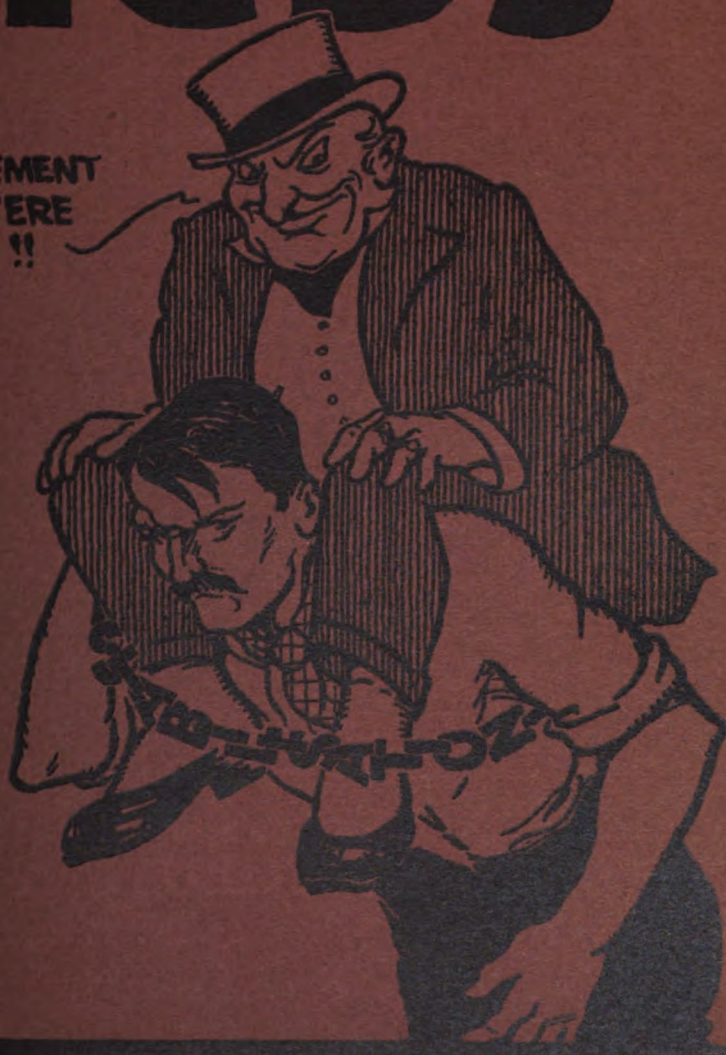


The Plebs

JUNE
1924

4d

GREAT
IMPROVEMENT
- THIS 'ERE
CHAIN !!



J.F.H.

Published monthly by the Plebs League at
162a Buckingham Palace Rd., London, S.W. 1

PLEBS BOOK BARGAINS

Originally published at 18s. net. Our price, 9s. 3d.
(postpaid).

REVOLUTION : from 1789 to 1906
by *R. W. Postgate*

400 large pages. Limp red cloth binding.

"The book combines both industry and scholarship. It is the most masterly contribution to revolutionary history yet made by a member of the British working-class movement."

Wm. Paul.

Originally published at 8s. 6d. Our price, 2s. 8d.
(postpaid).

CREATIVE REVOLUTION

by *Eden & Cedar Paul*

"Amongst many really good books the one I would advise the student to turn to without delay is *Creative Revolution*. . . . In my judgment, if this volume could be broadcasted among the workers, it would do inestimable service."

Tom Mann.

Originally published at 18s. Our price, 6s. 6d. (postpaid).

**REMINISCENCES OF THE
RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**

by *M. Philips Price*

Only a few copies still available.

PLEBS, 162a Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W.1

Organ of

THE

can prom

Vol. XVI

THE LABOUR CO

SCISM: ITS OR

THIS STABILIS

FTER THE FRI

HOW TO BUILD

Prof. J. J. Cl

SCIENCE AND T

STABILISATION

AN INTRODUC

THE PLEBS SUM

LETTERS: From

C. Paul

MOVES BY THE

THE NATIONAL

BOOK REVIEW

The

THE

Col

her

mit

to Congress

milestone in

of us had

in Ecclesto

recognition

"on merits

The Organ of the National Council of Labour Colleges

THE PLEBS

I can promise to be candid but not impartial.

Vol. XVI

June, 1924.

No. 6

CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE LABOUR COLLEGES RECOGNISED.. .. .	209
FASCISM : ITS ORIGIN AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE. By L. W. ..	213
"THIS STABILISATION." By Maurice Dobb	218
AFTER THE FRENCH ELECTIONS. By J. T. Walton Newbold ..	221
HOW TO BUILD HOUSES, AND RELIEVE UNEMPLOYMENT. By Prof. J. J. Clark	224
SCIENCE AND THE WORKER. By Mark Starr.. .. .	226
STABILISATION 2,000 YEARS AGO. By R. W. Postgate	229
AN INTRODUCTION TO PSYCHOLOGY. By J. J.	232
THE PLEBS SUMMER SCHOOL : LECTURE PROGRAMME, &c. ..	234
LETTERS : From E. Johns, F. Silvester, C. H. Kerr, A. P. L., and E. and C. Paul	236
NOTES BY THE WAY FOR STUDENTS AND TUTORS	239
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LABOUR COLLEGES	240
BOOK REVIEWS	243

The LABOUR COLLEGES "RECOGNISED"

THE "recognition" of the National Council of Labour Colleges by the T.U.C. Committee, and the fact that henceforth N.C.L.C. representatives will sit on a Committee charged with the task of making recommendations to Congress on the subject of Workers' Education, marks another milestone in our movement. It is highly probable that if some of us had had the time (and the temperament) for "lobbying" in Eccleston Square, Westminster, and other head offices, this recognition might have been won earlier. But it has been won "on merits"; and that, after all, is the most satisfactory way.

▲

Not only is it the most satisfactory way of winning recognition from the Powers that Be in the Workers' Movement, but it is the best guarantee against the admitted dangers and difficulties of the new situation. The W.E.A., which still stands for "Co-Partnership with the Boss Class in Education," is also represented on the new Committee; and for the first time the advocates of Independent Working-Class Education will have to fight for their principles, not on an open platform, but in the rather more enervating atmosphere of a "joint" committee. No one familiar with the record of service put in by the officials of the N.C.L.C. will be at all perturbed about the outcome. But, even if we did not know our men, the very fact that our movement has won its way so far by an uncompromising affirmation of principles would be, as we have said, the best sort of safeguard against any "watering-down" now. "Take us as we are, our hostility to the W.E.A. included, or leave us out altogether" has been the N.C.L.C. attitude throughout the various negotiations. And it has consistently made it clear that in no circumstances is it prepared to cease either its advocacy of real working-class education, or its opposition to any imitation articles.

Its advantageous position in this respect becomes all the clearer when one compares it with the American Workers' Education Movement, whose 1924 *Year Book* has just *reached us*. The Workers' Education Bureau of America, if one were to judge by the utterances of some of its officers, is a good deal more closely akin to our W.E.A. than to the British Labour College movement. But it is clear from a reading of the discussions at its Annual Convention last year that the active workers in its affiliated colleges and classes are very largely Plebs—in spirit, if not in name. Its Executive Committee's Report may opine that "In education rather than in propaganda the worker finds hope"; but the Report of its Curriculum Committee makes it clear that the Bureau by no means stands where the W.E.A., for example, stands:—

Such subjects as History, Labour Problems and History, Sociology, Economics, Psychology, Literature, Economic Geography, etc.,... are taught in other institutions. But as taught there, they are generally explanations of and apologies for the existing order... The interests of ruling classes are upheld as opposed to those of workers. At times they are taught in a spirit of mild liberalism, but very mild indeed....

These subjects must be taught in workers' colleges because they deal with workers' problems. It is only in workers' colleges that we can expect them to be taught scientifically, *i.e.*, with the truth told on all sides of the question. Here facts can be stated even though they may be favourable to workers' organisations, and truth can be told even though it may hurt the privileged classes.

That would serve as a statement of our own position. And we might quote a score of sentences from the speeches of delegates to the Convention indicating no less clearly that the workers who support the Bureau stand consciously and uncompromisingly for Independent Working-Class Education.

But the Bureau has won, and is obviously exceedingly anxious to retain, financial assistance from the American Federation of Labour. And Mr. Gompers' organisation is not precisely a class-conscious one—not, at any rate, so far as Mr. Gompers can help it! The official spokesmen of the Workers' Education Bureau, therefore, when they approach the A.F. of L., set themselves to be Eminently Respectable; to conceal their conscious *class* aims in a cloud of the sort of windy rhetoric beloved by American universities and American politicians. Thus, the Secretary of the W.E.B., addressing the Annual Convention of the A.F. of L. on "The Promise of Workers' Education," is at pains to assure his audience that only the most strictly respectable fruits are promised. Not a word in this address of "privileged classes" and "working classes"; of "opposed" interests, or of truths that may hurt the one or the other. Instead, the usual cloudy stuff about "educated democracy," "our future development as a nation," "joining labour and learning. . . . that both may share in their true inheritance of life," "Education for All the People, Universal and Lifelong," etc., etc. And there is this old, familiar string of words, which Mr. Mactavish himself might have declaimed:—

"What is education?" you ask. . . . It may be helpful to know what it is not. Education is not information, it is not intelligence, though it uses it, nor is it training. *It is emphatically not propaganda. Education is as fundamentally and functionally different from propaganda as is the real from the false, as is pure gold from imitation.* To the educationalist, inquiry is free and unrestricted; to the propagandist it is bound and fettered. The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, is the spirit of the true educator; to the propagandist truth is subordinated to ulterior and narrow ends.

Concluding with the magnificent sentence—uttered doubtless with a ring of passionate sincerity that brought tears to the eyes of Mr. Gompers:—

Education is not a quantity that is added to life, but a quality that comes out of life. . . . It is life!

The nearest approach in the whole address to any sort of expression of the need for a specifically *workers'* education is a remark that the workers "have a special interest in education" inasmuch as they "look out upon the world as *craftsmen* as well as *citizens*." (There is also a plea that without education Labour cannot win

“public opinion” to its side—“yet it must be evident that when Labour wins public opinion part of its struggle has been won.”)

Now all this “mild liberalism” is the price paid—consciously or unconsciously—for the dollars and the blessing of the A.F. of L.

The Future The N.C.L.C. is little likely to pay any such lip-service to the prejudices of any section of our own Labour movement. Its aims and its principles, indeed, are those of the Labour movement itself—applied to the particular problems of education. And just as we are certain that the Workers’ Education Bureau of America will outgrow its infantile stage of mild liberalism, so we have no doubt whatever that our own T.U.C. will, from “recognising” the Labour Colleges, go on to endorse and support the work of those institutions, and of them alone.

The question referred to by E. and C. Paul in our correspondence pages this month—the victimisation of ex-Labour College students—is one which has been ventilated in *The PLEBS* *Railwaymen*, several times, by ex-students and others (*cf. S. Wales Miners*, N.C.L.C. Notes this month). This problem, and *I.W.-C.E.* like that of the relation between the London College and the N.C.L.C., can only be solved by working for a strong *rank-and-file* interest in *I.W.-C.E.* among the members of the two controlling Unions—the Railwaymen and the *S. Wales Miners*; and the interest of rank-and-file Trade Unionists can only be aroused, in the first place, by an educational scheme for evening classes which he himself, and his fellows, have the opportunity of attending. Given a widespread understanding of the importance of Working-Class Education among the membership of the *N.U.R.* and the *S.W.M.F.*, the present acquiescence in the victimisation of ex-students would be unthinkable. It is on the face of it absurd that these two Unions, financing the one resident Workers’ College in this country, should not be affiliated, as Unions, to the N.C.L.C. One of the most pressingly important tasks we can set our hands to is a campaign among their members, and the winning of support from them for an educational scheme embracing provincial classes.

We have had numerous letters of regret from Esperantist comrades since we ceased to print “*Esperanto Notes*” monthly. May we state in reply to these letters, that this step implied no sort of indifference to the progress of Esperanto, but was decided upon simply because a curtailment of certain features was necessitated by the reduction

in the number of our pages, and by the consideration that no other of our "subjects" received special, separate treatment. We shall, nevertheless, endeavour always to include an item or two of interest to Esperantists; e.g., certain reviews published in this issue.

We are keeping up our circulation. Our "British Empire" No. last month went like hot cakes, and won us not a few new friends. But we want not merely to keep level. Our Circulation We want—even though it be Summer—to keep on going up. We want those 7,000 readers. The smallest of "pushes"—the sort of thing that should easily be practicable, even in warm weather—will take us there now.

We have no medals to award. But we would like to take this opportunity of giving Honourable Mention to comrades Ingle and Gwilliam of Manchester for their recent efforts to win new readers for The PLEBS. What they have done others can do; and we know that no one will be better pleased than them if someone else breaks their record this month.

J. F. H.

FASCISM

We publish below the first of a series of four articles on a subject of vital interest to the organised workers—Fascism, the latest form of bourgeois reaction to working-class demands. The articles have been specially written for The PLEBS, and embody the results of careful study both of Fascist literature and of recent events in Europe.

I.—THE ORIGIN AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FASCISM.

MANY impudent arguments have been used in support of Fascism, and the capitalist press has exercised its utmost skill in representing Mussolini as the saviour of Italian civilisation and the embodiment of almost all the political virtues. It is not surprising, therefore, that the claim has even been advanced that the Fascists are not an anti-Labour force. Mussolini himself constantly poses as the friend of the working classes, as the apostle of ordered freedom and proletarian well being. Thus, speaking at Milan on 6th December, 1922, he made great play with the fact that he was of working-class origin (his father was a blacksmith). "The Government," he went on, "... is not, cannot

and does not wish to be anti-proletariat. The workmen are a vital part of the nation . . . it is a Government that wishes to act in the interests of the working classes, interests which will always be recognised when they are just," that is, of course, when they do not seriously threaten those of the capitalists.

This sort of thing is a vote-catching device and is not to be seriously considered. But many interpreters and apologists of Fascism equally claim that the movement is "above class," is nation-wide in its policy, and is specifically not anti-labour. The voluble Mr. Odon Por even makes the fantastic suggestion that Fascism is leading to the establishment of a kind of Guild Socialism in Italy.

It is true that Mr. Por's conception of Guild Socialism is a muddled sort of thing and does not imply a complete expropriation of the capitalists; nevertheless, even Mr. Por anticipates in his ideal society a large measure of workers' control over the conditions of industry and a definite increase in the freedom, dignity and standard of living of the proletariat. To expect any of these things to result from the triumph of Fascism is like expecting to "tear a pension out of the hands of a courtier" or his prey from a ravenous tiger.

As against these fanciful theories, we may set the concrete facts. The violent smashing of the Labour Movement in 1919 and 1920 by armed bands of blackshirts is not disputed. The beatings, the burnings and the murders carried out against the political and economic organisations of the workers are openly admitted. The hypocritical defence is, indeed, put forward that the Trade Unions, the Co-operatives, and the Italian Socialist Party did not really represent the working class; they were simply the vocal expression of the more "extremist" sections. No one acquainted with the facts can accept such inaccurate special pleading. The membership of the General Confederation of Labour in 1919 was over two millions; of the P.S.I. (Italian Socialist Party) 70,000, while the ranks of the latter were constantly swelling. In the parliamentary and local elections of 1919, the Socialists gained unprecedented successes, and the whole movement was in a condition of active development. The working class was in a state of ferment and their aspirations found political expression in the Italian Socialist Party.

The murderous policy of the Fascists during the period preceding their seizure of power was directed almost entirely against the workers. Nor did their policy change when they had attained political control of Italy and Mussolini was Prime Minister. Then the value of his pious phrases about class collaboration and the brotherhood of Italians in pursuance of national ideals became plain for the nauseating cant that it was. In accordance with the usual practice of bourgeois rulers, the Fascists carried on their class legislation behind a screen of fine phrases. "Economy in State Finance"

was needed to restore national credit ; so the State railway services were cut down on the ground that they were unremunerative, while employees were dismissed, and a vast reduction of wages set going ; the eight-hour day has been attacked and, on the railways, nullified by a "spread-over" system. New taxes on the workers (carefully collected at the source) have been imposed, at the exorbitant rate of over 10 per cent. on wages, while death duties (which are paid mainly by the wealthy) have been drastically reduced, luxury taxes lowered ("to encourage the production of motor cars"), and the law prohibiting the issue of bearer stock repealed so that capital holdings might be anonymous and more easily escape taxation. Nor have the acts of violence which characterised the Fascist rise to power now been checked. Mussolini himself issues half-hearted protests against violence from time to time, but it continues to be used as the means of securing political compliance, and the adherence of the workers to the Fascist labour organisations. It reached a climax at the recent elections (April, 1924). Protests against the brutal attacks made by Fascists on their political opponents (mostly Socialists) were made by (*inter alios*) the Rome correspondent of the *Daily Herald* and by Professor Guglielmo Salvadori in the *New Statesman*. The former was deported from Italy and the latter beaten by armed Fascist hooligans in Florence, while the police looked on. Even the *Times* correspondent, who is no enemy to the Fascists, comments from time to time on the lawless violence still current in Italy, and eye witnesses continue to bring sad reports of the beatings and burnings which proceed. A terrible revenge has been taken by the Fascists on the workers who dared to vote heavily against them in the elections. In the province of Milan alone, 57 workers' buildings were burnt or sacked within two days. The *Times*, a paper by no means hostile to the forcible maintenance of capitalist order, was forced by the weight of the facts to write in its leading article on 5th May, 1924 :—

"Numbers of disgraceful outrages were perpetrated by local Fascisti during the electoral period. Only a small part are reported, but the protest of the Vatican shows that many Roman Catholic associations of a charitable kind had their buildings wrecked under the eyes of the police. From Milan, where the Opposition parties are strong, there came reports of similar crimes in the city and for many miles around. The repeated destruction of copies of the great Milanese Liberal newspaper, the *Corriere della Sera*, notwithstanding the extreme mildness of its comments upon domestic politics, is a startling exposure of the pretence that opinion and the Press are free. They are nothing of the kind. Attempts, however moderate, to assert them are avenged by the local Fascisti, and hitherto—or, at least, until the other day—no real effort was made to repress or punish the offenders, or to protect their victims. It is stated with much probability that the real organizers of these crimes are well known to the authorities. The impunity they enjoy is a worse stain upon the Government and a far more ominous symptom of the situation than the impunity of the tools who do their bidding."

It is as a force directed against the interests and ideals of the workers that Fascism is receiving a special study in these columns. But it is not sufficient to define Fascism merely as an anti-labour force, like the White Guards of Hungary or the army of Wrangel. Fascism has special characteristics which give it an international importance, even greater than that derived from its success in Italy. Fascism operates primarily in the interests of industrial capitalists. Often it opposes the land-owning elements in society, but allies itself with them in their common antagonism to the workers. Further, Fascism in Italy was built up not to ward off a working-class revolution, but as a result of the failure of the workers to seize and consolidate a revolution which was already half won. "Fascism," says Clara Zetkin, ". . . is not the revenge of the bourgeoisie in retaliation for proletarian aggression, but it is a punishment of the proletariat for failing to carry on the revolution begun in Russia."

The success of Fascism in Italy is due to two causes: the conditions of Italian economic life after the war, and the failure of the working class to dominate the situation in 1919.

The first thing to be understood about Italian economy, is that it is primarily agricultural. Only in the north is industrial capitalism well-established, and even there the greater part of the population follows agricultural pursuits. In spite of their numerical inferiority, the industrialists are now the ruling class in Italy. Until the war, the landlord class predominated, the whole system of government working in their interests and hindering the expansion of the industrial north.

The prime economic problem of the Italian industrialists is to secure a good supply of raw materials, especially of coal and iron, in which the country is very poor. The war gave the industrialists the opportunity they needed. An active policy of intervention in the war, with its promise of imperialist extensions, and new markets, and new sources of fuel supply, was precisely what the industrialists desired. The agrarians, on the other hand, had no concern in imperialist expansion or coal supplies. They opposed the war, and in this they were joined by the proletariat, both urban and rural.

It was at this stage that Mussolini appeared in the forefront of Italian politics. A campaign to popularise the idea of intervention among the workers and the small bourgeoisie was started. Mussolini had been a right wing Socialist and was the editor of the Party paper *Avanti*; as a result of his militarist attitude, a resolution expelling him was passed on 25th November, 1914, at Milan. Immediately afterwards, with funds provided by the French Government, he founded the paper called *Popolo d'Italia* to support the case for Italy's participation in the war.

It is significant that Mussolini's first arguments for war were

drawn from Socialist ideology. War was to be the mid-wife of revolution ; it was to achieve the ideals for which Socialists aimed. "War or a Republic !" was his cry, the implication being that the Republic was coming in any case—either before war or as a result of it : either way, the industrialists stood to gain, since either eventuality would give them the control of the State apparatus. *Popolo d'Italia* bore on its title page the phrase "a Socialist daily paper" until 1917, when Mussolini's Socialist principles were finally swamped by nationalist and bourgeois ideas.

Giolitti, the Prime Minister, at that time represented (owing to his connection with the *Banca Commerciale*) pro-German and agrarian interests, and he was able to withstand the pressure of the interventionist campaign for a long time. But in the spring of 1915 he was forced to yield and his Government resigned. The King (although closely allied with the landed interests) dared not oppose the war movement, and the new Government declared war on Austria, and, later, on Germany. Thus Mussolini achieved his first victory for the industrialists. Had that victory been a final and complete one, Fascism would not have developed after the war ; it would not have been necessary.

When the war was over, it was time to count the gains of conquest. Victory had been purchased at a heavy price. The agrarians had been driven out of power, while the industrial bourgeoisie who had replaced them were now in turn faced with ruin. Heavy industry had been enormously expanded for war purposes. Vast capital expenditure had been incurred and the economic machine, if it was to continue to run on capitalist lines, had to earn profits on a basis of enormously inflated capital. While, on the one hand, the capitalists were relatively inexperienced and inefficient, the proletariat, on the other, were unwilling to co-operate in re-establishing a social system with which they had no sympathy. They had been driven into war ; urged to work and to fight for social ideals which now seemed impossible of realisation. The cost of living was rapidly rising and economic discontent added to the disillusionment with the results of the war. The nationalist aims had not been achieved : the Adriatic was not an Italian lake : the major members of the Allies were securing all the plums and Italy was left out. Then there were the familiar grounds of dissatisfaction among soldiers in regard to demobilisation, and later, pensions.

Such were the causes underlying the wave of revolutionary feeling in 1919. On the crest of this wave there rose the two antagonistic currents—the revolutionary Socialist movement and Fascism. The course of these movements will form the subject of the two succeeding chapters.

L. W.

(To be continued.)

“ THIS STABILISATION ”

FOR about four years an almost inevitable question in N.C.L.C. classes has been : “ Does the lecturer think that capitalism is able to stabilise itself ? ” The answer seems to be that the word, *stabilisation*, may stand for several quite different things ; and let us not, therefore, become slaves to this magic word. For full three years “ The Stabilisation of Europe ” has been the earnest object of British Foreign Policy—ever since the ending of the post-war boom in 1920 showed the ruin which broken markets and uncertain price-levels wrought for British capitalism. With this aim Mr. Lloyd George went to Genoa. It was his *tour de force*, and he failed. Mr. Bonar Law sought to evade the responsibility in “ tranquillity.” The success, in fact, with which British capitalism turned its eyes from Europe to other markets and to “ Empire Trade ” was wellnigh complete : for, in January 1923 a trade revival in Britain was almost under way ; just as 12 months before it had been in U.S.A., which had washed its hands of Europe altogether for the time being.

But “ Stabilisation ” as a compelling phrase was to assert itself again very soon. The final occupation of the Ruhr by the French, at the behest of French “ heavy industry ” set the economic fabric of Europe quaking once more. It was soon followed by the catastrophic falling of the mark—from a level of thousands to millions and then to billions. And though a temporary stimulus was given to coal and pig-iron exports from Britain by the paralysis of Ruhr industry, a deep gloom settled down on the other sections of British capitalism, in particular on cotton and on most sections of iron and steel except pig-iron. For British capitalism stabilisation had become imperative once more.

With the failure of Mr. Lloyd George and the impotence of Mr. Law and Mr. Baldwin before them, it was not surprising that British capitalists should give a fairly long leash to Mr. Macdonald to do the awkward job for them. If he succeeded, stabilisation would be theirs : then later they could find abundant opportunities of ousting him. If he failed, the disgrace would be upon Labour, not on any of the capitalist leaders.

So, now we have this stabilisation—the kind for which British capitalism has been seeking—before us ; and the Labour Party is the chosen and flattered instrument which is to put it into effect. We have the Experts’ Report. When the mark had slumped to 20 billion—*i.e.* to a billionth of its pre-war value—and the final collapse of Germany seemed an hourly probability, the Committee of Experts was set up under the American General Dawes. Ger-

many, the debtor of the Entente, was bankrupt and broken. It was, therefore, time for the creditors to foreclose. Britain could receive compensation for her ruined markets, France could receive the payment she had expected by the seizure of the bankrupt debtor's property. The Dawes Committee were the bailiffs who were to arrange the deal. The Committee has now agreed to set the debtor on his feet again to work in bonded service for his creditors, until such time as he shall have escaped their clutches.

What does the Report provide for? First, it advises a partial moratorium on reparations until 1929. After that an annual payment of £125 millions, plus other amounts to increase as Germany gets more prosperous. Second, it suggests the institution of a Bank of Issue, to control the issue of currency. Part of its capital will come from outside Germany, and large powers will be exercised over it by an international board, representing Germany's creditors. Third, it provides for an international loan to Germany of £40 million to aid reconstruction. Fourth, the reparations are to be guaranteed by a mortgage on the railways and on industry, together with certain assigned revenues—Customs and beer, tobacco, alcohol and sugar taxes—under the control of an Allied representative. In the case of the railways a new Joint Stock Company will be formed with a capital of £1,300 millions. Of these the German Government is to hold the ordinary shares (£650 million), and £550 million in mortgage bonds are to be held by the Allied Reparation Commission, which will receive interest on them at 5 per cent. In the case of industry the Reparation Commission is to hold £250 million of bonds bearing 5 per cent. interest. Fifth, certain Allied officials will be appointed as Commissioner of the Bank of Issue, Commissioner of Railways, Agent for Reparation Payments, Trustee for Railway and Reparation Bonds.

Now, what does this mean? It means that the capitalism of the victorious Imperialist groups is coming to a bargain with the capitalists of Germany. In return for a loan, the Allies are to secure the right to a share in the product of the German industrial system. The railway and industrial bonds will yield after 1929 £40 million annually. Altogether they hope to get £125 annually, together with a share of any increased production. To safeguard their share the Allies have the right of appointing representatives with limited powers of supervising the German industrial system, just as debenture holders sometimes have the right of appointing representatives to watch their interest on the board of directors of a firm. Such is the long-awaited for stabilisation: it is the manner in which the Powers "stabilised" Turkey, Persia, Tunis, Morocco, China before the war. The new Imperialism has its sphere of "penetration," of influence, and of exploitation in Central Europe as well as in Asia.

But just as the scrambles over Persia, Morocco, China gave rise to a series of "crises" which led up to 1914, so will the scramble over Central Europe give rise to crises—only, now they are nearer home. One such crisis is even now beginning to arise out of the Experts' Report. The bourgeois papers, in fact, have already indicated that the most important issues it raises are political, not economic. The Report is essentially a moderate document. It wishes to leave sufficient share of "surplus-value" to the German capitalists for their encouragement. The control it imposes is definitely limited. In this it represents the interests of British (and to a less extent U.S.A.) capitalism, which wants German *markets*, wants a moderately strong Germany to play off against France, and above all does *not* want the extension of *French* control over German industry. Hence the Report provides that "economic activity will be unhampered by any foreign organisation other than the controls herein provided." This throws down a crucial challenge to France: it challenges the occupation of the Ruhr.

On the other hand France will be desirous of securing a larger share of German "surplus-values," and of securing further "guarantees." Already the famous French bourgeois journalist "Pertinax" has insisted that a scheme of this kind must mean complete "Turkification" of Germany or nothing at all, and that for the former a more elaborate scheme of control needs to be worked out. The difficulty in the near future is likely to be over the £40 million loan. Of this a large part will have to come from London—probably over half. British finance will be chary of giving this if most of the proceeds of the stabilisation scheme are to go to France. They will want some payment from the French Debt to Britain. France on the other hand will probably only assent to this scheme if Britain cancels the French Debt.

But if the German capitalists have got to part with some of their profits to Entente capitalism, what inducement will they have to continue to organise industry and to invest their money in Germany? Already German capital has gone outside Germany to the extent of £340 millions. A large part of the burden of the annual £125 million will, therefore, fall on to the German workers either in unemployment or low wages. At the moment the German labour movement has been checked all along the line. The Workers' Governments of Saxony and Thuringia have been suppressed; the 8-hour day is lost; a White Terror is appearing. It will not be difficult, therefore, for the German and Entente capitalists with linked hands to "stabilise" by reducing the worker's standard and to increase the rate of his exploitation. And in crushing the German workers and handing the cudgel to the German industrial magnates the German Social-Democrats have played the part of

Judas. Let them, like Judas, go and hang themselves! The German elections have, indeed, pointed the accusing finger!

Will Mr. Macdonald and his fellows play a similar Judas part? They are, indeed, deeply implicated in Imperialism already by their utterances, by Mr. Thomas' attitude to Wembley, by Mr. Macdonald's letter to India, by the matter of the cruisers and the Air Force. Is it going to prove that Mr. Macdonald is just the tool of British capitalism, as Noske and Scheidemann were the tools of the German bourgeoisie? If so, he will, no doubt, assent to the plans of British capitalism in Europe through blind devotion to the words, "peace" and "stability." He will rally liberal pacifists and petty-bourgeois jingos to passionate enthusiasm in resisting French "aggression" and "rapacity." But let us beware of the magic of words; let us investigate ruthlessly their relation to concrete things. "Stabilisation" may mean many things; and in this particular case, it involves the crushing of the German workers to a coolie level. It seems likely, too, to involve a new stage of Imperialism, in which control of Germany will play to the next war what control of the Near East played to the last. Is Mr. Macdonald to be a second Lord Grey?

MAURICE DOBB.

AFTER the FRENCH ELECTIONS

WALL STREET lost the December General Election in Great Britain. Wall Street has won the May Elections in Germany and in France. Wall Street is coming back again into European politics. That is the inward and more immediate significance of the dramatic events which have been taking place in Germany and in France. Nationalism has experienced a set-back in the former and a rout in the latter. Twice ten thousand woolly-brained idealists have again commenced to cackle. There is hope for the League of Nations. There is acceptance for the Dawes Report. There is a chance for Stabilisation. There is a reasonable possibility of a Europe made safe for Democracy. By the time these words appear in print all the solemn sentimentalists who acclaimed Woodrow Wilson as the re-incarnated Light of the World will be bleating their loudest.

As long as a soldier can be made to look like a gendarme and a gendarme to look like a London policeman, the sentimental socialists will rest content in the fond belief that the Second Coming

cannot be far off, and that, politically speaking, "millions now living will never die."

That is the kind of atmosphere, blown somewhat thin since the palmy days of the Wilson cult, that we are again to breathe. Once more capitalism is serving out white wings and haloes to its political "sharps."

The "Right" parties in France have been heavily defeated. The Clericals and Royalists of the *Action Française* type have been rebuffed and, despite the intense propaganda of the "Patronages"—potential Fascisti, clubs of young men under the patronage of the Church—and the noisy manifestations of Daudet and his friends, have suffered severely. The more sober elements of the "Bloc National," the "hard-faced" men elected in 1920 upon the wave of post-war determination to make Germany pay and to keep her down, have lost nearly a hundred seats. The politics of war profiteering have been liquidated. The Radicals and the Radical Socialists and the Socialists, the so-called "Bloc des Gauches" or "Union of the Left," has secured a majority, though not a large one. Poincaré has decided to go before he was pushed and Herriot or some other leader of the Left is to take his place.

What has really happened in France is what has happened in all the countries of "the Allied and Associated Powers." The industrialists and their allies amongst the militarists have lost their economic advantage and slipped into the power of that section of the capitalist class whose wealth is in the most liquid forms and embodied in materials in continuous and almost universal demand.

The more cosmopolitan elements in French finance had for some time made up their minds that the "Bloc National" must go. For one thing it was provoking the workers and peasants to revolutionary courses. For another it was much too subservient to the metallurgical interests. The more conservative and nationalist section of the bank and steel bourgeoisie has been broken by the cosmopolitans—I should say—around the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas. The steady fall in the franc had been alarming the provincial peasantry and petite bourgeoisie, with their milliards in fixed interest-bearing government stocks, for some time. When someone started a "drive," and the franc went rushing towards the abyss, these people, the overwhelming majority of the middle class electorate, resolved that Poincaré must go.

Who precisely started that "drive" it is hard to say, but that it was entirely in line with the interests of the cosmopolitan bankers points to it being someone not remotely connected with the Banque de Paris, Kuhn Loeb of New York—old friends of Lord Beaverbrook of the *Daily Express*—Mendelssohns of Berlin and Amsterdam, Kleinworts, and the Westminster and Barclays Banks in London.

It was that "drive" which won the French Elections for the "Bloc des Gauches." There will now come into office in Paris a politician subservient not to the conservative and militarist oligarchy, with its ingrained nationalist and Buonapartist ideology, but, whilst prepared to kiss the Tricolour and sing the Marseillaise, to keep his place as the willing tool of international and inter-continental credit capital.

If the opposition of the Socialists keeps Briand, the pro-American, out of the Premiership for a time, and banishment disables the Philip Snowden of France, Caillaux, whoever takes the lead will fall in with the insistent voice of Wall Street that has said "the Dawes Report, the whole Report, and nothing but the Report." The Beaverbrook organ, the *Evening Standard*, let that cat out of the bag the other night.

Wall Street has demanded that there shall be no separate Railway Regie in the Rhineland under French control. Morgan—the ventriloquist who talks through Dawes—has made it plain that money will only be forthcoming in return for a mortgage on the German railways and capitalist control thereof. "Mr. MacDonald," says the *New York Times*, "will have to stand fast beside the new French Government." Says the *New York World*, "An entente between the Britain of Mr. MacDonald and the France of M. Briand and M. Herriot and the Socialists is the only kind of combination which could give the Dawes plan a real chance."

There we have it. Mr. Wilson, the idealist, was used to hurl America into the war. Mr. MacDonald, the second edition of Mr. Wilson, is to be employed to do a job no capitalist politician could get away with. He is to bind the European proletariat in the name of the Prince of Peace and to the profit of the almighty dollar. It is the historic destiny of such men as Mr. Wilson, the Liberal, and Mr. MacDonald, the Socialist, to end their days paving hell with good intentions.

The position of Mr. MacDonald and his colleague, Mr. Snowden, is beyond words tragic. They seem to have so great a power in this Parliament, so exceptional a strategic position in the State and yet, wrapt in their Reformist illusions, they are impotent for anything but measureless evil.

Hitherto, Mr. MacDonald has carried on the policy of Mr. Baldwin and, being regarded as a Socialist, has done it almost unchallenged. Under the remorseless pressure of the bankers behind the Tories, his government has continued to bolster up the credit monopoly, to keep money dear and to forego all expensive schemes for relieving unemployment. Under the veto of his own parliamentary "Diehards," he has relied rather upon the Tories than upon the Liberals. But it is the former course rather than the latter that has roused the crusading fury of Mr. Lloyd George.

In the Budget, Mr. Snowden has taken off the McKenna Duties. In doing that he has "dished" the Liberals. But he has, also, "dished" the Tories. If he has proved that Labour is more Free Trade than the Liberals, he has demonstrated to his master, Mr. Morgan—whose ambassador, Mr. Kellogg, was staying at Windsor with Mr. MacDonald the week-end before the Budget was introduced—that Labour can also administer in the interests of American money-power just as slavishly as the Tories. "I am," says Mr. Snowden, "a very 'umble person!"

It is becoming a serious problem for Mr. Morgan's General Motors Corporation to sell the output of cars which, in the case of the Chevrolet, is increasing even more rapidly than Henry Ford's.

Mr. Lloyd George, on whose behalf the Wall Street money-power began to batter the pound sterling last autumn, had hoped to come to power on the side of wrath engendered against the supposedly incapable Baldwin Government. Mr. Baldwin sprung the Election before Mr. Lloyd George was ready and, whilst he lost for himself, he won for his section of the capitalist class. He went out of office and Mr. MacDonald went in. Mr. Baldwin knew that the trade union "Right" in the Labour Party would always do anything under the blandishments of the Tory-crowded Court, and that the Socialist "Left" would veto any truce with the Liberals, whilst Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Snowden would never do anything naughty if left to themselves.

Now, Mr. Snowden has outbid both Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Lloyd George in the thieves' parlour over "the pond."

Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Snowden, masters of the Parliamentary situation here, are, however, *as every British Minister must be till he grasps the outheld hand of the Soviet Power*, the creatures of Wall Street.

Now, Morgan has his puppets in Downing Street and his puppets in the Quai d'Orsay. But the end of the show is not yet.

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD.

HOW TO BUILD HOUSES —and relieve Unemployment

MR. GEORGE HICKS' reply deserves the careful consideration of all concerned in this vitally important subject. It is a matter of gratification to realise that the anticipation of the Report of the House Building Committee indicates that the Government have been willing to accept suggestions made to them from various quarters. There are two points upon which

Mr. Hicks asks for further elaboration, and I willingly respond in the hope that the exchange of opinions will prove helpful.

I am still anxious to supplement the labour shortage by some form of dilution. My reason for doing so is not altogether in the interest of the building industry, but also in the wider and national interest. Mr. Hicks informs us that "At the present time there are sufficient craftsmen in the building industry outside those required for commercial maintenance to build over 200,000 houses a year." If this is so, where are they? If the records of the Ministry of Labour are to be relied upon there is a shortage. Actual experience shows that at the time of writing the number of bricklayers out of work within an area containing a population of over a million is six—and they are all men of seventy years or more. Another practical illustration may be recorded in a statement made in the press by a local representative of the building workers, that he could provide all the labour necessary for the building of houses; and within a week of that statement he was seeking the assistance of the local Labour Exchange to meet his own requirements. It would appear, therefore, that the demand for labour cannot be met and that the restricted period of apprenticeship (with which I am in cordial agreement) cannot meet that shortage for four years. Meanwhile, overcrowding with all its attendant horrors of disease, immorality, crime and death are to continue.

But there is another reason why I would again appeal to Mr. Hicks and those associated with him for a further consideration of the principle of dilution. Careful inquiries among the unemployed lead me to believe that the burden of unemployment mainly falls on men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five, and in greater measure still by men between eighteen and twenty-five. These facts can no doubt be confirmed by inquiry addressed to the Minister of Labour by any Member of Parliament interested. What do these facts mean? They mean that the majority of unemployed men were mere boys when they joined the army during the war. Many of them, however, have never been in the army. Owing to the economic conditions which have prevailed during the past five years, none of them have been given the opportunity of entering industry. They are the victims of the outrage on civilisation which resulted in the war. They are not only present receivers of national assistance, but, unless something drastic is done they will constitute a definite charge on the national and local exchequers as inhabitants of our prisons, poor law and mental institutions and hospitals. During a discussion on unemployment in my class of long-sentence men at a large prison the opinion was expressed that the majority of the men are in prison because of want of employment.

I do not say that all these men are adaptable for training in the building industry. I do say, however, that provided safeguards are given to the present members of the building trade unions, it should be considered an act of social justice that the right hand of fellowship should be extended to our less fortunate brothers and that the building trade which prides itself upon its high integrity should give succour to the helpless, and at the same time provide the additional labour to build the houses which the nation requires.

Mr. Hicks asks what I "expect to get out of dilution either in speed or production more than such a controlled scheme of apprenticeship affords?" I am not primarily concerned with speed or production, but with the material, moral and spiritual welfare of the many thousands of men who have no organised means of voicing their grievances and wrongs. Will Mr. Hicks give us a lead in this connection?

I may be forgiven if I again point out that in my address to the British Association I never advocated the conscription of labour. What I urged was the selection of suitable men upon the unemployed registers of the Employment Exchanges as recruits for the building industry. In times of peace we recruit our national army to *protect* property after the men have passed the necessary tests. In the national war upon the slums, I want to recruit an army to *produce* property, but only after the men have passed the necessary tests which the Local Joint Committee of employers and operatives may see fit to impose.

JOHN J. CLARK.

SCIENCE and the WORKER

CHANGE is in the air of our times. No sooner does a Wells weave some unheard-of invention into a romance than he is overtaken by real life—and the invention becomes a part of our everyday existence. A little book, *Daedalus, or Science and the Future*, by J. B. S. Haldane (Kegan Paul, 2s. 6d.) forecasts some of the changes anticipated by a scientist. Apart from a few quotations in Latin and Greek, it is a simply written short essay, but its conclusions are so startling that it has already aroused a wide discussion and run into its second edition.

Daedalus was the maker of the wings by which Icarus tried to fly; science apparently is to play Daedalus to the Icarus of humanity. But as the analogy suggests, science may be making the means of man's destruction; human beings may be creating a Robot, a Frankenstein.

Has mankind released from the womb of matter a Demogorgon which is already beginning to turn against him and may at any moment hurl him into the bottomless void? Or is Samuel Butler's even more horrible vision correct, in which man becomes a mere parasite of machinery, an appendage to the reproductive system of huge and complicated engines which will successively usurp his activities, and end by ousting him from the mastery of this planet?

Mr. Haldane agrees that the development of science cannot be stopped :

Capitalism, though it may not always give the scientific worker a living wage, will always protect him, as being one of the geese which produce golden eggs for its table. And competitive nationalism, even if war is wholly or largely prevented, will hardly forego the national advantages accruing from scientific research.

Willy nilly, mankind will acquire greater and greater powers for good and ill. There can be no finality—in industry, in customs, in morality or in philosophies. That is the recurring note of this book.

Science apparently is going to leave nothing untouched. Our lighting is wasteful :

To light a lamp as a source of light is about as wasteful of energy as to burn down one's house to roast one's pork. It is a fairly safe prophecy that in fifty years light will cost about a fiftieth of its present price and there will be no more night in our cities.

Only the velocity of light will limit future transport and communication—"any two persons on earth will be able to be completely present to one another in not more than 1-24th of a second." When coal and oil supplies have been exhausted, water and wind—especially the latter—will be harnessed to obtain power. Rows of metallic windmills will work electric motors and surplus power will decompose water into oxygen and hydrogen, which will be liquefied and stored.

Chemistry is going to provide man with new stimulants and synthetic food which "will substitute the flower garden and the factory for the dunghill and the slaughter-house, and make the city at last self-sufficient." One hundred and fifty years hence agriculture will have become a luxury. Already—

during the recent war Embden, the professor of physiology in Frankfurt University, discovered that a dose of about 7 grams of acid sodium phosphate increases a man's capacity for prolonged muscular work by about 20 per cent. and probably aids in prolonged mental work. It can be taken over very lengthy periods. A group of coal miners took it for nine months on end with very great effect on their output . . . no after effects like alcohol . . . Thousands of people in Germany take it habitually. It is possible that it may become as normal a beverage as coffee or tea. It costs 1s. 9d. per pound, or ½d. per dose.

From such a view as that one can foresee that, unless the workers win control of industry, Philip Gee, instead of spending money advertising private enterprise, will give each miner a daily dose to increase

the output and the railway directors will dope not the Press but the porters.

No less startling are the changes to be produced by the biologist in this and the next century. Among the great achievements of the past have been the domestication of animals and of plants, the monogamic marriage, bactericide, and the artificial control of conception. These have profoundly affected men's ideas and their social institutions.

According to Mr. Haldane, about 1940 a plant of the seaweed variety will be produced which will fix in the soil in four days the same amount of nitrogen fixed by a crop of vetches in a year. The food glut will be increased by the spread of this growth to the ocean as food for enormous quantities of fish. And this same plant, which will make the tropical Atlantic set to a jelly, will be varied to bind together the drifting sand of the world's deserts.

But reproduction of life is not confined to the plant world. The scientist of 150 years hence says :

Now that the technique is fully developed, we can take the ovary from a woman, and keep it growing in a suitable fluid for as long as twenty years, producing a fresh ovum each month of which 90 per cent. can be fertilised and the embryos grown successfully for nine months, and then brought out into the air.

By this "ectogenesis" mankind will breed how and what it wants.

These are only a few of the changes actually "already foreshadowed by recent scientific work." Will mankind have the sense to utilise these powers or will it be "a baby with a box of matches?" Is the scientist "a sinister and revolutionary figure" luring mankind to its doom? Mr. Haldane—although apparently he is not acquainted with the creative force of an awakening working-class movement—has some hope of man's adaptability. He foresees the replacing of anarchic by organised production because industrial injustice will be ultimately made "as self-destructive as international injustice." So that Marx, prophesying that capitalism would break down from its own contradictions, is supported by the physical scientists of to-day. The machine is growing too vast and too powerful for "private control."

Science has no terrors for the workers, who in their will to live better and their attitude to existing social institutions, beliefs and values are forced to scrap all illusions of permanence. That is why this book, which has horrified and startled many readers, will be eagerly read and welcomed by those of us who face the future with confidence because we work for the time when scientific knowledge of society will enable us consciously to adjust social institutions to all the new foretold accessions of power over mind and matter.

MARK STARR.

STABILISATION 2,000 YEARS AGO

By way of contrast to the articles in this issue discussing contemporary events in Europe, we print this interesting study of economic causes and political effects in the Europe of two thousand years ago.

OF four lectures by four University dons in a recently issued book*, the first three are of trifling importance; the last is a grave and important study—a piece of work genuinely Marxist in character if not in form. It is with this one, “The Social Question in the Third Century,” by W. W. Tarn, that I shall deal exclusively.

The period known as the “Hellenistic Age” is a sort of no-man’s land in history. The history of classical Greece, in a sort of way, is very thoroughly known. So is the history of Rome. But in between the two there is something of a blank. After Alexander the Great dies, the historian slips across West, with a few well-chosen words, to consider Roman history, and does not return to what was still the centre of the world until the consul Flamininus arrives with the legions in Greece. But from 300 to 200 B.C. the social structure of the civilised world was changing. The death of Alexander had not removed the effects of his destruction of the Persian empire. This empire, though it fell in pieces, remained Greek in character. Greek “diadochoi” (successors) ruled in Egypt, Macedonia, Asia Minor, and as far east as the Indies. Greek commercial and other activities were spread over a far greater area than ever before.

The political effects of this have been treated before. But what were the economic results of this vast essay in imperialism? Two main factors came into play. The first was the Persian treasury. The descendants of Cyrus had for hundreds of years collected gold in their treasury. The actual amount of specie they had gained is uncertain, but it was vast. Within a very short while the quarrelling successors of Alexander had spilt this great treasure all across the Greek world. Of course, prices shot up, money being suddenly of so much the less value. Secondly, there was a great increase in the supply of slave labour. The wealth of the East came West, and a great part of that wealth has always been in slaves.

**The Hellenistic Age*: Four Lectures. 6s. Cambridge University Press.

Now the accounts of the temple of Apollo at Delos have been discovered for these years and partly published. The temple was the great international banking centre of those days. It was the solid conservative firm ; there were, of course, less well-established bankers such as Praxicles of Naxos, whose terms were generally more onerous. These temple records give certain clear records of prosperity, confirming what we knew of the life of Rhodes, Alexandria and Antioch in these years. Money is cheap ; the rate of interest declines. The price of real estate rises ; the rent roll of the temple's farms in 434 was 7,600 drachmae, and in 300 B.C. it had risen to 16,200 drachmae.

Or again, take wheat, the staple Greek food. The normal price was reckoned to be 5 dr. a bushel ; in 282 B.C. it touched 10 dr. in Delos and averaged 7 dr. 3 obols.* Oil (which was the Greek worker's only fat, and an absolute necessity) rose from 12 dr. the metretes in the fourth century to 42 dr. in 305 at Delos. The Delos prices are as valuable an indication as Liverpool wholesale prices, and the island was regarded generally as a place of good living for the workers to migrate to.

And what of the Greek worker ? In earlier days prices had risen, but records show that wages had risen too. But in *this* period of rising prices wages fell ; moreover, there are records which show habitually irregular employment. Mr. Tarn produces figures which show clearly frantic attempts by the workers to keep up their level of living by speeding up and cutting rates. Finally wages fell precisely to the slave level ; that is, to two obols a day, the recognised "starvation rate" providing for food only. There is a record of one strike—one only.

Once we have realised this essential characteristic of the third century B.C. (and the twentieth A.D.)—that the rich grow richer and the poor poorer—the philosophical and other schools of thought fall into their places. No wonder Eratosthenes had time and leisure to calculate the measurement of the earth (very nearly exactly) and Aristarchus of Samos to discover that it went round the sun. This scientific advance, combined with scientific scepticism in religion, arose again under somewhat similar circumstances 2,000 years later. We can also see gradually forming the vast mingled mass of oppressed slave and free labour from which there arose later Mithraism and Christianity. More cultured circles adhered to philosophies, obviously induced by the misery and greed around them, which told them that wealth and rank were things to be disregarded and made light of by the reasonable man. Others taught

* 6 obols = 1 drachma. About 15. in weight, but of course of far greater purchasing value.

that the world around (politics, we should say) was so completely beyond redemption that it was a man's duty to have nothing to do with it, to refuse any dealing in public affairs and be contented only with his own uprightness. Others (you will meet them in London any day) turned to a sentimental interest in the local history of decaying communities off the orbit of the vast cities; graceful tales (in verse) appeared, dealing with the disappearing customs and manners of "unspoilt" districts.

But in Greece itself, Mr. Tarn informs us, one definite and sustained attempt was made to reverse this process. In Sparta the whole country had fallen practically into the hands of a very small nucleus of wealthy and practically cosmopolitan owners. The rest of the population, both helots (serfs) and citizens, was very poor and in debt to the ruling nucleus. There were two kings, who, however, had little real power, the effective control having been seized by an oligarchic council called the ephors. In the year 244 the young King Agis IV. started upon a programme of drastic social reform containing two main planks—the redistribution of all cultivated lands, and the cancellation of internal private debts. His fellow king, Leonidas, was "got at" by the ruling clique and vetoed his proposals. Agis refused to bring in the army and force his reforms through; the ephors then assassinated him. Phase number one is over—constitutional reform.

Mr. Tarn observes that a sort of Holy Alliance fathered by Alexander makes clear what was the Greek social revolutionary programme. This "League of Corinth" agreed to prevent in any of its component states "confiscation of personal property, or division of land, or cancellation of debt, or liberation of slaves for the purposes of revolution." Agis had adopted two of these; thirteen years later Cleomenes, Leonidas' son, appeared to adopt them all. With him we enter the second phase of the revolution—the military adventurer. Cleomenes, as soon as he succeeded to the throne, picked a quarrel with a neighbouring state, received full military powers, turned on the ephors and drove them out. He re-divided the Spartan farms according to plan, resumed the war with an enthusiastic army of revolutionary citizens, and defeated his opponent handsomely.

Now Greece was astonished by an international revolutionary outbreak. In many cities risings in favour of Cleomenes occurred. State after state came over to him. And that was his ruin. His only aim was to carve himself a kingdom. His new subjects found he had little intention of getting on with the business of a social revolution; he was just a Spartan invader. The powerful king of Macedonia intervened; Cleomenes' empire burst up as quickly as it had arisen; he was defeated and fled to Egypt. The Mace-

donian king put things right again in Sparta. Phase two is over.

When we come to phase three—the whole-hearted revolutionary—we find ourselves hampered more than usual. Not only are our sources scanty and bitterly hostile, but it would appear that Mr. Tarn's lecture time was nearly up. Intimidated, perhaps, by shuffling of feet and young ladies' coughing, he gives the barest outline of the career of Nabis. All he tells us is that Nabis carried out in full the four points of the social revolution; that he inaugurated a system of state support (not clearly described); that he united Argos with Sparta and raised Sparta for the last time to her old heights of glory; that no one could stand up to him until Rome herself intervened.

The consul Flamininus came south after the conquest of Macedonia. He attacked Nabis with 50,000 victorious legionaries; Nabis' 15,000 beat him off. "One can see that they must have fought for *some* sort of an idea, anyhow." Consul Flamininus—a sentimental believer in the independence of small Greek states—in the end took Argos away, but left Nabis in Sparta, with his Red Army.

Nabis was later assassinated. Foreign interests accentuated the chaos that followed, and at last an Achaean conqueror entered Sparta. 3,000 of Nabis' citizens refused to obey his orders to emigrate to Achaea. He sold them as slaves. And it is curious to notice that orthodox historians (for other reasons) tacitly agree that Greek history after this does not matter much to anybody.

R. W. POSTGATE.

An INTRODUCTION to PSYCHOLOGY

The re-issue of The PLEBS Psychology Textbook helps to make classes in the subject practicable. The following syllabus is planned for a course of 20 lessons, but variations are obviously possible, and by throwing together some of the sections a shorter course might easily be planned.

PART I.—BIOLOGICAL IDEAS.

(1.) *Introductory.*—The meaning of animal life. The urges of life are self-preservation, nutrition, growth and reproduction. Animal functioning and behaviour are efforts to satisfy the urges. In teaching biology the teleological attitude has practical value and must be adopted in such a course as this.

(2.) *The Biological Conception of Adaptation.*—The notion of environment. This is always variable and the satisfaction of the urges of life demands that the functioning of the animal organs, and the behaviour of the animal as a whole should also vary. This is adaptation and it may be conscious or unconscious. Examples should be discussed.

PART II.—THE MECHANISM OF BEHAVIOUR.

(3.) *The Animal Mechanism.*—We find in the animal body : (1) action—systems—skeleton, muscles, limbs, claws, teeth, etc. ; (2) nutritive-systems—digestive organs, etc. ; reproductive-systems ; sensory and nervous systems. Examples of the forms of these in the animal kingdom.

(4.) *The Human Animal.*—The sensori-motor system—muscle and nerve. The organ systems subsidiary to this and their modes of functioning.

(5.) *Sensation.*—Sense-organs (or receptors). Irritability in general. The conception of the threshold. Specialised sense organs. Examples and discussion of sensation in reference to the human sense-organs.

(6.) *The Responses to Sensation.*—The mechanism of muscle and nerve. Examples of movements of the body or parts of the body in response to stimulations of the sense organs.

(7.) *The Central Nervous System.*—Brain and nerves. The brain as an organ of integration. The way into the brain *via* the sensory (or afferent) nerves ; the way out *via* the motor (or effector, or efferent) nerves. The sympathetic nervous system.

PART III.—THE LEVELS OF BEHAVIOUR.

(8.) *Animal Automatism.*—The simplest responses to sensation : the reflex action and the conception of the simple reflex arc. The conceptions of taxis and tropisms. The general idea of involuntary responses to sensation.

(9.) *Instinctive Behaviour.*—The general idea of the survival of the past experience of the animal. Motor habits. The idea of the nervous path, or neurone pattern. Instinct as inherited neurone patterns. The idea of chains of reflex-actions. Examples.

(10.) *Intelligent Behaviour.*—Intelligent actions are individually acquired and are not inherited : this is the distinction from instinct. The survival of the past as individual memory. The method of trial and error.

(11.) *The Levels of Human Behaviour.*—The human brain and its development. The cortex cerebri. The human instincts. The complexity of the

human brain and its meaning. The higher and lower brain in man.

PART IV.—CONSCIOUSNESS AND MIND.

(Part IV. can be treated in various ways according to the experience of the lecturer. The following treatment is suggested as suitable for the ordinary class of students.)

(12.) *The Elementary Mental Categories.*—(a) Sensation with the feeling of bare conscious reception of stimuli and of consequent activity. (b) Emotional consciousness. (c) Perception. (d) Time and space. (e) The logical categories.

The psychological methods : the study of behaviour (objective) and the study of mind and consciousness by introspection (subjective). The physical concomitants of consciousness.

(13.) *Levels of Consciousness.*—Consciousness dim or absent in reflex or automatic or habitual activity ; prominent in intelligent actions ; intense in pleasurable, painful or emotional states. The emotions and their dependence on instinctive activities. Temperament and character and their dependence on the activity of the ductless glands.

(14.) *Perception.*—The working up of crude sensation in the mind. Percepts as mental constructions from sense-data, but not sense-data simply. The analysis and generalisations from sensory experience. Memory.

(15.) *The Notion of a Mental Mechanism.*—The assumption of "mind." Sensation and response need not imply consciousness and so we postulate a mind that operates on sense data.

The "materials" on which the mind operates. Space and time and their meanings. Space the consciousness of bodily movements in relation to an environment. Time the accumulation of conscious experience. Measurable space and time.

(16.) *The Processes of Thought.*—The mind a bare mechanism at birth, but the mechanism itself is inherited. The "logical categories" are operations performed by the mind on percepts. Reasoning, the categories of quality, quantity and relation. Language. Logic and its meaning.

(17.) *Psycho-analysis.*—The meaning

of unconsciously retained experience. Bodily activities that are not in the mind. Experience that is forgotten or repressed and its nature—the meaning of “forgetting.”

Thoughts and activities that come into the mind without conscious deliberation (“sub-conscious activity”). Mental complexes, phobias, prejudices, superstitions and their origins.

Mental conflict and its meaning. Class-conflict and its psychological meaning. The resolution of conflict. The failure of resolution and mental disease. Class-consciousness and its ultimate resolution in social revolutions.

Personality. Delusions and manias.

PART V.—LEVELS OF HUMAN MIND.

(18.) *The Evolution of Mind.*—The animal mind. Man’s inheritance from the animals. The human instincts.

The gregarious and acquisitive instincts and their influence on social evolution.

(19.) *The Mind of the Savage.*—Primitive societies and their evolution. Their dependence on instinctive activities. Supernaturalism or magic. Conventions in human behaviour. Taboos, sacrifices and the origin of religions.

(20.) *The Rational Mind.*—The evolution of magic into scientific hypothesis. Generalisation and analysis of experience and the formation of hypotheses. The testing of hypotheses and the formulation of natural laws. The method of experiment. The elementary concepts of natural science—Substance, Matter, Energy and Energy-transformations, space-time data.

[BOOKS RECOMMENDED.—See The PLEBS Handbook—*What to Read.* Sections on Psychology and Biology.]
J. J.

PLEBS SUMMER SCHOOL Cober Hill, Cloughton, Scarborough’ June 7th—June 14th.

PROGRAMME AND PARTICULARS

BY the time these words are in print the final arrangements will, we hope, have been made for our first Summer School this year. There may be one or two places still available, and if you make up your mind as you read this to book a place for yourself, go straight out and send a wire to The PLEBS Office. There’s bound to be a scramble for the last two or three places, and we have to complete our arrangements with the management of the Guest House a week before June 7th.

Take Note

Will all visitors take note of the following:—CLOUGHTON (the station for Cober Hill) is a few miles outside SCARBORO’. The best plan will be to take advantage of cheap bookings to Scarborough’, and then proceed by ‘bus or train to Cloughton.

N.B.—The last train from Scarborough’

to Cloughton leaves before 8 o’clock in the evening; so reach Scarborough’ early.

All trains arriving at Cloughton on Saturday will be met by desperadoes wearing Plebs badges; and a cart will probably be in attendance to convey luggage up to Cober Hill—about three-quarters of a mile away.

If you can send a post card before Wednesday, June 4th, to the Sec., PLEBS, 162a, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W. 1, stating about what time you hope to arrive at Cober Hill, you will earn her gratitude and facilitate smooth working of arrangements.

Programme for the Week.

Saturday Evening, June 7th.

Gathering of the clans.

Sunday Morning.—Lecture to be arranged.

Sunday Evening.—J. P. M. MILLAR, (Nat. Sec., N.C.L.C.) on “Present Position and Prospects of the I.W.C.E. Movement.”

Monday.—The Plebs Meet. Secretary-Treasurer's and Editor's Reports: New Constitution, etc. It is hoped that comrades who cannot get for the whole week will be able to take advantage of Whitsuntide excursion facilities to Scarboro', and be present at any rate for this day. Teas will be provided at the Guest House for all those notifying the Sec. not later than Wednesday, June 4th, of their intention to be present.

Monday Evening.—Dramatic performance by the Pimlico Players.

Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday Mornings.—

Four Lectures on Modern Capitalism—

(1) *World Politics and the Worker.* Modern Economic Interdependence of Nations—Disturbing deadlocks of the Ruhr, Reparations, and Russia—National v. International Trusts—The Tariff Controversy—Can the British Empire be Self-Sufficient?—The United States of Europe as the Next Step.

Lecturer—MAURICE DOBB.

(2) *Modern Workshop Methods.*—Growth of Factory and Coming of Machine—Women's increasing participation in Industry and its Problems—Automatic and mechanical devices to replace black-coated workers—Scientific Management—Applied Industrial Psychology—Welfare Work—Its Reaction upon the Worker.

Lecturer—ELLEN C. WILKINSON.

(3) *Banking, Credit and the Workers.*—Money—Currency and Credit—War-time Inflation—The Power of the Big Five—Nationalisation of Banks—Social Credit.

Lecturer—ARTHUR WOODBURN.

(4) *Trusts and Monopolies.*—The Marxian Forecast of Concentration—Apparent Exceptions—Horizontal and Vertical Combinations—Their Advantages—Examples of Monopoly Prices in Oil, Steel, Coal, Soap,

Tobacco, etc.—Trusts and Tariffs—How can Trade Unions cope with these Developments?

Lecturer—MARK STARR.

Four Lectures on the History of the Modern Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.—

(1) *From the Fall of Feudalism to the Rise of Mercantile Capitalism,* covering the fall of Constantinople, Renaissance, Reformation, the New World, rise and fall of Spain, Elizabethan era in England.

Lecturer—J. F. HORRABIN.

(2) *Pre-Machine Capitalism,* covering Louis XIV; the English Commonwealth and 1688; the Eighteenth Century up to and including the American Revolution.

Lecturer—J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD.

(3) *Machine Capitalism and Revolution,* covering the French Revolution; Industrial England; and Revolution and Counter-Revolution up to about 1880.

Lecturer—R. W. POSTGATE.

(4) *Imperialist Capitalism, 1880—1924;* covering the Seizure of Africa and Asia; the Struggle for Markets; revival of the British Empire; the United States; the growth of a Reformist Labour movement; first Russian Revolution; the War; second Russian Revolution; Peace.

Lecturer—T. A. JACKSON.

Evening Lectures:—

Tuesday.—WM. PAUL, "Revolution and Music."

Wednesday.—M. PHILIPS PRICE.

Thursday.—Prof. JAS. JOHNSTON.

Friday.—W. PALING, M.P.

PLEBS SUMMER SCHOOL,
BISPHAM, BLACKPOOL,
AUG. 9—16th.

Bookings are coming in steadily. Fuller details will be announced next month.

Meantime, note the date, and the fee—5s. per week, or 4s. 6d. for accommodation in tents in the grounds.

THE COMMUNIST BOOKSHOP

16, King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.2.

A RENDEZVOUS for all BOOKLOVERS

Send for Catalogue.

Mail Orders a Speciality.

LETTERS

EMPIRE—OR EUROPE ?

DEAR EDITOR,—Your article under this heading raised a question which has long been troubling practical-minded Socialists, who, while they can see a little further than the end of their noses, are inclined to look (long and cautiously) before they leap. The question I refer to is not the problem of internal revolution (though that is difficult enough in all conscience!) but the problem of external conditions which will permit a socialist Britain to exist for any appreciable time. Britain is not Russia: it would be criminal folly to carry through a revolution in this country if we knew that an effective blockade would follow. We could only hold out under these conditions for a few weeks, and our last state would be worse than our first.

But let us take things a step further. It is quite possible that in the not too distant future the danger of a capitalist blockade may have dwindled to such an extent that we can afford to risk it. Such a position may be brought about by several factors, chief of which are: (1) diversion of capitalist states by war (e.g., U.S. and Japan); (2) proletarian movement sufficiently strong to prevent armed intervention (as in the case of Britain and Russia in 1920); (3) revolutionary control of effective armed force to prevent blockade.

Supposing, then, that we are able to dismiss the question of a naval blockade and thus simplify matters, we are still faced with the difficulty that the capitalist states will almost certainly "send us to Coventry," if they can do no worse. We shall have to rely for our food and raw materials upon those countries that have followed the example of Russia. The problem is: which countries are absolutely essential to us in this respect, and what prospect is there that these particular countries will be able to carry out their revolutions by the time we are in a position to carry out ours?

J. F. H. names France, Germany and Russia. Is this the minimum? Could Britain and Russia possibly carry

on in face of a passively antagonistic world, or is the inclusion of the other two countries essential? Germany's revolution does seem, to a not particularly optimistic observer, quite a near possibility, but France, with her huge population of peasant proprietors, is a hard nut to crack. Can we form any useful forecast of developments now, or must we wait until another world war has cleared away the mists that darken the European situation?

These questions seem to me eminently practical, and worthy of close consideration. I should like to see them thoroughly discussed in *The PLEBS*, with export and import figures and other statistical data.

Yours fraternally,
ERNEST JOHNS.

TOLSTOY'S PLAYS

DEAR COMRADE,—“E. J.’s” review of the above in the April *PLEBS* was not criticism. He does not like the plays, and just passed on to *The PLEBS* his disagreeable impressions.

I have been reading Constable’s (1919) edition of the plays, admirably translated by the Maudes.

The Power of Darkness is a great tragedy. I cannot agree that it fails in realism. The dialogue is natural, and the characters are lifelike. The play reveals how deeply Tolstoy had studied the peasantry and how well he knew and understood their degrading existence. The story is gruesome enough, but it is not melodrama.

“E. J.” dismisses as “tedious” that amusing comedy *Fruits of Enlightenment*, or *Fruits of Culture*—the Maudes’ better title. Besides clever social satire and good characterisation real comedy sparkles through the play. Subjectively this work reveals Tolstoy’s contempt for the quackery of spiritualism, and the inanities, snobishness and conventionality of “high” society. It also shows his sympathy with the land-hunger of the peasants.

In *The Light Shines in Darkness*, Tolstoy, who is supposed to be the prototype of the chief character, is by no means heroic. He is rather an

aristocratic John Bunyan who has not yet quitted his City of Destruction. The real hero is the disciple Boris, who defies the despotism of Czardom, loses his betrothed, and endures the agony of prison and a madhouse, rather than submit to conscription "rather than in silence shrink, from the truth he needs must think."

I think it is a great pity, a great loss, the play was not finished. It is a human document of extraordinary interest. Herein Tolstoy stands forth as one of the great band of revolutionary individualists, iconoclastic idealists (the last of this race of giants is Shaw) whose task in life was to tear off the mask from bourgeois society; but whose respective philosophical, religious and political utopias were after all mirages in the deserts they explored.

Yours fraternally,

FRED SILVESTER.

ENGELS

COMRADE,—Your answer to a correspondent headed "Engels" on p. 156 seems to have been rather carelessly written.

In the first paragraph of Engels' introduction to *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, he says: "This little book is, originally, part of a larger whole."

Landmarks of Scientific Socialism is the title given by Comrade Austin Lewis to his translation of this "larger whole." From it he omitted of course the chapters included in *Socialism Utopian and Scientific*, which were and are already accessible to English and American readers. He also omitted certain passages which dealt with the personality of the forgotten Dr. Duehring. That your reviewer should have overlooked these facts may seem to some to discredit his criticisms of Comrade Lewis.

Fraternally,

CHARLES H. KERR.

SIDELIGHTS ON RUSSIA

DEAR EDITOR,—May I bring to the notice of Plebeians three very good books about the Russian Revolution, books which, though they contain much nonsense and show considerable ignorance of the Labour movement, are all the better for having been written

A Pamphlet to Use SOCIALISM as a SCIENCE

The Case for the Labour Colleges

By M. Philips Price

32 pp. 2d.
(postage extra)

Orders, or enquiries as to terms for quantities, to

Labour Agent, Ruskin Hall,
Gloucester

by avowed anti-Socialists and rabid anti-Bolsheviks — "better" because, without meaning to, these books show up the correctness of the Bolshevik attitude.

The books are: (1) Lt.-Col. John Ward's *With the Die-Hards in Siberia*; (2), *A Prisoner of the Reds*, by Capt. Francis McCullagh, of the British Intelligence Service with Koltchak and later in Soviet Russia; (3), *From Liberty to Brest-Litovsk*, by Mrs. Tyrkova-Williams, of the Central Committee of the Russian Kadet Party and Russian wife of Dr. Harold Williams, former *Daily Chronicle* correspondent in Russia.

(1) John Ward was in command of the British troops with Koltchak. In this book he shows categorically that Col. Lebedev (a prominent Social Revolutionary leader and a former Minister of Kerensky) was Chief of Staff to Admiral Koltchak at Omsk for several months; Col. Ward had actual dealings with him in that capacity. He also shows that Avksentiev and other S.R. Party leaders were about to hand over the Siberian Railway, lock, stock and barrel, to Japan, and were only prevented by the Koltchak "coup" of November, 1918.

(2) McCullagh pays tribute to the energy and capacity of Sverdlov, Trotsky and their lieutenants in the Ural region and Western Siberia in overcoming the difficulties—the terrible typhus epidemic was not the least of

these—arising out of the Koltchak debacle.

(3) Is written by an educated Russian lady, who as a prominent politician herself was right in the midst of things and who, naturally as a Kadet, was "all for the war" and opposed to Bolshevism. She shows clearly, giving chapter and verse and quoting Resolutions textually, how the Menshevik and Social-Revolutionary Parties swung away gradually to the Right from April, 1917, onwards. In other words the book proves that the "Moderate" Socialists betrayed the Revolution. Mrs. Williams more than once states categorically that the masses were more and more following the Bolsheviki. It seems strange that this book has been entirely overlooked by our Labour movement.

One short reference must suffice. It is constantly dinned into our ears, not only by the capitalist press, but also by prominent Labour Party and I.L.P. spokesmen, that the Bolsheviki obtained their ascendancy by "force of arms." On p. 337 of her book, Mrs. Williams however gives the results of the Petrograd Municipal elections held on 2nd September, 1917, a week before the Kornilov "adventure." The Social-Revolutionaries polled 205,000 votes; the Kadets 114,000; and the dear Mensheviki—don't laugh—only 23,000!! The Bolsheviki obtained 183,000 votes; i.e., nearly as many as the S.R.'s, 50 per cent. more than the Kadets, and EIGHT TIMES as many as were given to the Mensheviki. In other words the Social-Revolutionary leaders and the Mensheviki were already being found out by the masses *two months before the collapse of the Kerensky Government.*

Yours, etc.,

A. P. L.

VICTIMISATION OF EX-LABOUR COLLEGE STUDENTS

DEAR COMRADE,—Year by year some of the ablest of the younger workers leave the mine, the railway, etc., for a prolonged course of study at the Labour College. There is a tacit understanding that, after their two years at the College, they will devote their knowledge and their talents to the service of the Labour movement. They

can do this in various ways. But we are all agreed that it is desirable for most of the students to return to their original occupations in the place from which they came, there to play their part in local T.U., Labour political and I.W.C.E. movements.

But the fulfilment of this aim is rendered impossible if the ex-L.C. student, having become a marked man, is refused re-employment at his old occupation. This happens in many instances both among miners and railwaymen. And the abler and the more energetic the student, the greater the likelihood of victimisation.

To take a specific instance. A comrade in South Wales has found it impossible to get back into the pit, and has had to accept a job as collector of life-insurance premiums! Obviously, as the years pass his mentality, however thorough, his theoretical grounding at the L.C., and however keen his proletarian class-consciousness at the outset, will tend to grow out-of-touch with that of the revolutionary industrial workers. This is an elementary psychological inference. The loss of class-consciousness in the petty-bourgeois occupation is analogous to the development of a new ideology which is so apt to occur in trade-union leaders removed from the working-class environment. (*cf. Outline of Psychology*, pp. 135-136.)

In similar instances, where the movement is very much alive, local pressure on the part of the organised workers has been sufficient to prevent attempted victimisation. But in other cases, the ex-student's mates have been apathetic or have lacked power when the will has been forthcoming. There should, undoubtedly, be a representation from T.U. headquarters, whenever victimisation is suspected, that the Union will no more tolerate discrimination against an ex-L.C. student than it would tolerate discrimination against a member conspicuous for his T.U. activities. This is a fundamental principle of self-defence.

A little pressure from the rank and file may be needed to ginger up headquarters at Unity House and in St. Andrew's Crescent.

Yours fraternally,

EDEN and CEDAR PAUL.

NOTES BY THE WAY

for Students and Tutors

Students who can afford it should note that the *Times Atlas*—the best English Atlas—which used to be many guineas, is being offered by Selfridge's and other booksellers at 30s. (cloth bound). At that price it must be below cost, and is really a bargain. Unquestionably it is the goods among atlases.

H.A.R. (Baghdad) asks us to give him the address of a bookseller or publishing house which could supply him with German editions of the writings of Marx, Luxembourg, Trotsky, etc. He should communicate with:

Carl Hoym Machf,
Louis Cahnbley,
Hamburg. (ii.).

Antaŭ kelkaj monatoj ni anoncis, ke la *Outline of Psychology* tradukas kelkaj Pleboj en Manchester. Nun la finita verko estas en la oficejo de la eldona fako de Sennacieca Asocio Tutmonda, sed ĝian baldaŭan presigon ni ne povas esperi, ĉar ĝi devos esti redaktata de psikologo kiu ankaŭ havas anglalingvan scion. Se vi emas konkurenci la fervoron de la Manĉestraj Pleboj, komence rilatiĝu kun la esp-socialista Presoficejo, pere de The PLEBS. Vi ricevos liston de libroj kaj artikoloj nun verkataj kaj tradukataj, tiel vi evitos la danĝeron, fari laboron jam entre-prenita.

Legemuloj ne forgesu, ke Sennacieca Asocio Trtmonda jam eldonis *Fausto*, *Tri Verkoj de Tolstoj*, *Eklumo en Abismo* (Barbusse) kaj *Dokumentoj de Komunismo*.

"Popolano," onetime contributor to The PLEBS, wrote for *Esperanto* (journal of the Universal Esperanto Association) an article based on Baudouin's *Suggestion and Auto-suggestion*, made available to English readers by E. and C. Paul. This article was translated and appeared in the journals of seven different countries, and Baudouin himself wrote "Kun la plej sinceraj dankoj provia interesa artikolo." This is only one case out of many of securing rapid world publicity by the international tongue.

E. Redfern (Manchester), in expressing general approval of the matter and method of Bogdanoff's *Short Course of Economic Science*, calls attention to an error (p. 226) contained in the assertion that "With a given rate of S.V., the lower the organic composition, the lower the rate of profit." The context shows that one of the *lowers* should be *higher*. In reply to other correspondents we would suggest that our *Outline of Economics* and Bogdanoff's book by no means rule each other out. The PLEBS book jumps straight into the floating of a company and commodity production; the older book takes the longer path from tribal communism onwards, skilfully blending history with economics. To have alternative ways of approach is beneficial to all students. (By the way, we take it as a compliment to our publications that in a Northern essay competition one of The PLEBS pamphlets, *Trade Unionism: Past and Future*, was attributed by a competitor to Karl Marx!)

PLEBS TEXTBOOK NO. 1.

An OUTLINE of PSYCHOLOGY

4th impression selling out rapidly

The NATIONAL COUNCIL of LABOUR COLLEGES

HEAD OFFICE—22 ELM ROW, EDINBURGH
Gen. Sec., J. P. M. Millar (to whom all reports should be sent)

ANUAL MEETING. The third Annual Meeting of the N.C.L.C. which was held at Leeds on 3rd and 4th May, was a great success. Of that there is no doubt at all. Incidentally the number of delegates was twice as large as the number which attended the previous Annual Meeting.

In his address, the President, Jack Hamilton, drew attention to the great amount of work that had been done during the previous fifteen months in order to make an organisation out of the separate and scattered local entities. He emphasised the fact that the advent of a Labour Government meant that there was a greater need still for the work of the N.C.L.C. and this is a point our supporters should lose no opportunity of emphasising.

Growth of Labour Colleges.—A substantial part of the Conference time was devoted to consideration of the Executive's Report. This report showed that during the previous fifteen months the number of District Labour Colleges known to headquarters had increased from thirty-seven to ninety-one. It is true that part of this increase is accounted for by a number of Colleges becoming known to headquarters through improved organisation, but a very substantial part of the increase is composed of entirely new Colleges. In the course of the discussion on this point, Will Coxon drew attention to the fact that in certain areas it would be a great improvement if a number of small District Colleges were to combine into a larger College, and we hope that the hint will be taken by those affected! A suggestion that all District Colleges should have a standard affiliation fee providing for free access to classes was turned down. It was, however, frankly admitted that such an arrange-

ment was highly desirable, although in certain areas it was not possible to put it into practice at the moment. According to the returns that had been received at Head Office the five District Colleges with the largest Incomes were as follows: (1) Edinburgh; (2) Liverpool; (3) Manchester; (4) Glasgow; (5) North Eastern. The five District Colleges with the largest amount of affiliation fees were: (1) Edinburgh; (2) Glasgow; (3) North Eastern; (4) Lanarkshire; (5) Liverpool. The predominance of the Scottish District Colleges in this list is partly due to the fact that they have adopted an affiliation fee of at least 2d. per member per annum, which entitles the affiliating body to free access to winter classes. The District Colleges with the largest number of students were: (1) Edinburgh; (2) Liverpool; (3) Glasgow; (4) London; (5) North Eastern. The District Colleges with the largest number of classes were: (1) London; (2) Edinburgh; (3) Glasgow; (4) Liverpool; (5) Manchester.

New Educational Schemes.—During the course of the year, Educational Schemes involving free access to N.C.L.C. classes had been arranged by the N.U.D.A.W., the Liverpool and District Carters and Motormen; West Lothian Miners; Managers and Overlookers; Fife Reform Miners and the Warp Twisters, while the Scottish Trades Union Congress had decided to contribute £50 per annum to the S.L.C. National Committee in return for representation. In addition, a number of National Organisations such as the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives had affiliated. The Upholsterers had sent a student to the London Labour College for the first time and the Durham Miners had agreed to send four students there next year.

The Executive's Report showed that an exceedingly large amount of re-organisation had taken place, with the result that the country was now split into Divisions with Divisional Committees and Divisional Organisers. An attempt to limit representation at the Annual Meeting to Divisional Councils was turned down, as the Conference felt very strongly that the real units that required representation were the District Colleges and the other affiliated Organisations.

N.C.L.C. Correspondence Dept.—Although the N.C.L.C. Correspondence Course Department was only brought into existence towards the end of October, Courses were now available on English Grammar and Essay Writing, Industrial History, Economics, Economic Geography and Public Speaking. Those who have been attending the winter classes could not do better than take up a Correspondence Course during the summer. The *Annual Report* had been a very great success, as many as 11,000 copies having been sold.

The Report on the Lantern Slides Department showed that six sets of slides were now available, others being in course of preparation. Steps had been taken to arrange for the rapid production of duplicates so that Colleges ordering sets could obtain them with despatch. Students having photographs or illustrations suitable for sets on the Evolution of Society, Industrial Revolution, and the History of Trade Unionism are asked to send them on to J. Hamilton, 11, Channell Road, Fairfield, Liverpool.

During the course of the year the relationship of the N.C.L.C. to the British T.U.C. had substantially improved, but this will be dealt with in a brief article later on.*

The Report by the Treasurer, Mark Starr, further indicated the progress that had been made not merely in the amount of money handled but in the method of accounting.

The Report on Publications by J. F. Horrabin, representing the Plebs League, indicated that the reduction in price had brought about a substan-

tial increase in the circulation of the magazine, and Colleges were urged to do everything possible to keep up the sale during the summer. The new Textbooks in course of arrangement were a Modern History and an Economic Geography and History of the British Isles.

Messrs. Hamilton (Liverpool Labour College); Coxon (North Eastern Labour College); Brown (Mansfield Labour College); Dixon (No. 7 Divisional Council); Smith (No. 6 Divisional Council) and Macdonald (Glasgow S.L.C.), were nominated for the three vacancies on the E.C. The latter withdrew as the S.L.C. were already represented through its National Committee, and, on a vote, the first three were elected.

Campaign among the Unions.—Now is the time to make plans for still further development in our work, and while it is of great importance that Colleges should obtain local affiliations, it is of still greater importance that they should do their utmost through the T.U. Branches to get the question of an N.C.L.C. Educational Scheme raised at every T.U. Conference. If we don't get those schemes our opponents will!

Transport Workers.—While on this point it should be mentioned that according to a note from Mr. Sturrock of the London Transport Workers, the Transport Workers' Executive has had instructions for some time to arrange a Labour College Educational Scheme. Several transport workers have written recently asking what is being done in the matter but no one seems to know.

R.C.A.—In May, 1920, the Annual Conference of the Railway Clerks' Association passed a resolution in favour of at least one scholarship at the London Labour College as against proposals in favour of Ruskin College and the W.E.A. Despite that, however, nothing was done to put the recommendation into operation, but instead the Executive were persuaded into supporting a scheme involving about £400 per annum with the W.E.T.U.C., on assurances from that body that N.C.L.C. evening class facilities would be available for the

* It is also commented on in our Editorial this month.—Ed.

INCIL
GES
INBURGH
could be used

isable, all
was not
e at the
rns that
nce the
largest
(1) Edin
Manchester
h Eastern
with the
fees were
gow; (2) V
shire; (3) L
nce of the
in this
that they
fee of a
annum
g body to
sses. The
largest
(1) Edin
sgow; (2) V
term. The
largest
London.
ow; (4) L

chemes—D
ar, Educat
ree access
been arrang
the Liverpool
and Manag
om Manag
le the Socie
s had their
annum
tee in
dition
ations
of Bel
affiliated
a student
these
m Miners
nts there

members through the medium of the W.E.T.U.C. Under cover of such assurances the scheme was put into operation but the decision of the N.C.L.C. not to take part in W.E.T.U.C. schemes (over which it has no authority and in which it was never consulted), has meant that N.C.L.C. classes have *not* been available under the W.E.T.U.C.'s arrangement. At its May Conference, just over, the Executive asked Conference to rescind the 1920 resolution which they had refused to put into operation and this was agreed to by a large majority on the ground that the sum involved was better spent in evening class work, and on the further ground that, as the N.U.R. had been unable to get a guarantee from the Railway Companies to take back their students who had attended the Labour College, it would be unsatisfactory to have R.C.A. members in the same position. The Glasgow Southern and Glasgow Central branches had, however, two motions down asking the Executive to arrange an educational scheme directly with the N.C.L.C. in addition to that arranged with the W.E.T.U.C. Although the Executive stoutly opposed the motion, it was only beaten on a card vote by 858 votes to 856—a majority of two on a vote of over 1,700! This is a splendid result for the first attempt of R.C.A. members to get an N.C.L.C. Educational Scheme and augurs well for success at the next Conference of the Union at which the matter will undoubtedly be raised again. The N.C.L.C. must express its hearty thanks for the splendid efforts made by our old friends Lees, Hill of Bradford, Oates and Cossar of Glasgow, amongst other staunch supporters. It is possible that the Executive will feel that the vote clearly indicates that an educational scheme with the N.C.L.C. is desired by the members of the R.C.A.

Shop Assistants.—Many thanks are also due to the members of the Shop Assistants' Union who were successful at their Conference in getting an undertaking from the Executive that the Union would affiliate to the N.C.L.C.

Aberdeen and the W.E.A.—Last month the W.E.A. endeavoured to get the ABERDEEN Trades and Labour Council, which supports the S.L.C.

to re-affiliate, but on the recommendation of its Executive the Council decided not to re-affiliate by 57 votes to 22. Bravo, Aberdeen!

Conferences, etc.—The DONCASTER I.W.C.E. Conference was highly successful, W. Paling (M.P. for the constituency) and W. W. Craik, putting up a fine case for our cause. Frank Ayres was appointed local organising secretary. . . . The MANCHESTER and SHEFFIELD Labour Colleges had their first "inter-Meet" and ramble on Sunday, May 11th, when a cheery crowd of sixty-five assembled at Castleton (Derbyshire). Occasional showers damped neither the general good spirits nor the enthusiasm of the Sharrow (Sheffield) Glee Party, who made the Derbyshire welkin ring with Socialist songs. Sheffield, says its secretary, is pushing hard for a 100 per cent. increase in PLEBS circulation and in League membership—good luck to its efforts! . . . LIVERPOOL Labour College is holding a Week-end School at "Beechcroft" Settlement, Birkenhead, on July 5-6th. Lecturer, J. P. M. Millar. On the Sunday evening, T. Ashcroft will give a reading of Francis Adams' poetry. Mr. G. Williams (Pres. Birkenhead T.C. and L.P.), will preside.

CLASS SECRETARIES PLEASE NOTE

J. T. Walton Newbold is now accepting engagements to deliver lectures, held under the auspices of the Plebs League or the N.C.L.C., on the rise and development of capitalism in:—(i.) South Wales; (ii.) Lancashire; (iii.) Yorkshire Coalfield; (iv.) Northumberland, Durham and Cleveland; (v.) the Clyde Valley; (vi.) London. Also, on the Transport Industry, and on the Coal Kings of Europe. Application to be made to him, c/o Plebs League, 162a, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W. 1.

THE LABOUR COLLEGE (LONDON)

STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION

PREPARATIONS are well in hand for the first re-union of the Association. The present resident students are doing their utmost to make this Whitsun

fixture a success. There will be a Social on Saturday night, a meeting on Sunday morning and a Garden Party at Kew on Whit-Monday, where I hope all the comrades will meet the friends they made while at the College. I am circulating the members in more detail as to the programme and trust all will reply as soon as possible.

The students, I am sure, will be prepared to address the demonstration.

The Miners' Inquiry has held up our Labour College inquiry indefinitely.*
A. GLYN EVANS (Sec.)

P.S.

Will those members of the above Association who were in residence at the College up to July of last year, and who owe cash for literature, etc., obtained from The PLEBS through the student's literature secretary, kindly communicate at their earliest with Frank Ayres, 39, Palmer Street, Hyde Park, Doncaster; and so earn both his gratitude and that of the Secretary of the Plebs League.

On May Day it was curious to note there was no platform for Independent Working Class Education in Hyde Park. This, one of the main pivots of international organisation was not represented, and the suggestion that in future a platform should be arranged for this purpose is a good one. I commend the idea to the N.C.L.C.

REVIEWS

A NOVEL

Wine of Fury. By Leigh Rogers (Grant Richards, 7s. 6d.).

A NOVEL about the Russia of 1916-17! This stirs one, it should be interesting. The first part of this book is good and, but for the "Fury" section at the end, it might easily have been a first-rate novel. The author knows how to present convincing characters in an interesting way. Foma and Masha, the peasant soldier and his sweetheart; Natalie, the Russian girl, so calm, so reasonable and yet so full of feeling; David Rand, the typical American financier, who makes a religion of business; Peter Radkin, the philosophical revolutionist, who is given every opportunity of stating his views both at dinner parties and to his chief at the office; the woman, Naritza, who is presented in varying moods—these and other characters make the book attractive.

The author knows Russia, and probably lived in Petrograd during 1917. His accounts of street scenes, conversations with soldiers and workers show insight and observation. The title, *Wine of Fury*, is suggested by a text in the Old Testament—"Take the wine cup of this fury at my hand and cause all nations to drink it

and they shall drink and be mad because of the sword that I will send them." But this "wine of fury" presented by the writer has evidently not been imbibed by "all nations," but only by that section of the Russian nation known as "Bolsheviks!" and the last part of the book is written from that definitely biassed point of view. For instance, an Anarchist procession is thus described:—"Their criminal faces were set straight ahead in a look of insane irrelevancy which awed pedestrians, and the drivers of vehicles drew aside to make way for the passage of this horde from the Inferno." The noise and upset in the city are spoken of as "the devilish dissonance of lust for the wine of fury." People of the wealthier classes were "stripped and plundered by soldiers of the new freedom," pockets were picked, the servants entertained their friends in the kitchens of the great houses and left their poor dear mistresses to fend for themselves, these same mistresses were rescued

* Those members of the Association who were active in pressing the matter last year will be interested to know that a resolution moved by the PLEBS LEAGUE E.C. at the N.C.L.C. CONFERENCE, regretting that the inquiry was being held in private and asking that copies of the evidence should be made available for N.C.L.C. affiliated bodies, was carried, after discussion, by a wide majority.

from street sweeping only by the entreaties of the American financier, the tram conductress and the driver went off at the end of the journey—or is it in the middle of it?—to spend the fares of the passengers. So on and so on.

The woman, Naritza, favourite of generals and princes, always "follows political power," and a scene supposed to depict a sitting of the Cheka shows her there in the last stages of demoralisation. The account of this scene would lead one to believe that every member of that organisation was drunk and full of lust and that this woman had power to have officers of the old regime tortured for slights to herself, before they were put to death. Even the chauffeur, who drove the dreadful "black limousine" had his hands laden with jewels! It must have been uncomfortable for him to grasp the steering wheel!

Of course, the reason for all this is that the writer is violently anti-Bolshevik and so, like Mrs. Snowden, his sympathy goes out to the "victims" of the Revolution rather than to the masses of peasants and workers who had been the victims of the old regime for centuries. His heart feels for the Countess, who, with her "brave mouth," is leaving Russia to go to London to eke out a precarious existence at the Ritz, with the aid of £100,000 safely invested in British securities!

His bias is, however, so naive and so obvious as to be rather amusing than dangerous. And the pictures of life in Petrograd during the summer of 1917—obviously drawn from first-hand knowledge and not, like the after-November portions, from lurid Sunday paper accounts—make the book worth reading.

C. S. T.

A CAMBRIDGE BRAVE

The Economics of Fatigue and Unrest.
By P. S. Florence (Allen and Unwin, 16s.).

The best things about this book are the title, the format, and the author's intentions. Doctor Sargant Florence, of the Department of Economics of

Cambridge University, and sometime associate sanatarian of the U.S. public health service, has in the course of a busy life become convinced that the workers on the whole are having a rather thin time of it. He has read all the reports of the Health of Munition Workers and Industrial Fatigue Research Committees. With copious extracts from these and various standard works of Marshall and Taylor he has set out to tell the employers, rather timidly and with the help of his wife, that this state of affairs does not pay them.

If any Pleb wants cheering up, Chapter 3, "Solutions of the Problem," will tell him that in the early nineteenth century "The ruling classes were not slow in acting upon the theory thus propounded [*laissez faire*]. At first they went one better; instead of merely keeping the ring they distinctly seconded the employing classes." Naughty of them! But you will be glad to learn on the next page that "this policy of the Government characterised by the Hammonds as rank abdication in favour of the employer came to an end in England with the repeal of the Combination Act in 1824." Perhaps Doctor Florence was too busy at Cambridge University to notice little events like the preparations against the Triple Alliance or E.P.A.

A really persevering student will be rewarded by the information later on that "dissatisfaction with wages is usually the chief reason for employee strikes, at any rate in America." Presumably in Italy they strike because they do not like the way that Mussolini parts his hair. On page 190 we are informed that "the strike is absence from work due to the workers' ill will."

To the serious student of scientific management the book is negligible except for the chapter on "Industrial Ill Health," where some useful figures are given. The book forms a startling illustration of the way in which our society is divided into watertight compartments; since in 1924 it is possible to write a book on such a subject as this without any attempt whatever to relate the facts recorded to their background of the industrial struggle.

E. C. W.

AMMUNITION

Russia's Counter Claims, W. P. Coates, 3 Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C. 2; *Socialism and the Mining Industry*, Emrys Hughes, *Socialism for Women*, Minnie Pallister, and *Socialism and Finance*, F. W. Pethick Lawrence, M.P. (I.L.P. Study Courses, 6d.); *One Union for Railway Workers*, P. R. Higginson (I.L.P. 2d.); *Environment and Health* (2d.); and *Compulsory Voting* (1d.) (from Fabian Society).

The first of these pamphlets is timely just now when the bondholders of Britain and France are doing their best to make the recognition of the Russian people a recognition of the bondholder's claims. It should be in the hands of every propagandist.

Emrys Hughes has prepared a most useful summary of events in the mining industry up to midsummer of last year. He recommends nationalism by "buying out" as a business proposition, with a Capital Levy which could be paid in the Government Mining Stock. One misprint and a lack of reference to any literature further "Left" than Cole are the only faults.

Much of the matter given in Mary Marcy's *Breaking up the Home* has been amplified and brought up to date by Miss Pallister.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence is interestingly descriptive of modern money. He flirts with the idea popular in *New Leader* circles that prices can be stabilised by alterations of the bank-rate and will not go as far as nationalising the banks at once. Part control of the Bank of England and the Big Five to secure "the first essential requisite—security for the depositor (!)" is his attempt to cure the social disease without hurting the responsible microbe. It is probably this "bit by bit" method—as the dog's tail was cut off not to hurt it—which makes the general advice to students in all these syllabuses contain no references either to PLEBS Textbooks or N.C.L.C. Classes. However, the rank and file of the I.L.P. know better.

P. R. Higginson has made a creditable attempt to get away from the useless mutual recriminations of the railway unions and to provide a suggested basis for amalgamation covering the industry. His attempt merits serious considera-

tion especially from railwaymen. And we'd like to hear the opinions of E. Edwards upon it in relation to his own *Railway Review* proposals.

The first of the two Fabian pamphlets contains some startling facts upon the effects of bad housing upon tuberculosis, rickets, venereal disease and alcoholism. The other shows how abstention from voting was greatly reduced in Belgium by compulsion. K.

ROLLAND STAYS "ABOVE THE BATTLE" *Mahatma Gandhi*. By Romain Rolland (Swarthmore Press, 5s.).

India's approach to revolution in 1920-21 is a very important subject for Marxist study. The part played by Gandhi himself as the articulate leader of a mass movement of revolt has important lessons for the future development of the Indian revolution. No assistance, however, need be looked for from this book. The sub-title shows the reader what to expect. It is an empty panegyric written in the orthodox tone of spiritual exaltation. It has only one merit, *viz.*, that it is full of quotations from Gandhi himself. And almost any of them suffices to reveal him as a reactionary. Perhaps the best here is his defence of the caste system:—

"All are born to serve God's creation, the *Brahman* with his knowledge, the *Kshatriya* with his power of protection, the *Vaishya* with his commercial ability, the *Shudra* with his bodily labour."

For the rest, the book merely exposes the almost incredible inanity of Romain Rolland. His comments, when he trusts himself to give any, are often of a striking futility. Take, for instance, his remark on Gandhi's trial and sentence, "never in the struggle did England rise to more magnanimous impartiality." He speaks of the "brutal revolt of the Moplahs," but not a word of its brutal suppression. He is, of course, "above the battle" of the class-struggle. In India he is able to shut his eyes even to the existence of anything of the sort and to write of a period of mass upheaval without once using words like "worker" or "working class." He is, in fact, a typical apostle of bourgeois pacifism.

C. P. D.

FIT FOR THE W.P.B.
Fit to Govern! By "Iconoclast"
 (Parsons, 2s. 6d.).

This short series of studies of members of the Labour Cabinet is on the lines of the same anonymous journalist's study of Mr. MacDonald. In other words it is couched in the usual journalistic adulatory style—a style of entirely unintelligent mechanical praise. Everyone is "superb," everybody has every virtue. Actually, of course, apart from its badness, this stuff is an insult to its subjects as much as to those of us who believe the aim of the Labour movement is, precisely, *not* the inflation of a few personalities. To analyse the book in detail would be a disgusting task; but one wonders what dark movement in the mind of crawling snobbery is responsible for the statement that Hodges is the probable next premier.

P.

REPRINTS

Allen & Unwin publish two reprints of interest. The first is the seventh edition of the Right Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald's life of Margaret MacDonald, a steadily popular book that requires no comment. The second is Bertrand Russell's *Justice in War Time* (1917) which has not been revised or altered. As a result it appears to have lost most of its interest: had it been corrected it would have been worth having. The price of the first is 2s. 6d. (5s. cloth), of the second 5s.

The Inversion of Science, and a Scheme of Scientific Reformation. By Frederick Soddy, M.A., F.R.S. (Hendersons, 6d.).

Prof. Soddy is one of the leaders of modern science, but, unlike the majority of his distinguished colleagues, he has paused to ask where it is leading to.

The question has disturbed him very much, for he says:

"Properly used, the marvellous inventions and discoveries of the past two centuries should have inaugurated an Age of Plenty and abolished for ever the Age of Penury which, till then, had been the rule of nature. . . . Discoveries, in themselves noble and full of the promise of better things, are being turned to evil. Plethora and glut choke the world's markets and

produce not prosperity but unemployment and destitution. The dread powers of nature which science has in harness are being used not to build up a civilisation worthy of our intellectual and material greatness, but, with the enthusiasm reminiscent of a lunatic asylum, to destroy and wreck it."

Prof. Soddy finds the panacea in currency and credit reform, and devotes most of his pamphlet to elaborating this proposed solution.

The root difficulty in financial reform lies in the fact that the present possessors of wealth will not allow anyone to monkey with their financial system. *Who* is going to put the distribution of wealth on a proper basis? The proletariat, and none but the proletariat, and they will have to fight for the power to do it. That is why there is a class-war.

We are unable to agree with Prof. Soddy that capitalists can be argued out of their acquisitive cupidity. We believe they will have to be knocked out of it.

J. G. C.

A GALLANT EFFORT

Everyone's Affairs. By Robert Jones (Sidgwick & Jackson, Ltd., 2s. 6d.).

"This book," says the publishers' advt, "has been written with the object of bringing vividly before the mind of the adolescent schoolboy or schoolgirl of the present day some of the primary and important facts of modern social life and civic responsibility." The necessity of such a book is the most damning indictment possible of what passes for education in capitalist schools. The author attempts in 200 pages the task of supplanting capitalist "impartial" education by outlining the modern position of historical, economic, political and mental science. That he has achieved a considerable measure of success, using simple language and a conversational style will recommend the book to those requiring a clearing stream for stagnant minds. The chapter on the mind is excellent in its simplicity.

So much ground is covered—social history, economics, politics, trade unionism and psychology—that anything like meticulous criticism is undesirable.

A simple economics sketch is badly marred by explaining value by "supply and demand" and a sneer at *what Mr. Jones thinks is* the quantitative labour theory. His sketch of the rise of towns is too sweeping in giving trade so little influence. While he states science has made it possible to get more and more per acre, he says, "there is a limit." This is surely inside information! The book for the purpose avowed is, however, cheap at 2s. 6d.

A. W.

MALTHU-STOPIA

The Fanatics: A Comedy in Three Acts. By Miles Malleeson (Benn, 3s. 6d.).

This play lacks art. Its characters, well read in the works of that celebrated best-seller, Stopes, have all the jerkiness of the fledgling type one finds in art schools and students' common rooms. The cigarettes they smoke throughout are evidently gaspers inasmuch as their dialogue is persistently gassy; with the exception of an occasional block of English composition, apologised for thus (*He talks without difficulty, speaking what he has thought about*).

Even the celebrated and successful author of "A Pair of Pyjamas"—the pairing which is the theme of the play is thus extended to the pyjamas—even the great Colin Mackenzie, nearing forty, and called grandpa on occasion, has slight traces of the side whiskers of adolescence and probably turned up to his first night—the first night of his play, we mean—in a stock. Lastly, the group, Upstairs, Downstairs (and no doubt also in my Lady's Chamber, although Mr. Malleeson does not give us this act) has a theme of the sort that youth loves because it is unending and labyrinthine.

But it is a theme that needs great art for its handling, and we prefer the Wagnerian to the Mallesonian treatment. We confess that our sympathies go out to our robust young friend, Tannhauser, when, just back from Toby's flat half-way up the Venusburg, he, twanging the loose cords of his dummy harp, tells us quite honestly, but also quite melodiously, what he thinks of love.

Nor are our sympathies withheld from Wolfram and the other right-thinking

bards when taking up the Frankie theme, they confute him on similar harps, and because the music is so tuneful we wish the argument to continue.

But Mr. Malleeson's young people are not melodious. And although one may agree that "full and frank" discussion of sex and its problems is desirable, one may nevertheless be permitted to observe that, despite the subject's interest, the discussion may become a little wearisome.

M. A. (=Middle-Aged.)*

"PARSON LOT'S" LIFE STORY
Charles Kingsley. By W. H. Brown (Co-op. Union, 2s.).

The Co-operative Union has added a fourth volume to its Pioneer Series; and as there was no previous good biography of the author of *Westward Ho!* and *Allan Locke*, Mr. Brown has done a piece of work worth while. The attempts of the Christian Socialists to start self-governing workshops have perennial, if pathetic, interest for the modern advocates of workers' control in industry, and this book suggests the causes of their failures.

Kingsley was the clarion-voiced denouncer of the Manchester School, and his piquant epithets and vigorous language sometimes went too far for Maurice and others of his colleagues. Maurice's forced resignation from King's College in 1851 because of his social work was an anticipation of the recent Toynbee affair in the same institution. The author's reference to Chartism as being killed "by the egotism and self-assertiveness of its leaders" is not only unfair to the latter but untrue.

While we recognise the author's industry in gathering the information here presented (but not indexed), we do not think he has knocked it into an impressive picture of Kingsley the man. It is "bitty" because of the way in which he has filled up chapter endings with irrelevant Kingsley verse and introduced conversations and visits with no regard to consecutive treatment. But teachers and students should note it as a cheap and useful book.

K.

*We should rather like to hear what a Y. G. (= Younger Generation) would say about Malleeson's play in opposition to our reviewer.

FOR ESPERANTISTS

A Short History of the International Language Movement. By Prof. A. L. Guérard (Fisher Unwin, 21s.).

Jacques Sadoul in a flight of imagination once said that Russia, as the great fountain of proletarian culture, would impress its language upon the workers' international movement. Prof. Guérard does not even discuss Russian in this scholarly and comprehensive treatment as one of the claimants among the "natural" languages for the position of international pre-eminence. And the Comintern found itself unable to carry on its work in that tongue despite the improvements made in it by the Bolsheviks.

The defeat of Germany reduced the chief claimants among the natural languages for the proud place of a universal language to two: French and English. And therefore Guérard—who by no means thinks they are the only possible and probable future claimants—devotes his earlier chapters to an examination of the *pros* and *cons* of each. Against English there is its capricious accent, its wicked joke of a spelling and its wealth of perplexing idioms. Just as strong technical objections can be made against French. If French and English were used conjointly, translation would still be necessary and the other nations would rebel—as they actually are doing in the League of Nations—against the position of inferiority assigned to their tongues.

The author also investigates in very thorough fashion the proposals to adopt not a national, but a neutral tongue. Why not Latin? Because of its "stupendous difficulty" of acquirement and because its neutrality is one of death. Thus one is forced back to consider an *artificial* language—as *artificial* as the rose, the motor-car, the incubator or as language itself. Why should philology confine itself to mere analysis of words and rules of grammar and never pass into a constructive stage? Some hundreds of linguists and scholars from Descartes and Leibnitz onwards have responded to that challenge. Father Schleyer and his Volapuk achieved world notoriety although its failure—which Guérard fully explains with that of other attempts

—made the adoption of Esperanto more difficult.

The remaining portion of the book surveys the history of the existing auxiliary tongues and critically compares the four of importance. Professor Guérard, as a non-partisan, suggests small improvements in all, but his conclusion is that the question of an international language now stands or falls with Esperanto.

Hardly any aspect of the subject is omitted in this exceedingly well informed work. Two minor slips—pp. 110—112) where wrongly many prepositions are said to end with *au* and all to govern nouns in the accusative—do not detract from its permanent value. And readers should secure for it a place in the Public Library ready for reference in the discussions probable about this topic now that the world broadcasting has destroyed the distance barriers to communication.

M. S.

ONE-ACT PLAYS

One-Act Plays of To-day. Selected by J. W. Marriott (Harrap, 2s. 6d. net.).

This is a very interesting—and remarkably cheap—volume of selected plays by A. A. Milne, Arnold Bennett, Allan Monkhouse, Lord Dunsany, John Galsworthy, John Drinkwater, J. J. Bell, and others. Three or four of them would be well worth producing by Plebs, though none of them are specifically "propaganda" plays. (Visitors to our Summer School will, we hope, have the opportunity of seeing how at least one of them "acts.")

The Drinkwater play, *X = O: A Night of the Trojan War*, would not be easy to stage, but is dramatically very effective; and the same is true of Galsworthy's *The Little Man*. Dunsany's *Night at an Inn* and J. J. Bell's *Thread o' Scarlet* are two good "Guignol" thrillers. The Brighouse play selected is hardly worthy of that really capable Lancashire playwright; and one wonders why the dramatisation of the Waterloo chapters from *Vanity Fair* was included—especially as the Irish dramatists are entirely unrepresented. Groups on the look-out for actable plays should get this volume.

J. F. H.

THE N.C.L.C.

The N.C.L.C. is the National Council of Labour Colleges, the central organisation of the Labour College Movement. It is composed of the Labour College, London, the Scottish Labour College, 51 non-residential local Labour Colleges, the Plebs League, the Amal. Union of Building Trade Workers, the Distributive Workers, and the Nat. Fed. of Building Trade Operatives.

OBJECT:—The education of the workers from the *working-class* point of view. The Colleges have been built up by working-class organisations, the members of which have realised that only *educated* Trade Unionism is *effective* Trade Unionism. These members have recognised, moreover, that just as it would be ridiculous to join a Trade Union financed by employers, so, for education on social, economic or Trade Union questions, it is equally foolish to support Colleges or classes assisted by employers, or under the influence of educationists with *employing-class* ideas.

CONTROL:—The control of the Council and of its affiliated Colleges is wholly in the hands of working-class organisations. In consequence of the working-class character of the education provided, these Colleges, like the Trade Unions, get no financial support from State departments, which is a testimonial to the good work they are doing for the Labour Movement.

METHODS:—The principal methods take the form of Evening Classes, Residential Tuition, Postal Tuition, Weekend Schools, Publication of a Magazine, "The *PLEBS*," and Textbooks, and the conducting of Educational Schemes such as those of the Building Trade Workers and the Distributive Workers.

WORK DONE:—During 1922-23 the N.C.L.C. ran 529 classes with 11,998 students and this year these figures will be materially exceeded. The N.C.L.C. has more classes *dealing with subjects of direct importance to the working-class movement* than any other educational body.

What can it do for YOUR organisation!

Write Gen. Sec., N.C.L.C., 22 Elm Row, EDINBURGH

THE WORKERS' PRESS

You will find the OFFICIAL Labour view in
THE LABOUR MAGAZINE

Authoritative articles by experts on political
and industrial problems, national and international.

Monthly 6d. Postfree 7½d. Annual Subscription 7s. 6d.

JOINT PUBLICATIONS DEPT., 33 ECCLESTON SQUARE, S.W.1

You will find the SOCIALIST view (which is the *Industrial Unionist* view)
In the Organ of the S.L.P.

THE SOCIALIST

Politics, Economics, Industrial Unionism, and Current Events. 2d. monthly.

Order from the S.L. Press, 46, 48 Renfrew Street, Glasgow.

For the COMMUNIST view—

THE WORKERS' WEEKLY

(One Penny :: :: every Thursday)

and

THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

Contributors include all the most prominent leaders of the Third International

Sixpence Monthly.

16 KING STREET, Covent Garden, LONDON, W.C.2.

The paper for all young workers

THE YOUNG WORKER

1d. MONTHLY

From the Y.C.I. 38 GREAT ORMOND STREET, LONDON, W.C.1.
