-students to Ruskin College although but one third of its members are men. The women are already beginning to voice their demands, and the need for proper training in class-conscious ideas will make itself felt as soon as the organized women workers realize the difference between education of the workers in the interests of the workers, and education of the workers in the interests of Capitalism.

At the last committee meeting of the League six women volunteered to fit themselves to speak to branches of the Trade Unions on behalf of the College.

We are anxious to get into touch with the Railway Women's Guild, and we should be grateful if delegates would inform the Guild in their districts of our existence. We start handicapped by the fact that all our propaganda has to be done from London, while the founders of the College had the benefit of having men who understood the position in a great many parts of England. To overcome

this, a Propaganda-by-post is to be carried on. Any branch of the Railway Women's Guild, or other Women's organizations, wishing to hear about the aims of the College may have the loan of a type-written lecture on the subject. This can be read out to the members of the branch, and questions submitted will be readily answered. The official recognition of the Railway Women's Guild is a great step forward on the part of the N.U.R., and there is every reason to hope that the Railway women will be keen and willing to help the College as soon as the case is properly put to them. With the promise of an income from scholarships, there is no doubt whatever that the money for furnishing a hostel for women students would be at once forthcoming.

Already a series of lectures on the movement in other countries is being prepared for the winter, and the immediate work of the League is to be the loan of sufficient money for the cleaning and re-decorating of the large lecture room at the College, and the issuing of a pamphlet on the history and aims of the C. L. C., for the publishing of which the League is to be responsible.

We have as our committee, elected at a meeting on June 30th, Miss Braunthal, Miss Gernsheimer, Mrs. Chaytor and Mrs. Zhook (National Union of Clerks), Miss Wilkinson and Miss Hope (Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association), Miss Howarth (Bury Weavers Association), Miss Grace Neal (Domestic Workers), Mrs. Montefiore, Mrs. Westrope (Treasurer), and Mrs. Horrabin (Secretary).

An interesting and animated discussion followed, many suggestions for securing the support of working women in educational matters, and much appreciation of the work of the League up to the present and wishes for the extension of its influence was expressed. The adoption of the report was moved by Mr. G. W. Brown, *Hull* N. U. R., seconded by Mr. J. W. Thomas, *Halifax* B. S. P., and carried.

Internal Administration

According to promise given on the discussion of that part of the Secretary's report relating to students' complaints, the Chairman allowed Mr. A. J. Cook, *Hafod Lodge*, S. W. M. F., to move the following resolution:—

That a Committee, apart from the Board, Students and Staff, be elected to investigate the internal grievances at the College, and a report of same be sent to branches of the S. W. M. F. and the N. U. R.

To permit discussion the resolution was formally seconded by Mr. E. Barnard, *Bolton* N. U. R. After some discussion—during which it was stated that the College Board had already decided on an investigation immediately the National Union of Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners' Federation had signified their wishes with regard to the future control of the College—the resolution was defeated by an overwhelming majority, only 6 delegates supporting it.

Policy and Bank Overdraft

Resolutions were then passed expressing the gratification of the delegates at the action of the Railwaymen and the Miners in paying off the Bank Overdraft, and thus securing the future existence of the College; appreciation of the work of the College Staff and helpers; the determination of the delegates to maintain the independent working-class policy, initiated and propagated by the Central Labour College, and also emphasizing the need to extend the influence of the College and its teaching.

After a spirited appeal on behalf of the College by the Chairman, and a hearty vote of thanks to him for his able conduct of the meeting, the Conference concluded.

The Central Labour College Policy and Work

Issued by the Central Board to the Representatives
of the Parliamentary Committee at an Inquiry,
authorised by the Trade Union Congress of 1913,
held at the College on July 27th, 1914.

THE NEED FOR THE COLLEGE

IN these days of combination on a large scale by both employers and workmen; with the national and international significance of their operations; a study of the industrial conditions which form the basis and framework of their movements is essential. These studies comprise what are called the social sciences, that is economics, history, sociology and philosophic-logic.

In a study of these are found (as in Trade Unionism and Politics) conflicting interpretations. One interprets industrial operations in a light favourable to Capital; another teaches the identity of interests of Capital and Labour; and another views the questions in a light favourable to Labour. This is the state of things that confronts the young generation of the Labour movement. The founders of the College being convinced by study and experience, that the Labour interpretation of social science is the correct one, established the Central Labour College with the sole object of teaching this view to students from the Trade Unions, and of examining all other interpretations in the light of this knowledge. In other words what the Trade Unions do with regard to industrial combination, what the political organizations of Labour do with regard to politics, that the C.L.C. does with regard to working-class education in social science; that is to so operate

as to secure the utmost advantage to the Labour interests. It aims not so much at culture or at individual advantages, but at the knowledge necessary for the improvement of the whole of the working class. It seeks to equip the Trade Unionist with the weapon of knowledge in the chief sphere of his life's activities.

The carrying on of the work of the Labour organizations demands nowadays not only a knowledge of local industrial conditions, but also a clear understanding of the social relations which determine the particular class position and activities of the employers and the workers, and the forces which are operating constantly and forcefully to change them. It means that an active Trade Unionist can only effectively and economically influence the progressive development of his Union, and the Movement generally, by obtaining an understanding of the national and international movements of Labour and Capital; of the conditions of the labour market and trade generally; and of the possibilities of promoting and influencing legislation in the interests of the organized working class. The aim of the College is an education which will help to eliminate the present sectional and local narrowness of outlook; to co-ordinate the sectional and local activities of the labour organizations with the larger movements and interests of the workers.

THE HISTORY OF THE C. L. C.

The College was established in Oxford 1909. The first Trade Union to support the College was the Monmouth Western Valleys Districts of the S.W.M.F. The members of that District levied themselves a penny per member to assist in the equipment of the Institution and provided the first scholarship and the first Trade Union representative of the Management in the person of Mr. George Barker, their Agent. Other Districts of the S.W.M.F. quickly followed this lead, notably the Rhondda No's. I and II, and the Anthracite District, by sending students; at present the C.L.C. is the only educational institution supported by the South Wales Miners.

Members of the old Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants advocated the claims of the College with great success, and the A.S.R.S. established scholarships at the College. Since the fusion of forces in the Railway world, resulting in the formation of the N.U.R., additional support has been provided, and as a tribute to the work of the College, the Railwaymen's A.G.M., recently held at Swansea, decided to increase the number of the Union scholarships from two to six and further resolved to approach the South Wales Miners Federation with a view to co-operating for the purpose of removing certain financial difficulties besetting the College. Happily, success crowned their efforts, and the outcome of the N.U.R. and the S.W. Miner's joint action is that the continuance of the work of the College is now definitely assured. From time to time, students from other Unions have held scholarships and the Board of Management

have had many indications that the work of the College is gradually being recognised by the Labour Movement. In the development of College work many difficulties, internal and external, have been experienced, but these have been almost entirely due to financial embarrassments. Side by side with the development of the work in the College has grown up a system of provincial classes with an aggregate membership approximating 1,000. The work also led to the establishment of a new activity. Some districts desiring lectures on subjects taught by the College, but unable to entirely maintain a lecturer, caused the College to establish a system of Lectures-by-Post in Industrial History, and successful classes have been held at the following places,—Shrewsbury, Wolverhampton, Carlisle, Wellington, Hull, Brighton, Barrow, and other centres. Another special feature of work, combining all the outside educational schemes, is now being carried on under the auspices of the Rhymney Valley District S.W.M.F.

The Correspondence Department also caters for a considerable number of students and the results are distinctly gratifying. It will therefore be realized that the College cares not only for resident students but for 2,000 workers in the different industrial centres.

THE CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT OF THE COLLEGE

The supreme control is vested in the Board, membership of which is limited to Labour organizations, which are eligible for affiliation to the Labour Party, establishing scholarships at the College. At present, the Board consists of four representatives of the S.W. Miners and two from the N.U.R. The Board meets every three months. Between Board meetings the College is administered by the Staff Committee, which comprises the officials and lecturers appointed by the Board. The Staff Committee numbers six, viz., Dennis Hird, M.A., Warden, and lecturer in Sociology, Evolution and Rhetoric; Will W. Craik, Sub-Warden, and lecturer in History and Philosophy; Geo. Sims, Secretary and lecturer in Economics; A. J. Hacking, M.A., Correspondence Department Secretary, and lecturer in Grammar and Logic; J. Reynolds, Assistant-Secretary, Ald. J. V. Wills, Hon. Treasurer (the latter non-resident). In addition to their work in the College the lecturers correct essays in the correspondence courses, and Mr. Craik carries on the Lectures-by-Post course. Additional lecturers (honorary) are: Mr. J. A. Fallows, M.A. (General History, &c.), and Miss Bunn (Elocution).

The students in residence do part of the housework of the College and this part of the work is usually controlled by them through what is known as the House Meeting.

Briefly, the foregoing is a statement of the activities of the College since its foundation five years ago. What is now required is that the whole Trade Union Movement should follow the lead given by the

National Union of Railwaymen, and the South Wales Miners. On every hand the menace of the many forces of Capital is becoming increasingly manifest. To hold our own, we of the Labour Movement must be equipped not only with the sentiment of solidarity but with clear scientific knowledge of the strength and weakness of the enemy. That this knowledge is disseminated by the Central Labour College we have shown to some extent: that this can be more efficiently done with the assistance and support of this great Parliament of Labour no one can deny; that this will be forthcoming we fervently hope. We assert that this phase of the activity of Labour is exceedingly important, that it is becoming increasingly important, and that it ought to be as great and powerful as the industrial and political forces. Whether it will be so in the immediate future depends largely on your reception of our statement at your Congress in 1914.

Letters on Logic

Economics

FOURTH LETTER OF THE SECOND SERIES

HENRY GEORGE affords me an opportunity of illustrating for you from his errors, the more enlightening conceptions of Economic Science; and these again serve as further instances of the way in which the power of conception is bound to operate.

"The fundamental truth," he says in the first chapter, "that in all economic reasoning must be firmly grasped, and never let go, is that Society in its most highly developed form is but an elaboration of Society in its rudest beginnings. . . . In the simplest state of which we can conceive, each man digs his own bait and catches his own fish."

These words show very clearly his lack of historical understanding. If everybody provides his own bait and catches his own fish there is no question of Society. Every spider makes its own web and snaps for its own flies. Every bear is its own hunter and grasps its food with its own paws. But man is sociable, he fishes and hunts in groups. His sociability develops his economic resources and this again develops sociability. To have a history, a development, is as you know, a characteristic distinguishing man from the animal. The historical human animal is sharply distinguished from the primitive state, where everybody provides his own bait and catches his own fish. The historically-developed economy is something quite different from, something much more than, a complication of primitive society. The primitive society of Henry George, where each individual is dependent on his own resources and efforts, is imaginary; it cannot be traced either among the Niggers or the

Indians or the Savages of past times. Everywhere we see society, everywhere development, everywhere the proof that culture is something quite different from mere complicated barbarism.

Logic, which separates and re-unites separate things, considers development as its very element. Everything while undergoing development must always be the same and at the same time it must not remain the same. Development is always to be and not to be in the same breath—changing in the remaining and remaining in the changing—one and the same, yet always something different.

The capitalists pretend that the wage of the worker comes from accumulated labour. But Henry George, on the other hand, is of the opinion that labour is rewarded without accumulation, as is proved by the primitive state, where everybody can pick berries, catch fishes, and hunt the deer with his own hand. "It seems to us that they both stink."* You can indeed gain something with your own hands, but this work is very poorly recompensed, and unable to satisfy human requirements. For this, accumulation is necessary. So far the capitalists are right. But to use the accumulated fortunes *ad infinitum* for the purpose of robbing the worker, so that he gets from the product only as much as will sustain a bare existence,—that is true capitalist reasoning! As this is actually the state of affairs, we call the fortunes of the present day—accumulated by means of enslaved labour and not by means of primitive labour—capital.

The end of the song is that it is a logical mistake to draw analogies between primitive society,—which is not yet society,—and society which has developed. It is a mistake not to distinguish primitive labour from wage-labour, and the capitalist fisherman from the primitive fisherman. To reason in this way is to make a wrong use of conceptions, and such a method leads to an inadequate conception of economic categories.

At the end of the first chapter we read as follows :

The Miner who, 2000 feet under the ground in the heart of the Comstock, is digging out silver ore, is, in effect, by virtue of a thousand exchanges, harvesting crops in valleys five thousand feet nearer the earth's centre ; chasing the whale through Arctic ice-fields ; plucking tobacco leaves in Virginia ; picking coffee berries in Honduras ; cutting sugar cane on the Hawaiian Islands ; gathering cotton in Georgia ; or weaving it in Manchester or Lowell : &c. The wages he receives on Saturday night at the mouth of the shaft, what are they but a certificate to all the world that he has done these things—the primary exchange in the long series,—which transmutes his labour into all the things he has really been labouring for?

* This phrase is quoted from the end of Heinrich Heines' poem "The Dispute." B. B.

The money wage, I add, changes the special labour of the mine into general labour ; it shows to the worker that he is not a single individual but a member of the economic society.

Now the problem is to make the correct distinction between the primitive fisherman, who provides himself for all his wants, and the modern wage labourer, who is a unit in the complex modern process of production. Both have worked, the one with a tool, which contained little or no accumulated labour, and the other with giant's instruments, with capitalist machines, which reward the labourer no better, or very little better, than the crude tools of the primitive fisherman, although in spite of this they produce immense fortunes, in which the worker cannot share.

Although the history of human society, its gradual development from communism into slavery, serfdom, bondage, and at last into "free" wage labour, is so widely known, Henry George and the economists of capital cling with strange obstinacy to the illusion that the economy of the past and the economy of the present is an eternal idyll, where master and servant sit happily together in the sunshine, where both regard their economic positions as determined by Divine Providence, and endeavour to settle their differences by the standards of justice and humanity.

The history of wages is old, but the present relation between wages and capital is quite new. The cows which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob tended in the pasture were already "accumulated labour," which served for the production of surplus and for the "reward" of Labans. When the Pharaohs built their pyramids they could not do so without accumulated labour ; and besides the whip, they gave subsistence to the Egyptians which was a "wage," in proportion to the total return of the labour, greater than the present capitalist one. The Serfs in the Middle Ages received no wages, but conversely rewarded their lords with blood and corn tithe and unpaid labour ; but although they rendered some services to the peasants, we can hardly describe the knights as wage-labourers.

I want to show by the above instances that Henry George is very illogical in implying that capitalism and wage labour have always existed from the beginning. He is certainly well aware of the inhuman nature of modern wages, but his understanding applies only to the low scale, not to the wages system as a whole. And because his knowledge is only superficial all his proposals for reform are superficial also.

In his second chapter he deals with the importance of using accurate terms, and especially with the definitions of the concepts, "labour" and "capital." He writes :—

As used in common discourse "wages" means a compensation paid to a hired person for his services; and we speak of one man "working for wages" in contradiction to another who is "working for himself." The use of the term is still further narrowed by the habit of applying it solely to compensation paid for manual labour. But in political economy the word wages has a much wider meaning, and includes all returns for exertion. For, as political economists explain, the three agents or factors in production are land, labour, and capital, and that part of the produce which goes to the second of these factors is styled by them wages. . . . In the politico-economic sense of the term wages, there is no distinction as to the kind of labour, or as to whether its reward is received through an employer or not, but wages means the return received for the exertion of labour, as distinguished from the return received for the use of capital, and the return to the landholder for the use of the land. The man who cultivates the soil for himself receives his wages in its produce, just as, if he uses his own capital and owns his own land, he may also receive interest and rent; the hunter's wages are the game he kills; the fisherman's wages are the fish he takes.

You can see how our friend endeavours to defend the current opinion that capitalists and landowners get from the return of production not only an actual share, but a just, constant, and unchangeable one. But we assert that the man who tills his own land with his own horse and his own plough,—his "own" capital—receives neither wage nor interest nor profit, but only produce. If he nevertheless makes an account and calculates that he could use his land, his "capital," and his labour-power, each at a certain rate in another place, he will become dissatisfied if they do not yield a fourth sub-division of the returns, i.e. a little profit. But it can be clearly seen that the calculating person has it quite in his power to favour in his calculations either the landowner, the capitalist, the worker, or the receiver of profits. What he adds to the one he must deduct from the other. This does not alter the total result at all; what it quite clearly proves is that for those who are both capitalist and worker at the same time, the whole division is arbitrary and meaningless.

The wage, the wage-labour, the "free" labour-power which is bought and sold, are not eternal but historical elements. Labour always gives a return under all economic systems, but wages in the categorical sense of the word is only possible under the rule of the capitalists. And even if such a thing has sporadically existed in other far off times, modern capitalism alone is the home of wage-labour; just as Africa is the home of the lion, though the king of beasts may now and then settle down in a European menagerie.

If the small bourgeois produces with the help of wealth which is the result of his own accumulated labour, he is neither capitalist, landlord, nor wage-labourer. These categories are peculiar to the modern competitive economic system. They did not appear in ancient times or in the Middle Ages or in the Pacific Isles, but only in modern European civilisation.

The handicraftsman and the small bourgeois is not a product of modern times; therefore he preaches opposition, because the latest form of the economic system takes away his capacity to compete, and ruins him.

If we wish to explain the existing economic system, we must make use of logic, that is to say, we must make intelligent distinctions. The subject must be dealt with from the historical standpoint.

There is no doubt that the common meaning of the word wage—compensation paid to a hired person for services rendered—is a better definition than the extended one which Henry George gives to it by confounding the prey of the primitive hunter and the primitive fisherman, or the income of the handicraftsman, with wages. When the workers use such terms as salaries, appointments, &c., it is from a right instinct; they feel that those people who receive such strange remuneration are not workers, but the slave-drivers of the capitalists.

Finally: In opposing our terminology to that of Henry George and his predecessors, I do not want to imply that ours lasts from eternity to eternity, but simply that it is the only correct and logical one under existing conditions; and that our dialectical method connects the general and the particular without confounding them.

Translated for the *Plebs Magazine* from the German of Joseph Dietzgen by MISS B. BRAUNTHAL.

SPECIAL NOTICE

At the Annual Meeting of the "Plebs" it was decided that the debt on the Magazine should be liquidated by the selling of Tickets for a Concert and Distribution of Gifts, to be held at the C.L.C., 13, Penywern Road, Earl's Court, S.W. Books of an Educational Value will be among the prizes; the holders of successful Tickets being allowed to choose from a list the books wanted according to the value of the gift drawn. (Tickets 1d. each, book of 30, 2/-). Will those willing to assist sale of Tickets write at once to the Concert Sec., W. H. Mainwaring, 13 Penywern Road, Earls' Court, S.W.

A Report of the Annual Meeting will appear in the October Issue.

The Jewish Question

BRUNO avoids Hegel's inconsistencies. He simply declares criticism to be the absolute spirit, and himself to be criticism. Just as the element of criticism is banished from the masses, so the mass-element is banished from criticism. Criticism does not pretend to be incarnate in the masses, therefore, but exclusively in a petty handful of elect individuals—in Bruno and his disciples.

Bruno avoids Hegel's other inconsistency. He does not, as does the Hegelian spirit, make history *post festum* in the speculative imagination of the philosopher; but consciously—in contrast to the mass of mankind—plays the role of the spirit of the world; enters into an active relation with the mass, and invents and accomplishes history purposefully and after careful consideration.

On the one side stand the masses, as the passive, spirit-less, non-creative, material element of history; on the other, spirit, criticism, Bruno and Co., as the active element from which all historical action proceeds. The process of historical transformation is thus reduced to the brainwork of critical criticism.

Moreover, the relation of criticism—and hence also the criticism incarnate in Bruno and Co.—to the masses is the only existing historical relation. The whole of modern history is thus epitomised in the movement of these two parties one against the other. All opposition is reduced to this critical opposition.

Critical criticism, which only becomes objective in relation to its contrast, the masses—stupidity—must, therefore, constantly insist on this contrast; and its exponents, Messrs. Faucher, Edgar and Szeliga have supplied us with sufficient samples of their great skill in this particular branch:—the quite mass-like confusing of persons and things.

Now let us follow absolute criticism in its attacks on the masses.

Number 1.—The Problems Formulated.

The "spirit," unlike the masses, at once becomes highly critical, in considering its own superficial production—Bruno Bauer's *Jewish Question*—to be absolute truth, and all opposition to it as error. In his first reply to the attacks on his work, Herr Bruno exhibits no sign of having realised any of its shortcomings. On the contrary, he still claims to have revealed the "true," universal (!) significance of the Jewish Question. In later replies we shall find him compelled to admit "oversights."

The reception my work has met with is sufficient proof that it is just the advocates of freedom who must always be in opposition to the spirit; and I shall now, in discussing freedom, provide further proofs of the superficiality of those spokesmen of the masses who, filled with a sense of their own importance, have come forward to defend emancipation and the 'rights of man.'

The masses, of course, must necessarily celebrate the publication of a work of absolute criticism by showing their opposition to the spirit, since according to it, their very existence is conditioned and expressed only through such opposition.

The polemics of a liberal and rationalistic Jew against Bruno's *Jewish Question* have of necessity a critical significance quite different from that of the mass-polemics of the Liberals against philosophy, or that of the Rationalists against Strauss. The degree of originality in the above quotation is apparent from the following quotation from Hegel:—

The peculiar vice inherent in that kind of eloquence to which liberal superficiality gives rise can readily be perceived; and the more so since those who have the least spirit, prate the most about the spirit, and those who are the most inert and dull are the readiest to cant about life, &c.

As regards the "rights of man," Bruno had already had it demonstrated to him in the discussion on "The Jewish Question" in the Franco-German Yearbook that it was not the spokesmen of the masses but he himself who had misunderstood and dogmatically misinterpreted their meaning. Compared with his "discovery" that the "rights of man" are not innate—a discovery that, forty years before, had been made a thousand times in England—Fourier's assertion that fishing, hunting, &c., are innate rights of man is quite original.

It is only necessary to give a few examples of Bruno's "arguments" against Philippon, Hirsch, &c. Even these dreary opponents will not surrender to absolute criticism. Herr Philippon is certainly not guilty of absurdity—as absolute criticism asserts—when he says "Bauer depicts for himself a state of a peculiar kind . . . a philosophic ideal of a state." Bruno—who confuses the state with humanity, the "rights of man" with mankind, and political liberty with human liberty—had of course to try and imagine, if scarcely to depict, a "state of a peculiar kind—a philosophic ideal of a state."

If my opponent [Herr Hirsch], instead of setting forth his own far-fetched theories, had attempted to refute my argument that the Christian state, since its vital principle is a particular religion, cannot permit the adherents of another religion to enjoy equality of rights with its own classes. . . .

If his opponent, Herr Hirsch, had really refuted Bruno's argument and, as had already been done in the Franco-German Yearbook, demonstrated that the class-state based on exclusive Christianity is not only an imperfect state, but an imperfect Christian state, Bruno would still have replied—as he did to the former refutation—"Reproaches, in this connexion, are meaningless." In answer to Bruno's words, "Through their pressure upon the springs of historical action, the Jews have called forth a counter-pressure," Herr Hirsch justly replies—"If so, then the Jews must have contributed something to the making of history"; and if Bauer concedes this point, he cannot consistently argue that they have contributed nothing towards the development of modern times. Bruno replies, "A thorn in my eye is also 'something'; but does it therefore contribute towards the 'development' of my sight?" A thorn which—like Judaism in the Christian world—is embedded in my eye, remains there, grows with it and adapts itself to it, is no common but a very wonderful thorn, and would, moreover, contribute to a most original development of my sense of sight. The critical thorn, therefore, does not prick Herr Hirsch. For the rest, Bruno has been sufficiently exposed in the already-quoted arguments on the influence of Judaism on "the development of modern times."

The statement of a Rhenish deputy "that the Jews are perverse in their own Jewish, and not in our so-called Christian fashion," has so far aggrieved the theological spirit of absolute criticism that it has even felt it to be its duty to rebuke him for making use of such an argument.

To the remark of another deputy that "civil equality for Jews can only be granted when Judaism itself no longer exists," Bruno replies, "Quite right; that is right, if the other critical postulate, which I have worked out in my book, is present, viz., the postulate that Christianity itself must likewise have ceased to exist."

We see then that absolute criticism, in its first reply on the Jewish Question, constantly insists on the annihilation of religion—on atheism—as *the* condition of civil equality. At the outset, therefore, it is plain that it has not arrived at a clear insight either into the nature of the state or into the "oversight" of its own "work."

Absolute criticism is annoyed when the "latest" scientific discovery with which it has been occupying itself turns out to be generally known already. A Rhenish deputy remarks that "nobody yet has maintained that, as regards the forms of their political

organizations, France and Belgium are particularly distinguished for a clear understanding of principles." Absolute criticism could reply that this assertion confuses the present with the past, implying as it does that French political principles, which are obviously enough inadequate *to-day*, were necessarily so in the past. But such a reply would not serve the interests of absolute criticism. It must rather maintain the old-fashioned view, and continue to regard these matters as critical mysteries, which in due course—as a result of its meditations—it will reveal to the masses.

It therefore replies—"It [antiquated prejudice] is kept alive by the many [the masses]; but a fundamental investigation of history will prove that even after the great French achievements much still remains to be done for a proper understanding of principles." So that even a fundamental investigation of history will not of itself afford a proper understanding of principles; at most it will only prove that "much remains to be done." A notable discovery, indeed!—especially since the latter phrase merely repeats what is already a commonplace with Socialist writers!

Bruno "does much" for a proper understanding of present-day society by his remark—"The dominant conception of to-day is Misconception." According to Hegel, the dominant Chinese conception is Being; the dominant Hindoo conception, Nothingness, and so forth; so that absolute criticism is following the same method when it reduces the character of present-day society to "Misconception"—a logical category; and this is all the more apparent since Misconception, like Being and Nothingness, belongs to the first chapter of speculative logic—the chapter dealing with "qualities."

We cannot conclude this section without one general remark.

The professed aim of absolute criticism is, primarily, to formulate correctly all the questions of the day. As a matter of fact it never even states the real questions, but forges quite different ones. Since it creates everything, it must necessarily create the "question of the day," and make of them its own critico-critical questions. If the question should happen to be concerned with the Code Napoleon, absolute criticism would prove that it was really concerned with the Pentateuch. Instead of *formulating* the questions of the day, it arbitrarily separates and mutilates them. It distorted the Jewish Question in such a way as to avoid any investigation of the real subject-matter of that question—political emancipation—and was thereby enabled to busy itself solely with a criticism of the Jewish religion and a description of the Christian-Germanic state,

Like every other invention of absolute criticism, this method of procedure is merely a display of speculative ingenuity. Speculative philosophy, especially of the Hegelian kind, translates all questions from the sphere of sound human understanding to that of speculative "reason," and to transform a real question into a speculative one in order to be able to answer it. Speculative philosophy distorts the question on my tongue, and, like the catechism, puts its own question into my mouth; so that, like the catechism, it has an answer ready to every one of my questions.

(*To be continued.*)

Translated for the *Plebs Magazine* by S. JONSSON.

Principles of Communism

by FREDERICK ENGELS

(*continued.*)

Question 9.—What distinguishes the Proletarian from the Handicraftsman?

Answer.—*In the old handicraft industries, the workman, after his apprenticeship was served, became a wage-worker for a time, but only in order that he might become an employer later. The Proletarian is almost always a wage-worker all his life. The Handicraftsman who had not yet become an employer was the companion of his master, lived in his house, and ate at his table. The Proletarian stands solely in a money-relation to his employer. The Handicraftsman was a member of the same class of society as his master, and shared the same mode of life. The Proletarian is separated from his master, the capitalist, by a whole world of class distinctions; he lives in a totally different environment, and his outlook is totally different. The tools used by the Handicraftsman were usually his own property, and he could carry them with him. The machine worked by the Proletarian is neither his own property, nor is it ever likely to become such. The Handicraftsman usually made a complete object, and his skill in the use of his tools was always an important factor in the making of the product. The Proletarian as a rule makes only one part of an article, or even contributes only to one process in the making of a single part, and his personal skill is in inverse ratio to the work done by the machine. The Handicraftsman, like his master, was secured throughout his life against hurtful competition by means of guild regulations and trade customs. The Proletarian must combine with his fellows, or seek the aid of legislation, in order to avoid being crushed by competition; if he is outbidden by other sellers of labour-

* As he explained in his Preface (translated in the July *Plebs*) Bernstein has filled in this answer, which was left blank in Engels' manuscript; basing his contribution on the *Communist Manifesto* and other of Marx' and Engels' writings.

power, he—and never his employer—is crushed. The Handicraftman, like his master, had a narrow outlook, was thrifty, and disliked new inventions or ideas. The Proletarian becomes daily more convinced that the interests of his class are fundamentally opposed to those of his employer; thrift gives place to class-consciousness and the conviction that an improvement in his position can come only by general social progress. The Handicraftsman was a conservative even when he rebelled—it was indeed his desire for reaction that usually made him a rebel. The Proletarian must inevitably be a revolutionary. The first step in social progress to which the reactionary handicraft spirit opposed itself was manufacture—the subjection of handicraft, master as well as worker, to mercantile capital, which developed later into commercial and industrial capital.

Question 10.—What distinguishes the Proletarian from the early Factory-worker?

Answer.—The Factory-worker of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries had usually some implement of production as his own property—his loom or spinning-wheels, or a piece of land which he cultivated in his leisure time. The Proletarian has none of these things. The Factory-worker usually lived on the land, in more or less patriarchal relations with his landlord or employer. The Proletarian lives mostly in large towns, and stands to his employer solely in a money-relation. The Factory-worker's more personal relations with his master were destroyed by the coming of the great industries; he lost what little he still had, and became the first Proletarian.

Question 11.—What were the immediate consequences of the Industrial Revolution and the resulting division of society into Bourgeoisie and Proletariat?

Answer.—*Firstly*, in consequence of the universal cheapening of all the products of industry following on the use of machinery, the old system of manufacture, depending on hand-labour, was completely destroyed. Semi-barbaric countries which had previously remained more or less outside the influence of historical development were now forced out of their seclusion. They purchased the cheaper commodities from England, and allowed their own hand-workers to be ruined. So countries which for centuries had made no progress, e.g., India, were completely revolutionized; and even China now advances towards revolution. It has thus come to pass that a new machine, invented to-day in England, results in less than a year in millions of workers in China being without bread. In this way have the great industries brought all the peoples of the earth into close touch with one another; small local markets have been lumped together into a great world market. The path has been prepared for civilization and progress, since whatever takes place in civilized countries nowadays must re-act on all other countries; and if to-day [1847] the workers of France or England were to free themselves, revolutions must inevitably follow in other lands.

(To be continued.)

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