

## AIMS AND BASES OF SOCIALIST EDUCATION IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

### A. Scope and variety of the new tasks.

It is generally recognised that the new tasks facing the Labour Movement at present require a <sup>receding</sup> ~~receding~~ of the policies pursued by the main sections of the Labour Movement. This in itself is a tremendous challenge to the intellectual and moral forces of the Movement as a whole.

However, the demands of the situation <sup>are restricted to</sup> ~~do not affect only~~ the policy making bodies and their constituencies as such, but <sup>transcend these by far</sup> ~~go far beyond this~~. The everyday actions of working men and women, <sup>indeed</sup> the whole outlook and personality of the average member of the working class are involved.

This gives content to the common conviction of the Labour Movement that <sup>Britain</sup> ~~Great Britain~~ is engaged in a transition from a capitalist to a socialist form of society under the lead of the working people.

The well known shift from oppositional to governmental outlook most inadequately describes the <sup>change</sup> ~~change~~ in the responsibilities of the working class person in this country, which resulted from the election of 1945.

Actually, the change is from the position of a working class trying to protect its interests under a capitalist regime to that of a working class making itself responsible for a transition from a capitalist to a socialist regime. Though the working class has to continue to protect its interests (even though perhaps by <sup>very</sup> ~~partly~~ different means) it must also shoulder the burden of the change-over. For the mass of the common people this means an almost violent shift in regard to the traditional responsibilities and motivations of everyday life.

There is widespread agreement in regard to the urgency of the tasks facing the different sections of the Labour Movement today. It might be useful to survey these tasks briefly, and to point out the manner in which they fashion the outlook of the average working man and woman.

Let us <sup>recall</sup> ~~remember~~ the main features of the situation. There are first the industrial issues raised by demobilisation, reconversion, redundancy as in coal mining, engineering, the building trade, cotton or the docks. There is the need for austerity, the export drive, the danger of inflation, the enforcement of price control. Big issues arise for the industrial side of the Movement such as age policy,

<sup>Simultaneous</sup>  
length of the working day, the overcoming of the dilution of labour and of restrictive practices, redundancy, retraining, absenteeism, piece work, unofficial strikes. The whole industrial machinery of conciliation, arbitration, government intervention, Whiteley council joint production committees, working parties in industry, even the use of the strike weapon itself is in question. Broadly, the relations of the trade union movement to a Labour government are involved. The co-operative movement also may have to reconsider its position in regard to the scope of municipal trading or the nationalisation of commerce. The responsibilities of local government overlap, especially in regard to housing, town planning, health services or adult education with the activities of other bodies. There is indeed hardly an organised form of the working class movement the policy of which is not affected in the most varied ways.

Yet this is far from all. These spheres of collective action are distant and impersonal compared with the stresses and strains originated by the new tasks in the everyday lives of individual men and women in factory and shop, mine and field, home and office, street and tram, whether they be parents or children, consumers or producers, holiday makers or hospital patients. Every phase of their existence is affected, as the saying goes, from the cradle to the grave.

#### B. Capitalist conditioning.

Man <sup>as it were,</sup> needs to be restored today to his true nature, from which he was forcibly deflected by the impact of the Industrial Revolution. He was conditioned to the requirements of a capitalist system of laissez-faire and made to accept its artificial motivations. This was <sup>simultaneously achieved</sup> brought about by the combined effect of environment and indoctrination. <sup>The influence of the everyday</sup> practices of employers, foremen and public authorities <sup>was</sup> reinforced by the exhortations of religion, instruction proper, contemporary philosophy, popular literature, and the fashionable fallacies of science—all largely inspired by the same <sup>puritan</sup> pessimism in regard to the nature of man, and <sup>a utopian optimism</sup> no less facile optimism in respect to the virtues of a harmonistic laissez-faire. As a <sup>result</sup> of these conditioning factors the common people were made to acquiesce in forms of work and existence which favoured the <sup>extremely rapid growth</sup> exuberance of industrial capitalism at the price of stunting <sup>their</sup> the lives of the people. Socialism should enable man to readjust his industrial environment to the requirements of human existence.



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### A. Scope and variety of the new tasks.

It is generally recognised that the new tasks facing the Labour Movement at present require a <sup>recasting</sup> ~~starting~~ of the policies pursued by the main sections of the Labour Movement. This <sup>itself</sup> is a tremendous challenge to the intellectual and moral forces of the Movement as a whole.

However, the demands of the situation <sup>are not restricted to</sup> ~~are not restricted to~~ the policy making bodies and their constituencies as such, but <sup>transcend these by far</sup> ~~transcend these by far~~.

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Actually, the change is from the position of a working class <sup>which has</sup> ~~which has~~ to protect its interests under a capitalist regime to that of a working class <sup>making</sup> ~~making~~ itself responsible for a transition from a capitalist to a socialist regime. Though the working class <sup>must</sup> ~~must~~ continue to protect its interests (even though perhaps by partly different means), it must also shoulder the burden of the change-over. For the mass of the common people this means an almost violent shift in regard to the traditional <sup>motivations</sup> ~~motivations~~ of everyday life.

There is widespread agreement in regard to the urgency of the tasks facing <sup>the Labour Movement</sup> ~~the Labour Movement~~ today. It might be useful to <sup>survey</sup> ~~survey~~ them <sup>briefly</sup> ~~briefly~~, and <sup>point out</sup> ~~point out~~ the manner in which they fashion the outlook of the average working man and woman.

Let us <sup>recall</sup> ~~recall~~ the main features of the situation. There are, first, the industrial <sup>problems</sup> ~~problems~~ raised by demobilisation and reconversion, <sup>esp.</sup> ~~esp.~~ in coal mining, engineering, the building trade, cotton or the docks. There is the need for austerity <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ export drive, the danger of inflation, the enforcement of price control. Big issues arise for the industrial side of the Movement such as wage policy,

*have unions*

(a) American photo agencies  
"Keystone" G. A. Rai

(b) Columnist of the E. J.  
Starman Star  
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Evening News

(c) Agency: feature agency  
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length of the working day, the overcoming of the dilution of labour and of restrictive practices, redundancy, retraining, absenteeism, piece work, unofficial strikes. The whole industrial machinery of conciliation, arbitration, government intervention, Whitley councils, joint production committees, working parties in industry, even the use of the strike weapon itself is in question. Broadly, the relations of the trade union movement to ~~the~~ a Labour government are involved. The co-operative movement also may have to reconsider its position in regard to the scope of municipal trading or the nationalisation of commerce. The responsibilities of local government overlap, especially in regard to housing, town planning, health services or adult education with the activities of other bodies. There is indeed hardly an organised form of the working class movement the policy of which is not affected in the most varied ways.

Yet this is far from all. These spheres of collective action are distant and impersonal compared with the stresses and strains originated by the new tasks in the everyday lives of individual men and women in factory and shop, mine and field, home and office, street and tram, whether they be parents or children, consumers or producers, holiday makers or hospital patients. Every phase of their existence is affected, as the saying goes, from the cradle to the grave.

## B. Capitalist conditioning.

Man needs to be restored today to his true nature from which he was almost forcibly deflected by the impact of the Industrial Revolution and early capitalism. He was conditioned to the requirements of an unnatural system of laissez-faire and made to accept its artificial motivations. This was brought about by the combined effect of environment and indoctrination. Everyday practices of employers, foremen and public authorities were reinforced by the exhortations of religion, instruction proper, contemporary philosophy, popular literature, and the fashionable fallacies of science--all largely inspired by the same crude pessimism in regard to the nature of man, and a no less facile optimism in respect to the virtues of a harmonistic laissez-faire. As a <sup>result</sup> of these conditioning factors the common people were made to acquiesce in forms of work and existence which favoured the exorcism of industrial capitalism at the price of stunting the lives of the people. Socialism should enable man to readjust his industrial environment to the requirements of human existence. *The main obstacle which stands in the way is the remnants of capitalist conditioning*

Under early capitalism the pressure of circumstances conspire with the conscious and unconscious endeavours of the ruling strata to transform the traditional class of the 'labouring poor' into industrial proletarians. The change in the habits, standards and motives of the mainly rural world of the traditional poor to those of the wage earning hand in a 'manufactory' was indeed great. The educational influences which made this change possible were, in accordance with the spirit of the time, mainly religious. The Wesleyan Movement reached deep into the masses and swayed them towards a resigned, if not joyful acceptance of the sufferings of life, while turning their minds passionately against revolutionary ideas. The Evangelicals eulogised physical degradation and misery as helps to salvation, while propagating even more dogmatically the most reactionary social doctrines. The Bishop of London financed Hannah More's anti-revolutionary tract campaigns and twopenny ditties which sold to the tune of two million copies.

This conditioning of the masses to qualify them for the part of modern industrial proletarians achieved its purpose to a remarkable extent. It was perhaps the greatest propaganda success of all times. The people not only fell in with the part of docile 'hands' sweating under the command of their overseers, but actually accepted the role assigned to them in the spirit of the game, which, ironically enough, made them appear as a kind of capitalists, trading for profit in their own labour power (which they were apparently trying to sell for more than it was worth!) Though their income evidently derived from labour and not from property, any morsel of property they may have owned was accepted by them as uniting them with the owning class! They would pride themselves on 'their stake in the country' and refuse solidarity with even poorer workers who did not possess such a stake. They never even doubted that their motive to work was not lust for gain and profit, but the necessity of making a living. The modern version of 'original sin' had been successfully used as an instrument of popular education so as to turn the common man into a convinced upholder of the capitalist society, of which he himself was the chief victim. It should not be denied that in the later stages many valuable traits were added to the character portrait of the industrial worker, his respectability, his self-reliance; and it was no small matter to attune him to the needs of machine production, the punctuality of the factory, the discipline of an industrial society. But we are not concerned here with the rights and wrongs of that long and tragic process. We were merely trying to show how the personality of the 19th century worker, his moral habitus, his personal motives, even his emotional reactions were conditioned by the effects of environment and indoctrination. But the lasting effect and staying power of the new influence were due to the inner cohesion of the outlook with it represented. A utilitarian philosophy, an evangelical belief in man's fallen nature, the dogma of laissez-faire, the psychology of the profit motive, the Darwinian creed of the survival of the fittest made one perfect whole. Not even universal suffrage and the secret ballot could emancipate a working class that had been nurtured on such a spirit. For it wore its shackles within.

It is from such a broad point of view that the requirements of the present should be viewed.



The social approach.

There is widespread agreement in regard to the urgency of the tasks facing the Labour Movement today. There are first the industrial problems raised by demobilisation and reconversion, especially in coal mining, engineering, <sup>agriculture.</sup> the building trade, cotton <sup>or</sup> ~~and~~ the docks. There is the need for <sup>shortage of man power, the</sup> austerity <sup>for</sup> and for an export drive, the danger of inflation, the enforcement of price control. Big issues arise for the trade unions such as that of a wage policy, the length of the working day, the <sup>of</sup> simultaneous ~~overcoming~~ of dilution of labour and restrictive ~~practices~~ practices, redundancy, retraining, absenteeism, piece work, unofficial strikes. The industrial machinery of <sup>negotiation and</sup> ~~conciliation, arbitration, government intervention~~ <sup>conciliation, arbitration, government intervention</sup> tion, ~~industry councils~~, joint production committee, working parties, ~~even~~ even the use of the <sup>strike weapon</sup> itself is in question. Broadly, the ~~relations~~ relations of the trade union movement to ~~human~~ a Labour government are involved. The co-operative movement also may have to reconsider its position in regard to the scope of municipal trading or the nationalisation of ~~foreign~~ <sup>foreign</sup> ~~human~~ commerce. The responsibilities of local government overlap with activities of other bodies, especially in regard to housing, town planning, <sup>health</sup> services of adult education. There is indeed hardly an organised form of the working class movement the policy of which is not affected in the most varied ways. ~~The need is above all for an overcoming of sectional differences and of all too narrow view of economic interests.~~

*labour movement*  
*industrial labour*  
*investment of labor; female labour.*  
*control of engagements production*  
*increased productivity; (output)*  
*shortage of manpower &*

C. 'Political education' insufficient.

No ~~programmatic~~ <sup>purely political</sup> definition of socialism can be expected adequately to ~~debe~~ circumscribe a social ideal which must give meaning to personal motivations and emotional attitudes over the whole range of ~~human~~ human life. Marxist political parties, it is true, incorporate with their programmes a body of knowledge, involving specific methods and a philosophy embracing most of the social and historical sciences. But even if the underlying system is sound, such an approach involves the danger of a ~~rigid~~ <sup>political</sup> dogmatism, ~~and intellectual petrification~~. Nevertheless, no generation of men can give an effective lead in human affairs, unless their views ~~and~~ of man, ~~and~~ nature and life, of scientific and moral truth have attained a form which is both consistent in itself and relevant to everyday existence.

majority

A ~~substantial~~ of the electorate voted in 1945 for a socialist programme. A considerable percentage ~~of the electorate~~ did so, no doubt, without any very clear realisation of the meaning of the term socialism. And yet probably even the majority of those who voted Labour not in spite of, but precisely because it called itself socialist. They (rightly) took this to indicate the conviction that none of the desirable ends like full employment, good housing, educational opportunities could be achieved unless previously major changes were introduced into the social system as a whole. One should, not, therefore, underestimate the general sympathy of the electorate with the socialist aims of Labour merely on account of the necessarily vague conceptions attached to that term. What needs to be stressed here is that not even a much clearer understanding of the meaning of socialism could make a purely political aim and ideal into a comprehensive philosophy of life such as the working classes urgently need today to rid itself of the survivals of its own capitalist 'education' and to face up to the vicissitudes of the long and arduous struggle for a socialist society on which it is embarked.

The foundations of socialist conviction must be truly laid if the edifice is to last. When contradictory motives spell confusion; when the movement is passing through 'bad patches'; when failure seems imminent; when disunity in the one's own camp is rampant; when the pace must ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> forced beyond that which was intended; when the emotional drive has lost its impetus; when the need for rational formulation of the interrelated tasks becomes imperative: it is then that soul



is exposed to the corrosive of doubt, character is put to the test, and ~~bbbb~~ conviction must prove itself.

At this crucial point the measure of coherence in a man's views and opinions alone counts. Unless his outlook is based on valid assumptions which he knows how to handle and has therefore learnt to trust, he cannot hold his own. He will slow down and come to a stop; he will falter and fail. Before he has quite realised it, he may find himself in the enemy camp.

Political education alone will not solve his problem. Undoubtedly behind the tenuous phrase of the programme where it touches on socialism, there stands an outlook which possesses both depth and breadth. But clearly it cannot be a substitute for a socialist education. The varying emphases which the main organisations of the Movement lay on that directive ~~unhuman~~ sentence about the 'nationalisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange', tends to pluck it asunder. The political party calls on him in the elections to forget that he is a worker and think of himself not as a socialist but primarily as a citizen; the industrial organisation appeals to him not as ~~unhuman~~ to a socialist, but as to a worker who may even forget that he is becoming his own employer; the co-operative tends to make him forget altogether that it is merely a means to an end. And yet even if they all spoke with ~~one~~ one voice how vague that definition of socialism sounds when put to the test of the hard practical questions which men and women are expected to answer in their every day lives!

#### D. 'Education in general' insufficient.

'Education in general', as understood in this country ~~unhappy~~ today, cannot be relied upon to produce effective socialists. In contrast to 'political education', 'education in general' is a derivative of the formal instruction given to the child and juvenile, including the university student. Such an education can be fully comprehended only when regarded as what it is, namely, a link between the ~~in~~ pupils' early background and the place in the community he or she is expected to fill later in life.

For this reason, 'education in general' will tend to take on a class character. Unless it is deliberately devised to be national, i.e., to refer to the ~~unhuman~~ elements common to the background of all pupils, and, again, to the ~~unhuman~~ elements common to their adult <sup>the</sup> lives, education will necessarily reflect ~~the narrow~~ narrower background and prospects of those for whom it was devised.

Such a view in no manner impugns the objectivity of the scholars who ultimately are responsible for the factual side of the instruction. To assume the opposite, is merely to disregard a fundamental difficulty with which all instruction, especially in the social and historical sciences, has to contend. For only a minute part of the vast store of accumulated facts can be taught, unless the subject-matter is to become unmanageable. Consequently, the larger the aggregate of impartially ascertained facts, the more arbitrary, in a sense, will be the selection ultimately passed on to the ~~unmanageable~~ pupils.

Of course, class education can always be made to appear 'national' by introducing it more or less generally throughout the nation. However, this will not make it into national education, in the true sense of the term. For it will continue to be unrelated to the lives of the majority of the pupils both in regard to their pre-school and to their post-school experience. Such an 'outsized' education roughly adjusted to their more <sup>circumstances</sup> modest ~~modest~~ will but indifferently fit the ~~poor~~ pupils. No well knit personality ~~personality~~ can be expected to emerge from a training devised for an other set of persons and not, therefore, grounded in a man's basic experiences and not directed towards his natural aims. While education 'in general' will greatly benefit him, once he knows how to make use of it, such an education, as a rule, cannot, by itself, help ~~he~~ him to become an effective socialist, but must indeed hamper him in this endeavour.

The widespread belief in education 'in general' is a more thoughtless abstraction resulting from custom and habit. By its very nature instruction, as a part of education, is almost meaningless ~~as~~ apart from the double reference ~~reference~~ to the child and the adult. The decisive factors in education both antedate the school and reach out beyond it, school itself being a mere ~~intermezzo~~ bracketed between the



nursery and adult life. Knowledge and information are placed into a preformed pattern in such a way as to meet the requirements of later life. The basic experiences of early years provide the tentacles with the help of which knowledge is apprehended by the child, while his character is moulded according to criteria derived from his later function in society. All education is a bridge between past and future, the semblance of its 'independence' being merely the result of our habit of taking the past and the present, the nursery and the career for granted.

Since the passing of the 'National' and the 'British' education in general, simply meant education modelled, though ever so distantly, on Oxford and Cambridge, whence the teachers teachers drew their own tuition. Consequently, all but the children of upper class parents received an 'adult-erated' education. Unless they possess a traditional culture of their own, they have to put up with a second hand culture.

Let us apply this briefly to public school plus Old University training. We recall Mrs. Mead's description of the manner in which an American boy of 4 or 5 learns to gauge the precise attitude he is expected to take up in respect to physical prowess. Such an attitude involves a complete scale of valuations in which a deeply pacifist and yet numerically virile community would indulge. Subtle praise, silent disapproval, cover encouragement are all conveyed, often unconsciously, by the modulation of the voice of an adult, usually the parent. In a similar fashion he will have learnt of the approved attitudes in regard to sex, the colour bar, social discrimination, the worth of wealth, or the meaning of the Stars and Stripes. Up to the age of 17 he needs do no more than fill in this pattern. Who would doubt that any average British ~~middle~~ boy of 'good family' would have similarly grasped the significance of the presence of servants in his home, the importance of people such as his own for the life of the countryside (if not of the country), the value of force of character for one's standing, the meaning of duty and the nature of responsibility? The talk and bearing of the adults hardly could have helped to convey this to him, if only by signs imperceptible to themselves but not to the acute senses of the child. In these basic experiences there lie preformed the function and role of the future adult: to carry responsibility, to lead and command, to serve the community by preserving his own rights and privileges, to uphold established institutions, habits, customs and traditions of family, countryside, and country, in a world to take for granted the identity of his private interest with public interest. Later his education would aim at building up personality out of experiences such as these and direct it towards these values. Public school and 'Varsity were thus offered principles of selection in the vast field of the humanities which allowed a wide scope to fill in the pattern. But the outlines of the pattern were plainly set. The philosophy and politics, history and economics suitable for the person fitting himself for the role of leadership and command are very different from those which would be appropriate to the ruled and ruled. These latter ~~meanings~~ should be preparing themselves either to obey or to revolt. In either case upper class education cannot be a means of developing a well knit personality. Exceptionally, they may receive a full university training, and culturally join the upper class (though often remaining politically loyal to Labour); but mostly upper class culture will percolate to them merely by devious channels of adult education, offering them a distorted and mutilated image of culture useless (if not worse) for the development of personality. Even so the unpolitical person may be well served, or,

at least, not too badly. The socialist however has not been helped, but hampered. His personal gifts might have survived even such misdirection. But as a rule he will be further away than he was from being equipped for his job in social and public life.



must make sense at least to the teacher  
himself is obvious. ~~That~~ and no ~~other~~  
if he is an ~~unfortunate~~ educator, he will  
~~therefore~~ apply <sup>such</sup> principles of selection  
which besides satisfying his ~~sense of~~  
own sense of the right and reasonable,  
will also assist his students to develop  
freely & character, a candid and  
new of life & society. That is why  
might almost every century has its  
characteristic philosophers, historians  
and almost every quarter century  
seems to produce its ~~own~~ ~~own~~ ~~own~~  
~~psychological~~ school of psychology &  
characteristics, ~~and~~ ~~social~~ ~~anthropology~~  
& statistics, without any noticeable  
change in the standards of  
academic speaking. Nothing ~~more~~ ~~more~~ ~~more~~  
generation after generation reverse ~~and~~  
~~reverse~~ again the principles of physical  
psychology at the university, in economics  
at least three or four ~~materially~~ ~~or~~ ~~cultural~~  
history this thought held sway  
in as many generations; psychology has  
~~been~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ at least twice revolutions  
since Herbert Spencer; and he would  
factual of all disciplines, statistics seems  
to have an almost better use to shift its  
foundations. ~~As~~ the science of education  
itself is one of the worst ~~science~~ ~~science~~ ~~science~~  
to ~~from~~ the claims of ~~spiritual~~ ~~science~~ ~~science~~ ~~science~~  
shift in emphasis scientific is ~~not~~ ~~not~~ ~~not~~  
most scientific

E. The bases of socialist education.

On whatever level we try to define the aims and ideals of the Labour Movement, we will find that their purport is different from those of any other group in modern society.

Whether it is on the practical level of social security and full employment; on the more ideal level of justice and freedom, peace and humanbrotherhood; or the ultimate level on which man's ~~present~~ life itself is restored to a broader and fuller flow, ~~namely~~, the context in which values and facts, ideals and reality have their being, is unique.

At the heart of it all is the view of <sup>man's present condition</sup> ~~man's present condition~~ which is characteristic of socialism. <sup>How lies the root of his</sup> ~~How lies the root of his~~ <sup>entirely</sup> ~~entirely~~ <sup>different</sup> ~~different outlook from that ~~dominating the~~ <sup>dominating the</sup> Nineteenth Century. On the nature of man and his community, and consequently on the meaning of freedom and equality progress and wel/fare, civilisation and culture he holds distinctive views of his own. However closely they are related to the great currents of Western life and thought, to humanism and the reformation the renaissance and the enlightenment, and above all to the Christian origin of our social, political and human values, nevertheless the socialist ~~stands~~ <sup>stands</sup> for an irreducible position. For right at the ~~very~~ <sup>very</sup> ~~root of his consciousness~~ <sup>root of his consciousness</sup> lies the conviction that our industrial society subordinates human values to the requirements of private ownership~~



The Basis of Socialist Education in  
the Labour Movement".

Is there such a thing as a Socialist Education? The starting point of any answer to this question is the definite needs of the working-class movement as it finds itself now. This leads to considerations of the subject matter of such an education. Here one can find a starting point in the changes which are taking place in this country leading to a consideration of whether there is a special Socialist way of change. This is followed by consideration of whether there is a ~~new~~ coherent body of knowledge that the working-class would be better at than anyone else. If so, then the relevant coherent knowledge assumes an authority which demands attention and which can be set up as against traditional education.

*modern*  
A Socialist maybe defined as a person who believes that <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ working-class <sup>must primarily take</sup> ~~has a mission, that is a rôle~~ of leadership in the <sup>change over</sup> ~~transformation~~ of society from Capitalism to <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ Co-operative Commonwealth. ~~A Socialist believes that society is in such a state of transition to Socialism.~~ Under such circumstances the purpose of Adult Education for the Socialist is to fit himself <sup>the performance of such a</sup> ~~for~~ this task. <sup>assuming that education to be</sup> ~~If one assumes that education is more than the~~ mere imparting of knowledge and technique, <sup>that is, that it is an</sup> ~~that is, that it is an~~ interpretation of environment and maybe also the shaping of personality, ~~then~~ the achievement of ~~such~~ a Socialist education

can perhaps be <sup>attained</sup> ~~reached~~ by the following means:-

- (a) The pointing out of the tasks with which the working-class movement is faced at the present moment. These include for example, an examination of the general wage and price levels, the technical organisation of industry, the place of joint production Committees, the export drive and its connection with the organisation of industry, unofficial strikes and the technical problems of reconversion to utility goods and the like.
- (b) The review of the kind of knowledge which the working-class movements <sup>would</sup> need to perform these tasks, that is, the Socialist aspect of them.
- (c) The consideration of methods and subjects of study to find out how far it is possible to build on the basic experience of people involved in such education.

The place of the Labour Party in such education rests on a recognition of the Labour Party becoming a National Party which cannot regard itself as exclusively working-class but nevertheless depends upon the maintenance of working-class leadership in order to retain its Socialist character. Such leadership may imply new types of responsibility such as subordinating working-class interests to those of the general community. Without a disciplined purpose the Labour Party could become ineffective as a National Policy. These issues demand a purposeful attitude which in turn makes necessary the development of education in the



working-class movement.

From a Socialist point of view it is necessary to think in terms of (a) Society as a whole from the point of view of the working-class,

(b) The unity of the political and economic spheres even though these are separated institutionally. The Liberal view regarded the ~~the~~ difference between these as natural and right.

(c) The Social character of the so-called economic point of view.

These principles lead to a different ~~view~~<sup>of view</sup> point on knowledge and how it is constituted. As a result a different arrangement of knowledge is reached. Basic knowledge is the ~~real~~<sup>drawn</sup> part of knowledge from a man's own experience as against acquired knowledge which he can only gain from basic knowledge. It can be assumed that with a working-class person there is an entirely different appreciation of knowledge than with a person who is not entirely dependant on wages. The worker~~y~~ is at the root of things and though he has many disadvantages he has a basic knowledge which is related to basic things such as food and shelter. The significance of this is that it is different from traditional <sup>rather</sup> knowledge/than whether it is better or worse. In teaching a working person it is necessary to link up with this basic knowledge and if he is able to organise these things round himself, he can then be defined as an educated person. The education of the upper

classes was a real education because the people who began it appreciated their position of selected leadership and 'power to give orders'. This very fact makes the same education a travesty for the working man and indeed leads him to lose his only chance of getting an education.

From this many things follow, such as the interesting jobs in the organisation of industry, in health services and such subjects amongst working people. These are their natural and immediate interests and form a permanent part of their existence. *the working man* If ~~he~~ <sup>he</sup> is to confirm his present basis of existence and also to be a Socialist, his outlook must have a special reference to the future and not be merely for his own personal advantage. *Mack*

The significance of this for the teaching of logic, for example, would be to approach it through the problem of the National dividend, for the teaching of history it would be through the history of Labour and of Human effort, for the teaching of social Philosophy it would be through the history of human institutions and economic development. All such subjects would be suitable for general education but would also be subject matter for Socialist Education. In this way, Socialist teaching runs through everything not as propaganda but as an organisation of knowledge. It also keeps the working man rooted in the broad solidarity of the movement in which he believes.

In this way, the Socialist would achieve an authority based upon the pragmatic assurance of a set of principles together with



the supporting elements of knowledge. He can rely on it at every level of his existence and his education commands authority. A person engaged in this type of education is often discredited by the axioms underlying academic education. It is therefore important to recognise that such an education is not on a different philosophical level than any other knowledge. Nor does it discredit <sup>that</sup> existing knowledge which is 'objective and true. Rather does it establish Socialist education as distinctive.

An opposite point of view of Socialist education is that the teachings of the working class on such things as wages is not necessarily or primarily Socialist. Rather would Socialist education be defined as education for Socialism, that is, for the State ownership of the means of production and for a classless society. It would also include the tactics of how to <sup>achieve</sup> ~~get~~ such an aim and these might well include discussions on such subjects as the wage problems. More important however, is the urgent need for the education of a Socialist elite of perhaps only ten thousand people. At the present time there are a large number of active workers in the working-class movement who do not know what it is all about. If a main tenet of Socialism is a belief in democracy then it is important that they should understand its meaning. It is important to get people to the Socialists and Democrats and to think of Democracy as a means to State ownership rather than an end in itself.

The programme of the Labour Party is substantially the same as it was in 1918 and no thinking has been done about it

for a long time. It should be preparing for the day when people will demand that the programme for a next election will be 100% Socialism. It should be more interested in Political Theory and ambitious enough to try and make as many people as possible real Socialists. In Foreign Policy it probably means the support of Socialist movements in other parts of the world and the development towards world Socialism.

Comments on these two views may be made as follows:-

1. The separation of philosophy from strategy is vicious, indeed Socialism might be defined in terms of the immediate needs of the working-class. *(Mann)*
2. If the real aim is Socialism, then there can be only one truth and the emergence of a new body of Socialist knowledge will rightly and definitely discredit the existing body of traditional knowledge. The distinction between Socialist and other education only exists today because we live in a class society. When a classless society is achieved there will be only Socialist education. It is important to have faith in one type of education. *(Chomsky)*
3. The main aim should be to produce effective Socialists. The best way of doing this is by taking the experience of working people and clarifying the purpose behind the Labour Movement. There has been a lack of theory in this country and this has become not only a vice of England but also of the working class movement. Under such circumstances it is likely that development in this country will not be by abstract theory but by working out in experier



## SOCIALIST ~~WEEKLY~~ EDUCATION IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### Introduction.

Education cannot be discussed in isolation from the society within which it is being carried on. The formal system of education which we have inherited from the past developed under capitalism and in response to the needs of a capitalist society. Consequently, capitalist values, and the class divisions which are distinctive of capitalism, have left their mark all too clearly upon it and therefore upon the adult people of this country.

Now, under a Labour Government, Great Britain is working out a transition to Socialism. In doing so she must develop a new socialist education based upon the tradition of working-class education which has been built up among adults by the Labour Movement. The following is a consideration of how this can be done.

I. The Educational Traditions of Modern England: We have inherited and therefore our adult population has been shaped by, a three-track system of education. The first was the education of a ruling-class to fit it for the tasks and responsibilities of the professions and of government. This was based on the public schools and older Universities, and marked by teaching of the classics and "scholarship" generally. It aimed at character-building - the kind of character suitable for members of a privileged class destined to exercise power and responsibility.

It was an expensive education with high standards of teaching and accommodation, small classes and adequate equipment. It led to politics, the law and the Army.

The second was the growth of an education to meet the needs of the manufacturing and business classes. Some individuals were themselves able to take part in the education provided by the "second-line" public schools. Those who came lower in the industrial obtained places in new departments of the old Grammar Schools or at the worst, in the private schools similar to those depicted in David Copperfield. Thirdly, there was the growth of education for "the working people's poor". This was marked by poor buildings - or even cellars - very large 'classes', poor teachers and the narrow aim of literacy - the '3 Rs'. Even this met with objections from some people - like the reverend author of a pamphlet on education published in the 1820s who said "Education would give the lower classes the absurd notion that they were on a footing with their superiors in respect of their right to mental improvement".

On the whole though, the influence of the Church and of the middle-class philanthropists was in favour of some instruction for working children. The motives of others were less altruistic. There were those who pointed out that a suitable education would have the effect of keeping the lower classes "contented and submissive". Also, as was frequently pointed out in the discussions which preceded the



Education Act of 1870, workers who could read and write and do sums were urgently needed by industry. By that time the urban workers had just received the vote - and so came the recognition that "we must educate our masters"!

Whatever the reasons - the beginning of universal education has brought on to the horizon the possibility of government "by the people for the people" for the first time in the history of man.

## II Short history of working class adult education.

The adult workers were often justly suspicious of education provided for them by their "betters". Mechanics' Institutes, set up in many parts of the country from 1824 onwards, with the object of providing technical instruction for working-class audiences - met with comparatively little success. Cobbett's warning to the mechanics is well known - "Mechanics, I most heartily wish you well; but I also most heartily wish you not to be humbugged, which you most certainly will be if you suffer anybody but real mechanics to have anything to do in managing the concern". John Cleave summed up the situation when he ascribed the ill-success of the Institutes "not to the apathy of working men - but to their utter and just repugnance to institutions supported in a great measure by patronage".

Cobbett's view on all such efforts, and especially such organisations as the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge - "a combination for the purpose of amusing the working classes, and diverting

their attention from the cause of their poverty and misery" - was widely shared among the working-class.

With this suspicion of philanthropic education "laid on" from above came an increasing demand for education fitted to serve working-class needs - particularly the need to understand the forces which had changed society so drastically within little more than a generation. Above all, as Socialist theory grew up out of the actual struggles of the workers, born of bitter experience, so too there grew the demand for a knowledge of society which would enable them to control and change it.

Robert Owen, the "Father of English Socialism", built up his Socialist theories on the basis of his educational beliefs. He was the first to point out in detail how the factory system thwarted and stunted the lives of the human beings employed in the factories - and to point the way to a "New Moral World" in which this could be prevented. "Men's characters", he wrote in 1814, "are made for them and not by them" - that is, men's characters as social beings are mainly the product of their environment.

In the 1830's the various Owenite Societies, the Trade Unions, the early Co-operators, all stressed the need for education to fit the workers for responsibility. When the Rochdale Pioneers set up their store in Toad Lane in 1846, their intentions went far beyond the mere innovation of new methods of store-keeping. They saw one of their principal aims as the mutual education of their members in "the



principles of the new social system". "The objects of this Society" said their prospectus, "are the moral and intellectual advancement of its members".

Thus, by the middle of the 19th century, English Socialist ideas had emerged with the teachings of Robert Owen as its central theme. A variety of influences, particularly those of Marx and Engels, came from the Continent especially during the period of unrest in Europe, which culminated in 1848. Very little socialist theory was, however, to be found in books and writings. Rather did it occur to be found in books and writings in the speeches, Minutes and other documents of the Trade Union and Co-operative Movements and of the Chartist Movement.

Towards the end of the century Tom Mann and John Burns led a Crusade to bring back a Socialist spirit into the Trade Union Movement. Meanwhile, theories were being discussed by the newly formed Fabian Society and written down in a variety of forms by G.B. Shaw, William Morris and the Webbs.

The formation of the I.L.P. the S.D.F. and, later, the Labour Party, meant that the Socialist ideas of the English working-class movement were finding expression through direct political organisation. After the peace of 1918 another stream of Socialist ideas was expressed in the beginning of the Communist Party.

Now in 1946, the majority Socialist party of this country, the Labour Party, has achieved political Power.

Meanwhile, instead of further writings about socialism, contributions have been made to the body of knowledge about the working-class itself, notably by R.H. Tawney, G.D.H. Cole, H. Postgate and other writers on the history and condition of the "common people". In addition a broad adult education movement for the working class/largely after the foundation of the Workers' Educational Association in 1903.

This organisation was from the beginning "non-party political and non-sectarian in religion. Nevertheless it did not ask its members to contract out of society but "looks on education not only as a means of developing individual character and capacity, but as an equipment for the exercise of social rights and responsibilities". In these organisations for the first time, the working man's experience was brought face to face with traditional academic knowledge. The impact of the two has given rise to some of the problems at present under discussion.

It is soon seen from even these few facts that education in the Working-class Movement has been inevitably intertwined with the development of a Socialist Philosophy and with the growth of a Socialist Movement. Neither of these have yet grown fully - but they have reached a critical stage in their development which makes it difficult for the Socialist or the Educationalist to proceed without "taking stock". Here therefore we may briefly survey the position of adult education in the working-class movement at the present time.

### III Adult Education in the Working-class movement today.

The present education in the working-class movement is provided partly



by bodies with a definite socialist aim and partly by bodies which are entirely or partly educational. In the first category, is the education provided by the Labour Party and the Communist Party, the Co-operative Societies, and the Trade Union Movement. In the second category is the education of the W.E.A., N.C.L.C. and the Club and Institute Union.

(a) The Labour Party. Since the General Election of 1945 and its accession to power, the Labour Party has become increasingly conscious of the need for its members to have as wide an education as possible. This has come about partly because of the need to strengthen the democratic basis of power by encouraging Labour Party members to participate in the educational facilities provided through the W.E.A. and N.C.L.C. and, through them, by the Universities and Local Education Authorities. In a narrower sense, it is also to <sup>(a) explain</sup> equip those outside the Labour Party the true meaning of Government measures such as the Nationalisation of the Banks and of the Mines and also to equip members as agents for the Government, (b) build up themselves constructive Socialist attitude in place of the negative anti-capitalist attitude which has grown up over many years of past struggle. Again, the local L.P. has a responsibility to act as the democratic expression to the Member of Parliament of the needs of the locality. This may involve research and hard work. It certainly means discussion and residential education and wishes to take full advantage of the

more informal methods of education which have been wide-spread during the war. The importance of education to the L.P. in its present position is considerable. It is of necessity an integral part of the carrying through of its policy and more particularly, a means of consolidating its power since this is based on reason rather than on the emotion and propaganda of the Nazi and even of English Toryism in its Twentieth century form.

(b) The Communist Party. Education in Marxist theory has always been given a leading place in the Communist Party. This is so today and seems likely to continue. In addition, however, the C.P. of Great Britain has acknowledged the importance of a wider working-class education and encourages its members to participate in the provision made through public adult education.

(c) The Co-operative Party. <sup>Movement</sup> <sup>the</sup> From time of the Rochdale Pioneers education has formed a vital part of the work of the Co-operative Movement. At its best there has been a belief in formal education going side-by-side with the experience of ordinary men and women in managing affairs for themselves. Since 1852 the movement has financed its own educational department and at the present time <sup>approximately</sup> spends approximately £270,000 annually on education. Much of this has been concerned with the teaching of the history, principles and practice of co-operation but much attention has also been directed to the study of social and working-class history and to general social



questions. The Co-operative Movement has <sup>on the whole refused to draw</sup> ~~never made the mistake~~ of a rigid distinction between a 'liberal' and 'vocational' education and has taken advantage of freedom and independence to experiment in teaching, with both subject matter and method. It has achieved a great deal in its educational activities especially amongst working-class women and young people. Its resources and mass organisation (about 1 person in every 5 in the United Kingdom is a Co-operator) give it great opportunities for the future. To take full advantage of these it will need to appoint more educational officers and even organisers and tutors - <sup>and in addition, to increase to some extent</sup> or else to become part of a general working-class educational scheme which might achieve the same aim of popularising education among an even larger number of its members.

(d) The Trade Union Movement. From its beginning the Trade Union Movement has felt the need for training in administration and also for a broader understanding of the meaning of Trade Unionism. At the present time many Unions have educational schemes with the N.C.L.C. or the W.E.T.U.C., but mostly for a broad type of education. These schemes include correspondence courses as well as the provision of classes, week-end, One Day and Summer Schools. Now the T.U.C. has initiated a scheme with the L.B.E. which includes more direct training in administration, Chairmanship and the like. Individual Unions also are venturing on new educational schemes, as for example, the C.S.C.A. and the A.E.U.

Progress is being made in the volume of education for T.U.s . It is doubtful whether sufficient regard is being paid in all quarters to the essential need of striking a balance between the broader education and the narrower Trade Union education. If this can be achieved on a wider basis then the difficulty of establishing the lively relationship between the lay T.U. Movement and the T.U. official will largely be overcome. This in turn can lead to the 'throwing up' of a leadership which is sensitive to the democratic needs of its members and has sufficient imagination to survive the strong currents towards bureaucracy which try to sweep him away once he has left the workshop.

(e) The W.E.A. The W.E.A. is a non-party-political democratic body concerned only with education. It co-operates closely with the Trade Unions ( through the W.E.T.U.C. ) on the one side and with the Universities, the Ministry of Education and the L.E.A.s on the other. Consequently, it is able to take full advantage of the facilities which are being made available by the Ministry of Education and the L.E.A.s under the Education Act of 1944. It is clear that its importance in the future will increase if it can respond to the needs of the new situation by making itself more fully the expression of the developing educational demands and needs of working-class people. By this means it can be the channel whereby the people obtain the services of the best possible



brains, buildings and other educational facilities in the country. To do this, it will need to strengthen its own democratic organisation and inspire voluntary service from amongst a wide circle of working-class people as well as from the existing working-class organisations. Hard work on the spot faces the W.E.A. everywhere in a time of almost unlimited opportunities. It is a pity that there exists division rather than united effort between it and the N.C.L.C. : for on these two bodies rests the responsibility for seeing that adult education in its widest sense is really given its rightful place in <sup>the</sup> working-class movement.

(f) The N.C.L.C. Many classes and lectures are organised by the N.C.L.C. This organisation is distinguished by its independence from Government grants - and therefore from Government direction and control - as well as being solely concerned with working-class education. It may need to reconsider this position under a Labour Government but nevertheless has built up a tradition in working-class education which can make an important contribution to any future developments.

(g) The Workmen's Club & Institute Union.

The Club Union is regarded by critics as merely a collection of glorified public houses. At its best, however, the Club is not only a centre of recreational and educational activities; it is also a democratically run working-class institution. Here working men learn,

through the experience of responsibility, how to lead their fellow-members, handle large sums of money and organise activities which are in many cases, a great credit to them. The C.M.D. examination sets a standard of Club Management and helps in the training of successive officials from among the ranks of ordinary working men. The Clubs are in closer touch with the day to day life of the working man and his family today than perhaps any other part of the working-class movement. Education is regarded as an essential part in the life of many of them: but there is need and room for great expansion and for the 'Club spirit' to spread to a larger number of members.

*Education, Labour & Movement*  
IV. Problems for the Socialist.

A considerable body of adult education therefore exists in the working-class movement today. Nevertheless the continuation and furtherance of this education can only be achieved with the solution of ~~the~~ <sup>social & educational</sup> problems facing the ~~socialist~~ at the present time. ~~These arise, on the one hand from the fundamental social and economic changes which stimulate the growth of Socialist Philosophy, and, on the other hand, from the new responsibilities undertaken by the Socialist Movement. Here are a few of them.~~ (A) ~~Socialist Education~~ Education is of necessity based upon a sense of values; ~~hence~~ <sup>hence</sup> Socialist Education must ~~at some time in the future~~ be based upon an evolving Socialist Philosophy. It is important that it should be able to grow freely untrammelled by either (i) the unconscious influence of traditional Capitalist education or (ii) a narrow socialist



philosophy set down by the Labour Movement in any particular stage of development. (b) ~~that is the relationship of such Socialist Education in the Working-class movement to Society as a whole~~

~~The Socialist must have confidence in his ideas being ultimately embraced by the whole of society. Consequently, his socialist education~~ *For his* cannot stop within the confines of the Labour Movement but must ultimately penetrate the class-room, the school text book and the adult education provided by the L.E.A. and the University. The very scope of his aims must, ~~therefore,~~ *the socialist* warn ~~him~~ against a doctrinaire outlook.

(c) ~~The leadership of society - in its politics and industry - has ever demanded education.~~ We are suffering at the present from the limited education of many members of the Labour Movement who left School at 13 and now hold positions of responsibility in local and central government. Yet we rejoice that they have been unspoiled by ~~a further Capitalist education.~~ *a capitalistic indoctrination.* The time has come to go a step further and to see that a non-capitalistic education of the best possible kind is made available for all. In this way leaders may in the future be got selected by 'birth' but thrown up by experience, yet as educated men and women.

*On the other hand he must guard against the dangers of a barren intellectualism.*  
(d) The real education of the adult man or woman is inevitably linked up with responsibility. Education for service and for responsibility is

philosophy set down by the labour movement in any particular stage of development. The very scope of his aims should warn the socialist against a doctrinaire outlook. For his ideas can not stop within the confines of the labour movement but must, eventually, penetrate the class-school, the school text-book, and the adult education provided by the community. On the other hand, he must guard against the dangers of a barren intellectualism. Education for service and for responsibility is the <sup>answer</sup> ~~the answer~~ to that working class intellectual who does nothing about anything, an irresponsible debater, who has so often endangered the growth of democracy. The socialist must not fear the question "What can we do about it?" at the end of a discussion. But neither must he only allow discussion which ends in that way for sometimes theory is the beginning of action.

Without prejudging the issues of the Socialist movement, the following may be regarded as common ground:

It is generally recognised



Warden!  
John Vickers

---

Ballot!  
Fines  
Zellary

---

the alternative to that working-class intellectual who does nothing about anything, an irresponsible debater who has so often endangered the growth of democracy. Hence the Socialist must not fear the question "what can he do about it?" at the end of a discussion. *But* Neither on the other hand must he only allow discussion which ends in that way, for sometimes theory is the beginning of action.

*Issues involved, the*  
Without prejudging the answer to these problems the following may be regarded as common ground: *(B) Socialist Movement*

It is generally recognised that the new tasks facing the Labour Movement require that the main sections of the movement recast their policies in a socialist direction.

The new situation involves the everyday attitudes of average members of the working class, of individual men and women in factory and field, home and office, *train and road.* Their every phase of life is affected whether they be parents or children, consumers or producers, holiday-makers or hospital patients - as the saying goes - from the cradle to the grave.

This is broadly the meaning of the conviction common to the Labour Movement that Great Britain is at present engaged in a transition from a Capitalist to a socialist form of society under the lead of the working people. *9* This is where the tasks of socialist education must be primarily sought.



### V. Aims of Socialist Education in the Labour Movement

(a) The aim of a Socialist Education in the Labour Movement is to produce active and effective socialists. The individual man and woman should find in it an intellectual mainstay and a moral inspiration in their endeavours to serve this purpose in every walk of life.

\* (b) Its ~~first~~<sup>first</sup> task must be to free the people's mind and soul of the stunting effects of capitalist conditioning. Robert Owen, the founder of British Socialism, was the first to emphasize that the emancipation of the working people was obstructed by the influence exerted on their personality by capitalist environment and indoctrination.

(c) Under early capitalism religious teaching was vocal in urging the masses to submit to the new and inhuman forms of economic domination. To-day philosophy and science are being made the vehicle of anti-socialist prejudices. These are <sup>often</sup> being passed on as the 'teaching' of economics, the 'lessons' of history, the 'laws' of Sociology, ~~and~~ the 'rules' of politics, the 'psychology' of primitive peoples, the 'spirit' of the constitution or the 'nature' of man.

(d) This pseudo-scientific outlook endorsed a crude pessimism concerning the nature of man; a dogmatic belief in the inevitability of a class society and the impossibility of democratic planning; ~~and~~ a glorification of the virtues of the jungle and

contempt for the common people. A utilitarian philosophy, an evangelical belief in man's fallen nature, the dogma of laissez-faire, the psychology of the profit-motive, the Darwinian creed of the survival of the Fittest <sup>draw</sup> made a coherent picture of the helpless condition of the Common Man.

(e) To restore man to his full stature we must endeavour to repair the damage done to the human substance of the people by a long period of capitalist conditioning. Socialists among educators, while avoiding all dogmatism, should affirm a body of valid knowledge on which their principles can be firmly grounded and propound an outlook on man and his world which is consistent in itself and relevant to everyday issues.

#### VI The Socialist Outlook

(a) Socialist ideals differ from those of all other schools of thought in their bearing on the actual world of man. This bearing is unique, whether we define the aims of the Labour Movement on the practical level of social security, and Full employment; or on that of justice and freedom, peace and brotherhood; or on the ultimate level on which man's life itself is restored to a broader and fuller flow.

However closely these ~~ideals~~ are related to the great historical currents of European life and thought, to humanism and the reformation, the renaissance and the enlightenment, and above all to the Christian origins of our social, political and human values, nevertheless the Socialist ideals are distinctive and irreducible.

(b) At the heart of it all there is the socialist view of man's present condition. The fact dominating our lives is the



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existence of capitalism which subordinates human values to the requirements of the property system. At this point, for the Socialists the actual impinges upon the ideal. Freedom and democracy, progress and welfare, civilization and culture, peace and the brotherhood of man remain unreal as long as they bye-pass the issue of capitalism.

(c) Here lie the roots of ~~maintaining~~ the Socialists' realism. The challenge is to an order of things which resists the subordination of the property system to the requirements of human values. The aim is to adjust the industrial civilization<sup>ization</sup> of our time to the requirements of those values. By this test have philosophy and science, ethics and religion to prove themselves.

(d) By this same test the mission to lead society onwards on the road to freedom falls to the working people. For their position under the economic system recalls to them continuously its limitations, while their lack of property in the means of production keeps them from acquiring a vested interest in the preservation of that system.

(e) Hence the responsibility of the working class for the future of mankind. They must prepare themselves to discharge their duty both towards themselves and others. Unless they subordinate, if necessary, sectional interest to the interests of the community, their load will not rest on sure foundations.

#### VII Scope and Method

(a) Socialist education involves a criticism of the philosophy and science, ethics and religion which ignore the challenge of our economic system. Incidentally, this decontaminates ~~some~~<sup>if</sup> the academic teaching of infectious bias and the student is aware

to strike out on wide and liberal study, freed of the paralysing hesitancy of the barefooted wanderer treading the snake-infested jungle.

(b) In its constructive aspect Socialist education must heed both the background and the outlook of the student. No well-knit personality can emerge from instruction, <sup>which is not</sup> ~~unless it is~~ grounded on the student's basic experience and is <sup>not informed by</sup> ~~directed towards~~ his natural interests.

(c) Broadly, as to his background the working man is at the root of things and thereby at a vantage in understanding the <sup>elements</sup> ~~elements~~ of labour, life and society. Broadly, again as to his outlook, his everyday interests raise issues of wider implications. For, inevitably, his interest in working conditions, economic security, access to knowledge, nature and art, leads him to aims which transcend the capitalist system.

(d) Accordingly, the disciplines and sub-disciplines of academic tradition should be formed into subject-matters, the unity and coherence of which is evident.

#### VIII Approach to the Social Sciences.

The new situation demands from the average working-class person an almost violent shift in his attitude to social problems.

(a) Very few of these problems can be met by an appreciation restricted either to the industrial or to the political field. No understanding of trade Union issues, however complete, will enable a man to gauge the advantages and disadvantages arising out of a definite industrial policy, unless he is also able to envisage the possible reactions on the political section of the movement.



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These may affect him as a beneficiary of social insurance, the health services, public welfare, or education, not to mention his general status and standing in the community. As long as he separates in his mind state and industry, politics and economics, he must remain unable to assess adequately his position, in its true setting. His need therefore is for an approach to the social field which does full justice to the unity of society.

(b) Another aspect of this problem is set by the motives and incentives to work. Under capitalism the human personality is cleft into a supposedly economic person, actuated by the profit motive and into the 'rest' of ~~the~~ personality, which comprises all other motives, allegedly of no account to ~~him~~<sup>man</sup> as a producer. Actually, motives and incentives relevant to work may arise from all quarters of the social compass. The practical importance of the issue in the present period of transition can hardly be ~~ated~~<sup>Naturally</sup>. Broadly, the worker's interest in the field of social and history will turn towards the question of human nature in society.

(c) There is a prospectiveness about the socialist approach to society - thought and vision are biased in favour of the future as against the past. Hence the desire to learn of the laws of progress and evolution, the chances of change.

These angles of vision do not come into prominence under the familiar assumptions of capitalism. The institutional separation of politics and economics tends here to ~~submerge~~<sup>overshadow</sup> the unity of society. Also, ~~in a market economy, closely linked as it is with~~<sup>under</sup> an individualistic organization of society, a narrow utilitarian psychology threatens to absorb the variety of factors comprised in human nature. Nor does the emphasis on social change receive its due in the

traditional teaching of the social science. From all these angles <sup>U.S.</sup> ~~the~~ facts have been shaped into a pattern ~~which~~ meets the needs of a society dependent upon a market economy.

(d) The working-class should be enabled to know its own history, to appreciate the heroic struggles of its forebears, and thus to identify itself with its <sup>own</sup> past. The vicissitudes of the Industrial ~~ev~~olution and of early capitalism, the glories of the Owenite movement and of Chartism, the horrors of the Hungry Forties should form part of education. The history of pauperism, from the Elizabethan Poor Law to Speenhamland and the Poor Law Reform - so significant for the psychology and morality of the British worker - should be common property.

(e) The origins of the socialist movement, its theory and its practice should be an object of study. British and non-British forms of socialist theory, the national and international ~~ex~~periences of the working-class in its struggle to gain industrial and political recognition should form part of instruction.

(f) The working people should have a chance to study the history of the literature and music of the common people; the conditions and standards of people in other parts of the world; general wage and price levels; the technical organization of industry; the rôle of joint production committees; the importance of the export drive; the question of unofficial strikes etc etc.

By socialist education, therefore, we mean teaching of subjects most needed <sup>ed</sup> to the working people of Britain at present. These are mainly ~~general and special~~ subjects in the field of social and historical sciences. The general subjects present



a survey of the human sciences from the angle of (1) the unity of society (2) human nature in society (3) social change. The subject matter will, in each case, be drawn from a number of traditional disciplines such as History, Sociology, Economics, Politics, Economic History, Psychology and so on. The special subjects comprise (1) the political and cultural history of the working class (2) history and forms of the socialist movement (3) topical questions in the field of industry and government.

The presentation should combine advance in stages with ~~reference back to~~ <sup>concentration on</sup> given points of interest. While the argument as a whole should progress by logical steps, each separate step should centre on some natural interest, thus underlining the relevance of the instruction.

In this way Socialist education does not mean the rejection of knowledge, but the reorganization of existing knowledge and the addition to it of much that has in past times lain hidden from the student in the lives of the ordinary people. Socialist teaching does not mean propaganda but the working out of the next stage in the development of human knowledge. The alternative is retrogression and the indulgence in imaginary and artificial education which will soon cease to have meaning even for capitalism.

#### IX. Practical Proposals

From these conclusions emerge a few definite <sup>tasks</sup> ~~things~~ which can be achieved in the near future:- <sub>aims</sub>

(1) The educational opportunities of the working people must be complete. The best possible teachers, buildings and equipment must be made available - and enough of all of them to enable the real abilities of each person in society to reveal themselves. By such

means alone can we have the chance to achieve the most able leadership in industry and politics. The Education Act of 1944 has gone a long way to make this possible. The Ministry of Education of the Labour Government, and perhaps even more, the Socialist members of Local Education Authorities, must show a bigness of mind and a liberalism of outlook in taking full advantage of the opportunities open to the in developing adult as well as child education.

(2) The Labour Movement must think out its policy, if not its philosophy for a long time hence. It can expect a revival of capitalist philosophy - perhaps a new and up-to-date liberalism and nationalism - maybe with a coat of 'socialism'. The Labour Ministers must not appear as a 'range of exhausted volcanoes' at the end of five years but as representatives of a movement which is vigorous, at the beginning of its career, and able to occupy a position of real leadership. Such a 'thinking-out' must go on throughout the movement. It must emerge from the people and not be imposed upon them by demagogues, who are so-called capitalist 'democrats'. Discussion and research must spread throughout the Labour Movement so that out of the reality of working-class experience and of the 'contact of mind upon mind' there may emerge a policy, perhaps a philosophy, which cannot be overthrown, because it is rooted in the history of our time.

(3) Those responsible for education within the Labour Movement must make possible such a development. Experiment and leadership in the methods of education, teaching and organization, are all need from the socialist who has any responsibility for education in its widest sense. His work will lie mostly on the spot in



starting classes, organizing discussions, residential schools etc. but he also has the serious problem of working out a common educational purpose, and even organization, from the complexity at present existing. Maybe 'unity in diversity' can be achieved broadly, but at least one great diversity - that between the N.C.L.C. and the W.E.A. - needs terminating. Perhaps a practical suggestion for general co-ordination and discussion would be the setting up of a Socialist Educational Bureau. In any case democrats and Socialists must ~~recognize~~ recognize the essential and urgent requirement <sup>of</sup> a leadership and an inspiration.

#### Britain

Conclusion, At the present time ~~ENGLAND~~ is going through a rapid transition to a Socialist society - the only alternative to war and depression. In such a crisis Britain has to look into the very fundamentals of her society which have never really been questioned since the Sixteenth Century. This can no longer be the job of a few people; it is a responsibility upon all citizens of a ~~man~~ developing democratic society. In all this the educationalist and the socialist have both a vital part to play and the urgency of the times demands an immediate working partnership between them.

## SOCIALIST EDUCATION IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

It is generally recognised that the new tasks facing the Labour Movement ~~require~~ require that the main sections of the Movement recast their policies in a socialist direction. This in itself is a tremendous challenge to the intellectual and moral forces of the <sup>Labour</sup> Movement, ~~as a whole~~.

Yet this is ~~far from~~ <sup>not</sup> all. The demands of the situation are not restricted to the policy-making bodies and their constituencies as such. They involve <sup>the</sup> every day attitudes of ~~average members of the working class~~ individual men and women in factory and field, home, office, road and train. Their every phase of life is affected, whether they be parents or children, consumers or producers, holiday-makers or hospital patients, as the saying goes - from the cradle to the grave.

This is the <sup>true purpose</sup> ~~conviction~~ of the conviction common to the Labour Movement, <sup>in one form or another</sup> that Great Britain is <sup>passing today</sup> ~~engaged in a transition~~ from a capitalist to a socialist form of society under the lead of the working people. This requires new modes of thinking.

<sup>therefore</sup> The need for a socialist education in the Labour Movement is ~~obvious~~ obvious and should be squarely met.

### 1. General Principles

- (a) The aim of a socialist education in the Labour Movement is to produce active and effective socialists.
- (b) Its prime task must be to free the people's mind and soul of the stunting effects of capitalist conditioning. Robert Owen, the founder of British socialism, was the first to emphasise



that the emancipation of the working people was obstructed by  
on their personality  
the influence exerted/by capitalist environment and indoctrination.

(c) Under early capitalism religious teaching was vocal in urging the masses to submit to the new and inhuman forms of economic domination. To-day philosophy and science are being made the vehicle of anti-socialist prejudices, <sup>which</sup> ~~these~~ are being passed on as the "teachings" of economics, the "lessons" of history, the "laws" of sociology, the "rules" of politics, the "psychology" of primitive peoples, the "spirit" of the constitution, or the "nature" of man.

(d) This pseudo-scientific outlook endorses a crude pessimism concerning the nature of man and a facile optimism in regard to the <sup>possibilities</sup> (harmonistic virtues) of laissez-faire; a one-sided materialism in regard to the determination of man's motives in economic life and a vacuous idealism as to the worth of freedom and democracy in abstracto; ~~a dogmatic belief in the inevitability of a class society and the impossibility of democratic planning;~~ a glorification of the virtues of the jungle and contempt for the common people. Its lasting effect was due to a large extent to the fact that the time-bound ideologies were brought into a closely knit system. A utilitarian philosophy, an evangelical belief in man's fallen nature, the dogma of laissez-faire, the psychology of the profit motive, the Darwinian creed of the survival of the fittest made a coherent picture of the helpless condition of the common man.

But what: (e) To restore man to his full stature we must endeavour to repair the damage done to the human substance of the people by a long period of capitalist conditioning. (Socialists among educators, while avoiding all dogmatism, should affirm a body of valid know-

ledge on which their principles can be firmly grounded, and propound an outlook on man and his world, which is consistent in itself and relevant to everyday issues. Thus the individual man and woman will find in socialist education an intellectual background and a moral inspiration to their personal endeavours to serve the Labour Movement.)

2. The socialist outlook.

(a) Socialist ideals differ from those of all other schools of thought in their bearing on the ~~the~~ actual world of man. This bearing is unique, whether we define the aims of the Labour Movement on the practical level of social security and full employment; or on that of justice and freedom, peace and brotherhood; or on the ultimate level on which man's life itself is restored to a broader and fuller flow. However closely these ideals are related to the great historical currents of ~~Western~~ <sup>EUROPEAN</sup> life and thought, to humanism and the Reformation, the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, and above all to the <sup>h</sup> Christian origins of our social, political and human values, ~~nevertheless~~ <sup>outlook ~~which~~ remains</sup> the socialist ~~is~~ (distinctive and irreducible.

(b) <sup>for at</sup> ~~At~~ the heart of it all there is the socialist ~~the~~ view of man's present condition. The fact dominating our lives is the existence of capitalism which subordinates human values to the requirements of the property system. At this point <sup>for the socialist</sup> the actual impinges on the ideal. Freedom and democracy, progress and welfare, civilization and culture, peace and the brotherhood of man remain unreal as long as they bypass ~~this issue of capitalism.~~



(b) Here lie the roots of <sup>the</sup> socialist realism. The challenge is to an order of things which resists the subordination of the property system to the requirements of human values. <sup>the call is for the aim is to adjust the industrial civilization to the preservation of these values.</sup> By this test have philosophy and science, ethics and religion to prove themselves in our time.

(d) By this same test the mission to lead society onwards on the road to freedom falls to the working people. For their position under the <sup>existing</sup> economic system recalls to them continuously its limitations, while their lack of property in the means of production keeps them from acquiring a vested interest in the preservation of that system.

(e) Hence the responsibility of the working class for the future of mankind. They must prepare themselves to ~~subordinate~~ discharge their duty both towards themselves and others. Unless they subordinate, if necessary, sectional interests to the interests of the community, their lead ~~ship~~ will not rest on sure foundations. ✓

3. Subject matter and method of teaching.

(a) Socialist education <sup>in the labour movement</sup> must supply the <sup>necessary</sup> equipment. The task is both critical and constructive.

(b) It involves a criticism of the philosophy and science, ethics and religion which ignore the challenge of our economic system. <sup>It does</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>and thereby</sup> ~~decontaminates~~ some academic teachings of their infectious bias. Thus protected the student can strike out on <sup>a</sup> wide and liberal study, free of the <sup>fear</sup> ~~paralysing hesitancy~~ of the barefooted wanderer treading the snake-infested jungle. <sup>Addie</sup>

(c) In its constructive aspect socialist education must heed both the background and the outlook of the student. No well-knit personality

from instruction, unless it is grounded on the student's basic experience, and is directed towards his natural interests.

- (A) ~~As to~~ <sup>background</sup> ~~the~~ background, the working man <sup>is</sup> at the root of things, and thereby at a vantage in understanding the elements of labour, life, and society. ~~Broadly~~ <sup>Again</sup>, as to ~~his~~ <sup>his</sup> outlook, his ~~everyday~~ <sup>day to day</sup> interests <sup>necessarily</sup> raise issues of wider implication. For inevitably his interest in working conditions, economic security, access to knowledge, nature and art lead him on to aims <sup>that</sup> ~~which~~ transcend the capitalist system.

- Selection of subject matter
- (o) Accordingly, the disciplines and sub-disciplines of academic tradition should be ~~reformed into subject matters~~ <sup>often referred into subjects</sup> the unity and coherence of which is evident <sup>to him</sup>.
- (p) ~~Accordingly, also, the~~ <sup>presentation</sup> ~~presentation~~ should combine advance in stages with continuous reference back to the natural point of interest. ~~Thus~~ <sup>While</sup> the argument as a whole should progress ~~in a straight line~~ <sup>by logical steps</sup>, the ~~detailed argument~~ <sup>single steps</sup> should be arranged around the <sup>natural</sup> interest as a centre ~~so as~~ <sup>to underline the</sup> relevance of the instruction. <sup>which will help</sup>

Selection of subject matter.



## Socialist Education in the Labour Movement

The following notes give some of the main facts and points of discussion made during the week-end 28th-29th December, 1945.

### The Present Condition of Adult Education for Working People.

(a) The Trade Union Movement. So far the Trade Union Movement has carried through its education mainly in the following ways:-

1. Paying out money to other bodies to do this for it, particularly the National Council of Labour Colleges. Some also went to Ruskin College. This has been historically the most important way in which the Trade Union Movement has carried through its education.  
The T.U.C.

2. It has done a certain amount of work itself especially by organising Summer Schools and through One Day and Week-end Schools organised under the Federation of Trades Councils. The subject matter of the latter has largely been related to the work of the T.U.C. itself though the Summer Schools have been rather wider.

3. A number of individual Unions have had educational schemes of their own though hardly any of them possess such schemes at the moment. The Iron and Steel Trades Federation had perhaps the most important scheme but this was largely undertaken in co-operation with the W.R.A. and eventually developed into the W.E.T.U.C. The Transport and General Workers Union rely mainly on a correspondence scheme built up on booklets and mainly on the problems of their own Union. This has been good but useful only for the type of student who is accustomed to reading books. The T. & G.W. is the only Union which has an Education Officer who is also the political and Research Officer.

The full-time officials of the Unions do not usually lack knowledge of their own organisation. They do lack a sufficiently broad knowledge of their own functions as Trade Union officials in relation to the economy as a whole. This has reached an acute form in the general council of the T.U.C. which mainly consists of the General Secretaries from Trade Unions and yet is usually called upon to exercise broader functions and therefore rely in fact on the staff of the T.U.C. to guide them. It is difficult to overcome this drawback as the Trade Union officials are usually very occupied and in any case regard it as a lowering of status to confess that they lack knowledge. It may perhaps be possible to educate potential officials but these are often elected by ballot (as for example is the case with the District officials of the A.E.U.). Consequently the person who has educated himself may not get elected to an official position and one wonders whether such officials should be appointed rather than elected in this way. The alternative is for officials to rely on Research officers but this constitutes a dangerous situation since the decisions must rest in the last resort on the officials.

The education of the active membership of the T.U. Movement mainly requires a greater acquaintance with the workings and problems of their Union. The level of knowledge of local officials in these matters is very primitive as shown for example, by ~~many~~ some of the ~~number~~ of resolutions which came from local Trades Councils.



The urgent need at the present time therefore <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ that (a) the understanding of Trade Unionists, especially of full-time officials, should be broadened and (b) the rank and file membership should be made more efficient.

As far as the future is concerned it would seem that only the T.U.C. and not separate Trade Unions are making plans for education. (????) In fact future plans may have to be made in relation to industry as a whole. It is questionable whether individual Unions can afford to carry through their own schemes. The scheme undertaken by the T.U.C. with the L.S.E. marked <sup>is</sup> ~~a~~ great step forward but it ~~was~~ <sup>is</sup> as yet uncertain whether the Unions <sup>will</sup> ~~would~~ make full use of it. The other ~~would consist~~ <sup>will consist</sup> scheme to be carried out by the T.U.C. itself ~~consisted~~ <sup>will consist</sup> of four weeks' courses for active T.U. especially local officials. The extent <sup>will</sup> ~~would~~ to which this ~~would~~ be successful depends <sup>is</sup> ~~on~~ upon the demands made from the Trade Unionists themselves. It ~~was~~ <sup>is</sup> essential that these schemes should be "sold" to Trade Unionists and for this reason they will be very practical in character and lecturers drawn in the first place from the staff of the T.U.C. The lack of text books is already being felt. In addition to these schemes it is hoped eventually that a T.U.C. College will be founded.

A main problem in the education of the Trade Unionist is to obtain the balance between the broader education and the narrower Trade Union education. It is essential to achieve <sup>this</sup> ~~a~~ balance between these two extremes. A second problem is that at the moment most education in

in the Trade Union movement <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ conceived as education from above. There is not enough interchange between the educator and the educated, in Conferences and meetings; everything is done by means of resolutions and orthodox procedure. Education should be a solution to this problem by providing Week-end Schools when the officials of Unions should speak and discuss with the members.

The same problems face those Trade Unions which are debarred from the T.U.C., that is to say the Civil Service Trade Unions. Here also there exists the internal problems of the Trade Union which is faced with unenlightened members who are not even Trade Union conscious, together with the division between those in high position in the movement and the rank-and-file. Such Unions also have their own special problems in the new set-up of a Labour Government when<sup>not a new</sup> the State is going to encroach on the Industrial life of the community.

*for example.*

During the war, the C.S.C.A. doubled its membership among non-industrial workers. Eighty % of the members who came during the war were women, many of them married. It is ~~in~~ natural that most of these do not even know even the purpose of a Trade Union. On the other hand there has been a heavy wastage because of call-up and so some of the new people <sup>have</sup> ~~had~~ had to man the official positions in the Union. To help these a pamphlet was issued on How to start a branch and other simple matters connected with Union organisation.



Week-end Schools were also organised on the organisation of the Union and some of them had discussed wider issues.

If the T.U. Movement demands a 40hr. week and a five-day week, then it has special responsibilities for the use of leisure. Some individuals would use this for cultural activities and in this the W.E.A. may help a great deal. Others may invest their leisure in quite a different way; ~~which might be right or wrong.~~ The Union has special responsibility for the development of activities connected with its own organisation and interest.

The C.S.C.A. is concerned about the contact between those people responsible for National negotiations and those responsible for interpreting those negotiations. The Union proposed that the National Whitley Council should meet rank-and-file members for questions and answers and general discussion.

The Asherton Report proposes a staff training College for Civil Servants. On the whole the C.S.C.A. is against this since it gives opportunity for selection of students. On the other hand the Trade Union favours the bringing in of people from the Commercial and Industrial world at a comparatively late stage in their lives though it is doubtful whether the Civil Service world can compete financially with the Commercial and Industrial world.

B.

The Co-operative Movement.

The Co-operative Movement is a mass organisation since about 1 person in every five in the United Kingdom is a co-operator. The movement

is of working-class origin and has had in the past close ties with the development of the T.U. Movement. The Rochdale pioneers were firm believers in education as an integral part of the Co-operative Movement. thus, The success of co-operation depended on an educated membership and at the same time in fact taught ordinary men and women to manage affairs for themselves. The encouragement of adult education and the co-operation with the University Extension Movement by the pioneers was therefore no accident. In 1852 they decided to finance their educational department by an appropriation of 2½% of the Society's Trading surplus. As time went on and the movement grew the education became institutionalised and a gulf was created between the educational needs of the members and their satisfaction.

At the present time the Co-operative Movement spends approximately £270,000 annually on education, but only touches the very fringe of its vast membership. In 1935 out of 1,096 Retail Societies, only 585 were making educational grants. Recently there has been a wholesome tendency to separate (a) pure entertainment, trade propaganda and technical employees' education from (b) the movement's general educational policy. Formal education under co-operative auspices has been mainly concerned with the teaching of the history, principles and practice of co-operation, but much attention has also been directed to the study of social and working-class history and to general social questions.

The fundamental weakness of co-operative education has been the failure to take full advantage of an unequalled opportunity for mass



education and mass enlightenment. Moreover, local autonomy has led to lack of co-ordination and has retarded the badly needed establishment of a really adequate central educational department. Much of the present funds are spent in paying for unrelated quasi-educational activities. Only some societies (accounting <sup>however</sup> for more than 40% of the membership) have full-time educational Secretaries. The Co-operative Movement needs more full-time educational officials and also organisers and organising tutors. Teaching methods are out of date, hackneyed and stogy. There is lack of good text books and lack of contact with educationalists outside the movement. It has failed to re-think its philosophy in terms of a greatly changed environment.

In spite of all these failures the Co-operative Movement has brought education of a kind to a large number of people who had no aptitude for sustained and systematic study in the normal sense of adult education. It has contributed to the emergence of an acute social consciousness amongst the more actively co-operators. It has loyally co-operated with other agencies of working-class education and organised the demand for many W.S.A. and W.C.L.C. classes. It has never made the mistake of rigid distinction between 'a Liberal' and 'vocational' education. It has always raised its voice in favour of bold educational reform. There are indications that new methods and technique of mass education have found their way into the Co-operative Movement, as for example the Discussion Group, the Film and the Pictorial Chart. The freedom to experiment arising from its independence

has enabled it to launch many interesting schemes. It has also made a fair provision for residential education particularly of a short-term nature.

Most active and thinking co-operators regard the building of Socialism as their aim. In the development of Socialist education the Co-op. Movement has both the resources and the mass basis to interest a very much larger number of people in popular education, given a more 'streamlined' machinery, and imagination. It can also make a contribution by the integrating of education and action. It can strengthen Socialist working-class education by encouraging unity and co-ordination and acting together with the Labour and Trade Union movement in localities. In particular, the possibilities of using Co-op. shops for educational propaganda need to be explored while the influence of the Co-op. Movement on the women of the country needs greater recognition. The Co-op. Movement has failed to re-think its philosophy in the face of a changed environment and still holds a liberal view tacked on to a mystic idea of a co-op. commonwealth.

C W.E.A. & W.H.T.U.C.

During the year 1943-47 the W.E.A. ~~has~~ organised 80,000 students in grant-earning classes in addition to a considerable volume of less formal work which had developed particularly during the war. 55% of the students studied subjects which should be of immediate practical value to Socialists. As for example, International Relations, Reconstruction, Politics, Local & Central Government, Economics and History. Other subjects such as Literature, Music



and Psychology have their place in a Socialist society but are obviously of a less immediate value.

From the point of view of the Socialist the draw back of the W.E.A. Movement is its non-party character and it should perhaps review its functions in the light of the new situation. On the other hand its non-party character makes it possible to (a) maintain a very considerable unity amongst working-class people of many different points of view. (b) take full advantage of the expanding public adult education provided by Universities and L.E.A.s. (c) It can maintain contact with a large number of people who would not take part in the ~~class~~ educational activities if the movement was tied up with a definite Socialist policy like that of the Labour Party. In any case the Democratic student control of the W.E.A. enables working-class Socialists to obtain the type of education which they desire(?) (d) The maintenance of objective education is perhaps an ultimate strength to the Labour Party (see Crossman's article in the Highway).

The democratic training of students in running their own classes and running the Movement has been of considerable importance and many people are doing good work for the Labour Party who have got their training in this way. A practical problem is likely to arise in localities for keen Socialists who do not know whether it is more profitable to put their main efforts into the W.E.A. movement or into the new educational work of the Labour Party.

The W.E.A. can probably best fit in as a means of providing educational facilities for Socialist students who, through its

democratic character, can obtain the type of education they desire. There is however need for co-ordination and the same problem applied to the W.E.T.U.C.

In the past the W.E.T.U.C. has mainly been a means of providing the remission of class fees, One Day Schools, scholarships to Ruskin College and to Summer Schools, and Correspondence courses. Recently work done by a study group on the Pottery Industry has indicated the possibilities of new developments while the report on Post-war Proposals published by the W.E.T.U.C. envisages a more uniform policy. At the moment only 34 Unions belong to the W.E.T.U.C.

#### D. The Labour Party.

The routes of the recent scheme for education in the Labour Party lie in (a) a recognition that ordinary Ward meetings are normally dull and ought to be made more interesting, especially for new members, (b) An understanding that the Labour Party might become restless during its period of Office unless its energies are canalised and given something to do. (c) The need for rank-and-file members of the party to act as agents or commissars for the government. They need to be equipped to ~~build~~ develop a constructive attitude in place of the existing more anti-Capitalist attitude; for example, every rank-and-file member should be able to answer questions about the Nationalisation of the Bank of England. (d) The experience of some of the Labour Party leaders of adult education during the war period, particularly in the Civil Defence services, had added point to the previous needs.



The suggestions of the new scheme for education in the Labour Party include the appointment of a discussion group leader for each divisional Labour Party who should rank in time as one of the leading officials of the ~~Labour~~ Party with a high status. The London L.P. has already decided to call its officer a Political Education Officer. ~~Importance~~ Much of the success of the scheme would depend upon what these officers are like. If anything is to be done at all. All that the centre can do at the moment is to advise and to hope that the younger members with experience of adult education will take up the responsibilities of such office.

Discussions in Wards or, in rural areas, in Constituency Parties should form an important part of ~~the~~ the scheme. This means ~~the~~ co-operation with others who can help, particularly Labour M.P.s. There is also to be a National Summer School at Bangor lasting for three weeks with 80 ~~people~~ students each week. The regions have their own training schemes and it has been suggested to Regional Officers and councils that they should have their own educational committees with panels of 10 to 20 people who can go round to visit groups to talk, listen or advise as required.

Local parties should ~~also~~ follow up their discussions with Research bodies in co-operation with Local Council Labour groups. This has been done for example at Wandsworth in co-operation with a member of the Socialist Medical Association. In this way, it should be ~~impossible~~ possible to answer the question of many members "what is the purpose of all this discussion?"

It is ~~also~~ planned to produce pamphlets something like those done by A.B.C.A. during the war. Some of these <sup>will</sup> ~~would~~ be on subjects related to the <sup>current</sup> ~~the~~ activities of Parliament. Others <sup>will</sup> ~~would~~ be on general subjects such as the history of the L.P., Socialism, etc. If possible about two pamphlets <sup>will</sup> ~~would~~ be produced each month.

A Regional Organisers' Conference had been held which might lead to more advanced work in some areas. It had however, given rise to some doubts as to whether such educational activities would ~~distract~~ <sup>distract</sup> from party organisation or frighten off some of the valuable members who did regular work but do not aim to become students.

E. Public Provision: The Universities and the L.E.A.s.

The adult educational work of Universities has consisted in the past mainly of (a) activities undertaken through Joint Committees on which the W.E.A. and Labour Movement is represented. These activities have included the provision of ~~the~~ advanced classes such as the Tutorial and Sessional class, the conducting of Summer Schools and the employment of full-time staff and organising tutors. The subjects taken have been principally on the Social <sup>Sciences</sup> ~~Sciences~~ and Arts, with a limited amount of work in the Natural sciences. (b) Activities undertaken directly by the University including University Extension and other courses, One Day and Week-end Schools, Vocation courses for foreign students and miscellaneous activities such as the provision of adult scholarships.

This traditional set-up <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ now being influenced by a number of changes:-

1. The 1944 Education Act which brought the L.E.A.s much more into the centre of the picture by placing on them



responsibility for adult education.

2. The association of the Universities <sup>through the Reg. Committees</sup> with the war-time experience of something approaching mass adult education in the Forces. This is linked with the provision of the new R.F.E. whereby grants can be earned in respect of less formal courses.
3. The Universities now have responsibility under the new R.F.E. for the training of Tutors and Lecturers. Some experimentation has been made in this direction but the nature of the training is still a subject for further thought.
4. The development of residential colleges which can become Regional centres for adult education and represent a break with the tradition of working-class residential colleges as established at Ruskin etc.
5. The partial break-down of the traditional distinction between liberal and vocational studies with the development, for example, of background courses for vocational groups such as pre-vocational courses for teachers and the courses for T.U. officials at L.S.E.
6. The probability of a large increase in demand for residential courses for foreign students involving some relationship with the British Council.

The conflicts about the rôle of a University in Society

are reflected in adult education. The conception of a University as a body of learned men concerned primarily, if not exclusively, with the pursuit of knowledge (almost irrespective of its ~~quality~~ quality or effect) is in conflict with the conception of a University as a Social Institution with responsibilities to the Community. This conflict has been shown for example, in the controversy over the McNair proposals in 'Redbrick University' and in Simon's book on 'The Universities'. It follows that there is also a conflict over curriculum namely between the claims of the so-called 'useful' as against 'useless' knowledge. It is necessary to re-think the question of curricula in relation to the kind of qualifications (intellectual or otherwise) required by administrators in a Social Democratic State. In this connection the work of the A.U.F. should be reviewed and the resistance from vested academic interest taken into account.

In existing Society it is useless to expect Universities to operate directly as agents of Socialist education. They obviously cannot in any sense take the place of specifically socialist education provided by such bodies as the Labour Party and the Fabian Society. On the other hand, the indirect contribution of Universities to the education of 'effective Socialists' can be very important. In particular, the tradition of co-operation between the Universities and the working-class movement, as expressed through the University Joint Committees and implied in the set-up of the W.F.A., is of great importance for both sides. It means that the working-class movement can take advantage of the University teaching resources and



and indirectly influence University policy.

In practice, the main contribution of the University to the education of effective Socialist can be through its influence on Local Authorities especially for the maintenance of Democratic student control; the training of a working-class leadership, of 'key' people who can act on the basis of scientific thinking after training in a Tutorial class or at a Residential College; The dissemination of reliable factual information about various aspects of the contemporary world by means of Extension courses; the selection, training, and re-education of tutors by the development of an intellectual calibre and of the Social orientation of their ideas including their attitude to the student body; the provision of Refresher and Background courses for specialists and particularly administrators, but also such people as Nurses, Social workers, Doctors and teachers, <sup>(~~These~~ <sup>These</sup> can enable the technician to relate</sup> to this particular technique to its social context, and therefore increase his efficiency and awareness of the possibilities and limitations of his technique); act as a focus for intellectual international contacts especially through Summer Schools; Give assistance to Trade Union and other working-class groups trying to develop Industrial and social investigation as has been done with the study group on the Pottery Industry; ~~the development~~ <sup>Films</sup> of popular culture in Drama, Poetry, Music/and the like.

Looking at the reverse process the contacts with the working-class movement should act as a stimulus to the University to re-think questions relating to the content of their courses and their approach to subjects. In short, the link with the working-class movement

should help to promote closer relationship between the University and the Community both Nationally and Regionally and thus have a valuable educational effect on the University itself and particularly on the University teaching staff. At the present time the Universities do not take this role and it is possible for University Tutorial classes to produce 'intellectual snobs', for Extension courses to be vehicles of distinct right wing propaganda and for tutors to be turned out who <sup>distract</sup> ~~amuse~~ their students.

The general conclusions are that the University should not consider itself self-sufficient and exercise a kind of Imperialism and monopoly. It should concentrate on those jobs of work which it is best fitted to perform including experimentation, that is 'laboratory work'. It should make the maximum use of University resources for Adult Education and promote joint activities with Local Authorities and working-class bodies such as the W.E.A. and the T.U. movement. Above all, it should continue to stress the importance of student-initiative and control.

From the point of view of the Labour Party there should be the fullest possible use of University services in Adult Education and persuasion of the University to undertake further activities when these can be of value from a Socialist point of view.

D. NON-RESIDENTIAL CENTRES:

Non-Residential Adult Education Centres can be used for a great many activities. In the settlement at Pontypool a study group



exists amongst the miners which has made a wide-spread impression on observers. It has held regular meetings every week for a year and studied such subjects as Geology, Miners' Health, The Economic Structure of the Industry, and the link of the mining industry with other industries in the country. A study group amongst steel workers is also being promoted at Pontypool. The experience of the groups has lead to some doubt as to whether the W.E.A. and other bodies have hit upon the right subject matter for members of a Society which is in the process of transformation.

E. YOUNG PEOPLE:

Before the war the education of young people between the ages of 14 and 20 was mainly (a) full-time educational secondary schools Universities and technical colleges, (b) part-time education at technical colleges, and evening classes, (c) recreational and educational facilities provided by various voluntary youth organisations e.g. Churches, Chapels, Boy Scouts, and Girl Guides, Boys and Girls Clubs, Political Parties etc.

Some attempt was made by the Government to increase the leisure-time provision for young people through the National Fitness Council but it was not until the coming of the war that general public provision was made. The real step forward came with the establishment of the Youth service and the consequent provision of facilities for young people by all the L.E.A.s. The first aim of this service was to get the young people of the streets and reduce the incidence of juvenile delinquency. It has, however, in practice, gone far beyond this and,

at its best, provides recreational and educational facilities for young people, including education in citizenship, and assists voluntary organisations to do the same. As things stand at the moment, it seems likely to continue at least until the establishment of the County Colleges when the question of the relationship with the Youth Service on the one hand, and with the Technical Colleges on the other, will be a matter for discussion. In the meantime, any developments should be directed to making the coming together of these institutions easy if a new division between technical and non-technical is not to be created among young people. It should also be noted that recent publications of the Ministry of Education, Circular 51 and 'Youth's Opportunity', both indicate the linking of the Youth Service with Junior Clubs on the one side and with Community centres and Adult Education on the other.

The major political parties of the country have <sup>long</sup> ~~been~~ recognised the importance of organisations among young people and they have, at one time or another, been a real force in the Conservative, Labour, Liberal, Communist and Co-operative movements. In addition, the political organisations among undergraduates at the Universities have provided additional experience to show that young people are particularly susceptible to political ideas and organisation. The emphasis placed on this by the Nazis and other successful political movements is additional reason for Socialists giving them special attention - though probably with a different emphasis for those from 14 to 18 or 20 and those from 20 to 30.



In the past the contrast between the young people's political organisations and those of the adult party has sometimes been too great in the Labour Movement as in other political parties. A lack of integration between the two has given rise to difficulties and even opposition, often accentuated by the failure to place enough responsibilities on the shoulders of the young people and their own isolation from young people's organisations of a more public character. In spite of this, and whatever may be the future policy of the Labour Party in respect to the organisation of young people, it would be advisable for educational provision to be made for them separately as well as together with the adults. They should also be encouraged to undertake technical education if their vocation makes it desirable, and to take part in the public youth organisations and especially in the discussion groups, youth parliaments etc. held under the auspices of these organisations.

The special provision of socialist education for young members of the Labour Party should include many popular activities, usually under adult leadership, such as dramatic work, films, socialist brains trusts, 'quiz', mock parliaments and council meetings and also evenings which may include social as well as educational activities. Visits to factories, mines, councils and expeditions to places of local interest are also likely to attract young people and help them in discerning the meaning of socialism if accompanied by relevant discussions. On the other hand, there will be groups and individuals who are capable of much more concentrated and serious work. Every help and

encouragement should be given to these and special week-end and residential schools arranged for them as well as regular classes where this is possible. Finally, attention should be given to the place of education in socialist organisations among University undergraduates.

F.  
WORKINGMEN'S CLUBS.

The Workingmen's Clubs & Institute Union Ltd now embraces Clubs all over the country, each of them having its own management and <sup>the</sup> whole organisation, speaking generally, being of a democratic kind in the hands of working people. Started as a Temperance organisation, the Union has come to be concerned with the buying and selling of alcohol. Consequently, it is sometimes regarded as merely a collection of glorified public-houses. Many of its members, however, are in fact putting into operation the ideals of the Club movement and attempting to make each Club a centre of recreational and educational activities.

The Union has its own national Educational Secretary and organises One Day Schools, provides scholarships to Ruskin and other Summer Schools, and, before the war, organised week-end Schools at its own Convalescent Homes. It also works in close co-operation with the W.E.A. and in its recent statement on post-war educational policy has urged its members to increase its partnership with this Association and to develop education in the Clubs generally.

A number of the Clubs were started as definitely Trade Union and political Clubs and nearly all of them have a very representative working-class membership. Many Labour Party members are also members



of Clubs and should be encouraged to initiate educational lectures and classes where they are not already held. Such lectures and classes will mainly be in association with the C.I.U. and/or the W.E.A. but in some cases may be of a definite L.P. character.

G. H.M. FORCES:

Apart from some experimental work done during the 1914-18 war general adult education for members of H.M. Forces has been built up almost entirely during the last war. The work of the A.E.C. before 1939 consisted largely of training soldiers for examinations and teaching the children of the soldiers. Thanks largely to the efforts of Mr.E.S. Cartwright and Mr.G.E.C. Wigg an amendment was introduced to the Conscription Bill in 1939 advocating education for every soldier, such education to be organised in co-operation with civilian bodies. This was not pressed on an assurance that such education would be developed and, after some delay, a real beginning was made in 1940. Since that time the scheme as advanced in all the Forces. In the Army, in particular, the working out of ABGA, BWF and now the pre-release educational scheme, has provided a tremendous experience of adult education. The chief features of it all have been:-

- (a) The assertion of the importance of education as an integral part of a soldier's training - not merely as a means of 'passing away the time' or an optional occupation for his leisure hours.
- (b) Co-operation between the Forces and Civilian bodies concerned with adult education. This has been achieved through the CAC and Regional Committees, which it should be noted were in theory, though not always

in practice, <sup>policy</sup> making and not merely lecture providing bodies.

(c) The enlargement of the ABC and the inclusion in it of men with experience in and knowledge of civilian adult education

(d) the use and adaptation <sup>of</sup> of some of the traditional forms of adult education, more particularly the use of discussion and class-teaching as well as of the lecture, the residential course with many features taken over from 'Summer Schools', and the training of discussion group leaders.

(e) the development of newer and more popular types of adult education such as the brains trust, Quiz, Information and News Rooms, Educational films and dramatic work.

(f) the popularising of adult education among a large number of people who have never known of it previously.

(g) the impossibility of establishing any cut and dried ruling about 'bias' in lectures. (see the statement on this subject) with the result that there has been considerable conflict over permits for individual lectures from the Left and from the Right- the Authorities usually hiding their political bias behind 'security' regulations.

(h) The irritation of many of the Forces at not being able to link their discussion with some active political action. It is clear that many of them wanted to go beyond mere education and, given a leadership, are anxious to link their education with membership of a political party.

(i) The way in which the Government has allowed free discussion and put almost unlimited resources behind it.



The significant facts for the development of socialist education would appear to be:

1. The possibility of developing a mass educational movement within an organisation existing for another purpose - this will involve a lowering of educational standards but the arousing of a widespread interest.
2. The need for leadership to continue and develop at once the interest already aroused among many people in the Forces.
3. The need for attention to educational techniques and the combination of (a) the most popular type of education with (b) the training of a leadership by residential and other courses which will be of the highest possible standard.
4. The use of the pamphlet needs further consideration - probably to be 'fitted in' to other forms of adult education.
5. The link between discussion and policy-making may lead to divisions among Socialists - but it may also lead to more responsible action on the part of a larger number of people.

G. THE BUREAU OF CURRENT AFFAIRS.

This organisation is only just starting on the basis of a ~~large~~ grant from the Carnegie Trustees. The Secretary is Mr. W. Williams, formerly Director of the Army Bureau of Current Affairs from which he brings a great experience. Its function will be to provide material for Adult Education similar to that provided for the Army and also to establish Training Colleges for Adult Education.

The Philosophy Behind Socialist Education.

or

The Nature of Working-class and Socialist Education.

Problems for the Socialist.

1. Should We Train Socialists?

The question of whether there is such a thing as Socialist Education has not been finally answered. It would be agreed that there is a general idea of working-class education and also of a Socialist ideal which might be defined as a co-operative Commonwealth. The question however, of a Socialist education cannot be decided if in fact there does not exist a body of Socialist knowledge. At the moment it is perhaps only possible to say that a Socialist is a person who conceives himself to occupy a position of leadership in the transformation of ~~the~~ society from a Capitalist to a Socialist state. In this case,

we have potential military class.



then the purpose of adult education is to fit the Socialist for this role. But it may be that by taking the immediate needs of the working-class such as wages, standards of living, housing, the organisation of industry etc. and educating from that point, then a Socialist education will be developed.

On the other hand there is a point of view which believes in a direct education for Socialism with the State ownership of the means of production and a class <sup>less</sup> ~~for~~ society in view. The people educated in this way could form a Socialist elite who, although not numerous, would understand the nature of the Socialism for which they were striving. The Labour Party has not done sufficient thinking about its purpose in recent years and there is an urgent need for its leaders to prepare for the time when the younger members will express dissatisfaction at the present <sup>limited</sup> aims of the Government and ask for full Socialism. Unless this further thinking is done quickly there is a danger of the present government becoming a "range of exhausted volcanoes". There should be in fact an attempt to make as many people as possible real Socialists.

The coming together of these two points of view is in the discussion of immediate problems such as wages and foreign policy. Here, the second point of view would regard such discussion as merely tactics or a means to an end. They would also however, encourage such discussion as a means of creating Socialists who are also Democrats.

2. Should There be Objective Adult Education Bodies?

If the aim is to produce effective Socialists then it is necessary to consider whether the objective type of adult education has a part to play in this process. If there is a definite philosophy of Socialism then it would seem that the education of Socialists in this philosophy is the only possible means of achieving the purpose. Nevertheless, a democrat would regard it as of fundamental importance to have education apart from a single political party such as the Labour Party. By this means alone, it would seem that the Labour Party could be looked at from outside and considered by educationalists who were not instruments of its policy. In addition, the experience of the Social Democrats in Europe would seem to indicate the danger of the working-class movement regarding itself as a thing apart. Rather should it be prepared to comprehend members of other social groups.

If the Labour Party does not embrace the whole of the people in the country then it is of some importance to have education which can reach out to a very large number of people who maybe democrats but do not belong to a political party. Such education however, ought not to divert these people from membership of the L.P. In this connection it may be pointed out that the N.C.L.C. has a definite Socialist aim and that the W.B.A. aims to equip its students for their social rights and responsibilities. Through these and similar organisations it is possible to develop education from the bottom and also to promote that broader education which



seems to be required in both the T.U. and the Labour movement. It is important that members of the L.P. and T.U. movement should become members of these organisations in order to strengthen them and to ensure that they provide the education which working-class people want and do not simply create a number of working-class intellectuals who do nothing about anything.

### 3. Methods of Education.

During the war period the discussion group method of education has been much used. It is clear that there is need for the further development of this in the Labour movement and for more experiment with it. Now that more systematic development is possible, the introduction of a larger amount of information into the discussions should become possible.

The pamphlet for Discussion groups and the training of leaders are both complimentary to discussion group work. The production of pamphlets on Socialist subjects and on the activities of the Labour government can be of very great assistance in providing information for the discussion group leader and stimulating discussion. Courses for the training of leaders can also be of great help in providing a background of material, some opportunity for practice in the method of leading discussions, and an <sup>inspiration</sup> ~~inspiration~~ about the reality of education. Experience however, has shown the need for selective groups for such training and that a course is of little use unless it takes its place naturally in the experience of taking discussions and doing some serious study.

A number of other educational methods have to be used as well as the discussion group, though it should not necessarily be assumed that the discussion group is the lowest level of adult education. The tutorial and other systematic classes will continue to be of great use to the adult who wishes to get a better education as a Socialist. The residential courses provided at Summer Schools and working-class Colleges show signs of increasing popularity and most certainly are able to achieve a great deal of educational work. In all this the place occupied by the Tutor is of very great importance and it is of some urgency that methods of teaching and the subject matter ~~talk~~ should be discussed by tutors maybe through their own Tutors Association.

4. Should Education be related to the formation of Policy and to Political Activity?

Discussion both in classes and discussion groups commonly leads to the question 'what can we do about it?' Once it is accepted that the Labour Party should undertake its own education, then it can be expected that the line between education and political activity will not be very clear. This might be considered undesirable from the point of view of the education; on the other hand, the discussion of realities such as Housing Problems, Conditions and Hours of Work, and Foreign Policy, will achieve a greater responsibility and reality if they are related to political action. In any case, as long as a large amount of the education of working-class people is still ~~hampered~~ carried out by the Universities



Local Education Authorities and the W.E.A. the danger in this direction would not seem to be very great. On the other hand, presumably it will be a long time before the L.P. gets worried about excessive political activity on the part of its members.

Organisation

5. Should there be a Unified Body of Socialist Adult Education?  
At the present time working-class education is divided up among a ~~very~~ large number of different organisations. <sup>Between</sup> ~~Amongst~~ some of these (e.g. the W.E.A. and the N.C.L.C.) there is very positive antagonism. The existence of different bodies is not in itself undesirable but it is clearly important that there should be some kind of unified philosophy behind all of them and their antagonisms should be overcome. Some movement towards unity might be achieved by discussions on the differences at present existing and by some small bureau of Socialist Education. The latter for example might be promoted by the Fabian Society.

THINGS TO BE DONE.

1. Preparation of a circular for Labour Councillors dealing with Labour Policy on Adult Education.
2. The publication of an article on the differences between the H.C.L.C. and the W.E.A. Such an article might be published for example in the forthcoming L.P. bulletin.
3. Consideration of the publication of a pamphlet dealing with Socialist Adult Education.
4. The Compilation of a list of subjects which might be useful for W.E.A. classes. The aim of such a compilation would be to promote the building up of a body of knowledge which might help to determine the nature of Socialist education.
5. The promotion in localities of L.P. discussion groups and Research groups and the development of W.E.A. and H.C.L.C. work among members of the L.P.



## THE SOCIALIST OUTLOOK AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

May I take a number of assumptions for granted and plunge right into the heart of the matter. So let me put the question in this way: How should we tackle the educational task of producing active and effective socialists, that is, persons, who have devoted themselves to the achievement of socialist aims in the service of the Labour movement? Not some Labour movement of the future, or of distant lands, but primarily the Labour Movement of this country, after the historical elections of July 1945? Such an education must be broad enough to achieve two tasks: It must help the main sections of the Labour Movement, the industrial and the political, to recast their policies in a socialist direction; it must help the individual man and woman by supplying them with an intellectual background and a moral inspiration in their endeavour to serve the socialist aims of the Labour Movement. While ~~an~~ avoiding all dogmatism, the task of such an adult education should be to affirm a body of valid knowledge on which socialist principles can be grounded and to propound an outlook on man and society, which is consistent in itself and relevant to everyday issues.

~~It can hardly be said that we socialists possess to-day such a valid body of organised knowledge, or an outlook which is sufficiently consistent and at the same time relevant to every day issues.~~

It can hardly be said that we socialists possess to-day such a ~~valid~~ valid body of organised knowledge, or an outlook which is sufficiently consistent and at the same time relevant to every-day issues. This ~~poses~~ poses our main problem to-night.

Most people would agree that this is one of our great weaknesses at the present; but who knows whether this may not turn out to be one

our greatest assets in the future! For in this way future knowledge, and future outlook may reflect actual tasks and actual conditions better than it otherwise might.

I hope that you will not mind that I am taking so much for granted, but the subject might otherwise have been too big for a single evening. And so let me restate my question, How to tackle the educational task of producing active and effective socialists? Etc., etc.

I am afraid I am bypassing the problem of method altogether. It might be argued that if you want to find your way, the first thing is to know exactly, where you want to get to. This sounds reasonable enough... If you want to achieve socialism, why not make quite sure that you know what socialism is; otherwise you are sure to lose your way.... Though this sounds <sup>as I said</sup> reasonable enough, it can be overdone. A socialist outlook is not so much a bird's eye view of socialism, as the outlook of a person, who is a socialist. And this involves a great many other things besides a bird's eye view of a socialist society.

In effect, one is not moving in a vicious circle, if ~~one is~~ trying to investigate cats, without first having defined what cats are. It is sufficient, if our scientist does not take a mouse for a cat, even if he be in doubt, whether a lion or a sphynx, or, for that matter, a Cheshire cat should or should not be classed as a cat. As long as he can point to an object which he is prepared to identify as a 'cat', his inquiry is sure to be relevant. Similarly for the socialist in the Labour movement.

The question is not so much what precisely is the socialist aim of the Labour Movement, than what is needed to a person in quest of



that aim, however vaguely it be outlined for the time being. Karl Marx was wise, when he refused to ~~an~~ elaborate on the organisation of a socialist society, sensing the danger of intellectualism and utopianism. Take a man in a vast forest or in a huge metropolis. His aim may be to get to another <sup>distant</sup> place ~~altogether~~, but his main concern may be, for all that, how to get out of the wood, or the built-up area in which he is keeping losing his way; once out of it, he feels fairly sure of his direction... Analogies are rarely <sup>complete</sup> ~~adequate~~. Still, this seems to describe fairly well the position of the average working class person caught up in the tangle of our industrial, economic, and political institutions. It is one's next step that it is so very difficult to be sure of. Incidentally, this explains why the socialist outlook of the working class in different parts of the world appears to differ so much from each other. For a socialist outlook which would be merely an ideology of the last lap of the race, but would leave us in the dark on the first round, would be of little avail. Of course, on the other hand, it's no use being out of the wood, unless you then strike out in the right direction. A socialist education must be always directed towards socialism. All we meant was that a bird's eye view of the ~~promised~~ promised land is insufficient. Much more is needed.

*neg. two  
task: liberation* I The prime task of socialist education in the Labour Movement must be to free the people's mind and soul of the stunting effects of capitalist conditioning. Robert Owen, the founder of British socialism, was the first to ~~emphasize~~ emphasize

Under early capitalism the pressure of circumstances conspired with the conscious and unconscious endeavours of the ruling strata to transform the traditional class of the 'labouring poor' into industrial proletarians. The change in the habits, standards and motives of the mainly rural world of the traditional poor to those of the wage earning hand in a 'manufactory' was indeed great. The educational influences which made this change possible were, in accordance with the spirit of the time, mainly religious. The Wesleyan Movement reached deep into the masses and swayed towards a resigned, if not joyful acceptance of the sufferings of life, while turning their minds passionately against revolutionary ideas. The Evangelicals eulogised physical degradation and industry as help to salvation, while propagating even more dogmatically the most reactionary social doctrines. The Bishop of London financed Hannah More's anti-revolutionary tract campaigns and twopenny ditties which sold to the tune of two million copies x.

Such a

This conditioning of the masses to qualify them for the part of modern industrial proletarians achieved its purpose to a remarkable extent. It was perhaps the greatest propaganda success of all times. The people not only fell in with the part of docile 'hands' sweating under the command of their overseers, but actually accepted the role assigned to them in the spirit of the game, which, ironically enough, made them appear as a kind of capitalists, trading for profit in their own labour power (which they were obviously ~~apparently trying to sell for more than it was worth~~). Though their income evidently derived from labour and not from property, any morsel of property they ~~may have~~ owned was accepted by them as uniting them with the owning class! They would pride themselves on 'their stake in the country' and refuse solidarity with even poorer workers ~~whom they~~ who did not possess such a stake. They never even ~~thought~~ that their motive to work was not lust for gain ~~and property~~, but the necessity ~~human~~ of making a living. The modern version of 'original sin' had been successfully used as an instrument of popular education so as to turn the common man into a convinced upholder of the capitalist society, of which he himself was the chief victim. It should not be denied that in the later stages many valuable traits ~~acquired~~ to the character portrait of the industrial worker, his respectability, his self-reliance; and it was no small matter to attune him to the needs of machine production, ~~humanity~~ the discipline of an industrial society. But we are not concerned here with the rights and wrongs of that long and tragic process. We ~~are~~ merely trying to show how the personality of the 19th century worker, his moral habitus, his personal motives, even his emotional reactions were conditioned by the effects of environment and indoctrination. ~~And~~ the lasting effect ~~and staying power~~ of the new influence ~~was~~ due to the inner cohesion of the outlook with it ~~represented~~. A utilitarian philosophy, an evangelical belief in man's fallen nature, the dogma of laissez-faire, the psychology of the profit motive, the Darwinian creed of the survival of the fittest made one perfect whole. Not even universal suffrage and the secret ballot could ~~create~~ <sup>bring up in the</sup> a working class that had been ~~shackled~~ <sup>educational</sup> within. For it wore its shackles ~~man~~ <sup>educational</sup>.

It is from such a broad point of view that the requirements of the present should be viewed.

from the  
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Assiduous

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good  
time keeping

uninvolved

absolutely  
p



C. 'Political education' insufficient.

purely political

No ~~political~~ definition can be

is to

expected adequately to ~~circumscribe~~ <sup>an</sup> ideal which

~~can~~ give meaning to personal motivations and emotional attitudes

over the whole range of ~~human~~ <sup>human</sup> life. ~~Marxist~~ <sup>Yet that is what is needed, true,</sup>

parties ~~incorporate~~ <sup>make politics the center of man's life</sup> with their programmes a body

of knowledge, involving specific methods and a philosophy embracing

most of the social and historical sciences. But even if

the underlying system ~~is~~ <sup>(was originally)</sup> sound, ~~which an approach~~ <sup>this</sup> involves the

danger of ~~political degeneration and intellectual participation~~ <sup>(a narrow political dogmatism)</sup>

nevertheless, no generation of men can give an effective lead in

human affairs, unless their views ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> man, ~~man~~ <sup>man</sup> nature and life

of scientific and moral truth have attained a form which is both

consistent in itself and relevant to everyday existence. <sup>Hence</sup>

~~the need for a consistent education.~~ <sup>majority</sup>

A ~~majority~~ of the electorate voted in 1945 for a socialist programme. A considerable percent ~~age~~ <sup>age</sup> did so, no doubt, without any very clear realisation of the meaning of the term socialism. And yet probably even the ~~majority~~ <sup>majority</sup> of those voted Labour ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> in spite of, but precisely because it called itself socialist. They (rightly) took this to indicate the conviction that none of the desirable ends like full employment good housing, educational opportunities could be achieved unless previously major changes were introduced into the social system as a whole. ~~There should, not, therefore, be~~ <sup>There should, not, therefore, be</sup> ~~underrate~~ <sup>underrate</sup> the general sympathy of the electorate with the socialist aims of Labour merely on account of the necessarily vague conceptions attached to that term. What needs to be stressed here is that not even a much clearer understanding of the meaning of socialism could make a purely political aim and ideal into a comprehensive philosophy of life such as the working class urgently ~~needs~~ <sup>needs</sup> today, to rid itself of the survivals of the own capitalist 'education' and to face up to the vicissitudes of the long and arduous struggle for a socialist society on which it is embarked.

The foundations of socialist conviction must be truly laid if the edifice is to last. When contradictory motives spell confusion; when the movement is passing through 'bad patches'; when failure seems imminent; when disunity in one's own camp is rampant; when the pace ~~must~~ <sup>must</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> forced beyond that which was intended; when the emotional drive has lost its impetus; when the need for rational formulation of the interrelated tasks becomes imperative: it is then that soul

We do not therefore limit to

requires

the

④ A faith is needed which transcends  
politics, but yet is clear, and  
consistent & articulate.





"More 'education renewal' cannot be relied upon to produce different results"  
In contrast to political education of education in general, is a derivative of the formal instruction given to the child and juvenile, including the university student. Such an education can be fully understood of



of education

(and impartiality)

Such a view in no manner impugns the objectivity of the scholars

~~the objectivity of the scholars~~ for the factual side of ~~the~~ instruction.

To assume the opposite is ~~to~~ to disregard a fundamental difficulty

inherent in with which all instruction, especially in the social and historical sciences, ~~has to contend~~ <sup>named the need of selection from the material available</sup> for only a minute part of the ~~the~~ store of

accumulated facts can be taught, unless the subject-matter is to be-

come unmanageable. ~~consequently~~ <sup>therefore</sup> the larger the aggregate of ~~materially~~

ascertained facts, the more arbitrary, in a sense, will be the selection

~~which is~~ passed on to the ~~unhappy~~ pupils.

<sup>simply by arrangement of</sup> (Of course, class education can always be made to appear 'national'

by introducing it more or less generally throughout the nation. ~~But~~

this will not make it into national education, in the true sense of the term

~~For it~~ will continue to be unrelated to the lives of the majority of the

pupils both in regard to their pre-school and to their post-school

experiences. Such an 'outside' education roughly adjusted <sup>to their use</sup> to their more

~~general~~ will but indifferently fit the ~~young~~ pupils. No well

knit ~~personality~~ <sup>personality</sup> can be expected to emerge from a training devised

for ~~an other set of persons~~ <sup>a different group of</sup> since it is not grounded in a ~~man's~~ basic

experiences and not directed towards his natural aims. While education

'in general' will greatly benefit him, once he knows how to make use of

it, such an education, as a rule, cannot, by itself, help him to

become an effective socialist, but ~~may~~ <sup>may</sup> ~~indeed~~ <sup>rather</sup> hamper him in this endeavour.

your.

(The miraculous qualities of)

The widespread belief in 'education' in general is ~~in~~ <sup>often a mere</sup> thoughtless abstraction resulting from custom and habit. By its very nature instruction, as a part of education, is ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> meaningless in apart from the double reference ~~to the child and the adult~~ to the child and the adult. The decisive factors in education both ~~antedate~~ <sup>antedate</sup> the school and reach out beyond it, school itself being a mere intermezzo bracketed between the

therefore

(to think about it)

child & the grown up.

<sup>-8-</sup>  
In the process of learning ) fitted  
knowledge and information are placed into a  
such a way as to meet the requirements of later  
experiences of early years provide the tentacles with  
which is apprehended by the child, while his charac  
ter is to criteria derived from his later function in  
life is a bridge between past and future, the semblance  
being merely the result of our habit of taking  
the nursery and the career for granted.

Since the passing of the 'National' and the 'British' education in general, simply meant education modelled, though ever so distantly, on Oxford and Cambridge, whence the teachers too there drew their own tuition. Consequently, all but the children of upper class parents received an 'adulterated' education. Unless they possess a traditional culture of their own, they have to put up with a second hand culture. Let us apply this briefly to public schools.

Let us apply this briefly to public school plus Old University training. We call Mrs. Mead's description of the manner in which an American boy of 4 or 5 learns to gauge the precise attitude he is expected to take up in respect to physical prowess. Such an attitude involves a complete scale of valuations in which a deeply pacifist and yet numerously virile community would indulge. Subtle praise, silent disapproval, cover encouragement are conveyed, often unconsciously, by the modulation of the voice of an adult, usually the parent. In a similar fashion he will have learnt of the approved attitudes in regard to sex, the colour bar, social discrimination, the worth of wealth, or the meaning of the Stars and Stripes. Up to the age of 17 he needs do no more than fill in this pattern. Who would doubt that any average British ~~human~~ boy of 'good family' would have similarly grasped the significance of the presence of servants in his home, the importance of people such as his own for the life of the countryside (if not of the country), the value of force of character for one's standing, the meaning of duty and the nature of responsibility? The talk and bearing of the adults hardly could have helped to convey this to him, if only by signs, imperceptible to themselves but not to the acute senses of the child. In these basic experiences there lie preformed the function and role of the future adult: to carry responsibility, to lead and command, to serve the community by preserving his own rights and privileges, to uphold established institutions, habits, customs and traditions of family, countryside, ~~and~~ country, in a word to take for granted the identity of his private interest with public interest. ~~Later his education would aim at building up personality out of experiences such as these and direct it towards these values.~~ Public school and Varsity were thus offered principles of selection in the vast field of the humanities which allowed a wide scope to fill in the pattern. But the outlines of the pattern were plainly set. The philosophy and politics, history and economics suitable for the person fitting himself for the role of leadership and command are very different from those which would be appropriate to the led and ruled. These latter ~~humanities~~ should be preparing themselves either to obey or to revolt. In either case upper class education cannot be a means of developing a well knit personality. Exceptionally, they may receive a full university training, and culturally join the upper class (though often remaining politically loyal to Labour); but mostly upper class culture will percolate to them merely by devious channels of adult education, offering them a distorted and mutilated image of culture useless (if not worse) for the development of personality. Even so the unpolitical person may be well served, or,



at least, not too badly. *But* the socialist however has not been helped, but ~~hampered~~. His personal gifts might have survived even such misdirection. But as a rule he will be further away than ~~he was~~ from being equipped for his job in social and public life. *before*

function and rôle of the future adult: to ~~take~~ responsibility, to lead and command, to serve the community by ~~maintaining his own~~ preserving his rights and privileges, to ~~maintain the uphold~~ preserving his established institutions, habits, customs and traditions ~~of the~~ family, the countryside ~~the country~~, to cherish his personal integrity and ~~high standards of fair dealing~~, upon which to ~~build~~ /  
granted the identity of his private interest with public interest. take for  
his education would be directed so as to build up personality without  
of the help of these basic experiences and directed towards these values.  
The Public school and the Varsity work on a ready made pattern,  
and the philosophy and politics taught conveyed to the student are principles of highly selected sample of the  
principles offered a principles of selection in the vast field of  
the humanities which allow ~~the highest type of~~ scholarship wide scope to fill in the pattern. But the outlines  
are plainly set. The principles of philosophy and ;but the and politics , history and economics suitable of leadership, responsibility and command are  
to the person fitting himself for the role very different from the principles which should be emphasised in the case of that role were that of ~~a~~ approach for  
from those which ~~would~~ be naturally expected in the case of the ruled and ruled. These latter view life from a different angle and the ultimate problems too are different. They should be preparing themselves either to obey or to revolt. In upper class education ~~with~~ serves as a means of developing a well knit cannot personality. Rarely they exceptionally, they may get a full university training (and and join the ~~upper~~ class (though remaining politically loyal to Labour); but ~~an~~ upper class culture will percolate to them mostly by Adult Educational channels, in which case they merely get a distorted and mutilated image of culture which is useless (if not worse) for the development of their own personality nurtured in a different soil. Even when so, the unpolitical person may have been served well, at least not too badly . The socialist, not been helped by rule he was further away than he was from being equipped himself for his job in social and public life. Exceptionally, survive even misdirection. But as a his personal gifts might



*Conclusion:*

- one*  
No section of the Labour Movement can provide such an outlook. It must develop out of the *experiences* of those who have spent a life time in the service of the socialist aims of the Labour Movement.
2. No *one* country has a monopoly of the socialist ideal, for their formulae are necessarily greatly affected by the immediate tasks set to them.
3. British and *Continental* socialism should not be regarded as hostile to one another; much synthetic work has been and is being done.
4. While socialism is not a creed in the sense in which there is a Catholic education or even perhaps a Marxist one (in the view of the orthodox) there is an important body of organised knowledge on which socialist ideals can be based *with authority* and the programme of socialism is vast enough to call for our utimate devotion.
- .....
- Handwritten notes at bottom:*  
The movement is not a creed but a programme of action.  
The movement is not a creed but a programme of action.  
The movement is not a creed but a programme of action.

{ Christian Socialist  
 Robert Owen: has not abandoned philosophy.  
 Collier  
 wage policy  
 Marxism - Rasic?  
 Socialist ideas

- (a) No Socialist philosophy in existence  
 (b) No need for ass. <sup>nationalistic</sup> ~~work~~, a social. phil.

(c) civilization  
 { Industrial civilization  
 profit motive  
 Robert Owen: { exploitation  
 class work

Human requirements  
 { Social problems are <sup>not</sup> frequent: abnormal.  
 { Socialism: Robert Owen. <sup>machines</sup> profit motive



For ~~the~~ the needs of the Labour Movement <sup>are directing</sup> ~~the~~ direct the interest of the socialist towards fields of knowledge ~~which~~ are of less importance to the person 'merely seeking education' in general.

We propose briefly to survey these subject-matters ~~themselves~~.

PART II : SUBJECT MATTERS of instruction.

A. A list of <sup>such</sup> ~~the~~ subject-matters <sup>as are of the study of which is</sup> ~~of particular interest~~ from the point of view of the ~~present movement~~ socialist.

- a. The organisation of industry  
The Trade Unions, their aims and methods.  
State and Industry in modern society.
- b. <sup>Survey of</sup> ~~The~~ British industry. <sup>in the 19th Century.</sup>  
The history of British industry, ~~including the~~ Industrial Revolution  
The economic history of ~~the~~ Britain.
- c. <sup>Origin of</sup> ~~The~~ History of the modern working class.  
Owenism  
Chartism <sup>The Social Man of the struggle for emancipation</sup>  
The History of the Poor Law  
History of collective bargaining <sup>Revolution & Progress</sup>
- d. ~~The~~ History of ~~socialism~~ <sup>Marxism, Anarchism, Syndicalism, Christianism.</sup>  
~~These of the working class movement~~  
National and international aspects of the working class movt.
- e. Marxism, its origin and history  
The English background of Marxism  
The economic interpretation of history.  
The early writings of Karl Marx.
- f. Principles of economics. <sup>Wage policy</sup>  
Full employment  
Analysis of national income.  
Population problems.  
<sup>Elementary statistics</sup>
- g. Organisation of world economy  
Gold standard and managed currency  
<sup>Part 7</sup> Foreign trade ~~and~~  
Multilateral and bilateral trade.  
<sup>International free employment.</sup>
- h. Politics, domestic and foreign.  
History of political thought.  
National and social wars.  
~~International system, political and economic.~~  
Peace, power and policy  
Democracy and ~~totalitarianism.~~  
Social classes and class struggles.

methods:

- (1) Total view & overview
- (2) Continuity & discontinuity in social processes
- (3) Institutionalisation
- (4) Statistical approach
- (5) Social versus economic approach
- (6) ~~Class, their origin~~  
~~Social classes, their~~  
~~birth & formation~~
- (7) ~~Social structure~~  
~~Society & the function~~  
~~of classes.~~
- (8)
- (9)



Soon the degradation of the masses  
itself. They were fast laying off the  
decent countryfolk and divesting them-  
selves of the simple re-  
ligious notions which accompanied them.  
Education, even religious  
instruction, now appeared as an improvement.  
This fitted in with a  
tendency present with the freinds of the new economy. Adam Smith  
was one of the first to insist on the need for education of the  
poor, for once a man lost touch with the soil, he would tend, in  
his view, to become dumb. ~~many~~ Malthus and Ricardo advocated  
the teaching of political economy in order to reconcile the masses  
with the awful fate which was awaiting them in the new economy.  
The first state subsidies were voted to the National and to the  
"British" with the intent of contributing to the political reliabili-  
ty of the common people. By the 'Thirties and 'Forties Owensism

and Chartism had set in and the Three R's could not be credited any  
more to produce a safe working class. Charles Kingsley, as a  
desperate remedy against the revolutionary effect of education in  
the young Chartist, ~~John Locke~~, even suggested a university  
education as (and with the best of intentions) a means of  
preventing intimidation of those who were doomed to be poor. From  
Harriet Martineau to Samuel Smiles writers vied in impressing the  
virtues of thrift and prudence on a population with had been prepared  
by the utilitarian school for this radical departure from the conve-  
ntional morality of a Christian society.

a peril to society  
and bearing of  
of the simple re-

early  
views of  
the

in (1833)

education

of the factors in  
 only change but rather <sup>work</sup> ~~with~~  
 up to two to end up in the attempt  
 of constructive solutions.

But within each of these years  
 we must proceed in a logical order  
 and in list of topical interest.  
 It is here that we ~~shall~~ <sup>shall</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> other  
 accord for background & as a result  
 material in such a way that in  
 each ~~subsection~~ <sup>section</sup> it shall be easy  
 to point to the natural interest.

Year	7	Year
1 3 1	1 2 1	
1 1 1	1 1 1	





Complex  
analysis

compared in an entire of habits is  
a different ~~unit~~ unit, that to select from  
the real field of theoretical habits  
processes? - the other organism  
could make or some other to  
knowledge & the theoretical  
illumination unit in the  
to the unit theoretical  
unit of time the and in the  
in the nature of change;  
~~the process~~ process  
this would be the selective  
theoretical unit - unit the



(7) for practice. That A & B course in  
centenary published & review period  
will start from <sup>max</sup> January 1908, definitely  
~~was the change of the date of the~~  
university ~~was~~ way not from the day of  
the lecture of preparation of the first  
standard or of the second.  
less for the history of the  
the concept of Europe,  
which was 10th.

# "The Socialist outlook and the Labour Movement"

I  
30  
The nationalization of the means of prod,  
transportation, distribution & exchange  
- <sup>does not mean</sup> but in practice this means not the  
taking over into state ownership of all  
the farms, <sup>factories</sup> and plant and shops, and  
the ~~country banks~~ <sup>the country</sup> in the  
of the country. ~~But then what for?~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~Classless Society~~ <sup>and the</sup>  
co-~~operative~~ <sup>Commonwealth</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>quite some</sup> ~~ideal terms~~ <sup>give</sup> ~~some~~ <sup>far</sup> ~~vague~~ <sup>direction</sup>.

II  
The ~~idea~~ <sup>ideals</sup> of freedom, ~~equality~~ <sup>equality</sup>, progress,  
increasing, ~~majority rule~~ <sup>majority rule</sup>, ~~participation~~ <sup>participation</sup>  
of numbers, planning, freedom of  
conscience, internationalism, self-  
determination, ~~maintenance of~~ <sup>cultural autonomy</sup> liberty &  
racial equality, ~~all~~ <sup>all</sup> these are socialist  
ideals. ~~But~~ <sup>But</sup> ~~equal~~ <sup>equal</sup> educational opportunities  
individualization, freedom of experiment  
in education, ~~the raising of the general level~~ <sup>the raising of the general level</sup>  
of education, ~~compulsory~~ <sup>obligatory</sup> ~~minima in~~ <sup>minima in</sup>  
education, freedom for the producer to  
trade unions, cooperatives, ~~other~~ <sup>other</sup> types  
of voluntary associations. ~~Since these~~ <sup>Since these</sup>  
are all aims of a socialist movement,  
but it is difficult to see in them the  
elements of an outlook.



The Hungarian parliament celebrated  
the return of the great exile in a special  
convocation. Speakers of all parties and  
also of non-party

1519

Suite 400

(6) later editions - 1/2

(6)

(6) 1872

1872

O. H. H.

The Socialist Outlook and the  
Labour Movement

The <sup>best</sup> ~~simplest and quickest~~ way to realize the  
present position of "socialist outlook" in the "L.M."  
is to try to lay down the principles on  
which socialist education ~~will be started~~ <sup>will be proceeded</sup>.  
creation of socialists ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> would have to ~~start~~ <sup>teach</sup>

I mean any attempt ~~endeavour~~ to achieve  
help members of the L.M. to become active.  
& reflection socialists. But the formula is  
to be strictly interpreted, if it is to be useful.  
The term "socialist education" has ~~been used~~ <sup>been used</sup>  
~~to mean~~ (1) education <sup>in a</sup> socialist society, or at the other

(to be)  
distinguished from

- (2) education ~~of~~ <sup>also</sup> reformers provided by  
a socialist party under capitalism
- (3) no ~~even~~ <sup>such</sup> education as ~~the child~~ <sup>the child</sup> to become  
a useful citizen under same  
future socialist society,  
no, deliberately,

A socialist might  
like to give to his  
child - an  
education that

- (4) as a training in the political  
tenets of the ~~Labour Party~~ <sup>Labour Party</sup> as a  
socialist party - an adult  
which simply means political  
education even though the party  
engaging in it happens to be a  
socialist party.

Education of socialists is different from all -



*Re International System: political & economic.*

- i. ~~MONOPOLY~~ Foreign policies of the Great Powers.  
Balance of power policy, system and principle  
~~MONOPOLY~~  
Concert, League, Federation & Union, *League of Nations* and Sovereignties.
- j. Fascism, its history and theories.  
Corporate State, in Italy, Austria,  
~~Germany~~  
*National socialism*
- k. Social anthropology  
General economic history  
History of civilisation  
Human nature in politics.
- m. Social security,  
Factory legislation  
English and Continental history of social legislation
- n. Soviet Russia & War of Intervention,  
History of the Russian Revolution  
Five year plans and collectivisation  
~~Monopoly~~ Marxism, Leninism, Trotzkyism and Stalinism  
The Constitution  
The cultural history of the Soviet Union.
- o. ~~Monopoly~~ American politics and society  
~~The Monroe doctrine~~ and dollar ~~monopoly~~ diplomacy  
~~Pan-Americanism~~ *Universalism in trade and political*  
The New Deal. *Foreign Affairs*
- p. Forms of Labour Movement  
National and International socialism  
The history of the Comintern.

*Where T.V. F.*

III. Social Ideas grouped on  
new theory

L.W.C. Positive: 5-8  
New points: general treatment

Colebrook Critical content. Elimination of  
socialist values. 19th century  
socialist ideas: fallacies

En. Organism of social matter

Wootton (a) historic expts  
(b) ultimate ends  
derived from

? Radical training in methods.



It is ascertained by statistics very rarely shown  
any division that might be fairly credited  
to political or moral preconceptions. But  
anybody who has <sup>person</sup> of a well known acquain-  
tance with the familiarity with scholarship  
of even average scholars is well ac-  
quainted with the fact extreme minorities  
of the subject matter passed on to students  
with but even slight familiarity with scholarly  
~~academic tradition~~ <sup>methods</sup> what ~~has~~ heard out the  
distinction of the fact of extreme disproportion  
but exists between the number almost practically  
remembered <sup>amount</sup> ~~in our schools~~ of ascertainable facts  
and the comparative minute present  
of them <sup>suggested in the</sup> subject make ~~it difficult enough~~  
~~impossible~~ <sup>impossible</sup> to acquire in teaching  
of academic circles. In  
public or history, psychology or  
social anthropology, psychology or ethics,  
economic history or other statistical  
the proportion is anything between  
1000 to 10000 &c. This leaves the answer  
This figure completely disregards the sequence of  
the emphasis put on the facts I give apart  
from your interpretation which ~~that factor~~ is  
excluded altogether). Add to this  
the impossibility of teaching any group of  
facts without some interpreted attaching  
some significance or meaning to it.  
With logicality the conclusion is logically  
inescapable that any interpretative  
selection of from the facts must be  
made. That such an interpretation

Hence socialist education must ~~be based on~~

~~and historical science.~~ This involves a criticism of the philosophy and science, ethics and religion which ignores the challenge of our economic system.

B. Subject matters can be organized in such a manner as to take account of the basic experiences of working people, as well as their

patent: ultimate  
etic' their nature/aims present though many have been used and may be described as being

Their basic experience ~~is~~ 'at the root of things'; ~~and~~ immediate interests are set by the urgent needs of the L.M.; while ~~there~~ there is a 'prospectiveness' about their ~~work~~/which

~~annually~~ tends to transcend ~~comprehend~~ the capitalist system of society altogether.

## D. The nature of man and society.

Man's motivations: gain profit vs. natural and social motives  
Economic system embedded in social relations.  
Marxism exaggerated the economic approach...  
Man's unchanged nature (no need for change...)  
the autonomous growth of the economic system  
continuity and discontinuity  
historical solipsism.





100

No ready money

Therby's  
Sullivan Street

Take up by Morris  
in a separate way.

Therby's in 1856  
in a separate way  
in the New York and

Therby's

Therby's heart

Long Williams Street  
subject matter  
the examination of the  
be done when

Therby's  
method  
subject matter  
Standard  
on the subject

Therby's  
subject matter  
Standard  
on the subject  
Therby's  
subject matter  
Standard  
on the subject

Therby's  
subject matter  
Standard  
on the subject  
Therby's  
subject matter  
Standard  
on the subject  
Therby's  
subject matter  
Standard  
on the subject



women .. Compared with the responsible producer, the responsible citizen is but a vague and airy creature.

7 No wonder that the question is frequently being asked whether education should, in the future, take account of the worker. The answer, though perhaps vaguely, is described as working class outlook. The working class outlook may be relevant to adult education. Perhaps unconsciously, are we already taking the worker as tutors?

### I.

In the traditional view, of course, the worker could hardly arise. Adult education was regarded as a leisure time occupation which should enable the working class student to make better use of the rest of his leisure time. Undoubtedly, this contained an element of truth. Any education deserving of the name must aim at enhancing a man's desire for contact with nature and the arts; it stimulated him to transform his environment, so as to create within the limits of the possible some of that artificial nature which we call culture. Such was the leisure theory at its best, and it largely applied during the early decades of the movement. At its worst, it tended to degenerate into that new fangled manorial week-end party, the methods of which suggest 'Kraft durch Freude' - to be translated not as 'Strength through Joy' but rather as 'Weakness through Snobbery'. Indeed, a working man's life that had no roots either in his work or craft, or in his relations to his fellows in union or shop, or even in the broader implications of his functions as a producer, but was merely a parasite on his own leisure time, would be a hopeless conception. Such a man resembles a person, who tried to find his way by following his own nose. In the more modern view, adult education should aim at making the student 'socially effective', to use G.H. Thompson's phrase. As the

job, the prospects of employment, a man's status in industry are involved. Yet as in the case of the wage level, whether he is aware of it or not, he is being compelled to face up to even bigger issues, such as are inseparable from ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ a period of social transition ~~xxxx~~ Almost invariably they hinge on the fundamental question



the W.E.A. is already supplying 'education for people who want for a non-personal and social purpose', as John MacI said it. By preparing the student not so much for his private than his public and social tasks, it fulfils a function vital to the wellbeing of a democratic society.

<sup>On Since</sup> Education for leisure catered for the student's to study for personal ends, and there was but scant reason why ~~that~~ should take account too much of his social background and natural interests. On the contrary, the sooner he left them behind, the quicker he may have hoped to transcend, at least in imagination, the frontiers which separated him from the world of 'culture' and, indeed, to be assimilated to that world. <sup>opposite</sup> But Emphatically, the ~~opposite~~ should apply once adult education is to help the individual working man or woman to be more effective as a worker, especially if this is to include no less than active and responsible participation in a ~~change~~ a change in our industrial system. Then the basic experiences and ~~and~~ interests which dominate working existence must be <sup>used in adult education</sup> permitted to exert a much greater influence on <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ learning methods than in the past.

Superficially, the worker's existence seem to offer but a poor educational background, and his interests appear simply as a mirroring of his close dependence upon economic circumstance. Actually, his ~~experiences~~ experiences comprise elements of high educational value. And his ~~spontaneous~~ spontaneous interests will ~~again~~ appear at a closer view to lead on to an outlook on life and society equal, if not superior in validity and dignity that on which academic disciplines ~~are~~ traditionally rest.

The positive <sup>aspect</sup> ~~bbbbb~~ of the manual worker's life is, that ~~it~~ is at the root/ of things. <sup>And his</sup> ~~His~~ immediate concern ~~is~~ is for ~~the~~ ~~re~~ ~~whi~~

have universally come to be regarded as crucial issues of our civilisation, such as security of tenure in man's job, certainty of useful employment, safeguards of liberty and status. He naturally seeks an education which will advance him in the attainment of ~~human~~ these aims. In striving after this end, he will tend to approach the whole field of the social and historical studies from an angle of his own. Here lie the roots of his distinctive outlook.

Firstly, his urgent need is not so much for political or industrial information, taken separately, than for an educational approach which would assist him in relating industrial and political experiences to one another. No question, for instance, is of more far-reaching importance for him to-day than whether or not there should be governmental responsibility of the wage level. Clearly, this can not be decided separately, either by the industrial or by the political section of labour movement. They must decide it jointly. Accordingly, members of the working class should be enabled to conceive of state and industry, of government and business as one interdependent unit. But the ~~authority~~ authority of academic thinking, on the contrary, supports the separation of political and economic thinking. In this it mirrors the outstanding characteristic of liberal capitalism. In the average worker's day-to-day life, the need for the composite approach is implicit. In order to become socially effective, he should be helped to appreciate the institutional unity of society.

There are other issues of no less importance and urgency to the worker such as the reconstruction of the national economy, mobility of labour, or the function of trade unions in an increasingly socialised industry and so on. In every case, the producer's security in his job



of motives and incentives to work in a more or less planned economy. One need not be a philosopher, a theologian or a psychologist to recognize in this the age-old and almost forgotten problem of the nature of man in society, under a new guise.

Finally, his interest must of necessity turn towards the prospects of realization and, therefore, towards the nature of progress and evolution. In more general terms, towards the prospects of change.

We should not be dogmatic, nor try to be exhaustive. It suffices that viewed in this perspective, the whole of the social and historical sciences must shift their emphasis. Not as if the problem of the unity of society, of human nature in society, or of the prospects of social change were in any way unknown. Certainly not. But because it happens to be the case that for reasons too numerous to list and too complex to analyse here, the ~~human~~ disciplines and sub-disciplines of the human sciences crystallized around other problems, more directly in the ~~line~~ of vision of the social classes whose orientation in life higher education was hithert designed to serve.

## II.

What remains to be considered is how far our methods are to-day in ~~the~~ the process of adjusting themselves to the needs of the working class student. The answer is, we suggest: More than is commonly realized but, for all that, not sufficiently.

Let us distinguish between (1) the subject, e.g., economics, psychology, and so on; (2) the subject-matter, as pointed out, e.g., in an 'outline syllabus', and (3) the presentation of the subject-matter in a detailed syllabus of the course. The subject (1) is the academic designation of the course; the subject-matter (2) lists the actual matter selected for instruction; the presentation (3) is the organization of that material.

It was at the practical level (3) that the need for adjustment to the outlook of the working-class student first made itself felt. A vast amount of imaginative experimenting was done by tutors, who spared not time or effort to produce new solutions. Without their creative endeavours in the realm of presentation, dramatisation, and dialectical treatment, tutorial classes could never have attained their present success, while maintaining standards.

Yet in one decisive respect these experiments were fatally limited. The subjects themselves were set by academic tradition (exceptions only confirmed the rule). The presentation, however new, was an attempt at presenting the old subject. The task still was to teach economics or politics however varied the method, the economics or politics to be taught were assumed to be unchanged. The syllabus thus suggested improved methods of presenting the traditional subjects. While the 'syllabus' might have been highly original, the 'outline syllabus' usually attempted to prove that it was not. ~~Or~~ Rather, it suggested, that the ~~academic limitations of~~ <sup>academic limitations of</sup> the subject had not been infringed.

True, there were exceptions. One of the earliest newcomers among subjects was the "Industrial Revolution". Later, a number of other subjects were tolerated which lacked a traditional standing. These "illegitimate" subjects included International Affairs, Contemporary political and economic problems, Fascism and Communism, to which later Reconstruction, Social and Political Institutions, etc., were added. But while some upstart subjects came to the fore, the other subjects retained their traditional settings. Indeed, it may be doubted, whether the "new" subjects would ever have emerged had the academic framework of the "old" subjects been sufficiently elastic to include the new subject-matters. In some cases



the bastard was subsequently legitimised, as when International Affairs were received by the Academy under the slightly more dignified name of International Relations. Much of the problems of "Reconstruction" is more recently finding its academic home as "post-Keynesian economics". In other instances the University launched a successful counter-attack. The "Industrial Revolution", firmly established as a subject with the W.E.A., was later on treated by the Universities as the "So-Called Industrial Revolution". However, it may be still regarded as doubtful whether the "So-Called Industrial Revolution" is legitimately so called.

Thus the syllabus was the growing point of adult educational methods, for, in the nature of things, it reflected the outlook of the working-class student. The experienced tutor revived the flagging interest of his ~~numinous~~ audience by adjusting himself to their true needs. ~~See,~~ <sup>Unwittingly,</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>students</sup> would transcend the traditional limits of the subject and inject "extraneous" matters into the discussion. Actually, what appeared as "extraneous" was often merely a different but no less valid approach to the field of study. The students might insist on viewing human society as a unity (by mixing politics with economics, or vice versa); they might doubt the utilitarian assumptions on the nature of man, propounded by 19th century business-psychology (maybe by putting forth over-idealistic sentiments); they might show their yearning for social change (quite probably by launching out on dialectical class-war theory). But, while the tutor would naturally resist the students' attempts to pluck his subject asunder, he would also, if he had sense, realize the power, the dignity and the consistency of outlook informing their efforts to shift the angle of approach. Twenty-five years of experimenting in syllabus-making give proof of tutorial endeavours to meet the challenge.





his interest in working conditions, economic security, access to knowledge, nature and art, leads him on to aims which transcend the capitalist system.

(c) Accordingly, the disciplines and sub-disciplines of academic tradition should be formed into subject-matters, the unity and coherence of which is evident.

#### VIII. Approach to the Social Sciences.

The new situation demands from the average working-class person an almost violent shift in his attitude to social problems.

(p) Very few of these problems can be met by an appreciation restricted either to the industrial or to the political field. No understanding of trade union issues, however complete, will enable a man to gauge the advantages and disadvantages arising out of a definite industrial policy, unless he is also able to envisage the possible reactions on the political section of the movement. These may affect him as a beneficiary of social insurance, the health services, public welfare, or education, not to mention his general status and standing in the community. As long as he separates in his mind state and industry, politics and economics, he must remain unable to assess adequately his position, in its true setting. His need therefore is for an approach to the social field which does full justice to the unity of society.

(q) An other aspect of this problem is set by the motives and incentives to work. Under capitalism the human personality is cleft into a supposedly economic person, actuated by the profit motive and into the 'rest' of his personality, which comprises all other motives, allegedly of no account to him as a producer. Actually, motives and

incentives relevant to work may arise from all quarters of the social compass. The practical importance of the issue in the present period of transition can hardly be exaggerated. Broadly, the worker's interests in the field of society and history will turn towards the question of human nature.

(x) There is a prospectiveness about the socialist approach to society - thought and vision are biased in favour of the future as against the past. Hence the desire to learn of the laws of progress and evolution, the chances of change.

These angles of vision do not come into prominence under the familiar assumptions of capitalism. The institutional separation of politics and economics tends here to submerge the unity of society. Also, in a market economy, closely linked with an individualistic organization of society, a narrow utilitarian psychology threatens to absorb the variety of factors comprised in human nature. Nor does the emphasis on social change receive its due in the traditional teaching of the social sciences. From all these angles the facts have been shaped into a pattern which meets the needs of a society dependent upon a market economy.

(e) The working class should be enabled to know its own history, to appreciate the heroic struggles of its forebears, and thus to identify itself with its past. The vicissitudes of the Industrial Revolution and of early capitalism, the glories of the Owenite movement and of Chartism, the horrors of the Hungry Forties should form part of education. The history of pauperism, from the Elizabethan Poor Law to Speenhamland and the Poor Law Reform - so significant for the psychology and morality of the British worker - should be common property.



(t) The origins of the socialist movement, its theory and its practice should be an object of study. British and non-British forms of socialist theory, the national and international experiences of the working class/struggle <sup>in its</sup> to gain industrial and political recognition should form a part of instruction.

(u) The working people should have a chance to study the history of the literature and music of the common people; the conditions and standards of people in other parts of the world; general wage and price levels; the technical organisation of industry; the role of joint production committees; the importance of the export drive; the question of unofficial strikes, etc., etc.,

By socialist education, therefore, we mean teaching of subjects most needed to the working people of Britain at present. These are mainly general and special subjects in the field of the social and historical sciences. The general subjects present a survey from the angle of (1) the unity of society, (2) human nature in society, and (3) social change. The subject matter will, in each case be drawn from a number of traditional disciplines such as History, Sociology, Social Anthropology, including Primitive Economics, Economics, Politics, Economic History, Psychology, and so on. The special subjects comprise (1) the political and cultural history of the working class, (2) history and forms of the socialist movement, (3) topical questions in the field of industry and government.

The presentation should combine advance in stages with reference back to given points of interest. While the argument, as a whole, should progress by logical steps, each separate step should center

- 20c -

on some natural interest , thus underlining the relevance of the ~~un~~ instruction.

In this way



IV. Problems for the socialist educator.

A considerable body of adult education, therefore, exists in the working-class movement to-day. Nevertheless, the continuation and furtherance of this education can only be achieved with the solution of difficult problems facing the Socialist at the present time. These arise, on the one hand, from the fundamental social and economic changes which stimulate the growth of socialist philosophy and, on the other hand, from the new responsibilities undertaken by the Socialist Movement. Here are a few of them:

- (a) Education is of necessity based upon a sense of values. Hence Socialist education must

at the present from the limited education of many members of the Labour Movement who left school at 13 and now hold positions of responsibility in local and central government. Yet we rejoice that they have been unspoiled by a further Capitalist education. The time has come to go a step further and to see that a non-capitalistic education of the best possible kind is made available for all. In this way leaders may in the future be not selected by 'birth' but thrown up by experience, yet as educated men and women.

(d) The real education of the adult man or woman is inevitably linked up with responsibility. Education for service and for responsibility is the alternative to that working-class intellectual who does nothing about anything, an irresponsible debater who has so often endangered the growth of democracy.

Hence the Socialist must not fear the question "what can we do about it?" at the end of a discussion. Neither on the other hand must he only allow discussion which ends in that way, for sometimes theory is the beginning of action.

#### V. Aims of Socialist Education in the Labour Movement.

The way to find an answer to these problems is by consideration of the aims and ends of socialist education in the Labour Movement.

It is generally



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recognised that the new tasks facing the Labour Movement require that the main sections of the movement recast their policies in a socialist direction.

The new situation involves the everyday attitudes of average members of the working class, of individual men and women in factory and field, home and office, road and bus. Their every phase of life is affected whether they be parents or children, consumers or producers, holiday-makers or hospital patients --as the saying goes-- from the cradle to the grave.

This is broadly the meaning of the conviction common to the Labour Movement that Great Britain is at present engaged in a transition from a capitalist to a socialist form of society under the lead of the working people. This is where the tasks of socialist education must be primarily sought.

#### V. Aims of socialist education in the Labour Movement.

(a) The aim of a Socialist Education in the Labour Movement is to produce active and effective socialists. The individual man and woman should find in it an intellectual mainstay and amoral inspiration in their endeavors to serve this purpose in every walk of life.

(b) Its prime task must be to free the people's mind and soul of the stunting effects of capitalist conditions. Robert Owen, the founder of British Socialism, was the first to emphasize that the emancipation of the working-people was obstructed by the influence exerted on their personality by capitalist environment and indoctrination.

(c) Under early capitalism religious teaching was vocal in urging the masses to submit to the new and inhuman forms of economic domination



philosophy set down by the Labour Movement in any particular stage of development. The very scope of his aims should warn the socialist against a doctrinaire outlook. For his ideas can not stop within the confines of the Labour Movement but must, eventually, penetrate the class-room, the school text-book, and the adult education provided by the community. <sup>But</sup> ~~on the other hand~~, <sup>also</sup> he must guard against the dangers of a barren intellectualism. Education for service and for responsibility is the <sup>answer</sup> ~~philosophy~~ to that working class intellectual who does nothing about anything, an irresponsible debater, who has so often endangered the growth of democracy. The socialist must not fear the question "What can we do about it?" at the end of a discussion. But neither must he only allow discussion which ends in that way, for sometimes theory is the beginning of action.

Without prejudging the issues of the Socialist Movement, the following may be regarded as common ground:

It is generally recognised

be based upon an evolving Socialist philosophy. It is of ~~the~~  
~~greatest importance~~ that it should be able to grow freely, un-  
trammelled by either (i) the unconscious influence of traditional  
capitalist education or (ii) a narrow socialist philosophy as...  
by the Labour Movement in any particular stage of development.

(b) What is the relationship of such Socialist Education in the  
Working-class movement to Society as a whole? ~~The Socialist looks~~  
~~forward to a Socialist society. He must have confidence in his ideas~~  
~~ultimately being embraced by the whole of society, and penetrating all~~  
~~aspects of man's life.~~ Consequently, his socialist education cannot  
stop within the confines of the Labour movement but must ultimately

penetrate the class-room, the school text book and the adult educa-

*The very nature of his aims must therefore lead*  
tion provided by the L.R.A. and the University. ~~Can such a concep-~~

*Warn him against the narrowness of his comprehensive view of his*  
~~tion be reconciled with a belief in democracy or is only capitalist~~  
~~education consistent with democracy? Or is there something quite di-~~  
~~fferent which can be called 'democratic education'?~~

(c) The leadership of society - in its politics and industry -  
has ever demanded ~~the highest possible~~ *a good* education. We are suffering

*The very scope of his aims must, therefore, warn*  
*him against a doctrinaire outlook.*



at the present from the limited education of many members of the Labour Movement who left school at 13 and now hold positions of responsibility in local and central government. Yet we rejoice that ~~and~~ they have been unspoiled by a further Capitalist education. The time has come to go a step further and to see that a non-capitalistic education of the best possible kind is made available for all. In this way leaders may in the future be not selected by 'birth' but thrown up by experience, yet as educated men and women.

(d) The real education of the adult man or woman is inevitably linked up with responsibility. Education for service and for responsibility is the alternative to that working-class intellectual who does nothing about anything, an irresponsible debater who has so often endangered the growth of democracy.

Hence the Socialist must not fear the question "what can we do about it?" at the end of a discussion. Neither on the other hand must he only allow discussion which ends in that way, for sometimes <sup>good</sup> theory is the beginning of action.

V. Aims of Socialist Education in the Labour Movement.

*Without prejudicing the answer*  
~~the way to find an answer to these problems is by consideration of the~~  
*the following may be regarded as common ground:*  
~~aims and ends of socialist education in the Labour Movement.~~

It is generally

his interest in working conditions, economic security, access to knowledge, nature and art, leads him on to aims which transcend the capitalist system.

(e) Accordingly, the disciplines and sub-disciplines of academic tradition should be formed into subject-matters, the unity and coherence of which is evident.

#### VIII. Approach to the Social Sciences.

The new situation demands from the average working-class person an almost violent shift in his attitude to social problems.

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(q) An other aspect of this problem is set by the motives and incentives to work. Under capitalism the human personality is cleft into a supposedly economic person, actuated by the profit motive and into the 'rest' of his personality, which comprises all other motives, allegedly of no account to him as a producer. Actually, motives and



obtain the services of the best possible brains, buildings and other educational facilities in the country. To do this, it will need to strengthen its own democratic organisation and inspire voluntary service from amongst a wide circle of working-class people as well as from the existing working-class organisations. Hard work on the spot, faces the W.E.A. everywhere in a time of almost unlimited opportunities. It is a pity that there exists division rather than united effort between it and the N.C.L.C. for on these two bodies rests the responsibility for seeing that adult education in its widest sense is ~~really~~ given its rightful place in the working-class movement.

TV. Problems for the Socialist

*educator* *Take up where I left it*  
A considerable body of adult education, therefore, exists in the working-class movement today. Nevertheless the continuation and furtherance of this education can only be achieved with the solution of difficult problems facing the Socialist at the present time. These arise, on the one hand, from the fundamental social and economic changes which *stimulate the growth of Socialism* (challenge the basis of existing *style* education) and, on the other hand, from the new responsibilities undertaken by the *Socialist Movement* (~~working-class~~ movement). Here are a few of them:

(a) Education is of necessity based upon a sense of values (~~whether its teachers admit it or not. "Unbiased" education does not exist.~~) Hence Socialist education must at some time in the future

*Confusion of biased "knowledge" and biased "education".*

*this vague meaning of the term or ad. sh. be disregarded. Hopeless. "soc. ed" we mean is needed in the present, not at some time in the future.*

be based upon <sup>an evolving</sup> Socialist philosophy. [At the moment the British Labour Movement lacks such a guiding philosophy. It maybe that such a philosophy will only grow out of the kind of discussion and education which is being urged here - from the University to the Trade Union lodge. If so, then] It is of the greatest importance that it should be able to grow freely untrammelled by either (i) the unconscious influence of traditional Capitalist education or (ii) a narrow socialist philosophy set down by the Labour Movement in any particular stage of development. [On the other hand, there is a strong case for stating categorically that the English Labour Movement has now had sufficient experience to formulate its own guiding philosophy (not dogma) in a challenging way.]

(b) What is the relationship of such Socialist Education in the Working-class movement to Society as a whole? If the Socialist looks forward to a Socialist society he must have confidence in his ideas ultimately being embraced by the whole of society and penetrating all aspects of mans life. Consequently, his socialist education cannot stop within the confines of the Labour movement but must ultimately penetrate the class-room, the school text book and the adult education provided by the L.E.A. & the University. Can such a conception be reconciled with a belief in democracy or is only capitalist education consistent with democracy? Or is there something quite different which can be called 'democratic education'?

<sup>non  
calculating</sup> (c) The leadership of society - in its politics and industry - has ever demanded the highest possible education. We are suffering



at the present from the limited education of many members of the Labour Movement who left school at 13 and now hold positions of responsibility in local and central government. Yet we rejoice that they have been unspoiled by a further Capitalist education.

The time has come to go a step further and to see that <sup>a non-capitalistic</sup> ~~the Socialist~~ education (full-time) of the best possible kind is made available for all. In this way ~~the best possible~~ leaders may in the future be not selected by 'birth' but thrown up by experience, yet as educated men and women. (This is the only way to a true democracy where "philosophers may be kings and kings philosophers".)

(d) The real education of the adult man or woman is inevitably linked up with responsibility. Education for service and for responsibility is the alternative to that working-class intellectual who does nothing about anything <sup>an</sup> ~~or~~ irresponsible debater who has so often endangered the growth of democracy.

Hence the Socialist must not fear the question "what can we do about it?" at the end of a discussion. Neither on the other hand must he only allow discussion which ends in that way for sometimes <sup>theory</sup> ~~experience~~ is the beginning and not the end. (Reality is needed for education and in a democratic socialism education cannot be divorced from political action: neither can it be confined to it.)

#### WHAT IS MEANT BY SOCIALIST EDUCATION?

The ~~only~~ way to find an answer to these problems is by consideration of <sup>the tasks of a</sup> ~~what is meant by~~ Socialist education. <sup>in the Labour Movement</sup> (Inevitably this raises questions of Socialist policy) since it is generally

*education in the Labour Movement*

recognised that the new tasks facing the Labour Movement require that the main sections of the movement recast their policies in a socialist direction.

The new situation ~~also~~ involves the everyday attitudes of average members of the working class, of individual men and women in factory and field, home and office, road and <sup>bus,</sup> (train.) Their every phase of life is affected whether they be parents or children, consumers or producers, holiday-makers or hospital patients - as the <sup>saying</sup> ~~same~~ goes - from the cradle to the grave.

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*This is where the task of socialist education must be most imperiously sought, in working people. In such a situation the need to find the basis for a Socialist education must be squarely met. The individual man & woman who find a socialist education that intellectual ~~lasts~~ <sup>mainstay</sup> General Principles. & a moral inspiration in their ~~personal~~ <sup>endeavour</sup> to serve this purpose in every walk of life.*

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