

PILEBS

✓ April 1927

Fourpence

COME TO
OXFORD



& GET THE
CORRECT
ACCENT

SPECIAL RATES FOR
TRADE UNIONISTS



DO YOU
SUFFER
FROM
TOO MUCH

AUG 1 1927

CLASS
CONSCIOUS
NESS?

TRY A TERM OR TWO
IN THE HOME OF
LOST CAUSES!

RUB THOSE
CORNERS
DOWN



= WITH
OXFORD POLISH

for
DREAMING
SPIRES

&
BLOOMING
LIARS

TRY

OXFORD

J.F.H.

T.U.C. Scholarships at Oxford: Why not advertise?

THE JURY DISAGREES

about A WORKERS' HISTORY
OF THE GREAT STRIKE, by
R. W. Postgate, Ellen Wilkinson,
M.P., and J. F. Horrabin.

For example:—

"An apology for the General Council."—*Workers' Life*. "A 'left wing' story of how the workers were betrayed by the General Council's 'treason.'" — *New Statesman*. "Extraordinarily well written." — *New Leader*. "Ill-written. . . yet quite interesting."—*New Statesman*. "Neither honest nor history."—*Sunday Worker*. "A history that is accurate, provocative, and interesting."—*New Dawn*. "Facing both ways, and trying to please everybody."—*Labour Monthly*. "Strong leaning in favour of the miners."—*Manchester Guardian*.

☞ WHY NOT READ IT
FOR YOURSELF?

Price 1s. (postpaid 1s. 2d.)

PLEBS, 162a Buckingham Palace Rd. S.W.1

THE PLEBS

*The Organ of the National Council
of Labour Colleges*

VOL. XIX.

APRIL, 1927.

No. 4

CONTENTS

	Page
Plebs Point of View - - - By J.F.H.	122
One Miners' Union—Now - By W. Lawther	124
Albania and Italian Imperialism By C. H. Gray	128
The Legal Attack on Trade Unions - - - By J. Hamilton	131
India and the Empire - - - By Clemens Dutt	135
The Art of Note-Taking - - - - -	140
Arthur Macmanus - - - By Win Horrabin	142
Reviews :	
History - - - - - By R.W.P.	143
Capitalist Construction - - - By T.A.	143
I.W.C.E. Jottings - - - - - By T.T.	146
N.C.L.C. at Work - - - - -	148
The Plebs Bookshelf - - - - - By J.F.H.	151

Published by
The Plebs League
162a Buckingham Palace Road
London
S. W. 1





The Pleb Point of View



TO all those good friends who have sent along pounds, shillings or pence in response to our appeal last month we tender our sincere thanks. But we are by no means out of the wood. We need cash—unless we are to be handicapped all through the year by a burden of debt ; and we need active and energetic canvassers, who will get us new readers, both for the magazine and our other publications. We ask every Pleb to help us in pushing the *Plebs Atlas*, the *History of the Great Strike* and the new revised edition of Mark Starr's *Trade Unionism*. A wide sale for these will help materially. The *Strike History* has had to face a barrage of hostile criticism, and there is no doubt that a good many Plebs, accepting that criticism at its face value, have left the book unread. We commend to their notice this letter just received from a comrade who has been associated with our movement from the very earliest years :—

"I commenced to read *A Worker's History of the Great Strike* with a very prejudiced mind, due to having read the scathing criticism in the *Sunday Worker*. But after perusing it carefully I am convinced that the writer of that criticism makes a false deduction on the attitude of the book. He could only have arrived at his conclusions by tearing paragraphs from their context and misinterpreting their meaning."

If you can help us to counteract the false impression of the book created by the *Sunday Worker* and other critics you will be doing THE PLEBS good service.

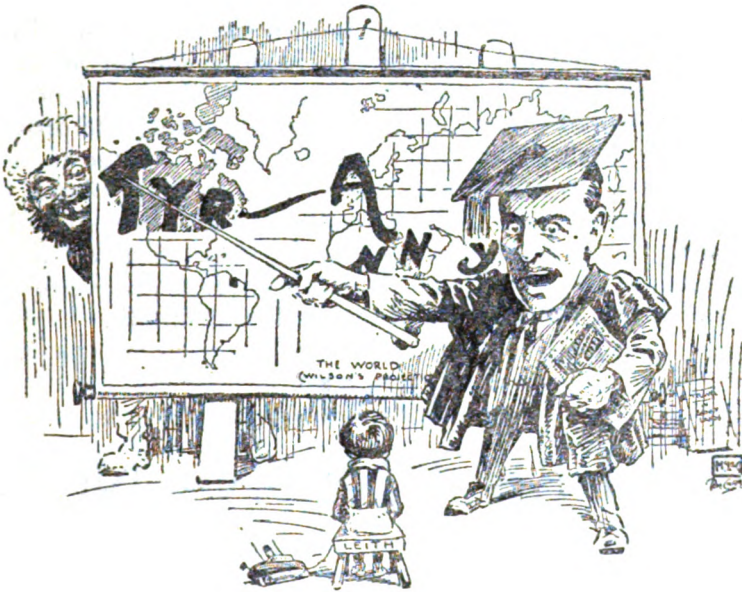
* * * *

In the March number of the *Highway*, the W.E.A. journal, Mr. W. M. Citrine has an article on "Trade Unions and Education,"

The T.U.C. Secretary in which, after an admirable little historical sketch of the growth of the demand for working-class education, he appeals
on Education. for a "spirit of real co-operation among

the various educational bodies" as more likely to achieve their objects than "rivalry and internecine strife." We can only repeat what we have said and written a thousand times, that "real co-operation" between bodies with fundamentally divergent aims is impossible to honest people. Mr. Citrine may feel that there is "ample room for both schools of thought" ; but as he also urges that "it is essential that the sincerity of the protagonists of the two schools should be appreciated" he ought surely to realise that "rivalry" is inevitable.

Robert Wilson, Labour's standard-bearer at Leith, has been one of the voluntary class-tutors associated with the Edinburgh District Labour College for several years. During the election he has been doing educational work on a wider scale, and he caused some sensation by taking along to a meeting a map of the world and, with its aid, discussing certain international problems and their importance to Leith workers. The *Edinburgh Evening News* accordingly published the cartoon reproduced here, depicting Wilson as a pedagogue—with the inevitable Russian Bolshevik hiding behind the blackboard.



* * * *

According to the *Daily Herald* the General Council has accepted an offer from the Extra-Mural Department of Oxford University to provide for selected trade unionists a two-years' course of study at Oxford free of charge. Is it not quite obvious that the policy of Oxford in making this offer is to endeavour to deprive the trade union movement of some

*Free Trips to
Oxford for
Selected Workers.*

of its most promising brains? It does not take much thought to realise that once a worker has been at Oxford University for two years he is going to fight violently against going back to factory or mine and that moreover the equipment he will have obtained at Oxford will be the best possible guarantee that he can find a much

more pleasant and remunerative occupation amongst the under-strappers of the employing-class.

The scheme may be an excellent one from the point of view of those who desire to improve their individual economic positions, but in what way is it going to assist the trade unions?

* * * *

In the present issue our main articles deal with problems which are of particular importance to our movement at the moment, and these should provide food for discussion in forthcoming day and week-end schools. Will Lawther analyses the Minority Movement's scheme for a National Miners' Union, and urges us to study and discuss it carefully. Hamilton deals with the present legal position of trade unions and the preparations being made for an attack on trade union rights. Clemens Dutt compares the problem of India with the problem of China, and has some interesting and provocative things to say about the correct Labour policy. The news as we go to press that Italy has sent a sharp Note to Jugo-Slavia against alleged "interference" in Albania, and that Italy, backed by Britain, is preparing for a military occupation of Albania gives to Charles Gray's article an exceptional topical interest. Stevens' second article on Soviet Fiction is held over till next month.

ONE

MINERS' UNION—NOW

Comrade W. Lawther, of the Durham Miners' E.C., here reviews the chief points in the scheme put forward by the National Minority Movement for a National Miners' Union. His appeal that the scheme should be discussed in N.C.L.C. classes in mining areas will, we hope, meet with full response in the next few weeks.

AFTER the first miners' national strike in 1912 there appeared under the name of "The Miners' Next Step" a pamphlet that caused much fluttering in the official dovetails of the M.F.G.B. The proposals set forward there were for the first time an attempt definitely to get the various miners' organisations to recognise that future struggles must be faced with a different outlook and organisation.

From 1912 till the issue of the admirable little pamphlet entitled the *British Mineworkers' Union* comparatively nothing of a definite concrete nature has been done. It is true that George Harvey issued a book in 1917, wherein a scheme was outlined for the construction of one union in the mining industry. And in 1915 George

Barker, M.P., several times in PLEBS indicated that the next step in organisation would be along these lines. The one thing lacking in all these attempts and countless others has been that there has been no backing of an organisation to follow up the critics and attempt to get the various component parts of the M.F.G.B. to discuss a scheme with a view to amendment or adoption. We are accepting it for granted that there can be for the miners at least a "next time." One has only to recall the attitude of the coalowners since the end of the lock-out, the wholesale victimisation, the tearing up of agreements as "scraps of paper," to realise the need for that something to be done—"and now is the accepted time."

The pamphlet deals in a practical manner with a suggested constitution, setting out that "the British Mineworkers' Union shall be composed of all members of the county, craft and district associations of mineworkers at present affiliated to the M.F.G.B., together with all other persons employed in and about the mines and cognate industries as provided for in the objects of this union." Some critics have urged that this is already done in district organisations. But we know that this is not so, and moreover, the latter part of it provides for the organisation of that mass of workers in coke, by-products, etc., without which no possible advance can be obtained.

In the aims and objects there has been a tremendous amount of criticism raised because it is suggested "to secure the nationalisation of the mines and ancillary concerns without compensation, and with workers' control, as a step towards the supersession of Capitalism by a Socialist organisation of society"; the grounds of complaint being largely that (a) this is contrary to the decision of the Labour Party and T.U.C. as put forward at the Samuel Commission, and (b) that it would raise a force that would prevent Labour coming into power.

(a) can be dismissed because the B.M.U. (if it were in operation) would define its aims and objects as other unions do, without dictation from an outside body. That we understand would be "pure" democracy! It would then be the business of the B.M.U. to convince the other parts of the Labour Movement that this, in the opinion of those who are exploited in the mining industry, is the best form and method to adopt. Further, that the proposals that were put before the Samuel Commission were never before the rank-and-file of the M.F.G.B. until AFTER they had been put before the Commission. Example No. 2 of pure democracy!!

With regard to (b), if we are to achieve any form of Socialism in anyone's time via the House of Commons, etc., then we had better be definite as to the application of terms. And if in the opinion of the B.M.U. no compensation should be paid, it will be the business

of that organisation to convince the rest of the **Movement**, or accept their decision.

In the seventeen suggested objects there is a clear, clean-cut departure from the past, and No. 11 is of special interest to N.C.L.C.ers, as it seeks "to establish, maintain and administer, either separately or in conjunction with kindred body or bodies, an educational institution or institutions for the purpose of training members in the subject and practices calculated to assist the union in attaining its objects."

In the part dealing with National Organisation is set forward the method of control of the E.C., officials, etc., and their appointment, all of whom are to be elected by ballot. Instead of having one conference each year, as the M.F.G.B. has (except, of course, when wages and conditions are to the fore), there has to be one each six months, the delegates to which will be elected direct by the members.

Rule 40 provides that "associate membership of the union shall be open to members' wives." (Why have the daughters been missed, or members' sisters?) It may seem to outsiders strange how the miners have been able in their numerous and lengthy struggles to carry on without their womenfolk actively participating. While the union rules have not provided for associate membership on the lines now suggested, women have attended meetings, and they have from experience of meeting the cost of living with the wages received known that the struggle was justified. An attempt is made in object (11) of the Political rules to give M.P.s their proper functions in so far that "Any member elected to Parliament shall devote his whole time to Parliamentary work unless called upon to do work for the union in cases of necessity, in which case he shall be paid all necessary expenses." Some districts of the M.F.G.B. already do this, and there ought by now to be no doubt that no person should be allowed to speak one day as an industrial leader and the next as a statesman, whatever that may mean.

In Schedule 2 of the pamphlet there is a proposed grouping of the present component parts of the M.F.G.B. into districts, which would on the method suggested mean ten areas or districts. Naturally, some districts would have to be merged into others, and official objections may come in that direction. But in the coalfields, in the interests of district agreements under our present form of organisation, individual collieries have had to submit to a standard, and in view of the deplorable conditions of every district to-day more would be gained, as we have lost all we can lose.

Might we suggest that in the mining areas during the forthcoming summer, when we get to the period of day schools and summer schools, here is a first-class subject, one in which theory and practice can be reconciled? Despite all the leaflets, pamphlets and speeches

that have been delivered on this subject, there remains yet more to be done. We cannot, as miners, wait until Baldwin decides to dismiss his army, and hope that if, and when, a Labour Government is in power we shall be merry and bright. Whether compensation is paid for the mines, or the present owners, having regard to their stupendous losses, give the mines up as a bad job, we will need an industrial organisation. What is to be its form? What is to be its function? These are the problems of the hour, and this outline is a first-class attempt to answer those questions. As the authors state in a short preface, their proposals are "not intended to be a final form which must be accepted in all its details. These are matters which we hope will become the subject of discussion inside the Lodges, where additions or deletions can be put forward. All that this pamphlet seeks to do is to persuade the miners of the real need for a new form of organisation, which can ensure the maximum degree of success in our efforts to secure a decent standard of existence."

Might we conclude this short review by answering the objection that is raised in some quarters, that we ought to have first 100 per cent. organisation in the districts? No section will do more than the promulgators of the B.M.U. are doing to reach this desideratum, but it is felt that the two can run together, not being antagonistic. But the old county or district organisations will reach their pre-lock-out standard (those that had it) of 100 per cent. quicker by seeking to educate the workers in a method of organisation that will give for the first time in Britain a class-conscious conception of the industrial powers that we are organised to overthrow. Here is the chance to place in existence those phrases so finely spoken of, "an injury to one is an injury to all," "the world for the workers," etc., etc., in the form that they may come to pass *now*.

WILL LAWTHER.

THE N.C.L.C. NATIONAL SUMMER SCHOOL KIPLIN, SCORTON, YORKSHIRE.

The Summer School will be held during the fortnight, 2nd to 16th July, 1927, in conjunction with the N.C.L.C. and Plebs League Annual Meetings.

Among the lecturers are George Hicks, W. M. Citrine, C. L. Malone, Ellen C. Wilkinson, M.P., J. F. Horrabin, John S. Clarke, A. J. Cook, Wm. Paul, H. S. Redgrove, J. P. Hilton.

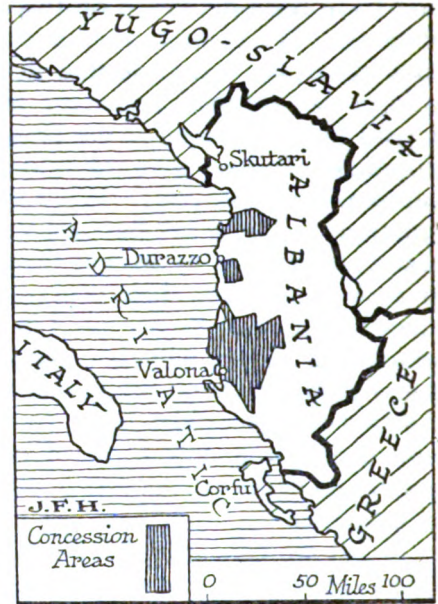
The fee is £3 3s. per week or £6 per fortnight. Man and wife £3 per week. N.C.L.C. Tutors and Instructors £3 per week.

SEND your booking fee of 10/- in part payment NOW to J. P. M. Millar, General Secretary, N.C.L.C., 62 Hanover Street, Edinburgh.

Albania and Italian Imperialism

DURING the war the Secret Treaty of Rome promised Albania to Italy as a "protectorate." But the jealousies of other Powers preserved the semblance of an independent Albania: by 1920, during the height of Italian internal stress, the last Italian armed hold on the country was removed with the expulsion of her troops from Valona. Since then, the history of Albania has been the history of the pressure of Italian imperialism to re-assert her hold on the southern portion of the eastern shores of the Adriatic.

In the pursuit of this object, she has had the aid of the bulk of the native bourgeoisie, of the tribal leaders, of the land-owning beys, and of the small but growing class of native traders. There have been, however, other than Italian and native forces at work. Ahmed Bey Zogu, the present President, was in 1923 ousted from the country on the eve of concluding an agreement with England for the exploitation of large areas of Southern Albania by the Anglo-Persian Oil Co., by Monsignor Fan Noli, a "liberal" phrase-maker in whom the Italians saw a most pliant tool, who would not seek to hedge about big governments with even the seeming of autonomy, or grant concessions to anyone but Italians. Ahmed Bey Zogu made large promises to the politicians of Belgrade, and returned to recapture power in December, 1924. In this enterprise he received the powerful aid of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and its agent, the British Minister at Durazzo. England received most substantial reward in the generous concessions then and thereafter granted. Jugo-Slavia, after nearly a year's delay, got a trivial frontier rectification by Lake Ochrida, of slight military and no commercial importance. At first, Ahmed Bey Zogu made some attempt to preserve the remnants of independence of action by granting concessions of a minor nature to Jugo-Slavia and others, and by putting the control of the gendarmerie into the hands of British Reserve



Officers "unofficially" lent by the War Office. But Italian pressure became more insistent during 1926, and England more and more inclined to grant Fascist Italy a free hand in the Adriatic in return for support elsewhere.

Albanian trade is necessarily almost entirely with Italy, her neighbour across the uniting Adriatic, and not with Jugo-Slavia, her neighbour across almost impassable mountains, which no railway and no tolerable roads traverse. The Budget statement for 1926 has revealed a substantial deficit. Italians have financed a Bank of Albania, have arranged a fiduciary currency, and have lent the Albanian Government 50,000,000 gold francs. After the deduction of expenses, however, the net amount available from this loan was only 37,000,000 gold francs, and all the money actually remained in Italian banks on the ground that it should be expended entirely with the Italian company, "The Company for the Economic Development of Albania." The interest on this loan, which began to accrue in November, 1925, is calculated at 10 per cent. Nothing was paid during 1926: this year 10,000,000 gold francs will be owing. It is impossible that this sum will be paid. So the stranglehold has been strengthened. Income has been gained by granting a perfect flood of concessions. The Italian State Railways have an area extending over slightly more than double the area granted to the Anglo-Persian Oil Co.

The political seal was set upon an economic hegemony already almost complete by the Treaty of Tirana concluded between Ahmed Bey Zogu and Mussolini at the beginning of December. By this Treaty, in return for the grant of what amounts to an Italian Protectorate over Albania, Italy guarantees the maintenance of the present political *status quo* in the country; that is, the maintenance in power, by force if need be, of Ahmed Bey Zogu and the convenient puppet government now in office. Italy wishes, primarily, to preserve a government favourable to her economic exploitation of Albania. She wishes for sources of oil independent of other countries. In addition, there is mineral wealth: copper, silver and coal. There is in Albania a field for colonisation. Then the Treaty of Tirana was useful as an imperialist gesture, as a slap in Jugo-Slavia's face which would distract malcontent Fascists and their dupes from internal troubles. Last November there occurred a rising in Northern Albania which was certainly armed and financed from neighbouring Jugo-Slav territory. It was this opportune rebellion which caused the Albanian Government to hasten to sign the Italian Treaty. It is not improbable that Italian *agents-provocateurs* knew more of this rising than the politicians of Belgrade. But it is clear that if the rising in the Northern mountains had not provided the occasion, Italy would have used some

lever. There were several to her hand, among them the default in the payment of interest to which we have already referred, and which still may provide the occasion for the actual armed invasion of Albania by Italy. Albania as a military jumping-off ground for the rest of the Balkans must also be remembered. Again, although to-day Albania has no tolerable harbour, at great expense both Durazzo and Valona (now only roadsteads) could be made into harbours of naval significance; possibly Jugo-Slavia might have thought such expense worth while should she have controlled the Albanian coast. Perhaps Greece might, if her "protector" thought it worth the cash, even make something of Santa Quaranta, which faces the Greek-owned island of Corfu. Incidentally, it may be worth while referring to an astonishing article by the Rt. Hon. Josiah C. Wedgwood, in the issue of the "responsible" imperialist *Near East and India* for March 10th, 1927. This Vice-Chairman of the Labour Party there advocates, apparently in all seriousness, the inclusion of Greece in the British Empire.

The Albanian bourgeoisie wish for nothing except to be allowed to enjoy the use of a mock machinery of an autonomous state under Italian suzerainty. The Italians are at once their paymasters and their pledge of the maintenance of the internal *status quo*.

There are three Albanias. The dark ages are not dead, are not even dying in the mountains of the North, where the Turk never really ruled, and primitive tribal communism is scarcely tempered by contact with the outside north through Scutari. In the Centre and through much of the South Feudal Europe survives under the domination of a semi-Turkish and therefore half-alien bey-class of landed proprietors, owning huge estates on which the peasants live the life of the mediaeval serf, tied to the soil and rendering two-thirds or more of the product and services to the lord. In the South, especially in Karitza, Valona, and on the concessions, the proletarianisation of the peasants proceeds apace. At first, the Italians had to bring in labour from their own country to work in the oil-fields, the mines, and in one large tobacco factory. But taxation is now producing a most satisfactory supply of native labour, at an even lower wage. The future of Southern Albania, under Fascist Italian domination, is not hard to see. The newest of European proletariats has a long and difficult prospect before even the beginnings of effective organisation will be possible. When they become class-conscious, the discontent of the serfs and peasants will swell, too. And if Northern Albania remains, as it may remain, untouched by capitalism's greed, it will remain as an interesting curiosity. It would be rash to assert, however, that any pocket of mountainous country will escape imperialism's search for markets before capitalism itself disappears.

C. H. GRAY.

THE LEGAL ATTACK on TRADE UNIONS

A PARAGRAPH in the King's Speech, at the opening of the new Parliamentary Session, says: "Recent events have made evident the importance of defining and amending the law with reference to industrial disputes. Proposals for this purpose will be laid before you." Since the General Strike a considerable amount of publicity has been given in the Press to a demand for the reform of trade unionism. Conservative and Liberal are both united in this demand, only differing in the degree and subtlety of their proposals and suggestions. Of course, all are unanimous in pointing out that the recommendations made are not directed against "sane" trade unionism. This campaign is the culmination of a long period of agitation for the amendment of the Trade Dispute Act, 1906, naturally intensified by the General Strike. In this agitation the Association of British Chambers of Commerce has taken a prominent part. In 1911 the Association adopted a resolution calling upon the Government to appoint a Special Commission to inquire into the working of the 1906 Act, which had, in their opinion, by authorising peaceful picketing, made possible intimidation and violence. This was, as we recall, after the railway and other strikes of that disturbed year. As a result of the House of Lords judgment in 1913 in the case of *Vacher and Sons v. the London Society of Compositors*, whereby it was established that under no circumstances could a trade union be liable for a tort (a tort, from the Latin word *tortus*—twisted, tortured, means a wrong to person or property for which damage may be recovered in a civil court), another protest was lodged. Again, in 1914, the Association recorded its opinion that the 1906 Act should be amended in two directions, viz. :—By limiting the number of pickets who may, under section 2 of the Act, have authority to act; and by applying the ordinary law of agency with proper limitations to acts committed by or on behalf of trade unions.

Last autumn the Association had compiled a report of its Special Committee on the subject of industrial unrest. In a covering letter sent to the Prime Minister, the secretary of the Association says :—

"I am to draw your special attention to the recommendations for new legislation, and I am to express the hope that these suggestions and the other recommendations in the report will receive your favourable consideration. I am to add that in the opinion of my Council these suggestions and recommendations are not directed against or inimical to sane trade unionism. The report does, however, suggest the abolition of the anomaly of one section of the community being outside the law, and it urges the maintenance of individual liberty of thought and action, which is the inalienable right of every British subject."

In further of a belief that the avoidance of national loss consequent upon trade disputes is a subject demanding early attention and action, particulars of disputes are given which show that whereas for the six years ended 1905 the aggregate duration of all disputes was 16,810,000 working days, the total for the six years ended 1923 had risen to 183,810,000 working days. The total for the last two years and nine months was 141,374,000.

If we may digress, however, from the main theme of this article, the following quotation from an article by Mr. Walter T. Layton, editor of the *Economist*, in the *Manchester Guardian*, will give us a better sense of proportion :—“The total (number of working days lost through industrial disputes) of the sixteen years (1910-1925, amounting to nearly 300 million working days) is, of course colossal, but if we would keep a sense of proportion, it is well to remember that it is only about one day per year per worker, whereas the time lost per head through sickness and disablement is five or six days per head, while idleness due to unemployment amounts to a still larger figure.”

Let us see what are the Association's suggestions for urgent legislation “not directed against or inimical to sane trade unionism.” They are summarised as follows :—

(1) Every organisation of employers and every trade union should be registered with the appropriate registrar, whose duties should be clearly defined. The rules of all registered organisations and unions should comply with certain fundamental principles which should be defined.

(2) Any trade union so registered should be entitled to register its benefit funds with the Registrar of Friendly Societies, which funds should then be immune from liability for any acts of the said union in any matter connected with trade disputes.

(3) Apart from the above provision, exempting funds, all organisations, whether employers or employed, should be liable under the law of the land for all acts of tort, and should be liable in the ordinary manner. Trade unions which have not secured exemption from liability, but the process of the above registration, for their benefit funds, should be liable in these, and all their other funds, for any acts of tort committed by them or on their behalf.

(4) All funds contributed by a member of a trade union should be marked on the membership card, with the exception of any monies subscribed by any member for the support of a political party, which should be separately contributed. Only funds so contributed should be applied by the trade organisation in support of any political party.

(5) It should be unlawful for a trade union to expel a member or deprive him of benefits for which he has already subscribed on the sole ground that he has refused to withhold his labour.

(6) The right of peacefully inviting any person to work or abstain from working should be confined to a limited number of persons, visibly identifiable, and be exercised only at the entrances to the premises where the trade dispute exists, and in no other place.

Finally, the standard rules of registered trade unions should provide :—

(a) In the case of essential services hereafter to be prescribed, a renunciation of the right to strike or lock-out, provided that in the place of a strike or lock-out an efficient substitute is given whereby all disputes and complaints can be equitably dealt with.

(b) In all other industries, simple but effective procedure should be provided for the avoidance and settlement of disputes.

(c) In the event of a failure to achieve settlement, strike and lock-out action should be governed by a reference to every worker concerned, and similar should be provided for on the employers' side, due regard being had to the method, secrecy and the number of persons voting.

The terms and conditions of engagement of all members of the Civil Service should provide that any member giving either physical or financial assistance to a trade union or employers' association for the purposes of a strike or lock-out would thereby cancel the terms of engagement, and would cease forthwith to be a Civil Servant.

It is interesting to compare the foregoing with a draft questionnaire prepared by the Trade Union Committee in connection with the Liberal industrial inquiry. It has been circulated, we are informed, to Liberal Trade Unionists. The following are the questions :—

(1) Do you think that collective bargaining in regard to wages and conditions of employment has on the whole been advantageous to the community?

(2) As regards industrial disputes (strikes and lock-outs), are these, under a system of collective bargaining, unavoidable? If not, what means of avoiding them are there? In particular, what is to be said for (and against)—(a) Compulsory ballots before a strike is to take place? (b) The compulsory postponement of disputes pending inquiry? (c) Compulsory reference of disputes to an arbitrator or conciliator. How (in each of these cases) can compulsion be enforced?

(3) Is there any truth in the charges often brought against Trade Unions that they impede production by restrictive practices; e.g., (a) unreasonable demarcation of employment; (b) unreasonable limitation of entry to skilled and semi-skilled trades; (c) regulation of output. How far can it be said, in defence of such practices, that the Unions are compelled to adopt them in the interests of their members?

(4) Do you think that the Statutes regulating the conduct of Trade Unions call for amendment? If so, in what directions? In particular, what views do you hold regarding the Trade Disputes Act, Section 2, 3 and 4 (i.e., picketing, the immunity of Trade Unions from the consequences of tort, the immunity of individuals from consequences of procuring a breach of contract in furtherance of a trade disputes? Do you think—in view of the experience of the General Strike—that the term "trade dispute" needs to be more clearly defined? Is some modification of the Trade Disputes Act desirable in regard to strikes and lock-outs in the public utility services?

(5) Do you think it satisfactory that the benevolent fund of the unions should be available for industrial purposes, e.g., promoting strikes, etc.? If not, do you think that the separation of these funds would be practicable or fair?

(6) What possible value to the community would result from extending the positive functions of Trade Unions in relation to industry?

(7) Do you think the participation of Trade Unions as such in politics is desirable? If so, for what purpose? If not, on what grounds do you disapprove of it?

(8) In this connection do you consider that the rights of the individual are adequately safeguarded?

(9) Does Trade Unionism make on the whole for individual liberty? Can such infringement of such individual liberty as it is said to involve be justified, and, if so, how?

(10) How far is the part which Employers' Associations can and do play comparable with that played by the Trade Unions? And how far ought the two to be regulated on comparable lines?

These questions have been very skilfully drafted to elicit answers to justify the policy of which Sir John Simon gave an indication in his House of Commons speech during the General Strike.

Now, what is the law relating to strikes put into plain language? A Trade Union can do precisely what a private individual can do

in furtherance of a trade dispute. An act done by a person so engaged shall not be actionable that induces a worker to join in a strike, whether or not the worker be in the employment of the employer with whom the trade dispute arises, or whether a breach of contract may result. Hence the General Strike was legal, the orders from the General Council were legal orders, and, consequently, not one leader has been found liable in damage to the extent of a farthing ; precisely that on the very grounds that what they did had been made non-actionable and therefore legal by the Trade Disputes Act, 1906.

A century ago trade unionism was a defensive organisation. It sought to defend its members and their class, partly by the strike and partly by introducing restrictions to curb the superior power of the capitalist class, which had on its side the law, control of politics, and public opinion of the ruling and middle classes. Now the Unions, by their mass movement, are challenging the supremacy of the capitalist class, hence any mass movement not purely sectional, and tending to become political, must be checked. While the Government is preparing its legal attack, various firms are developing an even more sinister attack by the formation of "Company Unions".

Another straw in the wind of probable Trade Union restraint was the recent case of *Forster v. the Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants*. This action was financed by means of a fund raised by readers of the *Morning Post*. The plaintiff sought to restrain his Union from paying contributions out of its general funds to the T.U.C. on the grounds that the T.U.C. was a political body. Hence it could only be lawfully supported out of the Union's political fund, to which the plaintiff was not a contributor. The appeal had been previously dismissed by the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies on the ground that there had not been a breach of the Union's rules. Forster then sought an injunction, and when the action was started tried to amend his case to precisely that upon which the Registrar had already made an order. The amendment was disallowed by the judge. The action was dismissed with costs, Mr. Justice Eve, in giving judgment, stating that the 1913 Act had properly been given effect to, and that being the case, the point at issue was one of rules and not of Statute. The procedure adopted by the Union was in accordance with the Act, and no cause of action existed. Therefore, it was not open to the plaintiff, having failed before the Registrar, to proceed by action in the Court.

Prepare for the coming fight, and beware the poison gas of the kept Press.

JOHN HAMILTON.

INDIA AND THE EMPIRE

FROM a purely formal point of view India is supposed to occupy an entirely special position within the British Empire. It is neither a colony nor a self-governing Dominion. In the article on the Colonial Empire by Emile Burns in the January number of the PLEBS it is described as a semi-Dominion and left out of further consideration. According to the accepted classification, India is not to be classed with the mandated territories or colonies administered by the Colonial Office. On the other hand, India is also usually left out of any study of the problems of the Dominions. At the recent Imperial Conference India was nominally represented, but only by a British civil servant, assisted by a titled Indian flunkey, who himself declared that he was only the "chorus girl of the Empire." The statement of the Imperial Conference on the constitutional position of the Dominions specifically excluded India because of its special character which had already been defined by the Government of India Act, 1919.

The view propagated by the imperialists is that India is a country which is in process of transition from a mere colony to a full-blown self-governing Dominion; and it is pointed to as a brilliant illustration of the way in which Great Britain gradually educates its colonies for the responsibility of representative institutions.

This view-point of imperialism is fully shared by British Labour admirers of the Empire. All the supporters of the "British Commonwealth of Nations" speak in the same strain. The fundamental basis of the "Labour policy for the British Commonwealth of Nations," as formulated by the resolution of the Liverpool Conference of the Labour Party in 1925, is directed towards ensuring "closer political and economic relationships" between Great Britain and the "other constituent States of the British Commonwealth of Nations." As a characteristic recent example of the Empire Labour view in regard to India may be cited the letter in the *Manchester Guardian* of Mr. Pethick Lawrence, M.P., who has just returned from India. He maps out a twenty-five years' programme for the political development of India, and as he declared just before leaving Bombay, "there lies in front the goal of a great and contented people taking a proud and valuable part in the British Commonwealth."

The significance of this conception of cementing the Empire and of self-government by instalments can best be measured by considering its application to China. China contains territories which are reckoned as part of the British Empire, but which the Chinese nationalists consider as "unredeemed portions of China." British imperialism is one of the most powerful forces, if not the most

powerful, in the foreign exploitation of China. Yet until quite recently it has not been thought necessary that official Labour policy should contain any reference to the relations of China to British imperialism or that it should outline a working-class policy towards China different from that of British imperialism. Even in 1925 it would have been difficult to discover references to any other Labour policy than the desirability of ameliorating the sweated conditions of the Chinese factory workers. It would have been perfectly natural to assume that the future intended for the Chinese territories of the British Empire was, equally with other regions, a harmonious development within the Commonwealth of Nations, and that what has been malevolently described as the exploitation of China by British imperialism ought really to be encouraged under the name of "closer political and economic relationships." If it had not been for the military victories of the Cantonese we would not have heard anything of the need for the abolition of the unequal treaties, extra-territoriality, foreign concessions and the rest of it. Even now Mr. Ammon is not the only Labour pacifist who puts his faith in the big guns and fair words of British imperialism. Fortunately, however, the majority of the British working-class is able to recognise that the struggle of the Chinese is against imperialism and for national independence, and that the only possible working-class policy is one of unequivocal support of the Chinese demands.

The actual nature of British imperialism in China has not changed ; it is only that, in the absence of any effective protest from its victims, the British Labour movement could turn a blind eye upon it. At the present time such a tacit acquiescence is no longer possible. Is the position in India different in any real respect? India is an Asiatic country with many points of similarity to China. It has a population nearly as large, it has a civilisation of its own equally ancient, and it has suffered in the same way as China, only to a much greater degree, at the hands of British imperialism. Both of them have experienced massacres and reigns of terror at the hands of British armies or British-subsidised Mandarins and Maharajahs, both of them have experienced the grinding drain of British financial and industrial exploitation. India is simply one huge Asiatic concession, won by crime, maintained by force and exploited for profit.

Why, then, should British working-class policy be different in the two cases? Why, then, should China be entitled to independence and freedom from exploitation, but India not so? Either working-class interests, standing for justice to the workers all over the world, do not demand that China be freed from subjection or they demand the same thing for India as well.

It follows also, of course, that all the imperialist mumbo-jumbo

of progressive realisation of self-government by stages in accordance with the fitness of the people for it is simply dust in the eyes. The imperialist policy expressed in the Government of India Act has nothing to do with fitness, it corresponds only to the political requirements of successive stages in capitalist development and exploitation.

Further, the whole conception of the special position of India, based on the so-called transitional character of its political Government apparatus, is irrelevant and non-Marxian. The very idea of regarding bourgeois representative institutions as an ideal goal to be achieved is entirely non-Marxian. The completest bourgeois democracy is only a mask for the most developed capitalist dictatorship. The development of responsible government in India as intended by British politicians makes no change in the relations between British imperialism and the millions of Indian colonial slaves that it exploits. There is no essential difference between the types of exploitation to be found in India and those to be found in other colonies of the Empire. India can never become a Dominion.

Recognising that the imperialist enslavement of India is as great a disaster for the masses of that country as it is a menace to working-class interests at home, and recognising that the Indian struggle for independence is as much a part of the world proletarian struggle against imperialism as is that of China, it is obvious that the correct working-class policy towards India should go at least as far as the demands which it has been compelled to support in the case of China. India is a "concession" area in which the rights of Britishers for facilitating exploitation are not determined by unilateral treaties but are simply unlimited, and in which British domination is backed by a foreign army of occupation. Have we to wait until the Indian masses unaided attempt to dislodge their oppressors before the British Labour movement will be ready to concede that they are entitled to do so?

As yet the working-class movement in this country is not fully awake to the character of the national struggle in India. Officially it still believes that the question is still one of progressive doses of self-government for a race whose claims have nothing to do with the working-class movement but to which it is prepared to accord a tolerant sympathy. It does not recognise, firstly, that the national revolutionary struggle is the central fact in the Indian situation, and, secondly, that this struggle has taken on a quite different character to that which it had in the previous period.

The revolutionary forces in India appear non-existent or quiescent to the superficial observer, just as they did once in Russia and in China. Nevertheless, the revolutionary forces are generated and developed by the actions of imperialism itself, and multiply and

strengthen as imperialism intensifies its hold. In the present epoch the revolutionary national struggle has reached a new stage in which its cardinal features are, firstly, that it involves a struggle to the death with imperialism, and, secondly, that it is essentially a struggle of the masses.

There is no need to give any analysis here of the thorough-going character and far-reaching effects of British imperialism in India; a concise Marxian survey is to be found in the book by R. Palme Dutt on *Modern India*. Nor need we dwell on the history of the post-war transformation of imperialist policy with regard to India. The steps in the development of this "new economic policy" of imperialism and its political results are set forth clearly in the recently-published book by M. N. Roy on the *Future of Indian Politics*. The picture that emerges is that of British imperialism consciously and astutely guiding the economic development of India in such a way that the fruits will fall into British hands. True the new policy involves co-operation with the Indian bourgeoisie, but this has been so cunningly contrived that industrialised India will remain subservient to the control of British finance-capital.

The importance to British imperialism of the grip over India through the power of British finance-capital is so great that it has been found desirable first of all to make sure that the financial basis is secure, even at the expense of temporary retardation of industrial expansion. This is the meaning of the recent Currency Commission and financial proposals that are now being operated by the British Government in the teeth of bitter opposition from Indian capitalists. The latter complain that the policy of deflation has caused acute industrial depression. They denounce the efforts to fix the rupee exchange at a level favourable chiefly to British exploitation. But even more significant are the measures being taken for the establishment of a Federal Reserve Bank closely linked with the Imperial Bank of India to aid in realising the supreme power of foreign finance-capital.

The new economic policy of imperialism, requiring the co-operation of the Indian bourgeoisie as a junior partner, has created havoc in the old nationalist movement which was chiefly in the hands of the upper classes. British imperialism offers a minor share in the spoils. Some think the offer good enough, others do not. At present the results have still not fully worked themselves out. A large section of the bourgeoisie has gone over, but there is still a section which is not quite sure whether it is for or against British imperialism. It would like the rewards of a junior partnership, but it is tempted to side with the revolutionary masses and try to get something more. For the masses and growing numbers of the small bourgeoisie are becoming increasingly more conscious of the nature of

the struggle against British imperialism. Even in the National Congress, which numbers only a few tens of thousands of adherents, this is clearly seen. At the recent session at Gauhati, the wavering Swarajists, even though reduced by defections, did not dare to compromise for fear of losing their left wing. At the same time, all the Indian bourgeoisie is mortally afraid of the masses getting out of hand and growing class-conscious. But nothing can prevent the growth of the national revolutionary movement based on the struggle of the millions of workers and peasants against imperialist exploitation. To the overshadowing peasant question there is no solution except by revolutionary means. Proletarianisation and the poverty problem act in the same direction. In the trade unions discontent is growing against reformist bourgeoisie leadership, as shown by the splits in the Bengal movement. Sections of the new Workers' and Peasants' Party are springing up in Bengal, Bombay and elsewhere.

Finally, we have the electrifying effects of the events in China. In spite of Government censorship, in spite of enforced dependence on the British capitalist Press and news agencies, the truth about China cannot be disguised. The most illiterate workers have a vague inkling that the power of British imperialism has been shaken in China. The despatch of Indian troops to China, in face of the protests of the whole nationalist movement, will not be without effect.

India could have learned the lessons of the struggle against imperialism from the experiences of the Russian revolution. These, however, have still hardly penetrated into India, thanks to its extreme isolation and the close guarding by the British rulers. The Indian nationalist movement previously looked to Ireland for its examples. But the immediate affinity between India and China is too obvious not to be recognised. The action of the Chinese masses has been the deciding factor in the Chinese national struggle against foreign imperialism. The new leaders of the revolutionary struggle in India are eagerly studying the methods of mass organisation and action which have played so great a part in China. The next stage is their application in India. In India, the big bourgeoisie is too closely linked with imperialism for such an inclusive united front against imperialism as has been possible in China. That only means that the masses in India have a still greater rôle to play than in China. It is here that the relations with the working-class struggle in this country become of extreme importance. What are the British workers going to do about it?

CLEMENS DUTT

THE ART OF NOTE-TAKING

Mr. and Mrs. Webb are research workers to whom the Labour Movement owes a great deal. The following extracts from an appendix (The Art of Note-Taking) to "My Apprenticeship," Mrs. Webb's autobiography, will be of value to readers of our "Research" series. The book itself may be consulted in a Public Library, and the student should note that the introduction to "Industrial Democracy," by the same authors, also contains useful hints on the same subject.

IT may seem a trivial matter, but the first item in the recipe for scientific note-taking is that the student must be provided, not with a notebook of any sort or kind, but with an indefinite number of separate sheets of paper of identical shape and size (I have found large quarto the most convenient form), and of sufficient good quality for either pen or typewriter. The reason why detached sheets must be employed, instead of any book, is, as I shall presently demonstrate, the absolute necessity of being able to rearrange the notes in different order; in fact, to be able to shuffle and reshuffle them indefinitely, and to change the classification of the facts recorded on them, according to the various hypotheses with which you will need to compare these facts. Another reason against the notebook is that notes recorded in a book must necessarily be recorded in the order in which they are obtained; and it is vitally important to be set free from the particular category in which you have found any particular set of facts, whether of time or place, sequence or co-existence. In sociology, as in mineralogy, 'conglomerates' have always to be broken up, and the ingredients separately dealt with. . . .

"On each sheet of paper there should appear one date and one only; one place and one only; one source of information and one only. Less easy of exact application, because less definite, and more dependent on the form of the provisional breaking up and classification of the facts, is the rule that only one subject, or one category of facts, even only a single fact, should be recorded on each sheet. Of almost equal importance with this primary axiom of 'one sheet one subject matter'—we may almost say 'one sheet one event in time and space'—is the manner in which the fact is 'displayed' on the paper. Here what is of importance is identity of plan among all the hundreds, or even thousands, of notes. The date (in the history of institutions usually the year suffices) should always appear in the same place on all the sheets—say, at the right-hand

top corner of the paper ; and the source of information, or authority for the statement, in the left-hand margin. The centre of the sheet will be occupied by the text of the note, that is the main statement or description of the fact recorded, whether it be a personal observation of your own, an extract from a document, a quotation from some literary source, an answer given in evidence, or a statistical calculation or table of figures.”

Mrs. Webb goes on to say that the “Webb speciality” has been an analytic and historical survey of the life-history of particular forms of social organisation, such as Trade Unions and Co-operative movements, and that this has been accomplished by means of notes taken in the way described. The value of the separate sheets of paper is shown by the fact that they can easily be rearranged and classified. She continues :—

“By adopting our method of one sheet for one subject, one place and one date, all the sheets could be rapidly reshuffled in chronological order ; and the whole of our material might have been surveyed and summarised exclusively from the standpoint of chronological order. But, as a matter of fact, we had to use the facts gathered from all these sources, not for one purpose only, but for many purposes To take an example from our investigations into Trade Unionism. It was only by arranging and rearranging our separate sheets of paper that we could ascertain how far piecework was characteristic of a particular kind of industry, or of a particular type of Trade Union, or of a particular district of the United Kingdom, or of a particular stage of development in the organisation concerned or of the movement as a whole. Indeed, it is not too much to say that in all our work we have found this process of reshuffling the sheets and reassembling them on our work-table according to different categories, or in different sequences—a process entirely dependent on the method of note-taking—by far the most fertile stage of our investigations.”

MAX LEVIEN on BERTRAND RUSSELL

Bertrand Russell has been called “the greatest living philosopher.” This month’s *Labour Monthly* contains a brilliant analysis of his book, “The A.B.C. of Atoms,” by the well-known scientist, Max Levien. Notes of the Month by the Editor, R. Palme Dutt. Other articles by Ernst Toller, W. H. Hutchinson, Codoville.

SIXTY-FOUR PAGES - SIXPENCE—And Well Worth It !

The Labour Monthly, 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W.1.

In
MEMORY
of

ARTHUR
MACMANUS

HOW difficult it is to realise that "Mac" is dead. He was one of the first working-class leaders that I knew. I met him in the early days of the war, when he was helping Grace Neal (good friend and comrade) with her Domestic Workers' Union. Grace was Irish herself, and full of enthusiasm for Mac's fighting qualities, and our talks, so young and so confident, still remain fresh in my memory. Arthur was a propagandist outwardly, but a poet at heart in those days. It makes one savage to think that his fine soul (dare one use such a word in a Marxist organ?) was embittered and tortured and hardened by the struggle he put up for his class.

I am glad to remember Arthur when he was happy, when that bubbling laugh of his had little of cynicism, when his sensitive spirit was still unscarred by suffering. He helped the PLEBS and the Labour College Movement, and was partially responsible for our first Textbook Conference. He came to our movement through the S.L.P. classes, and knew the value of I.W.C.E. Tom Bell and he were good friends to us in those early days, and helped us lay the foundations of what grew to be the N.C.L.C.

It is impossible for me think of him without thinking also of his wife, Hetty Wheeldon. My memories of Hetty are all vivid ones. She stamped herself on one's brain, undisciplined and volatile, with her black-cropped head and odd, curious eyes. Her death, with that of their baby, was a blow which left on "Mac" a deep and lasting scar. For years it made him seem callous and hard. It brought out the very bitterest side of his nature. Lately, he had seemed happier again, and more like the "Mac" of those old days.

Is it sentimental to wish that there was some Valhalla where two young comrades, "dead ere their prime," might live a little of the life denied them here? It is sentimental, and there is no Valhalla but the Socialist Commonwealth which we are all helping to build. We work for it, as Arthur worked for it, believing that someday there will be on this planet a time when young men and women can live unhampered by this fight of ours, unfettered by exploitation and dreary conditions, free to live and love and benefit their fellows. For that he lived and for that he spent his life.

WINIFRED HORRABIN.

Reviews of Books

HISTORY

Thomas Spence by Olive Rudkin (7/6, Allen & Unwin.)

THE "Spenceans" are a dark corner in British Labour history. Their society was the chosen haunt of police spies. It was the working class equivalent till 1820 of an Owenite society. If Spence had been a rich man and Owen a poor man, as Miss Rudkin remarks, we should probably acclaim poor "Tommy" as our spiritual ancestor to-day. "DHE IMP'ORTANT TRI'AL OV TOMIS SP'ENS" (for he was a spelling reformer as well as a revolutionary) published in 1803, excited a great deal of attention, and the Government was always at great pains to advertise him. His two journals, *Pigs' Meat* and *Anti-landlord or the Giant Killer*, show his own talent for catchy trifles to advertise his Plan. This Plan was in brief for forcible resumption of the ownership of all land by the various parishes. The rents thereby secured would not only provide for all government but be enough to extinguish poverty. Upon this basis he built up an ideal of Socialistic Utopia. In verse he said :-

"Man nothing less than lord was made

For nothing less was meant,
That all things else he should subdue
He to this world was sent."

But under present conditions :
"If grass or nettles we could eat
The same would be deny'd,
For my lord's land and herbage
reach
Close to the highway side."

I remember in 1917 a distinguished member of the Labour Party voicing his distress at the lack of recognition of the Russian Revolution. "We ought," he said, "at least to do the traditional thing: when they've had a revolution we in England *ought to have a dinner to celebrate.*" This conception of moderate leaders' duties seems to be fairly old. Spence in 1795, annoyed at "Radical dinners" while reformers were left in jail, wrote :

"Farewell, ye gorging parties then :
Go feed like swine, ye are not men,
Whate'er your parties you may call
You're all alike, so d—nm you all."

The book is good, well worth reading, and fills a blank space in our knowledge. R.W.P.

CAPITALIST RECONSTRUCTION

Political Myths and Economic Realities. By Francis Delaisi (Noel Douglas, 16/-)

THE English title expresses more precisely the theme of the volume than its author's own somewhat pretentious title: "the contradictions of the modern world"; for it is especially one contradiction with which he is concerned, the contradiction between the political myth of nationalism and the economic reality of internationalism. Our author asks: "How conciliate the material interdependence of nations with their political autonomy? How conciliate the democratic equality of citizens with the hierarchy of business enterprises and the oligarchy of key industries?" In the latter question Delaisi does not refer to the conflict between worker and capital-

ist, but between consumer and capitalist producer. It is the former of these self-proposed questions that he is concerned about when he asserts that we must adjust our social and political conceptions to economic realities.

The nineteenth century had seen vast strides in the evolution of international speculation and interdependence, but the War split the previous world-unity in two—and the Peace into a score of conflicting units! To restore the old unity and to make policy fit the facts is not going to be an easy process to be effected in a few short months or even years, but he sees in the Dawes Plan a method which by following it up might lead to a solution of the problem in perhaps

twenty years. The particular passage in which he works out his theory relating to this is worth summarising :

There are seven great countries which produce more manufactured articles than they are able to consume, and whose populations consume a greater amount of commodities than they produce. . . . Before the war Russia, the Balkans, Turkey, China, Africa and S. America purchased from them great quantities of fabrics, tools, plant, railway material, etc., and payment was effected by wheat, wool, oil, mineral and other consignments. . . . As a result of the war and of the reconstruction that followed, the productive capacity of the seven great world States has considerably increased, especially in the field of metallurgy, textiles and chemical products. On the other hand the requirements of their clients have increased to an even greater extent. . . . Unfortunately among all the vanquished and some of the victors, the reserves [of money] accumulated during the peace became rapidly exhausted during the war. . . . Their purchasing power is therefore greatly restricted. The result has been an economic crisis. The problem hinges on the question of re-establishing the purchasing power of the ruined nations, and this can only be attained by a vast credit operation. It was then that the problem of Germany came to be considered. She owed enormous sums to the Allies by way of reparations. Her economic plant was still in good condition and if her Budget were balanced and her currency stabilised she could pay considerable annuities in kind. This was the object of the Committee of Experts. On this basis international loans could be issued with every security. These loans would be placed at the disposal of the creditor States, which, however, could not absorb the goods and services represented by the annuities without provoking unprecedented commercial crises. They must have in the banks a very considerable portion of the sums due to them, but why not place these sums at the disposal of the ruined nations to enable them to become once more the clients of the great industrial countries? They would constitute the common working capital of the economic reconstruction of the world.

They might for example provide Russia and Rumania with the means of

purchasing in the West—thus quickening production there—the rails and locomotives for the extension of their railroads to the Black Sea. In two or three years the railways will have been built, and the two countries will send wheat, flax, oil, in increasing quantities to the West. Within twenty years, economic circulation would be re-established throughout the world, thanks to the working capital pledged upon German payments. In this way the Dawes Plan may become the basis of the economic reconstruction of the world. The conditions for this happy consummation are a general return to a metallic unit and the free circulation both of capital and goods.

It will be seen therefore that Delaisi is concerned with the same problem as the Plebs Textbook on Economic Geography. His book costs more than six times as much as the latter, but it is not six times as full or as convincing.

T.A.

Colonel Malone, in *New China: Report of an Investigation. Part 2* (I.L.P., 6d.), has collected together a number of facts and figures relating to labour conditions in China. The raw material which he has collected is uncoordinated and broken up, but the keen worker student may obtain much information by simple comparisons and intelligent sorting out of the material. However, considering the difficulties of obtaining statistics and the huge field with which the report deals, the author has really performed miracles. The descriptions of conditions in the mills and the huts of the workers in the big towns are horrible. All the evil conditions found in England at the worst period of the Industrial Revolution are present. Wages are such that they barely support the worker, much less his wife and family, who consequently are forced to work in the mills. The foreign employers say that it is a "charity" to give them employment; we have often heard that argument before!

The War on China (C.P., 1d.) is full of "war cries" and passionate appeals, but nevertheless drives home with force the unity of interests of the British and Chinese workers. The Cantonese army sent contributions to the Miners' Fund during the lock-out—for they realise the workers' common cause even if we do not. It is a debt of honour which must

SIX SOUND REASONS

for buying all your Books and Periodicals at
LABOUR'S BEST BOOKSELLERS

1. The Communist Bookshop is the largest literature agency in the Labour movement.
2. Its staff is therefore widely experienced and highly trained, and can give expert and intelligent advice on the choice of books.
3. Its premises are centrally situated in London if you want to call.
4. It has an unrivalled reputation for handling mail orders quickly and efficiently.
5. It deals in literature on *all* topics—Labour, educational, scientific, and even fiction!
6. Its Catalogue (post free on application) is arranged on a subject basis and is a valuable guide for worker-students.

THE COMMUNIST BOOKSHOP

16 KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN, W.C.2

be repayed with our support in the present crisis. For those who have a sense of humour, a comparison of the eulogies of the Capitalist Press on the discipline of the marines at Hankow and the way in which they remained passive under the "grossest provocation," with the following extract, will perhaps make them smile:—"For once bullying Imperialist methods failed. The strikers—

peaceably took possession. Not a single British subject was harmed, no property was damaged and altogether the taking over of the Hankow concession was a wonderful tribute to the discipline and good conduct of the Chinese workers, whom MacDonald contemptuously refers to as 'the mob.' "

DAVID NAYLOR.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Bolshevist Russia, by Prof. A. Karlgren (Allen & Unwin, 10/6).
Russia in 1926, by R. F. & M. S. McWilliams (J. M. Dent, 3/6).
The Economics of the Kingdom of God, by Rev. Paul B. Bull (Allen & Unwin, 6/-).
China in Revolt, by T'ang Leang-Li, B.Sc. (Noel Douglas, 7/6).
British Mineworkers' Union: a Constitution (N.M.M., 1d.).
British and Russian Workers, by A. Lozovsky (N.M.M., 3d.).
The Miners' Next Task (N.M.M., 1d.).
Trade Union Leadership, by A Trade Unionist (N.M.M., 1d.).
World Citizenship: its basis in human nature, by Archie McArthur (I.L.P., 2d.).
The Anatomy of African Misery, by Lord Olivier (Hogarth Press, 6/-).
Letters of Ernest Benn (Benn & Co., 3/6).

Best Books Bargain Prices

There is only a limited supply of the first book in the list. It is selling like hot cakes. If you desire to have it, send your order immediately.

THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND By GIBBINS.

This well-known book relates in a short, concise and simple form the main outlines of England's economic and industrial history. In order that historical events may obtain their full significance, economic and industrial questions are connected with social, political and military movements. Published 5s. net. Up-to-date edition. Offered, practically new, at 2s. 6d., post free.

THE BLACK MAN'S BURDEN.

By E. D. MOREL.

Upon the new Democracy in Britain is laid immense tasks in regard to the administration of dark-skinned peoples. These tasks constitute the greatest moral responsibility which the Democracy has to face. The book lays down the fundamental principles of a humane and practical policy in the Government of Africa by white men. Published 1920, at 3s. 6d. Offered (new), 1s. 3d., post free.

JOURNALISM TO-DAY.

By ARTHUR F. THORN (Assistant Director of Studies, London School of Journalism). Includes: How to Begin, Hints for the Free Lance, Writing an Article, Secrets of Success, The Importance of Captions, etc., etc. Published 1924. 2s. Postage 3d.

For above, quote Offer 303. Money refunded if found unsuitable.

Are you needing other books? "Foyles' Bookshop is a godsend to the impecunious student" (so students say).

FOYLES FOR BOOKS

119-125 CHARING CROSS ROAD,
LONDON, W.C.2.

I.W.C.E. JOTTINGS

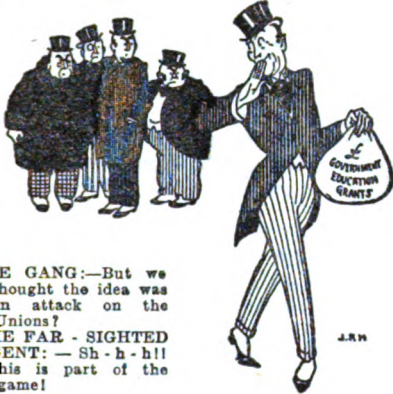
Safe for Capitalism.

At Bolton, Professor Mansbridge, founder of the W.E.A., was asked whether the Labour Party controlled the Association. He replied that "the strongest supporters of the W.E.A. Tutorial Classes were Lord Eustace Percy (Tory Minister of Education) and the Duchess of Atholl (Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education), that 560 classes were inspected regularly by the Board of Education, . . . and that every University in the country co-operated in its (the W.E.A.'s) work." The natural sequel was that the local Capitalist sheet came out with a leading article urging the Bolton Education Authority to support financially the W.E.A.'s activities.

Popular—Amongst Capitalists!

Louis J. Parker, in the *Bradford Telegraph*, proclaims himself the proud father of an article attacking the Labour Colleges for providing class-conscious education. As an advocate for providing class-conscious education Louis J. himself takes some beating. "If only," he says, "the opponents of popular education had a true sense of perspective they would realise that money spent on education is the best investment we can

make; that along with the teaching of true religion it is the only insurance against anarchy and revolution." In other words, the purpose of "true" education and "true" religion is to hold the fort for the profiteer.



THE GANG:—But we thought the idea was an attack on the Unions?
THE FAR-SIGHTED GENT:—Sh-h-h!! this is part of the game!

Mr. Parker has no cause to worry. According to Dr. Basil Yeaxlee the amount provided for Adult Education by the Board of Education has, during the past five years, increased from £17,500 to £52,000, of which sum our W.E.A. friends take care to get a very big barrow-load.

Going to the Dogs.

A special cable from Paris, not an ordinary post-card mind you, announces that many restaurants are now catering for dogs. "The days are gone when scraps could make a fit dish for a dog," said the maitre d'hotel of one of the largest restaurants. "Now we must lay a special cover for the dog, while his mistress glances over the menu to determine just what best pleases her pet's appetite. The two meals are marked on one bill, the woman's share generally being about 60 francs, while the dog's meal costs 40 francs." (6/-)

The Truth Will Out.

Dr. Willoughby, Secretary of the Chesterfield W.E.A., said, in the words of the *Derbyshire Times* of February 26th, that:—There was, of course, another thing which the Chesterfield Branch was suffering from, and probably all other Branches over the country. That was the propaganda of the Labour Colleges, and numbers of members had transferred their affections from the W.E.A. to these Colleges.

**Marxism is Religion—
Anarchism is Magic.**

LENIN LAID THE
FOUNDATION OF

**A Practical Science of
Social Revolution**

READ MAX EASTMAN'S
ILLUMINATING BOOK

**Marx, Lenin and the
Science of Revolution**

7s. 6d.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MODERN
PSYCHOLOGY TO THE PROLE-
TARIAN MOVEMENT

"Should be an epoch-making book . . . vivid, concrete, eminently readable."—EDEN & CEDAR PAUL
"By far the best Max Eastman has given us . . . careful and intensely interesting."
—"THE NEW LEADER."

GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD
40 Museum Street, London, W.C.2

Labour Cats-Paws.

The President of the same Branch, the Rev. D. W. Dobson, said that "he felt that as President he could not do as much for the Association as someone who was attached to the Labour Party officially and whose interests could be used to further the aims of the Association." In other words, to get the workers to swallow a governing-class education, a Labour spoon is now essential.



"Seems to me we'll 'ave to give 'em some more of this 'ere University education."

The "Educated" People.

The Labour Party *Press Service* of 2nd March states that: "in these bye-elections in every constituency (*with the unimportant exception of the combined Universities*) the Tory vote has decreased in comparison with that of the General Election." (Italics ours.) T. T.

The N.C.L.C. at Work



(Reports for this page should be sent to J. P. M. Millar, General Secretary, National Council of Labour Colleges, 62, Hanover Street, Edinburgh.)

NEW LOCAL AFFILIATIONS: The following is a list of the new affiliations obtained in February by the Local Colleges:—

Colleges,—London, 12; York, 3; Nottingham, 2; Bath, 2; Birmingham, 1; Dundee, 1; Lincoln, 1; Merthyr, 1; North Lancs. Area, 1; Peterborough, 1; Perth, 1; Renfrewshire, 1; Rhondda, 1; Slaithwaite, 1; South East Lancs. Area, 1; Sowerby Division, 1.

IS THE NAME OF YOUR COLLEGE HERE? IF NOT, WHY NOT?

LONDON CO-OPERATIVE: The London Co-operative Society's Comrades' Circle Council at its meeting in February decided to recommend individual Circles to affiliate to the N.C.L.C.

NATIONAL SUMMER SCHOOL: Particulars of the National Summer School appear in an advertisement elsewhere. The A.U. B.T.W., the Plasterers, the Transport Workers and the General and Municipal Workers are all offering scholarships. The Draughtsmen, N.S.O.P.A., Boot and Shoe Operatives and other Unions may provide scholarships if applications are made. Applications for all scholarships should be sent in at once. Students who desire to attend the Summer School are strongly advised to send their ten shillings (10/-) booking fee immediately.

N.C.L.C. ANNUAL MEETING: This Meeting will be held on 2nd and 3rd July at Kiplin Hall, Scorton, Yorkshire, in conjunction with the Summer School. The Plebs Annual Meeting will take place the following week-end also at Kiplin.

TRAINING CENTRE: Colleges are reminded that each Division is being provided by the National E.C. with a free scholarship to the fortnight's Training Centre—last week in July and the first week in August. Colleges and Divisions may send additional students at their own expense and students who desire to pay

their own way will also be accommodated.

CAMPAIGN AMONGST THE UNIONS: An exact copy of any resolution dealing with Educational Schemes coming up at forthcoming Union Conferences should be sent on to the N.C.L.C. Office immediately.

LANTERN REGISTER: Many Colleges have not yet sent on any particulars of the lanterns in their localities.

NEW I.W.C.E. PAMPHLET: The N.C.L.C. has published (under the title of "After The Storm—The N.C.L.C.'s Part") George Hicks' recent article in THE PLEBS as a penny pamphlet. The pamphlet has a cartoon cover. Colleges should make full use of it. Supplies may be had at the usual rates and copies should be available at all classes, conferences and meetings.

TUTORS' TRAINING CLASSES: All Colleges should make arrangements to run such classes during the summer.

WHAT THE DIVISIONS ARE DOING.

Division 1: The London Organiser addressed a Sheerness Trades Council and Labour Party Meeting which decided to start a class on "Industrial History." The London North E.T.U. Branch is having fortnightly lectures on "Modern Problems." A good class has started in Paddington—tutor J. Dorricott. The newly-formed London N.C.L.C. Women's Committee is making its first public splash with a Conference at Essex Hall, Strand, on Thursday, 7th April, at 7.30 p.m. The speakers will be Miss E. C. Wilkinson, M.P., Mrs. Horrabin and Mrs. Starr. Mrs. C. S. Ganley, J.P., L.C.C., will take the chair. All Women's Organisations and other bodies with a part or whole membership of women are being invited to send two or more delegates to the Conference. It is hoped that this Conference will result in a number of Women's Organisations attaching themselves to the N.C.L.C. and fixing up classes, day schools or single meetings.

Division 2: Courses on "British Im-

perialism in China" are being arranged. The campaign among Unions is securing very encouraging results. The Portsmouth College is contemplating running a tutors' class. This is the way to build up the much-needed tutorial staff. We hope to have some students at the Training Centre again and expect a keen struggle for the free scholarship offered by the E.C. There will be a Conference at Southampton on April 9th to follow the Divisional Council Meeting.

Division 3: A special short course on "Labour Organisation in the Building Industry" is being run fortnightly for the Cambridge A.U.B.T.W. Branch. New classes have started at Swaffham and Coggeshall. The series on "Modern Capitalism" was appreciated by the Norwich No. 1 Branch of the Boot and Shoe Operatives and it is hoped that classes will follow. Those who know the faithful service of Comrade Segon as the local College Secretary will join with us in congratulating him upon his election as whole-time Secretary to the No. 2 Branch. St. Albans class has made such progress that debates and discussions and foreign correspondence are now being carried on for exercise in the international language. The Woodcutting Machinists at Norwich have adopted a resolution supporting I.W.C.E. Will aspirants please note that Comrade Keymer is, to date, the only nominee for the Division 3 Scholarship to the Training Centre? Further that the A.U.B.T.W. scholarship is open to any likely claimant? Please book May 21st and 22nd for the Divisional Annual Conference and School.

Division 4: Barry College had a Day School with A. J. Cook, who is also to speak at the Abertillery Day School. Pontypridd is having Day Schools with A. J. Cook and George Lansbury, M.P., as speakers and lantern lectures by T. Griffiths. Merthyr, Newport and Maesteg Colleges are also active.

Division 5: Through the efforts of M. Starr and M. Evans three classes are now running at Bristol. T. & G.W. has offered a room and grant for class next session. Cheltenham and Lydney are also doing good work.

Division 6: Birmingham College has started new classes in West Birmingham and Aston. A big Conference has been arranged with George Hicks as speaker. The Wolverhampton College is now

firmly established and the Committee is arranging a campaign for local affiliations. Nuneaton College has decided to hold a Week-end School.

Division 7: The new Sowerby Divisional Labour College is making rapid headway with new affiliations. This area from Sowerby Bridge to Cornholme via Todmorden has always been a W.E.A. stronghold with the general support of working-class bodies. The new College is meeting strong opposition from trade union officials, but is satisfied with the progress up to date. Three classes are in progress and the Organiser has visited the Todmorden Trades Council. Applications have been received for a special tutorial training class to be established for the development of tutors. The Leeds College has broken its previous record in the number of classes and, from reports to hand for the Division generally, the session now closing will show a great increase upon last winter's work. The Shipley College with four classes has done well. The Organiser has engagements with Miners' Lodges and from one of them it is anticipated that a scheme for postal tuition will ensue. A scholarship to the National Summer School for one week has been offered by the Divisional E.C. The Brighouse, Huddersfield and Slaithwaite Colleges, in conjunction with the local Trades Councils, held a series of successful demonstrations, with A. J. Cook as speaker. Many new students are reported as a result. Delegate Conferences for Dewsbury and Sheffield Colleges are being organised. The Annual Meeting of the Leeds College will be held on Saturday, 23rd April, with Harry Pollitt and the Divisional Organiser as speakers. The Divisional Annual Meeting will be held on Saturday, 30th April, in Leeds.

Division 8: The Annual Members' meeting of the Liverpool and District Carters' and Motormen's Union decided, by an overwhelming majority, to continue their Educational Scheme. Arrangements will be made next winter for Professor Johnstone to give the carters a course of lectures on Biology or Psychology. The Liverpool College has arranged a public meeting in the Picton Hall, William Brown Street, Liverpool, on Sunday, 24th April, at 7.30 p.m. The principal speaker will be George Hicks. Arrangements are

being made for Tutors' Training Classes. Manchester is well to the fore, three tutors' classes being aimed at. Others will probably be held in Liverpool, Preston and Rawtenstall.

Our lecturers have been busy addressing Co-operative Guilds, Labour Parties, Trade Union Branches, etc., during the winter. The Heywood Labour Party is to run N.C.L.C. classes next winter. Tutors' Training Classes, with Fred Casey in charge, have been most successful. Several branches of the E.T.U. have convened special meetings for the purpose of having their National Educational Scheme fully explained. The Manchester District Secretary and the Organiser of the E.T.U. have attended these meetings and have very effectively dealt with the advantages of the Scheme.

Statistics show that this winter's session has been most successful in North Lancashire. A thousand students have enrolled in the classes and attendance has been very good. A large number of lantern lectures have been given. Comrades A. Taylor, P. L. Taylor and H. Sara are to be thanked for their activities in this direction. Preston Labour College held a great demonstration with George Lansbury, M.P., and A. L. Williams as speakers.

Division 9: Week-end Schools are being arranged at Newcastle, Sunderland, Wheatley Hill and Willington. The North-Eastern College for the Week-end School at Newcastle at Easter will again rely upon local lecturers. D. B. Lawley will be the lecturer at Sunderland, Mark Starr at Wheatley Hill and Will Lawther at Willington. Bob Holder is in better health. He has lectured at Carlisle for the Carlisle College. We hope he will soon be sufficiently well to take up class work again. The Carlisle College intends making a feature of the Monthly Public Lectures.

Division 10 (Scotland): Glasgow has arranged debates with the W.E.A. on the education question and continues its public educational lectures. Perth had a lantern lecture by D. J. Williams, while Dunfermline had a lecture on I.W.C.E. by J. P. M. Millar. Bob Wilson, Leith's Labour candidate, is a voluntary tutor of the Labour College and is thus able to give his opponents as well as electors something to think about. A. J. Cook is visiting Fife and Dundee in April.

Dumbartonshire is making good progress.

Division 11 (Ireland): A new class on "Modern Problems" has been started in Belfast—tutor, C. J. M'Crystal. A Students' Social Evening is being arranged to complete a successful winter session. An attractive feature of the winter's work in Northern Ireland has been the thirteen lantern lectures on various subjects, eleven of the lectures being given by the Organiser. George Hicks has been booked to address a public meeting and the Belfast N.C.L.C. Annual Conference in September.

Division 12: The South Wales Mining Disaster made it impossible unfortunately for George Hicks to come to Leicester for the March Conference. Two new classes have begun—a women's class in Nottingham and another in East Kirkby. Comrade Lygo, of Nottingham, is acting as tutor for the class at Ilkeston, while Comrade Bull is rendering assistance at Grantham and Heanor. The Nottingham (City) class has been very successful this season. Arrangements are being made to run a tutors' class in Nottingham and another under the Chesterfield College.

ERRATUM.

The writer of the paragraph on "John Bull" in last issue, wrongly stated as ERNEST JONES, should have read: ERNEST JOHNS. Certain unfounded rumours of a Chartist revival are to be traced to this mistake.

AFTER THE STORM

THE N.C.L.C.'s PART.

—
BY GEORGE HICKS
(Chairman, British T.U.C.)

—
Single copies 1½d. each or 9d.
doz. postage extra from N.C.L.C.
62 Hanover Street, Edinburgh.
See that your College gets a supply



The PLEBS Bookshelf



IT is a truism to say that what we get out of a book depends on what we take to it. It is also pretty clear proof that a book is a really big book when it stirs different people in quite different ways.

These general remarks are induced by "M.H.D.'s" review in last month's PLEBS of Max Eastman's *Marx, Lenin, and the Science of Revolution*. It's a long time since I read a book which stirred me up and set me thinking as Eastman's did; or, shall I say, as parts of it did, for I must admit that there were other parts which left me guessing as to what precisely Eastman was driving at. But after reading and re-reading the chapters which did mean something to me (*mean* something, as distinct from merely saying something with which I agreed even before I read them) I was amazed to find "M.H.D." in his very first sentence describing the book as an "attack on Marxism"; and in his last, accusing Eastman of "playing second fiddle to the bourgeois chorus that Marx is 'obsolete.'" I can only conclude from this that if I dared to assert that the type used in the English edition of *Capital* is damnably ugly, or that the English of the Kerr translation of *The 18th Brumaire* is vile, I should also be accused by "M.H.D." of "attacking Marxism."

The very essence of Eastman's book seems to me to be an attempt—not necessarily successful at every point—to separate certain essential from certain inessential things in that body of teaching which we call Marxism. In fact, Eastman is Marxist enough to apply the Marxian method—that is, a scientific-historical method—to Marx himself; and to point out that Marx, being like every other great man, the child of his age, embodied in his work errors or half-truths carried over from his predecessors as well as new truths "discovered" by himself. I know that the bare suggestion of any such thing is sufficient to scandalise the sort of so-called (self-called) Marxist who believes fervently

that the Marxian method is applicable to everything in the earth or under the earth excepting only Marxism itself; but I should not have thought "M.H.D." was one of these.

If the body of Marxian teaching is not to be freely discussed; if we are to accept, just because it is Marxian, every page of Marx's writing as an unalterable and unquestionable Statement of First Principles; then we had better get ready to accept as deserved our opponents' pet diatribes about "dogmatic education." If to point out, as Eastman does, that the Hegelian metaphysics on which Marx had been brought up inevitably affected much of his thinking and writing, but that, so far from being an essential part of it, this metaphysical substratum can be cut out without touching the really vital things in Marxism—if this in the opinion of an I.W.C.E.er constitutes an "attack on Marxism," then I, for one, think it's high time we ceased calling ourselves an educational movement, and honestly described ourselves as a New Church.

It is against this ecclesiastical as distinct from critical spirit which characterises so many Marxists that Eastman hurls his well-aimed brickbats. For instance:—

Marxian generalship suffers enormously from the circumstance that its intelligence service spends more time defending a thesis, than ascertaining the facts.

Or again—

A man who projects his purpose into the objective facts is always compelled, sooner or later, either to abandon his purpose or distort the facts.

Those sentences, whether or not they apply to Marx himself, are most certainly applicable to not a few Marxists. And if Eastman's book contained nothing else, it would deserve thoughtful consideration rather than machine-made condemnation by working-class educationists.

* * *

Some months ago I wrote here of a

volume of literary criticism entitled *The Newer Spirit*, by V. F. Calverton, in which a real attempt was made to relate literature to its social background. In his latest volume, *Sex Expression in Literature* (not, by the way, an altogether happy title) he aims at sketching "the social and economic foundations of the prevailing attitudes towards sex which have succeeded one another in the history of English literature since the break-up of the Middle Ages." He describes the aristocratic attitude which "encouraged freedom of sex impulse"; and the bourgeois attitude which tended towards "repression, or at least rigid restriction." And he discusses the "contemporary sex release in literature" as a "break from the traditions of the bourgeoisie"—"an anti-bourgeois attitude in morality gradually being driven toward an anti-bourgeois attitude in economics."

I don't think that the book, as a whole, is as good as its predecessor. I fancy

Mr. Calverton discovered, when he got down to the job of writing it, that this question of sex as subject-matter for art, though certain interesting sidelights might be thrown on it by studying it in relation to its class background, yet involved a good many other considerations. On some of these he touches lightly—*e.g.*, he discusses vestiges of phallic worship on the Elizabethan stage, a thing not directly traceable to any class influence; others he discusses not at all—*e.g.*, he has nothing to say about Shakespeare's preoccupation throughout many plays with the subject of sexual lust. On the other hand, he has to fill out his book with a good many remarks like "Ford and Shakespeare easily surpass in versatility of form and vigour of expression the snatchily-constructed and slipshod lines of Dekker"; which may be perfectly true, but has nothing whatever to do either with sex or social background.

In other sections [see quotations from Max Eastman above] he "projects his purpose into objective facts"; and having started out to condemn Puritanism on the score of its repression of sex instincts, refuses to see anything but "sterility," "chill mystery," and "firmamental imagery" in Milton, Donne, Vaughan or Marvell.

He concludes by predicting that "with the coming changes in society the young people will neither be consumed by sex nor confused by its manifestations, but, as in Russia to-day, will discuss sex relations, abortions and love with the candour of obstetricians." Judging by the samples from present-day Russian novelists which H. C. Stevens gave us in *THE PLEBS* last month I am not quite sure whether this is a state of affairs to be looked forward to with unalloyed satisfaction. The antidote to talking not at all about a thing is not necessarily to talk of nothing else.

J. F. H.



FIRST CO-OPERATIVE INVESTMENT TRUST, LTD.

BROAD STREET HOUSE, LONDON, E.C.2.

(Chairman: Alderman A. Emil Davies, L.C.C.)

PROVIDES

Good return on money invested—dividends of 7 per cent. per annum regularly paid from foundation.

Dividends paid half-yearly without deduction of tax.

Safety of Capital through diversification of investments.

Shares in the small denomination of two shillings — minimum holding 10 shares, maximum 2,000.

Repurchase of shares provided for.

Investments selected and supervised by Board of experienced Directors.

Accounts Audited by Auditor appointed by H.M. Commissioners of Treasury.

To

FIRST CO-OPERATIVE INVESTMENT TRUST Ltd., Broad Street House, London, E.C.2.

Please send me a copy of the booklet "What an Investment Trust is," the Latest Report and List of Investments.

Name.....
PLEBS

Address.....

THE PLEBS ATLAS

"IT'S A CORKER!"

writes Scott Nearing (author of "Education in Soviet Russia," "Dollar Diplomacy," etc.)

GOT YOUR COPY ?

BOOKS FOR WORKERS

Plebs Textbooks—

**ECONOMICS
ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY
EUROPEAN HISTORY**

Each 150 to 160 pp., illustrated 2s. 6d.

(*postpaid 2s. 8d.*) Per 12, £1 6s.

**A SHORT HISTORY OF THE
BRITISH WORKERS**

R. W. Postgate

120 pp. 1s. 6d. (*Illustrated by J. F. H.*)

New Revised Edition— **A WORKER LOOKS
AT HISTORY** *Mark Starr*

1s. 6d. each (*postpaid 1s. 8d.*) Per 12, 15s. 9d.

The "Plebs" **ATLAS**

36 pp. of maps, by J.F.H. (*reproduced from "Lansbury's Weekly" and "The Plebs"*) with accompanying notes, introduction and Index. 1s. (*postpaid 1s. 2d.*)

Plebs "Sixpennies"—

TRADE UNIONISM

(*New Expanded Edition.*)

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

FASCISM

We can also supply—

A WORKER LOOKS AT ECONOMICS

Mark Starr (1s.)

WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION

J. F. and W. Horrabin (1s.)

"The Plebs" (4d. monthly) is indispensable for worker-students
Send for sample copy and details of Individual Membership of
the League.

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

NOT OUT OF THE WOOD

precisely describes the position of the Movement for Independent Working Class Education.

It is true that the National Council of Labour Colleges is now the largest Trade Union educational organisation. But the Tory Board of Education

backed up by the Education Authorities and the Universities, is lavishing increased subsidies on, and assisting the activities of, those workers' educational bodies that provide a safe-for-Capitalism education and don't make Trade Union membership a condition of employment of their tutors.

The man who **WILL** build up the workers' educational movement



The men who **WON'T** !!



How does your Union stand? Has it an N.C.L.C. Scheme providing free access to classes and free Correspondence Courses for all its members? Is your Trade Union or Labour Party Branch affiliated? Does your Co-operative Society make a grant? If not,

GET A MOVE ON!

For full particulars of the N.C.L.C.'s History, Principles, Education Schemes, Classes and Correspondence Courses, send 6d. in stamps for *Education for Emancipation* and *The Trained Mind—Trained for What?*, to J. P. M. Millar, General Secretary, N.C.L.C., 62 Hanover Street, Edinburgh.