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Goldfields in the Kavirondo Districts

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Who's Who of Contributors

A. V. ALEXANDER was Co-operative M.P. for Hillsborough, Sheffield from 1922-31. He was Secretary to the Board of Trade in the Labour Government of 1924, and First Lord of the Admiralty in 1929. Was Secretary to the Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Congress from 1920-29 and returned to that position in 1931.

J. W. BOWEN is General Secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers; M.P. for Ormskirk from 1929-31; previously contested Newport (Mer.) for Labour on four occasions. Was member of the Committee on the National Debt and Taxation; Chairman, Workers' Travel Association; and President, Post Office Employees' Approved Society; Vice-Chairman, Staff Side, National Civil Service Whitley Council. Prior to the passing of the Trade Union Act, 1927, was member of the T.U.C. General Council; Auditor, I.F.T.U.; and President, Provisional Committee of Workers' Education International.

REV. ALBERT DAVID BELDEN, B.D., London University: Superintendent Minister, Whitefield's Central Mission, Tottenham Court Road, since 1927. Born 109, Great Dover Street, 17th February, 1883. Son of William Belden, boot tree and last, manufacturer of Great Dover Street, London, S.E., and Esther Belden. Married 1910 Denis Hunter, daughter of James W. Richman, Ramsgate; one son. Educated Wilson's Grammar School, Camberwell, New College, Hampstead. In business 1897-1902. Six years at New College, Hampstead, University of London B.D. Minister of South Bar Church, Barbury, 1903-12. First Minister of Croxtone Congregational Church, Westcliff-on-Sea, 1912-27: new Church erected at cost (with organ) of £31,000. Publications: "George at Whitefield, the Awakener," "The Soul's Appeal to God," "Does God Really Care?" "The Greater Christ," "God's Better Thing," "The Religious Difficulties of Youth," "Voices of the Great Creator," "The Teachings Gained," "The Commands of the King," "The Bees of the King," "Talks on the Way to Life," "The Boys and Girls of the Bible." Contributor widely to religious Press in England, Colonies and America. Recreations: Tennis, Golf. Address: Kenosith, Elm Road, Harrow Weald. Tel.: Stammers 210. Ex-Vice Chairman Fellowship of Reconciliation; Ex-President London Brotherhood Federation. Keen supporter of Labour since 1918.

WALTER M. CITRINE is General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress and President of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS, K.C., M.P., became M.P. for East Bristol at a by-election in January, 1931. He had already been appointed Solicitor-General in the Labour Government on the retirement of Sir James Malville, who died a few months later. On the formation

of the National Government Sir Stafford Cripps went into Opposition. He enjoyed a large practice at the Parliamentary Bar before entering the House of Commons.

R. M. FOX is a well-known writer on social, industrial and literary topics. Gave up trade exemption during the war to fight conscientiously, and served three terms of imprisonment. Spent three years at Ruskin College, Oxford, taking a University Diploma in Economics and Political Science. Author of "Factory Echoes," "The Triumphant Machine," and "Drifting Men." Has travelled in France, Germany, Russia, Holland and Belgium.

ARTHUR HAYDAY was M.P. for Nottingham West from 1918-31, and Chairman of the Trades Union Congress General Council in 1930-1. He is Vice-President of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. He is the workers' representative on the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations. For a number of years he was a member of the West Ham Borough Council.

W. ARTHUR PEACOCK is a young journalist who was among the founders of the Labour Party League of Youth. He was editor of the "Charion" from 1927-30, and a regular contributor to the literary pages of the old "Daily Herald." He is now Secretary-Manager of the National Trade Union Club.

WM. MCGREGOR ROSS was in the Government Service in Kenya, under the Foreign and Colonial Office from 1900 to 1923. He is the author of "Kenya from Within." (1928. Allen and Unwin.) Later he was the adviser attached to the British Warburg delegation to the 1929 I.L.O. Conference at Geneva, on the preparation of the Questionnaire on Forced Labour.

ALFRED SHORT, hattermaker. Member of the Sheffield City Council, 1913-19. Member of Parliament, Wellesbury, 1918-31. Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Home Affairs, Labour Government, 1929-31. National Secretary of the Clerical Supervisory and Administrative Group, Transport and General Worker's Union. Barrister at Law, Gray's Inn.

ROBERT BENTLEY SUTHERS is a well-known journalist and Socialist propagandist. Author of a number of popular tracts on Socialism. On the staff of the "Charion" from its birth in 1927 to 1930, and the successor of a branch of two years, 1930-32, during which he edited "Issue." Editor of "The Miner" during the latter part of its career.

Rationalising the Problem of India

SIR JOHN MAYNARD

IN these days of rapid change no book on current problems can be absolutely up to date, and Major Graham Pole's "India in Transition," perhaps inevitably, omits from the history of the last fifteen years the third arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and the presentation of the Lothian and other reports arising out of the Second Round Table Conference, not to mention the communal award of the British Government and the unexpected result of the Burmese election, which appeared either while the work was in Press or actually after its publication. But the busy man, conscious of his responsibilities to India, will find in it a valuable record of historical facts, supplemented by information on many social and economic questions, in particular those arising out of the incipient industrialisation of the country, the whole inspired by a generous sympathy with Indian aspirations.

We have very few criticisms to make of this record. If the plan of the work had permitted of a reference to the events of 1916, the author would not have omitted to speak of the Lucknow Pact by which the Hindu and Mohammedan leaders tied themselves to the institution of separate electorates, and so determined the communal features of the Montagu-Chelmsford settlement. The dyarchical constitution, which is still in operation, was never intended to be more than a transitional expedient. Without this transitional device, and the demonstration of Indian administrative ability for which it provided the stage, the difficulty of leading British public opinion up to the acceptance of responsible government, either in the provinces or at the centre, would have been greater than it has been.

Some Indian Ministers, at least, recognised their debt to Edwin Montagu, and did not despise the halfway progress which he won for them against the gale of prejudice. Officials received their first lesson in the arts of securing support from popular representatives. Some remarkable concessions were won for India in the course of this process of education, and remarkable progress was made in at least one quarter in the departments of nation building. When Lord Birkenhead said that dyarchy had "neither altogether succeeded nor altogether

India in Transition. By D. Graham Pole. Hogarth Press. 8s.

failed, and, where it had succeeded, the price of success had been, at some stages and in some districts, a considerable inroad upon the dyarchical principle," he came remarkably close to the truth. New constitution-builders (unless they advocate the transference of the army and external affairs to the control of responsible Indian ministers) find it difficult to get away from the dyarchical device, though they may find a new name for it.

At the top of page 268 there is a statement of the causes of dissatisfaction among Indian Princes, which seems likely to mislead. Few of the States have any seaboard, and the imposition of sea customs duties has always affected their interests without consultation with them. The only change in this respect which occurred in 1919 was that the reforms of that year facilitated the extension of protective duties, and converted what had hitherto been a merely theoretical grievance into an actual one. We think that the complaint on page 268 of decay in Bengal (which is a well-watered province) is attributable, not to neglect of irrigation, but to neglect of river conservancy and drainage. The statement on page 282, that India has a vicious system of land tenure, is too broad. The systems are various, and have varying merits and defects. Major Graham Pole is too hard on the factory inspectors when he says that their inspections are often a farce; but he is quite right in saying that there are too few of them.

The fundamental facts in the Indian situation are the Indian aspiration for equality with other peoples and the impossibility of ending unrest till this aspiration is satisfied. The future historian, reviewing from a greater distance Major Graham Pole's period and the years which are yet to follow, will, we think, see the various episodes falling into their places as parts of one integral movement, of an Indian revolution, prolonged, perhaps, over a generation, and characterised (for we venture to hope it will end as it began and still continues) by the smallness of the bloodshed and of the bitterness which has accompanied it. For this comparative bloodlessness and absence of bitterness, he will give credit to a fundamental patience and reasonableness in the Indian character, which is personified in Mahatma Gandhi at his best, but also to a latent political wisdom in our own people, which, however slow to admit conviction,

is in the long run capable of accepting it. He will, if we may venture to forecast so much, trace, in the vicissitudes of this revolution, the successive approximations of British and Indian sentiment, followed in each case by their subsequent divergences; the period of the announcement of 1917, and of the Montagu inquiries, followed by the outburst of non-co-operation when the Rowlatt Act and the repression of the movement against it, completed the disillusionment of post-war hopes; the period of provisional co-operation under the transitional constitution, ended by the discovery that the promised Commission of Inquiry was to be of purely European personnel; the revival of co-operation under the Irwin-Gandhi pact, and the strange and still hardly intelligible incidents which lodged Mahatma Gandhi a third time in prison, and re-started civil disobedience and the boycott; and the renewed

revival of common action and confidence which we hope is now to come. He will see, we think, why Indian political opinion was so ready to mistrust the good faith of British Statesmen, and so determined to keep the weapons of agitation always furnished for a renewal of the struggle; for the periodical recurrence of misgiving and reaction on the British side shows that now, as ever, perpetual vigilance is the price of liberty. And he will analyse, as a novelty in revolutionary technique, that remarkable instrument of Satyagraha, of non-violent disobedience, which has been so effective in mobilising public sympathy for the embarrassment of authority. But we think that he will also have occasion to note that the instrument, or the precedents which its use has created, has proved equally embarrassing for the Swaraj Government as for the alien rule which preceded it.

Book Reviews

The Dark Places of Education. Dr. Willi Schohaus. 1932. (12s. 6d. Allen and Unwin.)

Dr. Schohaus has published an extraordinarily vivid series of replies to the question "From what did you suffer most at school?" The question was published in a Swiss educational paper and 98 of the resulting replies selected by the author, as being typical reports were published, preceded by an essay by Dr. Schohaus.

While the Doctor's views are of great interest the main part and, in a sense, the raison d'être of the book consists in these personal accounts by men and women who, from the adult world, look back on their own familiar schooldays. The battering of sensitive minds—to say nothing of bodies—the sheer waste of valuable human material make some of the accounts of their experiences appalling. While it is probable that in a sense only the "misfits" have written in, the causes of their unhappiness are so many and varied and their intellectual calibre is in so many cases obviously high and the absence of "whining" so marked that little doubt remains in at least one reader's mind that in the majority of cases there is something fundamentally wrong with the school to which they were sent.

Although Dr. Schohaus' book is not based on experience in this country it is not a book that can be read, without profit by English educationalists.

Slump: a Study of Stricken Europe. By H. Hessel Tiltman. (Jarrolds, 1932.)

Economic problems to-day are best understood by study of individual need in poor homes: for lack of food in such homes is no longer due to the non-existence of food supplies. Indeed, so much food is actually in existence that some of it is burnt while poor people go hungry. Mr. Tiltman has done a very useful piece of work in describing the conditions under which millions live in Germany, Austria and other European countries. Here and there, as in the boot and shoe town of Zlin, in Czechoslovakia, he found work still going on and people living on wages. But most of Central Europe has now suffered from an unoccupied and half starved population for two or three years. Mr. Tiltman gives us conversations he has had with the sufferers, and details about the way they contrive to live. In Germany and Austria some of the "bourgeoisie" are almost as poor as the unemployed manual workers.

Here is the real problem for the World Economic Conference—not the state of the exchanges, nor the interest on loans, but the lack of food among millions of men, women and children while the world contains plenty. It would be good to have fewer statistics about the Depression and more personal records, like Mr. Tiltman's.

Young Socialists at Leeds

By
W. ARTHUR PEACOCK

CRITICS of the Labour Party may ridicule the League of Youth, and suggest its members are but puppets of the Party. Labour Party members over 25 years of age may have doubts in their mind concerning the usefulness of the League; former League members who have had to leave owing to age limit may exclaim that the League is not what it was in their young days, but League of Youth members take no heed. Quietly and regularly their activities are carried on throughout the country. New branches are formed, meetings and demonstrations are held, dramatic groups, educational classes, lectures, debates, discussions, rambling clubs, cycling clubs, sports clubs, all these activities and many others are sponsored and as a result many young people are introduced to the Labour Movement.

It is said by some Labour Party members that while this is true, young Socialists are concerning themselves with play more than with politics. I am sure that those who think this way would have changed their minds had they been able to listen to the discussions at the Leeds Conference of the League.

Over a hundred delegates participated in the Leeds discussions. They came with their minds fully made up upon a variety of topics and during the three sessions they expressed their opinions in very clear and able manner.

Questions which gave rise to interesting and lively discussions had reference to the appointment of three former League members, now over 25 years of age, as members of the Editorial Committee of *The New Nation*; proposals to raise the age limit from 25 years to 30 years; representation of League members at Party conferences and on the National Executive; the introduction of a uniform; and opportunity to discuss party policy at League conferences.

The discussion on *The New Nation* came early on in the proceedings in connection with the report of the Advisory Committee. Andrew McAlpine of Manchester, who moved the resolution, expressed the view that a League of Youth periodical ought to be conducted and controlled by League members only. While admitting that the persons criticised had each been good League members, he thought only League members should be associated with the journal.

Manchester held similar views concerning the appointment of a full time organiser. While

moving a resolution asking the Executive to make such an appointment, Will Nally hinted that owing to a clerical error the age condition had been omitted from the resolution.

On both these matters there were explanations from the platform. It was pointed out that League members were asked to write as often as they liked for the paper. The production of *The New Nation* had been placed in the hands of young journalists who had done a great deal of work for the movement. The need for a full-time secretary was generally recognised, but no amount of explanation from Mr. Windle would convince the delegates that the Labour Party had a financial crisis of its own. The resolutions were passed.

The proposal to introduce a uniform was brought forward by Miss Manning of Southgate. The League in this district has a uniform and it was affirmed in this that their delegate came to the conference. But Southgate's scarlet blazer, tie and white blouse did not please the delegates. Those representing rural areas pointed out how impossible it was for such a dress to be worn in country villages where victimisation was still feared and where tied cottages still existed. One Northern delegate had several reasons for opposing. He thought the adoption of a uniform would mean the Advisory Committee having a special uniform with gold braid. The idea of R. T. Windle being dressed as a regimental sergeant-major evidently frightened the delegates for the resolution was lost.

The vote on the proposal to raise the age limit gave only a narrow majority against the resolution, and it was clear that among League members there is much conflict of opinion.

Discussion of party policy at conferences gave rise to a good debate. At the present time the annual conference of the League is concerned only with domestic affairs, with problems of educational, organisation and political activity. League members want to discuss policy problems that affect young workers. They feel too that just as the women of the Party have their representation on the National Executive, so too ought the League of Youth.

As the result of the discussions at the conference approaches are to be made to the National Executive by the newly-elected Advisory Committee.

These resolutions indicate that League members feel that the adults of the Party are

not sufficiently informed about its work. When discussing the desirability of forming new branches and securing new members it was emphasised again that a little help from adult Socialists would make the work a great deal easier. They could help by getting their own children and young persons they knew to join the League.

The confidence and ease of manner with which delegates spoke would have made many adult Socialists envious. Young women played an active part in the proceedings. On the subject of uniform, there were bright speeches from Miss Manning and Pip Barnett of Southgate. Two young women, Doris Saunders (Southgate), Dora Plumb (Streatham), secured election to the Advisory Committee. Another good speech came from Alice Bacon of Normanton, who wanted the League of Youth to develop its own sports for unemployed workers.

Alman of the Advisory Committee, ably defended the official view upon several occasions. Wickham from Mid Bucks, gave conference a view with which many were not too familiar—the view of the worker in the rural area. Paul Williams presided over the conference in business-like manner and gave delegates a clear

idea of the important work that the League should undertake during the coming year.

The interest of the Labour Party in the work of the League and in the conference was shown by the letter from George Lansbury, M.P., and by the presence of Arthur Greenwood who brought fraternal greetings from both the National Executive and the University Labour Federation which was meeting at Sheffield at the same time.

On the whole, the conference compared favourably with those of previous years. London was less predominant and Leeds and Manchester stronger than on other occasions. London's enthusiasm may be gained from the fact that their delegates came by chaps-a-banc, travelling to Leeds over-night. In such circumstances, who can blame the two delegates who were not in their place at 9-30 on Sunday morning to move their branch resolution?

Yes! the League of Youth is full of enthusiasm. It is as Arthur Greenwood said at Leeds: "A live organisation, full of youthful vitality and energy." It is producing a body of young men and women of whom the Labour Movement may well be proud.

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exchanges of the world, as it was delivered.

Under very firm insistence from Lord Passfield, a genuine attempt had been made at Downing Street in 1929-1930 to formulate a binding pledge for the future security of native lands in Kenya. In spite of expostulation from Government House, Nairobi, in spite of threats to "walk out" from elected settler members of the legislative council, this binding promise was forced on to the sadly stained Statute Book of Kenya, that the area of native reserves should henceforward be, to all intents and purposes, irrevocable. Land might be taken for a road here, for a water supply pipeline there, and so on. But outside these genuinely minor requirements, if for any public purpose land had to be returned by Government, an equal area of suitable land, contiguous if possible, would be added to the reserve, with additional compensation for disturbance, improvements effected, and so on. Moreover no action of this nature would be launched without full conference first with the natives affected and with native councils of theirs also, if any such in the area.

We will now go across to the Council Chamber in Nairobi.

The Chief Native Commissioner (1) is speaking:

"The necessity for the Bill arises from the demands for mining leases, particularly in the neighbourhood of Kakamega. It is only right that miners should reap the reward of their enterprise by these leases. But, under the Principal Ordinance, no land in a native reserve may be leased which is in beneficial occupation by the native people. It is obvious therefore that in the closely populated area of North Kavirondo, no lease can be granted. Under another section, land may be reserved for mineral development if an equal amount of land is added to the reserve, contiguous if possible. That is a cumbersome business.

It will be to our discredit if a single native is a penny the worse if gold is found in his own country. The alternative, therefore, to adding land to the reserve for that excluded is to pay them the full value of the land temporarily taken, at a rate not less than that payable in similar circumstances to any holder of private land outside the reserve. This compensation will be paid into the local native fund and not to the individual concerned.

The Bill will not be popular with the native population, for it involves a conception of the use of land foreign to ideas of natives and no amount of compensation will induce them to agree voluntarily to leasing their land. I am afraid that we shall have to hurt their feelings, to wound their susceptibilities, and in some cases we may have to violate their most cherished and sacred traditions. I mean by moving natives from a piece of land on which they have the right to live and setting them up on another piece, the owners of which will have the right to eject them. We have to face these difficulties. I can think of no other alternative unless we allow to the underdeveloped the wealth that may provide prosperity to the country in which every single community can share. But we can ensure that they

get all we can give them in the way of adequate compensation.

"There is one important proviso to the Bill, that it will not be necessary for the Central Board to bring a proposed exclusion to the notice of the Local Native Council or of the natives concerned. The exclusion will not be popular with the natives, and to consult them would be a farce for it is unlikely that they would agree whatever compensation was paid, and the same thing applies to the Councils. There is no advantage to be gained by the procedure of going to them and asking them. (The speech as here given is based upon a Press report in 'The East Africa Standard' for December 22, 1932, the Kenya *Standard* being not yet available).

One more quotation, from a circular prepared by other Colonial Civil Servants—in Britain this time—and generally released to the British Press for appearance on January 19, 1933:—

"It cannot fairly be contended that there has been any breach of faith either with the natives immediately concerned or with the native community as a whole."

The bulk of this departmental paper is a misleading and discreditable piece of special pleading; it has received widespread criticism in this country. For action taken in Nairobi, the approval of Sir Philip Cluniff-Lister, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, was forthcoming. He admitted that, himself, in the House on December 20, 1932, in reply to Sir Robert Hamjolin, his late Under-Secretary of State and formerly, for years, the Chief Justice of Kenya Colony.

Surely, that is not the last word of any British Government!

Cutting across all British political frontiers, there has been an immediate demand that this amendment of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance shall itself be repealed. The Mining Ordinance of 1925 specifically allowed that, by a simple procedure, the Government might secure a mineralised area against indiscriminate invasion for a period of twelve months "during which time the Government shall decide whether to work the area or whether to dispose of the rights of working the area." There was provision for "reward to discoverers." If during that period the Government decided to work the area, the law provided that "the term of that Government Protection Area, shall be deemed to be indefinite and the Government shall have the right of working the area until further notice . . ."

These apparently wholesome provisions of law disappeared from the Mining law of Kenya under the Amendment, No. 1 of 1931. Piecing together fragments of published news, the facts emerge that just three days after this Mining

Amendment came into operation, the first official notification was made in Kenya as to an application for an exclusive prospecting licence over 5,900 square miles of native reserves (by a big London group, names withheld—"Times" report). This first notice regarding these prospective operations was not signed by the Governor, but by one of his subordinates, writing as "Governor's Deputy."

Errors of judgment established by process of law may be undone by process of law. Notice might be given that no prospecting rights so far given will be renewed on expiry—thus terminating them in the vast majority of cases, in twelve months at the outside. Any compensation payable, under claims passed by a special Compensation Commission to be sent out from this country, should be met, in strict reason and over a term of years, from the working of a model State minefield. This should be under the direction of a State Department of Mines in Kenya. The present minefield is served by a State system of railways. On the great Lakes runs a State service of steamers. A State sanitation department operates in the region as it is—likewise a State works department and a State survey department. This solution is what the Africans have, from the first, demanded. Sir Joseph Byrne, the Governor is the servant of Sir Philip Cluniff-Lister, as the latter is the servant of Parliament.

It is not yet too late to establish in Kenya a PLANNED (STATE) GOLD-FIELD under which calamitous upheaval of the native social system might be reduced to a minimum. The rate of development of this new asset, instead of being a feverish commercial scramble, would be under studied Government control. The gold would be worked by competent staff, specially engaged for the purpose, operating in honourable and sympathetic conference with the Native Administration and the Africans concerned. As part of the Government team, the Department of Mines would act in full co-operation with other existing State Departments whose services are in any case essential to any honest discharge of our national responsibilities in Kavirondo.

In places the gold is very rich. It is lying in the soil. Anybody with a 20s. licence can pick it up—except Africans. They are debarred by Section 12 of Ordinance No. 1 of 1931, on pain of a fine of £100 or six months' imprisonment. Cases are reported of prospectors collecting hundreds of pounds-worth of gold in a day. The Kenya Government takes a 5 per cent. royalty, and the miner skips with 95 per cent. of his loot. The Kenya Government calls this method of working "a public purpose."

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Gold in Kenya

OUR "SCRAP OF PAPER"

By
WM. MCGREGOR ROSS, M.INST.C.E.
(Late) Director of Public Works, Kenya

IN the middle of 1921 a group of white prospectors were allowed to search for gold in the native reserve of Kavirondo in Kenya Colony. The North Kavirondo reserve is a tract of country of extreme fertility in its southern portions, gradually becoming much inferior towards the north. It has, throughout the time that it has been known to white men, supported a dense population of Africans, in parts of Bantu Stock, in parts of Nilotic. At present they number some 900,000 souls—an extremely industrious agricultural community, maintaining themselves by the cultivation of the soil, and paying the Colonial Government heavy taxation from wages earned by their able-bodied men, who leave home in thousands for wage-paid labour for Government Departments: white farmers and Indian merchants. Their country is hemmed in between the vast expanse of Lake Victoria on one side—the lake from which the Nile flows and the largest in Africa—the reserve of another tribe, the Nandi, on the other side, and elsewhere by land alienated to Europeans and by the worthless country to the North. Parts of their reserve are congested, one region is populated to a density of 1,100 people to the square mile. Where gold was discovered, the density was from 160 to 400 per square mile. In the case of this tribe provided tens of thousands of "carriers" for portage of military supplies in the East African war zone and their death-roll ran into an unknown number of thousands. Their land is held on a complex but logical system of family tenure, and holdings have descended from father to son for uncounted generations.

Into this community the Kenya Government has, since mid-1921, let loose a flood of white gold-hunters. It has secretly equipped itself with two laws to juggle with. They are mutually destructive. According to one, the land is reserved for the use and benefit of the native tribes "for ever," and notwithstanding anything in any other Ordinance contained, this law declares that no lease or licence shall be granted in such a reserve on any land that is being beneficially occupied by Africans and elsewhere only after consultation with the Africans

concerned and with their local native councils. This is the Native Lands Trust Ordinance (No. IX. of 1925). The other allows miners (Africans being later debarred) to prospect for and to win gold almost anywhere in a native reserve if the consent of a senior Government official, termed a Provincial Commissioner, is given. This was the Mining Ordinance (No. III. of 1925) later replaced by another (No. 1. of 1921). In mid-1921 that consent was given, and African security vanished.

Provisions in the former of these two Ordinances (as laws in Kenya are called) which were still embarrassing were got rid of by amendments, passed, with the approval of the present Secretary of State for the Colonies, on December 21, 1922, just before the House of Commons rose for the Christmas recess. To realise the full enormity of this exploit, it is necessary to acquire some slight background of Kenya history.

The experiment of white colonisation in East Africa was started by our Foreign Office, which had been in charge of negotiations under which European "spheres of influence" were arranged on the African continent in the years 1885 to 1890. It therefore, almost as a matter of routine, took over the management of our sphere when in 1895 the Government bought out the Imperial British East Africa Company and instituted Government rule over the Uganda Protectorate (inland), and the East Africa Protectorate (coastal). The latter, a quarter of a century later, was to become our now notorious Kenya Colony. It was started on its official career, by the Foreign Office, on lines ethically wrong—with an act of piracy, to be precise; and nearly all the troubles that have perplexed Cabinet after Cabinet from that day to this have some connection, direct or remote, with that sinister stroke of fate. All the land was stolen. Whether it was vacant or populated, whether passed over solely by wild game and the winds of heaven or tenanted by dense tribes of Africans holding or tenanted through uncounted generations on terms of private individual, or family, or tribal tenure, mattered nothing to the Imperial eyes of that day and of many years following. All alike

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became "Crown Land"—merely because we said so. After ten years, the Foreign Office handed over control to the Colonial Office. The same evil principle persisted. For twenty years or more the Government in what is now Kenya annually balanced its budget in part by selling more and more land to all comers. Anyone might have "an estate" on secure Crown title, provided he or she was of white stock. (Indians might have estates in certain of the less attractive regions.) No African might, in the eyes of the law, possess any patch of land, large or small, to live on or be buried in. British Justice!

The African tribes were treated as gypsies, tenants-at-will, mere squatters—in law and in practice. Of 10,000 square miles or so of "estates," held to-day for the most part on 999 year leases, and by a total of about 2,000 white landowners, some 6,000 square miles consist of land which for varying reasons in different parts of the country was vacant, i.e., neither in African ownership, resident or absentee, nor in African occupation. The remainder, of some 4,000 square miles, represents land from which Africans were evicted, or on which they were forcibly prevented from resuming holdings in well-established African ownership—in order to make room for whites. There the matter stood for nearly 30 years, one Kenya Government after another stealing, stealing. Occasionally some exceptional indecency demanded Cabinet intervention from Westminster. One Secretary of State flew a peremptory signal for honourable settlement of African rights by formal and binding treaties with the several distinct tribes. This was Lord Crewe. The East African admirals, with telescope to blind eye, took no notice but went on buccanering. One obscure Socialist, Ramsay MacDonald, made himself obnoxious in the House as far back as 1911. Josiah Wedgwood continually gave the white exploiters trouble. Occasional officials, ex-officials, missionaries and travellers, expostulated, criticised. The tempo of the banditry slowed down.

At last there dawned a period of attempted ethical rectification of our rule. With alternate advances and setbacks this will have lasted for ten years by July of this year. Every advance has been fought by "white" vested interests in Kenya, and every setback has been met by resolute action in the moral ranks both of Kenya and Britain. The period opened with a White Paper, Cmd. 1922, of July, 1923, issued by the Duke of Devonshire, then Conservative Secretary of State for the Colonies. It directed that

where African and non-African interests clashed, the former should prevail. It was entitled, *Indians in Kenya*, an arresting title but one apt enough to those who had followed the working of the bastard type of Imperialism which has ever, and to this day, found ardent disciples in Kenya. The first Labour Government, cordially endorsing the charter for Africans in the historic White Paper, consolidated the position. It sent out a Parliamentary (i.e., all-Party) Commission. It even selected a Conservative chairman for it, a gesture in the domain of co-operation which has remained without parallel in British political history to this day. Good work was done. Every Socialist, of course, thinks that better work might have been done, but that is by the way. Reformers who could be satisfied with the speed (sic) of Parliamentary method would reform little or nothing. 1925 to 1929 was largely a period of reaction. For a considerable part of it, Mr. Amery was Colonial Secretary, and his selection for the post of Governor in Kenya was experience at all of tropical administrations in Africa. Then the second Labour Government had a chance. It announced its policy in a second African charter, Cmd. 3573, of June, 1930: *Memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa*, and again appointed an all-Party body to confer upon the right lines of British policy in East Africa. This was the Joint Committee of Lords and Commons which reported in September, 1931, not indeed as every Socialist would wish, though unananimously and in such a way as to establish a consolidation of the position. At any rate, the second African charter emerged from a prolonged period of examination unchallenged. Three charters instead of two!

Then suddenly in Christmas week last, all three were torn up. Practically ten years' work vanished overnight. This marked no general collapse in any political party. It was a localised and atavistic recession to the colonial mentality of the Jamaica of 200 years ago. Profits for whites at any price, and damn the consequences! Suddenly and utterly, Africans ceased to count.

So here we have a smash-and-grab raid of unmatched insolence. It presents a field for satire unexampled among the actions of British Departments of State in a decade past. The temptation to "write it up" is almost irresistible. Instead, it shall be recited in cold official language by extracts from the speech in which the Native Lands Trust Ordinance (Amendment) was brought up for second reading in the Kenya Legislative Council on Wednesday, December 21, 1932. British stocks tumbled on the moral

Christian League," whose membership is growing with some rapidity.

The two former movements, namely, the Christian Social Council and the Council of Christian Ministers on Social Questions, may be regarded as the right wing, and the latter movements as the left wing of the new social gospel in the modern churches, outside Roman Catholicism. Both the right wing elements enjoy a rather lukewarm official favour, though there are many in the churches for whom even this is too advanced; the left wing is finding increasing resource in the humbler rank and file of the churches and especially in youth.

Here then, is the proclamation of the right wing social outlook of the churches. It is brief enough to quote in full:—

"THE PRESENT ECONOMIC DISTRESS.

"It is a vital function of the Christian Church to keep alive in the world the spirit of hope. It is equally its duty to declare that there is always a way, if men rightly seek it, by which society can offer security of life and responsible freedom to all its members. To-day, under the pressure of events, hope is dim, and faith that a way can be found is in danger of perishing. We who speak as Christian Ministers of many different communions are constrained alike by men's physical hardships, and by the fears and anxieties possessing their minds, to ask the serious consideration of our fellow citizens for what we conceive to be some of the realities in the crisis of the moment.

"In the first place, we welcome the summoning of the World Economic Conference at Geneva, as a recognition of the truth that no nation can solve its problems by itself. But we believe that no success can attend its proceedings if it regards the problems with which it has to deal as purely economic. Economic measures, and theories which justify them, must be assessed in the light of the human purposes for which industry exists. Christians cannot accept in silence assumptions about these purposes which, whether unconscious or otherwise, appear to make men mere instruments in industrial processes and so sacrifice human interests to traditional economic theories and systems.

"In the second place, we cannot ignore the grave and distressing fact that economic experts are increasingly baffled by the emergence of unforeseen factors, and are profoundly disagreed amongst themselves. It is not for Christians, as such, to suggest a new economic arrangement, but they may properly insist that there is a moral

obligation on all Christian people, in view of the grave failure of present economic practice, to re-examine their standard of values and their attitude towards material wealth, and on economists and financiers to re-examine accepted theories in the light of present realities.

"Thirdly, we are profoundly impressed by the visible abundance of the world's actual wealth of supplies—the gifts with which God in His bounty has so richly endowed us. We refuse to believe that, where material resources and technical skill exist in such plenty, it is past man's wit or zeal so to adjust the distribution of that wealth as to satisfy true human needs. The situation is a challenge for the reconsideration of existing theories and practice in economics and finance, and of the artificial barriers which prevent the exchange of goods between the nations.

"We are also convinced that no mere attempt to restore the conditions of the past can be successful, nor if it were to succeed would it be satisfactory. Our social life has to be rebuilt and, for that rebuilding, account must be taken of the difference to the whole system of employment which mechanical improvements and scientific discoveries have made. It has not yet been thought out what these things mean in relation to the life of human workers. Nor has the new significance which attaches to the increase in the hours set free for leisure by labour-saving inventions yet been faced. Here also is a challenge to our statesmen, our thinkers, and our political and economic leaders.

"Finally, we insist on the spiritual character of all human life. True religion can only accept as valid an economic outlook which is congruous with the primacy of spiritual ends. We are taught to pray "give us our daily bread" after we have prayed "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth. . . ." And that Kingdom is not a Kingdom of Love and Justice only, but equally a Kingdom of Reason and Truth.

"Signed by the Council of Christian Ministers on Social Questions." (Here follow signatures of 54 leading ministers of all the churches.)

Such a declaration is, of course, highly welcome. There is a fine steely vein of non-compromise in its assertion that our economic system must be rebuilt and in its insistence that human values must be allowed to take precedence of material and financial values. Unhappily, whilst telling the world nothing that is new or even fresh, this document fails at the same time to give any clear direction for a common policy.

Indeed, as usual with this right wing, it shines badly at the duty of doing so.

"It is not for Christians," says the circular, "as such to suggest a new economic arrangement." Why not? If, as we are told here, "economic experts are increasingly baffled by the emergence of unseen factors," may it not be that it is just the absence of bold guidance based on Christian estimates of human nature and Christian principles of right human behaviour—that occasions, and will always occasion, such bafflement? Can the duty of establishing an economic order satisfactory to the Christian conscience be left to await the concurrence of secular economic experts? So far as I know the economic experts, some of them at least are professedly Christian men, whilst yet others are committed to policies more bravely Christian than this document is apparently ready to endorse. Cannot such economic expertness be mobilized and placed at the service of the Churches for the formation of a plan behind which the total strength of the Christian public of the country can be arrayed? This, of course,

may be the next step contemplated by the signatories of this paper. It is devoutly so to be hoped. Even if such a plan stopped short, as it might do, of a full Socialist policy, it would be bound to contain elements, such possibly as the national control of money-power and a managed currency, that the left wing could support with a good heart. But short of some such really courageous "coming to earth" the work of this Council is in danger of proving merely sentimental and even something of a mockery of the people's hopes and, what is more, of their urgent and appalling needs.

It is no longer good enough for churchmen to lift pious hands of appeal to men, crying "Children, love one another." Such an appeal is apt to be met a little rudely by the voice of the "man in the street" saying: "Quite right, gov'nor, that's what I believe in, but how do yer do it in this 'ere system of private profit and competition?" That is the question upon which we shall await with some eagerness another manifesto from this Council—the all-important question of "How?"

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Post Office Reform

THE BRIDGEMAN RECOMMENDATIONS

By
J. W. BOWEN

THE Post Office has been very unfortunate in the kind of publicity it gets. For years it has been subjected to hostile criticism by newspapers which dislike any form of State enterprise. Every defect has been magnified, every complaint of a delayed letter or wrong number has been given prominence, little or nothing was said of the fine work of the staff as a whole and the steady progress made by the Post Office in one field after another of telephone engineering. The Post Office rarely answered criticisms. The staff are forbidden to write letters to the Press. The Union did what it could, but the newspapers which urged their readers to send in complaints would refuse to print letters from the Union putting the point of view of the staff and defending the Post Office against unfair criticism. In default of a proper statement of the case for the Post Office, the public came to believe that the sweeping condemnation must be largely true, and when Lord Wolmer's organised campaign culminated in the setting up of the Bridgeman Committee there was a fairly general feeling that it was time something was done to put the Post Office in order.

The Bridgeman Committee, which consisted of Viscount Bridgeman, a Conservative politician, and Lord Plender and Sir John Cadman, two men with an intimate knowledge of commercial methods and organisation, reported in August, 1932. The Report made certain criticisms and suggestions but on the whole it was a well-merited justification of the Post Office against its critics. It paid tribute to the "remarkable efficiency" of the service as a whole and of the staff. It discounted much of the criticism and in particular it pointed out that the comparisons with U.S.A. and other countries were largely misleading owing to difference of conditions. Above all, the Bridgeman Committee rejected the main case of the critics that the Post Office should cease to be run by the Government and should be handed over to public utility management.

It was, however, too much to expect that the Bridgeman Committee's substantial vindication of the Post Office could undo the effects of years of misrepresentation. In the first place the Report was very badly reported by the Press as a whole and most readers of the newspapers

will probably not have realised that the Report was a vindication. On the contrary, as the criticisms were singled out for special attention—the press appears to take the view that commendation has no news value—the public concluded that the Post Office was being rapped on the knuckles as usual.

Then a change took place. The Post Office and the present Postmaster-General, Sir Kingsley Wood, have begun to pay a great deal more attention to getting the Post Office a good press. That this has been possible is doubtless due in part to the extensive telephone advertising campaign of last year, but in addition the Post Office has been able to obtain more publicity for its achievements. But still the Post Office has to suffer for the bad name it was given in the past. The Post Office service has not undergone a magical transformation in a year, it is just the same Post Office as before. Its achievements in 1932 were no more striking than those of the preceding ten years. The Press and the public, however, are for the first time hearing what the Post Office has to say for itself, and they conclude, not unnaturally, that the Post Office must be a far better Post Office than it used to be and they attribute the change to the Bridgeman Committee, or to the present Postmaster-General. This is not the position at all. The Bridgeman Committee's recommendations have not yet been put into operation, and apart from the welcome important developments on the side of publicity, the Post Office which is now receiving some compliments is the same Post Office as hitherto when it was a butt for everybody's criticisms.

I do not mean to imply that the staff regard the Post Office as perfect. As is inevitable in so huge an organisation a periodical overhaul may be necessary to cut out obsolete methods of working. The Union's views as to necessary reforms were put before the Committee, and in a large number of points the Report and recommendations approximate to the case we put.

The two outstanding changes recommended by the Committee (the only two definite recommendations they made, the other recommendations being in the nature of suggestions) were the setting up of a Post Office "functional board" and an alteration in the

financial relationship between the Post Office and the Treasury.

The first of these relates to the Post Office system of internal organisation and arose out of the Committee's very critical attitude towards the existing arrangement under which the Post Office Secretariat completely overshadows all other Post Office Departments. Lord Bridgeman and his colleagues took the view that this dominant position of the Secretariat—

"Contravenes what has come to be recognised as one of the fundamental principles of organisation, viz., the distinction between policy and practice, between the administrative and the executive functions. The neglect of this important distinction we regard as one of the main weaknesses of the existing Post Office organisation.

"The centralisation of administration and the higher executive functions in the Secretariat has tended to denude the Surveyor and the provincial staff of real responsibility and authority, and has inevitably imposed an undue rigidity where, in contact with the public, flexibility is required.

"Finally, the divorce of the engineering and administrative sides, to which we have already referred, has tended to produce a duality of control and absence of co-ordination, while the separation of finance, and the instruments of finance, from administration has militated against real decentralisation because machinery for measuring performance, which effective decentralisation requires, does not exist."

Accordingly, the Committee recommended as follows:—

"We are of opinion that the control of Post Office business can best be effected through the medium of a functional Board, presided over by the Assistant Postmaster-General."

"In addition to the Board should comprise (say) General Board should comprise (say) four or five members of the Post Office staff having authority over all the various activities of the Department, such functions as the following, being represented upon it: General Operating and Supply, Engineering and Research, Finance, Personnel, etc."

Corresponding changes were recommended for Provincial organisation. The existing officials known as Surveyors were to be renamed "Regional Directors" and given greater power:—

"We regard it as of vital importance that the Regional Director should exercise

jurisdiction over all the functions appertaining to the Post, Telephone and Telegraph Services. He should be the co-ordinating authority for his Region and his organisation would, in effect, be a reproduction in miniature of the Headquarters Board. The Regional Director would be the Chief Executive of his Region and would be assisted by a staff representing engineering, financial and personnel functions, and within his Region engineering, finance and personnel would be under his jurisdiction. He would receive, direct and execute, all orders from Headquarters in consultation with his technical, financial and personnel staff and would ensure that all the interests involved were co-ordinated and brought into focus.

"His status and responsibility would be correspondingly increased as compared with that of the existing Surveyor."

So far, however, no statement has been forthcoming as to when the functional board is likely to be appointed and begin its work.

While the change in regard to a Functional Board meets with general approval and should justify itself, there are dangers for the public staff in the increase of the powers of the regional officials, and in the Committee's recommendation that the existing staff of staff appointed to Headquarters should be restricted.

The other major alteration goes part of the way towards a relaxation of Treasury control long urged by the Union of Post Office Workers.

At present none of the revenues received from the Post Office from the public remain in its own hands. The money passes to the Treasury and the Post Office has no funds of its own. Post Office expenditure is provided for in two ways. Non-Capital expenditure is voted each year by Parliament and the money is doled out to the Post Office as required, and as sanctioned by the Treasury. Capital expenditure is provided for by legislation once in three years authorising the Treasury to raise loans to the specified amount. All expenditure is subject to Treasury approval and control, and it is inevitable that the Government and the Chancellor of the Exchequer with their desire to balance the Budget should look with disfavour on any increase in expenditure which will diminish the £9,000,000 or £10,000,000 surplus they receive each year from the Post Office. Critics of this system say that it prevents the Post Office from expanding as rapidly as it ought. On the other hand it is only fair to say that there are experienced administrators (including the present Secretary to the Post Office) who defend the

Most prosecutions, said Sir Ernley, are undertaken under section 41 of the Lotteries Act, 1823, which provides that:—

If any person or persons (a) shall sell any ticket or tickets, chance or chances, share or shares of any ticket or tickets, chance or chances in any lottery or lotteries authorised by any foreign potentate or state, or to be drawn in any foreign country, or in any lottery or lotteries except such as are or shall be authorised by this or some other Act of Parliament to be sold, or

(b) shall publish any proposal or scheme for the sale of any ticket or tickets, chance or chances, share or shares of any ticket or tickets, chance or chances, except such lottery or lotteries as shall be authorised as aforesaid . . . such person or persons shall, for every such offence, forfeit and pay the sum of fifty pounds, and shall also be deemed a rogue and vagabond, or rogues and vagabonds, and shall be punished as such in the manner hereinafter directed.

The Lotteries Act of 1826, Sir Ernley explained, is important. It enacts that:—

If any person shall print or publish, or cause to be printed or published, any advertisement or other notice of relating to the drawing or intended drawing of any foreign lottery, or of any lottery or lotteries, not authorised by some Act or Acts of Parliament;

or if any person shall print or publish, or cause to be printed or published, any advertisement or other notice of for the sale of any ticket or tickets, chance or chances, or of any share or shares of any ticket or tickets, chance or chances, or of in any such lottery or lotteries as aforesaid, or any advertisement or notice concerning or in any manner relating to any such lottery or lotteries, or any ticket, chance or share, tickets, chances or shares thereof, or therein;

every person so offending shall for every such offence forfeit the sum of fifty pounds, to be recovered, with full costs of suit, by action of debt, bill, plaint or information in any of His Majesty's courts of record in Westminster or Dublin respectively or in the Court of Session in Scotland.

"It will be seen" said Sir Ernley "that the principal statutory provisions are directed against the promoters of the lottery. The specific acts penalised are expressed in such terms as the following: 'Setting up or exercising a lottery, keeping an office or place to exercise a lottery,

selling any ticket or chance in a lottery, publishing any proposals or schemes for the sale of any tickets in a lottery, printing or publishing any advertisement or other notice of the sale of tickets, or drawing of any lottery' . . . The law regarding aiding and abetting the commission of an offence might possibly be invoked against purchasers of tickets, but in practice this has not been done."

It is suggested in some quarters that the present condition of the law on the subject of lotteries is chaotic. "The true position is," says Sir Ernley, "that the statute law declares all lotteries to be illegal." There are, of course, many border line cases, and much ingenuity is exercised in seeking to promote schemes on lottery lines consistent with the law. For purposes of administration, the authorities have sought to distinguish between public, private or quasi private lotteries: For instance, the London Stock Exchange Annual Sweepstake on the Derby grew to such dimensions as to become public in character. In 1936 restrictions were imposed, and the scheme resumed its private character.

It has been found quite impossible to suppress the inherent gambling instincts and characteristics of the British public. Human nature being what it is, enhanced by the insecurity offered by the vagaries of our present economic system, vagaries of our present economic system, if gambling, it would appear, cannot be eradicated by attempting to abolish any one method, by which it finds support. Mr. J. M. Keynes, the well-known economist, in giving evidence before the Commission, said: "It is depressing for an individual to look forward to a life of poverty without the slightest possibility of any amelioration in it. If everybody for quite a small deduction from their wages always had just the possibility of something turning up, then I see no evil in it."

Mr. Keynes added, that "The richer classes have investments which they always hope will go up in value. It very seldom happens. But it seems to me that the feeling that there is this possibility of improvement is, on the whole, one which gives more pleasure than pain."

Few will quarrel with these common-sense views. As the law stands, and under its present administration, the rich man has undoubtedly advantage over the poor man. The rich man, reclining in his club, can put a bet over the State-owned telephone, he can take a ticket in the sweepstake confined to members of the club (though it is actually illegal) with immunity. The poor man must not bet in the street. The promoters of a sweepstake run for some local charitable purpose, making its appeal to the

population of our industrial cities and towns, are warned that their sweepstake is illegal. If they, nevertheless, decide to proceed, prosecution might follow, unless happily tempered by the wisdom of the police. If the working man takes a day off from work, pays railway fare to the horse racecourse, and backs his fancy on the totalisator or with the bookmaker, no complaint is made. He is an excellent citizen, not engaging in any illegal act. If he stays at home, puts a bet on with the bookmaker in the street, or in his own time visits the greyhound racing track at night and has a small flutter on the totalisator run for profit, he engages in an illegal act. Such is the position in England, but in Scotland the courts have decided that the totalisator is legal on greyhound racing tracks.

Can we afford to tolerate these extraordinary anomalies? Are we entitled to put the police in an invidious position in relation to the administration of the law? Should we expect the police, in matters affecting the social habits of the people, simply to use their tact and discretion? If we do, this inevitably leads to discrimination between the rich and the poor.

So far, the Commission has only given its views in respect of totalisators at greyhound racing tracks. But are these views justified by the facts? What are the facts? Greyhound racing tracks within a few years became established and popular institutions. They opened an immediate response in 1927, when over 5,000,000 persons paid for admission. In 1931 the figure was 17,900,917, a threefold increase in five years.

The control of these tracks by the National Greyhound Racing Society, which has become the Jockey Club of the sport, is as thorough as reason and common sense dictates, and offers a more complete protection to the public than any comparable body.

Under the Racecourse Betting Act of 1928, it is legal on an approved racecourse, on horse-racing days, to operate a totalisator. As a result of certain decisions in the courts it was thought the legality of the totalisator on greyhound racing tracks was established. Following this, they were then installed, and resulted in finding work in their manufacture, erection and operation. The recent decision in the High Court, from which there is no appeal, renders them illegal on the tracks. It is clear the law then must be amended. No sane person can, in reason, justify the operation of the totalisator on the racecourse, and exclude its operation from the tracks.

Without entering into the ethics of gambling—of betting in all its various forms—the evidence given before the Commission shows more clearly than ever the urgent necessity for common-sense legislation on the whole question. Gambling is in our blood. Whether one is a company director, a pillar of the Stock Exchange, or a humble person playing bridge at the vicarage, or a working man interested in football or horseracing—we are all, in some measure, susceptible to the attractions of gambling. Can we prohibit betting? I think not. Indeed, is not prohibition contrary to our traditional policy? Of course it is. The Commission says: "Why recommend it?"

It would seem that the obvious necessity is to seek to regulate and control this almost universal instinct. To do so would, in my view, give a clean and straight-forward outlet to what in twentieth century civilisation, we must regard as a national habit. It might be a legitimate source of revenue to the State, or the revenue from it could be directed to assist hospitals, charities, or health objects, and it would be made the means of providing remunerative employment.

America has shown us the errors and terrors of complete prohibition. We should profit by their experience and not fall into the same error. The first reaction of the layman to the Interim recommendations of the Commission is that nothing is to be done to restrict or hamper the rich in their pursuit of pleasure. They are to be allowed to bet and gamble at will. But the poorer people, the millions that go to make up the working and middle classes, are to be held in and deprived of similar facilities.

All such inroads and repressions lead the way to revolt, and are not in keeping with our best traditions. It is not my task, in an article of this character, to lay down the lines that legislation should follow, but to point to the first and cardinal mistake of the Commission, namely, suppression—which is clearly antagonistic to our national traditional policy in relation to the subject of gambling.

The British public will always chance their luck on a lottery, a sweepstake, a horse or a dog, and the many other forms of gambling. The work of the Commission should be to recognise this and give us a report (which their Interim Report fails to do) that will show the way by which this natural tendency can be expressed, with the maximum safety both to the public and the general welfare of the community, on ordered and disciplined lines.

the standard minimum house, built twelve to the acre, generally accepted since the war by Local Authorities, and that such a retrograde step would create a fresh housing problem for the future. That view will be endorsed by everybody who desires to see a solution of the housing problem.

THE Government's housing proposals for Scotland are a shade less drastic than those contained in the Bill for England and Wales, but they will have the same effect in the end. The Scottish Bill does not withdraw the whole of the Wheatley subsidy, but reduces it from £9 per house per year for 40 years to £3 per house per year for two years. The reduced subsidy is to apply to all housing schemes submitted for approval after December 16, 1932. The Glasgow Corporation has led the revolt of Scottish Local Authorities against the Government's policy, which it rightly describes as a "moral betrayal" of Local Authorities who have undertaken housing commitments covering a period of years on the basis of the £9 subsidy. At the end of 1930, in compliance with the Labour Government's Housing Act of that year, Glasgow drew up a housing programme involving the building of 12,000 houses during the ensuing three years. But only about a quarter of the houses have been provided for by schemes presented for approval by December 16, and the Corporation is now faced with the prospect of having to complete the programme on the reduced subsidy. Other Scottish Corporations are in a similar position, and the position of Local Authorities in England and Wales is even worse, as they are to get no subsidy. In its effort to restore private enterprise the Government is committing a social crime and breaking the hearts of housing reformers.

THE by-election in the Exchange Division of Liverpool resulted in another big slump in the Government's vote, the Tory majority of 13,144 secured at the General Election being reduced to 2,786. Labour's poll was increased by 1,518. The Tories put up a strong candidate, a popular Liverpool business man and a Catholic. The Labour candidate was hampered by religious prejudice. In spite

of these facts, the Tory majority dropped by over 10,000. The constituency is not an easy one for Labour, but the result shows that even these constituencies can be won, and that a seat with less than 10,000 majority can be regarded as safe for the "National" Government after less than eighteen months of office. No Government of modern times has suffered such a loss of prestige. No party has made such a wonderful recovery in so short a time as the Labour Party has made since the set-back of 1931. The whole Labour Movement has rallied splendidly to the call for a determined effort to achieve a victory for Socialism at the next General Election. The "Call to Action" campaign is meeting with unqualified success, and the Socialist policy approved by the Leicester Conference is being put before the people at crowded and enthusiastic meetings throughout the country. Labour has every reason to look forward to the future with confidence.

AS an aid to more effective Socialist propaganda, the Labour Party has initiated an experiment which should prove of great value to the Movement as a whole. A suggestion has been made to Local Labour Parties that they should set up Research Groups for the purpose of conducting surveys of existing local conditions and investigations into particular local problems. Such research work would provide valuable material for Labour Groups on Local Authorities, besides supplying the necessary ammunition for intensified Socialist propaganda work in the country. The London Labour Party has already acted on the suggestion, and has arranged to undertake research work on the question of Education in London—a very fruitful field. The scope of this work will cover such matters as school books and appliances, curriculum, and school methods in general, rather than the physical welfare of the children, on which the Labour Party's policy is already clearly defined. Other Local Labour Parties will no doubt find equally fruitful fields for investigation and research, and the pooling of the results will make available a great deal of invaluable material which would not otherwise be obtained. There should be no difficulty in securing volunteers for this useful and interesting work.

Betting, Sweepstakes and Lotteries

By
ALFRED SHORT

THE issue of the Interim Report of the Royal Commission on Lotteries and Betting stresses in the public mind the need of Parliament dealing with the law relating to gambling. It is not my purpose to anticipate the final conclusions of the Commission, but the Interim Report may involve Parliamentary action at an early date.

It cannot be denied that the state of the law with regard to lotteries and betting is the cause of a great deal of public irritation, which would undoubtedly be greater if it were not for the common sense and tact of the police. It has not been thought desirable or expedient, in the public interest, to engage in a complete policy of suppression, accompanied by wholesale prosecutions. The police have been compelled, in the public interest, to close their eyes to the obvious infringements of the law, while being charged with and expected to enforce the law: When they have so done, some delinquents have suffered, whilst others have escaped. The law, therefore, is brought into disrepute and the police action is resented. This is particularly so in regard to lotteries and sweepstakes—the Irish Sweepstake being a notable example. It is perfectly obvious, no less to the authorities than to the general public, that every effort to prevent people from subscribing to the Dublin hospital sweep has absolutely failed.

I doubt whether it is generally known that betting is not illegal. The law on this point might be summarised as follows:—

Betting, in itself, is not illegal; restrictions have been placed upon betting conducted in certain circumstances and in certain places.

The main statutory provisions on betting are contained in the Betting Act, 1853, the Street Betting Act, 1906, and the Racecourse Betting Act, 1928.

The Act of 1853 was passed to suppress ready-money betting houses which had recently sprung up in large numbers in the Metropolis and other large towns. Under this enactment it is, broadly speaking, illegal under penalties, to keep or use any house, office, room, or other place, for the purpose of the owner or occupier or user (a) betting with persons resorting thereto, or

(b) receiving money in advance in respect of bets or transactions in the nature of bets.

The Act is framed in wide terms. Its provisions have been held to cover betting in certain circumstances in public houses, clubs, and racecourses, depending on whether a bookmaker can be said to "use a place" for the purpose of betting with persons who resorted thereto. "Resorting" has always been interpreted as meaning resorting in person.

Under the Street Betting Act, 1906, it is illegal to frequent or loiter in a street or other public place for the purpose of bookmaking or making or settling bets.

Under the Racecourse Betting Act, 1928, it is legal on an approved racecourse on horse racing days for the Racecourse Betting Control Board to operate a totalisator, and for a bookmaker to conduct his business without regard to the provisions of the Betting Act, 1853.

As regards lotteries, Sir Ernie Blackwell, Legal Assistant Under-Secretary of State at the Home Office, in his evidence before the Commission said:—

"The law in force on the subject of lotteries is contained in the unrescinded provisions of a series of Acts dating from 1698 to 1846 and the effect of those provisions is to declare all lotteries, except those authorised by Parliament, to be illegal. The only lotteries so authorised are those under the Art Unions Act, 1846."



MR. ALFRED SHORT

THE LABOUR MAGAZINE

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THE Crisis deepens and spreads. It is becoming more and more a phenomenon of social and economic disorganisation, with its all-too-human counterpart of mass misery and progressive physical and psychological deterioration. When the individual's mental and physical stamina is weak, the end is suicide. When a community's political and economic organisation is lacking in the elements of stability and cohesion, the end is dictatorship, militarism, or revolution. International economic and political co-operation of the right kind is the nature of the remedy. Ever more exaggerated economic and political nationalism is the symptom of the pathological condition of those nationalist politicians whose co-operation is needed to lead the peoples out of chaos. The sands of time are running out. The political doctors are waiting until the disease approaches its crisis. But when the climax will come and what will happen—death or recovery—is a matter for speculation. Nations may live through this crisis as they lived through the war, leaving behind them millions of physically and mentally disabled citizens. But in the mysticism of the patriot it is the nation which is glorified. His imagination never reaches beyond the national symbol to the millions of ordinary folk who give to the word its actual human content. Always Germany; never the Germans. Always Britain; never the British.

THE final settlement of debts and reparations which will leave not a wrack behind, or, at the worst, a mere shadow disturbing no one's slumber, is the most widely advertised and-popular remedy. It also happens to be a prescription of orthodox economic science.

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The publication of the American Note to Great Britain inviting the British representatives to go to Washington for a discussion of the debt early in March was a happy augury of a wise decision. It signified that the President-elect was taking time by the forelock. But this invitation was not limited to a discussion of debts pure and simple, as might have been expected from our knowledge of American policy. The British representatives were invited to discuss at the same time the world's economic problems in which the United States and Great Britain were mutually interested. The original Anglo-American Debt Settlement was the prelude, if not the pattern, of other debt settlements. Was Great Britain to be the first to go to Washington again, a new debt settlement to be negotiated, and all the questions which formed the agenda of the World Economic Conference discussed before that Conference had met? Were Great Britain and the United States presuming to become the world's legislators, or was a new debt settlement to be made dependent upon the settlement of problems whose inter-dependence with the problem of debt had only recently been formally denied by the United States? It was inevitable that the British Government should reply that decisions on such questions cannot be reached before discussions had taken place at the World Economic Conference.

WE will not cavil at Mr. Neville Chamberlain's enumeration of the two essential things: first, the settlement to be reached must be a final settlement, and, secondly, it must be one which will not involve the resumption of the claim on Germany for reparations. If these principles should prove acceptable to the American negotiators, the negotiations between all creditors and debtors should proceed apace. If they are unacceptable, the end cannot be foreseen. It would seem, from the American Press, that a return to the gold standard by Great Britain at a determinable future date may be one of the bargaining pointers of the American representatives. On the other hand, the Preparatory Committee of the World Economic Conference has published a list of formidable

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prerequisite conditions to a free international gold standard, which cannot, in the nature of the case, be worked out by British and American representatives at Washington: solution of outstanding political problems, the replenishment of depleted gold reserves, settlement of debts, reasonable freedom of the movement of goods and service, freedom of the foreign exchange markets, freer movement of capital, a general understanding about the better working of the gold standard, the achievement of internal equilibrium in many countries and in many matters. Another disturbing element is a semi-official warning that if currencies linked to sterling are not stabilised, the American tariff will be raised. Forecasts of American policy even include a loan to Britain to enable her to pay her debts to the United States and replenish her gold reserves. If these currents of opinion flow from an official source, the outlook is very dark indeed: For it was the policy of high tariffs in the creditor States, combined with loans to the debtors to enable them to pay their debts, which created the insubstantial edifice which came crashing down in Germany in July of last year. Britain dare not attempt to walk the German plank.

THE people of the Irish Free State have given their answer to the British Government's declaration of economic war. Mr. De Valera and the Irish Labour Party, who supported him have been returned with increased strength, and Mr. De Valera has a majority of one over all other parties; with the continued support of the eight Labour Members, his Government should be safe for a full term of office. Mr. J. H. Thomas probably played the biggest part in this victory for the anti-Treaty parties. But Mr. De Valera made a sincere gesture of peace in an interview with the press immediately after the final result of the election was known. He declared that the result must not be regarded as an indication of hostility to Britain, but as a desire for independence, and he added that the Irish Free State desires to live on friendly terms with Britain. It is to be hoped that the British Government will respond to this gesture generously and seek the earliest opportunity to put an end to the present state of

economic warfare. The Labour Party strongly opposed the bellicose method of dealing with the land annuities dispute, and urged the Government to persevere in an attempt to settle the dispute amicably. Both sides have accepted the principle of arbitration, and the point at issue has been narrowed down to the composition of the tribunal. Now that it has been made clear that a majority in the Irish Free State supports Mr. De Valera, there ought to be no question of continuing a tariff war which will be disastrous for both countries and widen the breach instead of healing it. There is no valid reason why the various matters in dispute should not be settled by arbitration; it is certain that they will never be settled by perpetuating bitterness.

WHEN the House of Commons reassembled on February 7, it resumed consideration of the Government's housing proposals, as embodied in the new Housing Bill. In last month's issue of the *Labour Magazine*, Mr. Arthur Greenwood described these proposals as the death sentence on Municipal housing. During the Parliamentary recess there has been time for Local Authorities and housing reformers to consider the proposals from every aspect, and there is ample evidence of a growing body of public opinion against the Bill. At a housing conference in Manchester on January 7, Sir Ernest Simon, the well-known housing authority, declared that the proposal to abolish the Wheatley Act subsidies was "completely disastrous," and that if the so-called "great crusade" against the slums, which amounts to the building of a maximum of 12,000 houses a year for slum clearance, is to be the limit of the Government's policy, it would take two and a-half centuries to clear the slums of Manchester! The conference adopted a statement declaring that the continuance of State-subsidised Municipal building is "necessitated by the increased poverty of the workers if their housing needs are to be adequately met and the essential standard maintained." The statement added that to rely on private enterprise for the building of working-class houses involves a departure from

Where Ireland Stands

By
R. M. FOX

NO one who observed the tenacity of feeling in the Irish Free State General Election—which has resulted in a victory for de Valera—could doubt that momentous issues were being decided. In every district a record poll was cast. Disorder, where it occurred, was magnified by those who were hunting for sensational news, but none can deny the bitterness of the conflict. Even with the Army Comrades' Association (the "White" Army), armed with sticks and revolvers, acting as guards, the Cosgrave section had to meet angry opposition in Dublin and other centres, in spite of Mr. de Valera's impressive pleas for free speech.

What were the issues which gave rise to all this passion? In the forefront was the campaign for the non-payment of land annuities, which has been carried on by the Free State Government for the past ten months. £4,000,000 a year is involved and this is being held in a "Suspense Account" pending final negotiations with Britain. Acting on the advice of Eusebio Cosgrave, Mr. de Valera denied the liability of the Free State and also rejected Mr. Thomas' offer of an Empire Tribunal. He wants either direct negotiation or an appeal to an international arbitration court.

This is the immediate background to the election in terms of Government policy. The financial importance of this matter to Ireland is revealed in the claim made by Mr. de Valera that, relative to Ireland's resources, these payments are ten times as great as Britain's debt payments to America. Yet Mr. de Valera refuses to discuss the matter purely on the basis of the Irish farmers' inability to pay. Mr. Cosgrave, on the other hand, promised that if returned, he would negotiate with Britain on this basis and would make a settlement clearing away the tariff barriers now crippling the Irish export trade with Britain.

The question of tariffs, arising out of the annuities conflict, goes right to the centre of the de Valera policy which will now be applied in Ireland. By special tariffs on Irish produce, Mr. Thomas has attempted to force a settlement. This has led to "Emergency" retaliation tariffs directed against British goods. Within the shelter of these tariffs the effort is being

made to build up Irish industries to supply the home market. It is undoubtedly true that the bellicose policy of Mr. Thomas has done more to encourage the growth of the Sinn Féin (Ourselves Alone) policy than anything else in the past twenty years.

The starting of industries in Ireland has long been the hope of those in the de Valera camp as opposed to the more conservative view of those who are content for the Free State to exchange her cattle and dairy produce for British manufactured goods. The "tariff war" has speeded up this movement and it is claimed that new factories were established last year. It is significant that even Mr. Cosgrave spoke, during the election campaign, of studying how to retain the recent tariffs, rather than deciding how many would be got rid of. With the stopping of emigration from Ireland and the push for farming development in Britain, it is obvious that Ireland would have to proceed on more industrial lines and cease to rely so much on her agricultural products. The victory of Mr. de Valera means that this process will be speeded up still further. It is an open secret that if de Valera can get a big enough majority to ensure stable policy over a few years he hopes to attract capital for industrial development. This was one of the election claims urged on the Fianna Fail side.

Another point made by the Government was that, so long as Britain believed that the de Valera administration was tottering, no serious negotiations would be entered into on the annuities question—from the British side. It is true that the de Valera majority is small. But too much should not be made of this. Mr. Cosgrave has ruled in the past with a smaller majority, relying on the Independents for power. The truth is that under the "P.R." system of election, which Ireland has, no spectacular landslide is possible, especially in a country where opinion is divided between two hostile camps, rooted in antagonisms of civil war. If the election had been held on the British system, de Valera would have swept his opponents from the field. This is demonstrated by the remarkable increase of first preference votes for Fianna Fail candidates and the pronounced drop on the other side.

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So far I have written of the economic issues. But what of the purely political ones? Will Ireland become an independent Republic? The astonishing fact is that, though the election brought all the fervid nationalism of the Irish people to the surface, little or nothing was said about a Republic. De Valera holds to his view that he has received a limited and special mandate to settle outstanding questions with Britain, and therefore the question of a Republic cannot become a practical issue without another appeal to the people. The rising temperature of the movement for national independence is, however, indicated by the attitude towards the six-county area and the boundary. Northern Nationalist M.P.s have supported de Valera's campaign, and the Fianna Fail leader has declared that no final settlement with Britain can take place which does not apply to the whole 32 counties of Ireland. This anti-partition, anti-boundary gesture is, for the present, more important as concerns internal Ulster politics than as affecting the Irish Free State. There are indications that Nationalist opinion in the North is beginning to agitate on the boundary question.

The Labour Party—under the leadership of Mr. Norton—will come back to the Dail with one extra member. During the campaign Labour has, in all essentials of National policy, backed Fianna Fail and will, as before, vote with de Valera. On matters such as the salary cuts of Civil Servants, State ownership of railways, etc., the Labour Party has advanced its own policy and will still be in a strong position to claim consideration.

In an election manifesto issued on the eve of the poll, Mr. de Valera declared for the abolition of the Senate, the Free State Second Chamber and a cutting down of the Dail—the lower House—from its present strength. But both leaders concentrated on offering concessions to the farmers. Mr. de Valera promised a Land Bill cutting down their individual annuity payments to half, while Mr. Cosgrave guaranteed these two years' freedom from any payments and a wiping out of all present arrears.

What is the position now? Internally Ireland is in for a period of intensive development on

industrial and tillage lines. On external relations—which means, largely, relations with Britain—the new Government is prepared to negotiate the outstanding financial difficulties. It must not be supposed that the Irish Free State is refusing to negotiate—though a minority is pressing this view. The Government's attitude is that the Feetham Boundary Commission does not inspire them with confidence in an Empire Tribunal and further that, as a nation, Ireland claims international and not merely Dominion status. This claim is not new, it has been maintained at Geneva under the Cosgrave regime. If Irish opinion and national sentiment is recognised there need be no greater bar to negotiations now than before the elections.

Free State Ministers have spoken of their readiness to conclude a trade treaty with Britain as part of a general settlement, for the value of the British market is recognised as is also the fact that Ireland has still a huge market for manufactured goods which Britain needs. The situation on the British side calls for statesmanship and commonsense, not for the bombastic and contemptuous references with which Mr. Thomas helped to win the election for de Valera.

Ireland will not and cannot be turned back from industrial development, and this is bound to change the character of the trade with Britain, though, for many years, manufactured goods and machinery will have to be imported. But whether the nebulous National feeling, lashed to a white-heat of enthusiasm during the past few weeks, will harden into a definite Republican movement, will be largely decided by the attitude of British statesmen within the next six months.

At the election, two paths were open to the Irish people. De Valera stood for the traditional view that drawing away from the Empire would serve Ireland's interests best, while Mr. Cosgrave stood for his characteristic policy of full co-operation. That the majority of Irish voters backed de Valera means that they have reversed the policy maintained by the Cosgrave Party in Ireland for ten years. This is certainly a momentous choice however tentatively it has been made.

- A. GILKEY (Tailor and Pattern Worker)
 J. W. GORRIAN (National Union of Signwriters and Ticket Writers)
 A. J. GIBB (Miner)
 C. T. GIBSON (National Union of Bookbinders)
 R. G. DAVY (Iron and Steel Trades Federation)
 H. H. HAYES (National Union of Clerks)
 MILLS, A. H. (National Union of Tailors and Assistants)
 GEORGE GIBB (National Union of Wireworkers)
 J. HENSON (Transport and General Workers Union)
 H. W. KYLE (Transport and General Workers Union)
 W. KEAN (National Union of Tailors and Assistants)
 A. PEARSON (Iron and Steel Trades Federation)
 T. RICHARDS (Miners' Institute)
 Rt. Hon. F. O. ROBERTS, M.P. (Minister of Pensions) (Typographical Association)
 J. ROWAN (Electrical Trades Union)
 A. SHAW (National Union of Textile Workers)
 W. B. SPENCE (National Union of Seafarers)
 F. SCHILLER (Transport and General Workers Union)
 J. E. SARTON (Trades Union Congress)
 H. THORNTON (Trades Union Congress)
 E. C. TROUP (National Union of Commercial Travellers)
 A. M. WARD (London Trades Council)
 F. WOODS (Iron and Steel Trades Federation)

The response to this appeal for capital being sufficient to justify the next step, negotiations as to the terms of transfer were discussed with the British Commercial Travellers' Club, and concluded in March. On April 7, 1930, the Club was formally opened as the National Trade Union Club. In the book of rules, the objects of the Club stated are "to promote the cause of Trade Unionists and of members of Labour Organisations and Co-operative Societies and to provide the means of social intercourse and recreation between persons professing the principles of the Trade Union, Labour, and Co-operative Movements." The Treasurer and 25 members elected annually form the Committee of Management and elect from their number a Chairman and Vice Chairman. Their number a President, he being the Chairman of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress during his year of office. This year the President is Mr. A. G. Walkden, Railway Clerks Association; Messrs Ben Lillett, George Hicks and Mr. C. J. Kebbrell still hold the offices to which they were originally elected.

In 1929 the super-enthusiasts who flourished in this enterprise were filled with high hopes, but hardly was the new ship launched when the first blasts of the economic hurricane began to blow. In fair weather their task would have been hard enough, but to keep going for three years amidst the buffets of these mountainous waves of depression has been a terrific strain. The Club

burdened with heavy overhead charges by the way of rent and rates, and the lack of capital due to the depression it has not been able to command the public to assist to bring its finances to the knowledge of the movement.

Nevertheless, until the year kept alive at least a score of times the situation has been impossible, and this word is not to be lightly thrown at Trade Unionists. By one ingenious device or another the position has been saved. For example, in the autumn of 1931, a new method of increasing the membership was adopted. Under this scheme any member of a Trade Union, Labour Party, Labour Organisation, or Co-operative Society is admitted to Associate membership of the National Trade Union Club for the nominal sum of 3d. per year, the only condition being that the organisation to which he is a member shall pay an affiliation fee, the minimum being one guinea per year per branch. The scheme also permits a National Trade Union to enrol the whole of its members as Associate members of the Club. Already over 200 branches have taken advantage of the scheme, including branches of the Union of Post Office Workers (London) and the whole of the provincial branches of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, Iron and Steel Trades, Natopla, the London Society of Compositors (the whole membership), the Ship Assistants, Building Trade Workers, Woodworkers, Journalists, N.U.R., A.S.L.E. & F.R.C.A. Transport and General Workers, Clerks, Commercial Travellers, and many others. The number of Associate members is now round about 3,000, all of whom enjoy all the privileges and amenities of the Club.

Provincial members make use of the Club's facilities when visiting London on business or holiday, and there is still wide scope for increasing the number of Associate members from the Metropolitan district. Accordingly the General Council of the T.U.C. have recently issued a circular to the Executive Councils of national unions with branches in London, requesting them to recommend their London branches to affiliate a kindly firm, which will certainly bring good results. As to the facilities and amenities available at so modest a price, testimony is abundantly forthcoming in acclaiming them unique. The Club is a central railway, and within easy reach of all the London railway termini. It is only a short bus ride from Westminster and the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Headquarters. Many places of amusement are conveniently near, and the British Museum is within a stone's throw. As a rendezvous for visitors either on business or pleasure bent, the

Club cannot be excelled. It caters for all their needs, and provides as well that atmosphere of camaraderie which makes it a home from home.

There is a cosy Lounge on the first floor, where in a glass case the publications of the T.U.C. are displayed for sale. On the walls three famous May Day cartoons of Walter Crane catch the eye. A door on the left leads to the Buffet, where light refreshments are served, and the centre door takes us to the Restaurant, a fine room so well windowed that on a sunny day it is surely the cheeriest restaurant in London. The carpeted floor and yellow tinted walls, the leather-seated chairs, and the flower decorated tables are further incitements to that happy feeling which makes good digestion wait on appetite.

The Restaurant has seating accommodation for 100 persons, and besides serving meals *a la carte*, is noted for its 6d. lunch of three courses. The facilities it offers for celebrations, annual dinners, and other functions are being more and more appreciated by Executive Councils, Trade Union branches, Clarion Fellowships, and other organisations, many of which also use the upper rooms of the Club for their periodical business meetings. Every year the new Chairman of the Trades Union Congress General Council is installed here at a dinner, as President of the Club for his year of T.U.C. office, and with him as a guest comes the newly elected Chairman of the Labour Party. The Club in 1931 entertained the Indian Delegates to the Round Table Conference, and on several occasions has celebrated victorious by-elections with the successful Labour M.P. as guest.

In the evenings the Restaurant is frequently used for lectures and debates, and dramatic performances. The Club Debating Society, of which Mr. F. S. Button, J.P., is secretary, has arranged several series of lectures and debates, the speakers including prominent people in and out of the movement. Amongst them have been Col. L. S. Amery, M.P., Sir Ernest Benn, Miss Susan Lawrence, Mr. Hannen Swaffer, Mr. Harold Laski, Mr. Frank Hodges, Mr. Robert Hyde, Dr. MacGregor-Reid, Mr. Hector Hughes, K.C., Mr. A. M. Wall, Mr. S. G. Hobson, Mr. Arthur Greenwood, M.P., Mr. Arthur Pugh, Mr. Herbert Morrison, Mr. H. Nevinson, Mr. Clement Edwards, and

Mr. E. G. Culpin. Other organisations also use the Restaurant for similar purposes.

Above the Restaurant is the Billiard Room, with two full-sized tables by Burroughes and Watts. Members' tournaments are periodically arranged, and inter-club matches are a feature of the winter programme. On the top floor there is also a Table-Tennis equipment, while there is also a Table-Tennis room on the third floor for card-players there is one room on the fourth floor seating 25, and a smaller room on the fourth floor. A comfortable Reading and Writing Room on the third floor is provided with a wide range of newspapers and Trade Union publications. The Management Committee meets monthly in the Council Chamber on the fourth floor, adjacent to which is the Staff Rest Room.

There is still one more room, that sacred to the Secretary. This is on the first floor, opposite the Buffet, and here the Secretary, Mr. W. Arthur Peacock, and the office staff keep the accounts and perform all the various duties involved in the day-to-day business of running the Club. Mr. Peacock was appointed to this position in March, 1931. He is a member of the Labour Party League of Youth National Committee and an ex-Editor of the old *Clarion* during its monthly period.

Mr. C. J. Kebbrell, to whose volatile energies the birth and the continuing existence of the Club are largely due, has a long Trade Union record. In 1921 he founded the first Trade Union of Travellers, the National Union of Commercial Travellers, of which he is still the first Secretary.

An active worker in the movement for more than 30 years, he had many exciting propaganda experiences in free-speech fights and the pro-Boer campaign. Still as young as ever, he devotes a large part of his abounding energies and fruitifying ideas to the furtherance of the Club's progress, and by his example infuses others with his optimism and the desire to serve.

The National Trade Union Club as it merits the full support of the movement. It is not the Club of our dreams, but with the loyal service it should command it might easily and soon become the first corner-stone of a splendid and enduring institution serving the ideals of the three great democratic movements. It is up to the movement now to stand by the courageous band who brought it to birth three years ago.

the idea persisted, and persists. The Government may be slow, but it arrives. Some day, for posterity's building will gladden our eyes. Remember, it took the Trades Union Congress half a century to establish a National General Council.

Meanwhile, the super-enthusiasts could find that if the snail was not a practical proposition, a sprat was. In 1920 the Half Circle Club was formed in London, membership being limited to Labour M.P.s, candidates, and Trade Union officials, and their wives. Meetings were held

enthusiastically. The Club was formed under the title of The British Commercial Travellers' Club. Limited. The name was connected with the British Union. Mr. Bennett, although Secretary, Mr. C. J. Kellbell, the General Secretary of the National Union of Commercial Travellers, in 1920, the Club members chose to call it a support from a committee as well as a club, and it was called the Commercial Travellers' Club, whereupon Mr. Kellbell suggested the idea that it might usefully contribute to the National Trade Union Congress. At the British Congress in September, 1920, the subject of the

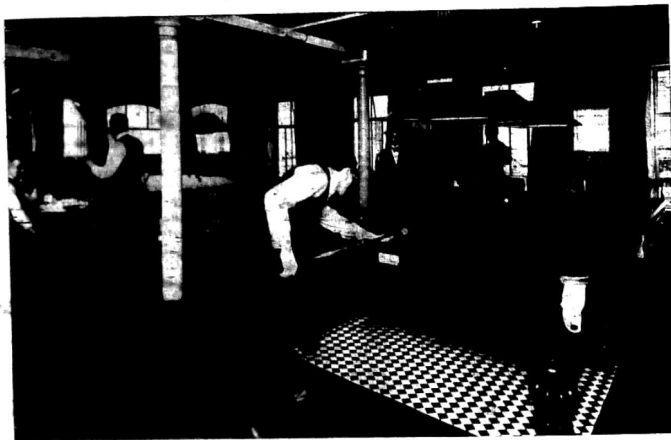
of taking over the premises and equipment of the British Commercial Travellers' Club should be explored. Accordingly, a Provisional Committee was set up in order to investigate the problem of ways and means. It was also resolved to ask the General Council of the T.U.C. to issue an appeal to Trade Unions and Trade Unionists to support the project.

At a further meeting in January, 1930, Mr. Arthur Pugh (Iron and Steel Trades), in the chair, Mr. George Hicks (Building Trade Workers) moved, and Mr. W. R. Spence (National

official backing of the Trades Union Congress General Council, expressed in the following resolution:

"That the Trades Union Congress General Council heartily approves the establishment of the National Trade Union Club, and recommends affiliated unions to support the Club by all possible means."

They also mentioned that official investments or loans had been effected by the National Union of Seamen, National Union of Commercial Travellers, Tailors and Garment Workers'



A popular corner of the Club

New Oxford Street 100 years ago. The building which now houses the National Trade Union Club is on the triangular site in the centre of the perspective.

in private houses. When the Labour Party took office in 1924, the Half Circle Club expanded into the Parliamentary Labour Club with premises in Tuffin Street, Westminster, and now admitted to membership all members of the Labour Movement. In 1927 the Club moved to Romney Street, acquiring the freehold for £8,000, and this year the name was changed to the National Labour Club. Unfortunately, the recent years of slump have adversely affected the Club's progress, and it became necessary a short time ago to vacate the premises. The members are for the time being accommodated in rooms at the Craven Hotel, Strand.

The National Trade Union Club, which was born in April, 1930, is another venture of the super-

suggestion with several members of the General Council and other Trade Union officers who thoroughly approved of the project.

In the November following, Mr. Ben Tillet, president at a meeting attended by Mr. George (Iron and Steel Workers), Mr. J. Bowden (National Union of Seamen), Mr. Frank (Travellers and General Workers), Mr. G. W. Carter (Union of Post Office Workers), Mr. H. Tracey and Mr. H. V. Lewson (Trades Union Congress), Mr. C. M. Wall (London Trades Council), Mr. C. P. Deadman (Commercial Travellers), and Mr. C. J. Kellbell. This meeting agreed unanimously that a National Trade Union Club in a central situation in London was needed, and that the possibility

of taking over the premises and equipment of the British Commercial Travellers' Club should be explored. Accordingly, a Provisional Committee was set up in order to investigate the problem of ways and means. It was also resolved to ask the General Council of the T.U.C. to issue an appeal to Trade Unions and Trade Unionists to support the project.

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GENERAL COMMITTEE

1. BOOKERS (National Union of Seamen)
2. G. W. CARTER (Union of Post Office Workers)
3. COMPTONS, M.P. (National Union of Vehicle Builders)

Prime Minister's statement that the policy of the Government has improved the relative position.

It is the usual claim of supporters of the National Government that the financial position of the country has immense improvement and they point to the success of the huge conversion scheme of £500,000,000 at 11 per cent and the saving in interest which this conversion secures. It is significant however, that the weekly Treasury returns show that the Floating Debt at January 27, 1933, was £927,370,000 compared with £666,220,000 at the corresponding date last year. These same returns show that revenue is falling, and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer's estimates will not be reached under many heads. So much is this so that the *London Times* is already preparing the country for an unbalanced Budget, and seeking to persuade the people in advance that it would be a good thing to have an unbalanced Budget if taxation were also reduced so as to allow the Income Tax-paying classes to have more money to spend. In August, 1932, everyone shouted from the housetops that an unbalanced Budget would be disastrous, and, although we were willing as a Labour Cabinet to balance the Budget by our own methods, we were not allowed to do even that unless the conditions of the working classes and the unemployed were substantially improved.

What does the Prime Minister really intend to do about these things? No one can gather anything from his messages in that direction. He says, "The Government is studying it," "it is working as it," "it is preparing plans," and so on and so forth, but nothing happens. Public works have been ruthlessly cut down, and the purchasing power of the working classes has been reduced not only by inroads into the social services and insurance benefits, but by reductions of wages, which, according to the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, have been not less than £2,500,000 per week. What is preventing something being done? When a Labour Government in a minority was in office in just as much a period of world crisis as at present, it was put in the dock by its critics and found guilty with regard to unemployment within six months of taking office. The present "National" Government has had sixteen months instead of six in which to deal with the problem

of unemployment. The Government of the talents with the most overwhelming majority in Parliamentary history with the power to do anything it chooses, and, as Mr. Thomas before he went to Ottawa, without the necessity to explain things to the Opposition, has done apparently nothing in the face of rising unemployment and poverty except to economise still further at the expense of the poor in order to save the pockets of the rich.

The fact is, of course, that the Tory Coalition cannot and will not face the moral issues which have so clearly emerged from the crisis. The Technocrats of America, industrialists like Sir William Morris in this country, scientific men like Sir Alfred Ewing, have all publicly recognised that the enormous growth of machine production in primary as well as secondary industries has contributed as much and probably more to the world trade depression as war debts and tariffs. The displacement of labour from this cause grows every day. Sir William Morris gives a strong lead for a reduction of hours of labour, but the British Government at the International Labour Office at Geneva takes the opposite and reactionary view. There is no shadow of doubt that reduction of hours of employment must come, but the Tory Macdonalds cannot rid themselves of the outlook of King Canute. Above all, however, they fail principally on the moral issue of making the production of labour available for use and consumption by labour. The maintenance of the power of the owner of land and capital to exploit the worker for the owner's private profit is far more important to them than the just and the rapid solution of the economic crisis. It has ever been so with Toryism. "The leopard does not change its spots." The gift of science to man is the power to overcome poverty by less laborious and more prolific methods of production. The Government acquiesces in the capitalist outlook which reserves the main benefits of science to the few, and grudgingly allows a few of the crumbs to fall to some of the masses. It is a moral kink, and Sir Alfred Ewing spoke only the truth when he pointed out that man had not grown in moral stature as he had increased his power over nature.

"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth increases but men decay."

The National Trade Union Club

By
R. B. SUTHERS

READERS of Mr. H. G. Wells's "Work, Wealth, and Happiness of Mankind" may remember that in the chapter on transport there is on one page a reproduction of a photograph illustrating a

growth of Trade Unionism which the last century has experienced, the great advantages of such an institution have not been more vividly realised. Our continental friends have been wiser, and their magnificent national head-

quarters, clubs, halls, and hotels have excited the envy and stung the ambition of our Trade Union officials and rank-and-file visitors for a score of years. Why could not the British Labour and Co-operative Movements have led the world in the provision of such facilities and amenities as they led the world in Trade Union and Co-operative organisation? Trade Unionists are founders of Clubs by instinct, and of local clubs there has always been a profusion. Why not a National Club?



The National Trade Union Club.

The answers to this question are plausible but not convincing. Everybody agrees that there ought to be a National Club for the trinity of social democratic movements. Just after the war enthusiasts thought that at last the time was propitious for launching a combined scheme, and one had visions of a monster building in the Strand, spacious enough to be the Headquarters of the Trades Union Congress, the Co-operative Movement, and the Labour Party, with restaurant and hotel accommodation, halls for conferences and concerts, and perhaps a cinema. The vision vanished, at least, *pro tem*. The difficulties loomed too large and the onrush of chaos in industry engaged all energies. Yet

in respect to illustrating the evolution of traffic, for in the possession of the Club there is a print from the *Illustrated London News* of a century ago, showing the building, with portions of New Oxford Street and Hart Street, and less than half-a-dozen wheeled vehicles in sight. The National Trade Union Club has not been in existence for a century, but when this print was made, the pioneers of Trade Unionism were dreaming dreams of a grandiose character, and had the Grand National project come to fruition, we may be sure that one of its off-shoots would have been a National Club. Indeed, it is a matter for wonder that even with the slower

An alternative policy and one which is more consistent with the Tory practice will be to try and work up some quite irrelevant issue to divert the attention of the electors from the Government's failure and from the true issue to be decided which will be the issue between Socialism and Capitalism. At the moment of writing a desperate effort is being made in the Exchange Division of Liverpool to persuade the electors that the issue is a religious one, and the Roman Catholics, who have hitherto been taboo to the Tories in that area, are being begged to support the National Government as a religious duty! Anything to divert the electors from an appreciation of the true issue and the inevitable condemnation of the Government which must follow upon such an appreciation.

But whatever may be their tactic there is but one way of meeting it. The workers must knit themselves together into a solid, and compact political party, which will ensure not only liberty of action but liberty of thought as well. The Labour Party must take and hold the initiative,

but it can only do this if it can rely upon a large body of active members throughout the country. A loose body of opinion that can be swayed hither and thither by every gust of wind blows out of the Tory machine, can never be any guarantee for the political liberty of the workers. A number of good bye-election defeats for the Government will do more to bring them to their senses and to focus the mass of public opinion upon their delinquencies than any amount of rioting and window breaking. But bye-elections cannot be won by talking, as every organiser knows the most wonderful election meetings often precede a defeat. What the Labour Party wants now is workers and more workers. Active members who not only give their weekly penny to finance the cause, but who give their time and energy as well. If the case of Tom Mann results as it should do in a fresh awakening of the workers to their responsibilities to themselves, their families and their country, then I am sure that Tom Mann and his colleague will think their imprisonment well worth while.

Why Won't the Premier Face the Facts?

By

THE RT. HON. A. V. ALEXANDER

THE Prime Minister has recently published messages on the outlook in the *News-Letter* and in communications to Conservative candidates in bye-elections.

In these messages he seeks in his usual devious and tortuous style to persuade the working classes that sad as is their lot the position would have been much worse without a National Government, and that the policy which his Government has pursued (which I take it means tariffs, quota restrictions, and ruthless economies) has improved the relative position of this country in a trading and commercial sense.

I propose to examine this claim in the full blaze of the facts and not through the mystic veil of the Prime Minister's literary style.

Let us first turn to the figures of trade for 1932. Imports have declined by £158,000,000 compared with the previous twelve months, and exports and re-exports have declined by approximately £36,500,000. In other words, the total volume of overseas trade of the country has declined in value by nearly £195,000,000. Whilst it is true that the visible balance of trade has on these figures shown a smaller adverse balance than in the previous year, this aggregate decline in our trade can surely not be taken as a tribute to the results of Government policy. Even if we take the balance of trade as being an index to decline or recovery, it must be noted that the ultimate balance can only be judged when the figures relating to invisible exports and imports are available. Whilst last year at this time figures on this point were available from many quarters who desired to support a tariff policy, there is a marked reluctance this year to publish them. At the same time, it must be clear to any impartial person that a fall of nearly £200,000,000 a year in our trade has had a devastating effect upon our shipping, as indeed is evidenced by the fact are 4,500,000 tons of British mercantile marine are laid up in our rivers and harbours. The receipts, therefore, from shipping services and from insurance will be bound to show a heavy decline. Moreover, the big fall in our imports means that we have been collecting less in interest upon our millions of

investments overseas, and I shall be very much surprised if the final figures do not show that we have at least as bad an adverse balance of trade as last year, if no worse.

This is in spite of the fact that we have gone off the Gold Standard, and that in relation to the countries which still adhere to that standard our manufacturers have a heavy subsidy in their export prices. Looking at trade at home, there is certainly little about which to enthuse. Whilst there is a slight improvement in certain industries, iron and steel is still depressed with a total output of 8,780,000 tons, as compared with 8,970,000 tons in 1931, and 17,230,000 tons in 1929. The shipbuilding trade has had the worst year probably in living memory, the total production in Great Britain in 1932 being only 191,000 tons gross, compared with 466,000 tons in 1931, the latter figure being the lowest recorded since the first issue in 1888 of shipbuilding returns. Without going into the details of all the other trades, the unemployment figures published in the January *Ministry of Labour Gazette* are sufficient indication. There are 330,000 unemployed in the various sections of the mining industry, over 200,000 in the engineering industry, 45,000 in the motor industry, 350,000 in the textile trades, 390,000 in the building and contracting trades, and no less than 225,000 in the distributive trades. The unemployment figures have, in fact, increased, if one makes allowance for the change in the basis of the published figures and for the increasing unemployment in uninsured industries, by not less than 350,000 since the advent of the so-called "National" Government. Even the published figures in the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* show a total of over 2,700,000.

Perhaps, the value of the message of the Prime Minister to the working classes can best be assessed by a reference to the Poor Law figures. According to the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, the total number of persons in receipt of domiciliary relief in Great Britain in September, 1932, was 1,254,677, compared with 952,744 in September, 1931, an increase of over 300,000. I hope that this huge army will feel duly impressed by the

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individual or group to debauch the community by their immorality, nor can it allow the stability of the State to be endangered by the violent attack of a minority.

Under a democratic system such as our own—imperfect though it is—we accept rule by the majority. That is to say, we acknowledge that the majority are entitled to impose their will upon the minority, however unpleasant that process may prove for the minority. We have developed our Parliamentary and electoral system as the means for working out the wishes of the majority. But such a system would soon break down and prove quite intolerable unless as a matter of principle it was accepted as the right of every person to challenge any act or opinion of the majority freely and publicly without let or hindrance, provided, of course, that the challenge was by peaceful means and was not such as to interfere with the safety of the community. It is this fundamental right of protest upon which all minorities must insist and which has been acclaimed as one of the special virtues of our own country. In many European countries it has been conspicuous by its absence as, for instance, in Italy to-day. There may be times when the position of the country demands rigorous measures even in this matter; the whole National safety might be imperilled by the unbridled misrepresentations of the Press, but no such circumstance is likely to arise in a period of Governmental inaction or reaction such as we are witnessing to-day.

But we must be careful to distinguish between the necessity for repressive measures in the cause of National safety—if ever such a case were to arise—and the desire of the majority to repress agitation or protest against their particular theories of Government or against the existing economic or social system.

The agitation or protest with which Tom Mann was concerned was in this latter class, and however little sympathy we may feel with the Communist doctrine we must see that our antagonism to Communism does not lead us into a repression of free speech and the right of free meeting.

There is nothing illegal in holding or calling a meeting of protest against the existing order of things, nor is such a meeting rendered illegal because some rowdy elements may invade it and cause disturbances, or because the Police may choose to attempt to disperse it by the use of force.

Tom Mann's association with the National Unemployed Workers' Movement was not illegal, nor is that movement itself illegal. Any

persons, whether Communists or not, have a right to present a petition to Parliament against their grievances whatever they may be.

How, then, can there be any possibility of Tom Mann going to prison for three months? Under the antiquated law of Edward III. (1350) provisions were made by which Justices of the Peace could "Take of all them that be not of good fame, where they shall be found, sufficient surety and mainprise of their good behaviour towards the King and his people and the other duly to punish to the intent that the people be not by such rioters or rebels troubled nor endangered, nor the peace blemished nor merchants nor others passing by the highways of the realms disturbed." The reason for this Act was the recent return from abroad of soldiery who had no occupation and who were roaming the countryside as pillagers and robbers and it was desired to suppress these men. In the words of the Statute: "All those that have been pillors and robbers in the parts beyond the seas, and be now come again, and go wandering and will not labour as they were wont in time past." If these men were unwilling to be bound over or could not find sureties for their good behaviour they were considered safer in prison. This ancient statute has been applied from time to time through the five and a half centuries that have elapsed since it became law, and it has been discovered by the ruling classes to be a useful tool for suppression of political agitation, so that its powers are now said to have become part of the general Law and are not limited in any way to "pillors and robbers" but cover the case of any person however good a citizen, provided a magistrate can be found who, in the words of the Home Secretary, is "satisfied that the evidence is such as to justify a reasonable apprehension that a breach of the peace is likely to ensue."

The argument of the Government with regard to Tom Mann runs like this.

He was connected with the Communists; there had been hunger marches organised by the N.U.W.M., and as a result of these there had been demonstrations in London which the Police had been called upon to disperse, and which on dispersal had shown violence, and breaches of the peace had been committed.

Another series of demonstrations in support of sending a petition to Parliament was being organised by the N.U.W.M., of which Tom Mann was an official. The Police thought that if they were held there might again be disturbances but that if Tom Mann was bound over or imprisoned the likelihood of disturbances would be less.

This argument can be used in connection with any person organising or addressing a demonstration at which absolute peacefulness cannot be guaranteed. In times of distress and political unrest no one, not even a member of the National Government, can guarantee that a demonstration against grievances will be absolutely peaceful. The only option, therefore, for an organiser or speaker who is bound over by a magistrate, must be either to stop the demonstration or risk the possibility of some disturbance with consequent forfeiture of a sum of money probably greatly in excess of his whole worldly possessions. In effect, since no man can guarantee the behaviour of a large meeting, this would necessitate the cancelling of the demonstration, and that, of course, is the Government's object—an indirect way, through pressure on some prominent individual, of prohibiting demonstrations which cannot legally be prohibited.

The Home Secretary has stated most naively that Tom Mann and his colleague could have consented to be bound not to do that which there was no evidence they had ever done—that is, to commit a breach of the peace or allow one to be committed. Apart altogether from the fact that no decent citizen of any party would consent to such an indignity—no man could do it with safety since no man can stop a breach of the peace at a demonstration, especially, if—as might have been the case—the Police were ordered to disperse the demonstration by force. In fact, it would be possible for the breach to arise simply owing to Police interference which clearly neither Tom Mann nor any other organiser of the demonstration could control.

In these circumstances, rather than attempt, as the tools of the Government, to prevent the unemployed taking part in perfectly legitimate demonstrations, Tom Mann, at 76, and his colleague chose to go to prison for three months, and by their action they have vindicated the right to free speech and free meeting. They refused to function vicariously as agents of the Government to stop the demonstrations which were protests against the Government's policy, and for that refusal they have been punished.

Perhaps one of the most interesting features of the Home Secretary's apologia written to the Leader of the Opposition, was his quite unintentional admission of the political character of this prosecution. Those who recall the Campbell case in 1924 will remember with what vehemence the then Labour Attorney-General was attacked because it was suggested that in the matter of the prosecution of an alleged Communist he had yielded to political pressure. The Home Secretary now tells the leader of the

Labour Party that "with the approval of the Attorney-General and of myself the Director of Public Prosecutions accordingly applied to the Chief Magistrate for process." That is to say, that this matter was not dealt with as a mere question of breach of the peace and a decision by the Law Officer as to whether steps should be taken to launch a prosecution, but rather as a political issue to which a Cabinet Minister gave his approval. There can be little doubt but that it is part of a regular campaign of repression of antagonistic political views.

Mr. George Lansbury, in his letter to the Home Secretary, pointed out that you cannot stop demonstrations of protest by putting the organisers in prison. You must remove the cause of the Protest, or else allow the Protest to continue until public opinion can decide upon their merits, either by that unseen atmosphere of sympathy or disapproval which is sometimes easily recognisable, or else by the method of the Ballot Box.

At the present time there can be no doubt that the actions of the National Government are gravely disquieting to great numbers of the population in addition to those who count themselves as Socialists. A Government elected ostensibly to preserve the capitalist system has chosen to make itself the champion of reaction and of class legislation. The grave problem of the care and help of the unemployed is passed over to private charity with a cheque for £10,000. It is no good for the Government to attempt to force through their anti-working-class legislation, or to justify their shirking of the responsibility to deal with unemployment by resorting to repressive measures. Such a procedure will not only fail but may have the disastrous effect of reinforcing those very elements which are so undesirable and which the Home Secretary has by such wealth of advertisement, magnified out of all proportion to their true importance.

Many people stated after the last election that so large a majority as the electors gave to the All National Government was unhealthy, that majorities based upon misrepresentation must, of course, be unhealthy. It is the feeling of fear at the evident swing of public opinion resulting from the Government's inability to cope with the situation, combined with the arrogance of a Ministry backed by a huge uninterested and mechanical majority that has led to these efforts to suppress free speech and free meetings and to the intensification of Police action as a weapon of repression. It may be that as the Government approaches more nearly its dissolution it will more and more attempt to repress its opponents in the belief that such a step may prolong its life.

that is one of the greatest handicaps which the workers' organisations have to meet in dealing with this question. But none the less, it is certainly true that millions of workers have been displaced as a consequence of improved methods of productivity, without being able to find an outlet for their labour in other forms of employment.

This Conference is meeting in a period of economic crisis. The trade depression continues in full blast and brings in its train unemployment and misery. In a world of plenty, millions of our fellows are suffering dire penury and hardship, many are menaced by actual starvation. They are poor because science and invention harnessed to industry have so increased more productivity of labour that we produce more than the present inequitable and uneconomic system of distribution enables us to consume. There is this disequilibrium between production and consumption. Mass production goes on without any regard being paid to mass consumption. The result is glut on the one side and mass poverty and unemployment on the other. The historic method of the employers has been to curtail and restrict production by all sorts of devices—cartels, output arrangements, methods of that kind, which show that they are the real exponents of what in Great Britain is called "cannery," although they are very ready to charge the workmen with adopting methods of restricting output.

The demand of labour is that side by side with the increase of productivity, there should be a reduction in hours of labour and an increase in the purchasing power of the people. Unless that policy is adopted it will be impossible to avoid the recurrent crises of unemployment, even supposing the world depression passes, which, of course, is by no means certain. We are in the depth of a depression at the present time which renders it more than ever necessary that we should attempt to adopt this policy of shorter working hours and increased purchasing power as soon as we can. I have noticed that a number of the employers and indeed some governments are contending that the time to put this policy of a reduction of hours into operation is not the present, but in a period of prosperity. I think that is a very intangible matter. I do not know when the period of prosperity is likely to be reached, and the commonsense proposal is the proposal of the workers, namely, that the hours of work should be reduced now.

It is the insistence of the organised workers which has forced the demand for a 40-hour week (five days) to the forefront. I think that point ought to be remembered. There is a

good deal of misapprehension about, and to-day it is being assumed by many people that the initiative for the reduction of hours, which has brought about this conference, lies with the Italian Government. While I do not wish to detract from the efforts of any body, whether it be the Italian or any other government to carry out a necessary reform, I do want to emphasise that the initiative lay with the workers' organisations themselves. It was in 1930 that the International Federation of Trade Unions advocated in its programme for meeting the economic crisis, the principle of the 40-hour week of five days. The subsequent steps by which the demand of the workers was tabulated at the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, the consideration which was given to it by the Unemployment Committee of that organisation, these are all referred to in the International Labour Office report which you have before you.

It is not my function to allude to this report in detail. That will probably be done by Comrade Jouthaux. The fact that the universal adoption of a 40-hour (five day) week raises, of many difficult problems of application, is, of course, quite clear to everyone. The purpose of this conference will be to examine the best manner in which such application can be achieved. For example, it will have to be considered whether a single convention, similar to the Washington Convention can be framed and applied effectively; whether something more flexible will have to be devised; whether the proposed convention should apply to industry only or whether it should also embrace commerce and offices. Then, indeed, can any Convention be satisfactory to the workers unless it definitely safeguards their wages and their standard of life? The Workers' Group of the Governing Body and of the Unemployment Committee of the International Labour Office have taken a viewpoint on some of these questions which no doubt will be expounded to you.

It is to obtain a united policy, on the part of the workers' representatives, that the International Federation of Trade Unions has convened this Conference. I am confident you will bring to bear upon these services in the wealth of experience which your services in the cause of labour have enabled you to accumulate. I wish you the fullest success in your deliberations. However mundane it may be, get down to a detailed examination of these questions, we have to remember that this is an occasion which may be decisive in the history of the Movement for the reduction of hours of work.

Liberty of Speech and Meeting

By

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS, M.P.

FIRST of all let us get a clear idea of what we mean by Liberty. Liberty is a much abused term and may often mean little more than personal licence; it is in this sense that we hear so much about the Liberty of the Individual from the anti-Socialists. All liberty in a truly free country must be exercised by the individual so as to preserve the liberty of others, and a wise community will so regulate the lives of its people as to allow the individual the maximum of personal freedom consonant with the good of his neighbours, that is, of the community as a whole.

This should be the aim and object of good government and it does not entail that individuals should be allowed to exploit the community freely. Exploitation by individuals or classes deprives the whole community of its freedom, just as the exploitation of a class by the community may result in the virtual enslavement of that class.

Our object should be so to control the economic life of the country as to eliminate to the maximum degree possible, this exploitation of individual by individual or of class by class. This Social control eliminates individual licence but creates individual liberty. If we can be sure that each person in the community is freed from the strangling compulsion of the day-to-day fight for life, we can also be sure that he will have the liberty to develop and enjoy the higher and better side of life. It is in the cultural development of human society that we must have freedom, and to obtain this freedom we must control the economic life of the community.

A good example of the specious arguments that are employed by the Capitalist on the subject of Liberty for the working classes is to be found in the present discussion as to the legalising of Totalisators upon Dog Race Tracks. Totes on Dog race tracks have been broadly declared illegal though the State has legalised the same form of betting on Horse race courses. This, says the Capitalist, is making one law for the rich and another for the poor; you allow the rich to waste their money at Horse races, why should not you allow the poor the same privilege? There is another point, says the Capitalist; Dog race tracks are not illegal, they give employment and amusement; why should they not be allowed to carry on their business as they and

their customers wish?—you are depriving them of their freedom, their liberty. This ingenious argument, unfortunately, deceives many.

The Capitalist is interested in making profits on his capital invested in Dog race tracks, just as he is on the money invested in Breweries and Licensed Premises. The more people he can persuade to bet or drink the better for his business. He claims the liberty to be allowed to persuade anyone he can, by the means he thinks best, to waste their money in this way, regardless of its effect on wives, husbands, and above all, children, who suffer acutely by the loss of the money he takes. Those whom he is allowed to exploit cannot afford to waste their money on betting and drinking, as the rich can—every penny of it is needed for the bare necessities of life.

The time may come when economic freedom has been won and individuals will have a surplus that can be used for their personal recreation—but it can never be right or consistent with true liberty to allow this desire for personal recreation to be exploited for the purposes of the State. At the present time for the State to encourage the workers to spend their money on gambling for the benefit of Dog race track profiteers, with a certain rake-off every time for the profiteer, is not in the remotest way to encourage Liberty. It is enslaving the workers and their families to all kinds of poverty, disease and crime.

That, then, is not the true conception of Liberty—but rather of legally encouraged licence—and we must not be deceived by such arguments. The Capitalist always delights to appeal to the sentiment of equal opportunity for the workers so long as it costs him nothing, or it even enables him to exploit the workers, as it would do abundantly if the Totes were to be legalised for Dog race tracks.

But when we leave the economic sphere for the political or cultural sphere the danger of economic exploitation disappears and free choice of action by the individual is less liable to have disagreeable repercussions for his neighbours or the community. There are still, however, broad lines within which the State must restrain this freedom of action, apart altogether from the general restraint of criminal actions against individuals. The State cannot allow any

before the plans eventually proposed by this conference can be put into effect. Meanwhile, the reduction of hours is almost a self-evident reform. Distribute the work and maintain the wages. But more wages mean higher prices—this according to employers of labour. Their Italian representative made a calculation that the meanest intelligence could grasp. Asserting that wages formed 50 per cent. of manufacturing costs, the increase in these would be 10 per cent., if you increased the number of workers by the 20 per cent. required by the hours' reduction to 40 per week. Is there not, however, a growing conviction among economic experts that an upward movement of prices would help the world to recover from its present depression?

One argument must be mentioned because of its guilelessness. The contention was that if a law was passed which fixed the limit of working hours as proposed, undertakings would be deprived of facilities for adapting work-time to fluctuations in demand! So that apparently there should be a sliding scale of hours, working up and down according to sales obtained. This is what is actually happening in a few isolated cases, where owing to a sudden influx of trade, 50 and more hours are being worked.

There is not space enough to refer to what might be called the minor objections, such as the difficulty of transferring workers to other parts of the country, of finding housing accommodation, of finding the extra skilled men and supervisors, of certain technical operations which could not come under any shift system. It was not denied that there would be certain difficulties in the way of carrying out the reform, but in the past, industry has always been able to adapt itself to shorter working hours, and it is reasonable to presume could do so again. It was a question of *being willing* to try to accommodate industry, and in the face of the appalling extent of unemployment, an attempt was justifiable.

Having agreed by a majority of votes that a reduction of working hours was a measure which would assist in diminishing unemployment, the Conference took a vote on the following definite question: Should a Convention be aimed at by the International Labour Conference? The result was: for, 18 governments and 18 workers; against, 3 governments and 18 employers.

This provoked a declaration from the employers that in the future they would abstain from voting on any future proposal. They would not agree to take any part in drawing up a convention. Much better would it have been had they then withdrawn from the Conference. When record votes were taken later, their

abstention plus those of governments, meant that a quorum was not reached on many points. (The Standing Orders of the Conference had stipulated that half the total number of votes available must be given to form a quorum). The opinion has been expressed that rules must be introduced for these conferences whereby all those delegates taking part must vote either for or against and will not be allowed to abstain.

Such questions as the following were then considered: whether the Convention should be of short duration and if necessary renewable; what methods should be adopted in its application; whether special provision should be made to meet the needs of railways as distinct from other forms of transport; how much overtime should be allowed; should small establishments (employing under ten persons) be included; should commerce and offices be covered by a separate measure?

The last session of the Conference was devoted to a consideration of a summarised report of the proceedings drawn up by the Office. The employers then again stated that in their opinion it was a practical impossibility to continue further with the proposal for a reduction of hours of labour, and intimated that the fact of their presence must in no way be interpreted as prejudging their future attitude if the consideration of the problem is continued. What justification they have for thinking that the matter is now ended it is impossible to imagine. An unbiased view of the Conference confirms the view expressed on behalf of the Workers' Group that positive results have been obtained. The idea of the reduction of hours of work and of the maintenance of the standard of living of the workers as a remedy for unemployment have been accepted by a majority which includes the governments of the chief industrial countries of Europe with one single regrettable exception (namely that of Great Britain).

A last word regarding the composition of the Conference: Representing 35 nations (out of 58 affiliated to the I.L.O.), 162 persons were present, of whom 74 were delegates who had voting power. No delegation was present from either the United States or the U.S.S.R., although they had been specially invited. They, however, sent letters expressing their sympathy with the objects of the Conference. British workers were represented by the following members of the General Council:—

Mr. A. Hayday.	Mr. G. Hicks, M.P.
Mr. E. Bevin.	Mr. A. Shaw.
Mr. E. Edwards.	Mr. A. B. Swales.
Mr. J. Hallsworth.	

Mr. W. J. Bolton (T.U.C. International Department) was secretary to the delegation.

As President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Mr. Walter M. Citrine presided at the Workers' Conference, which decided on policy.

Thus the first stage has been passed in the

struggle for the 40-Hours reform. The second stage will be in June when an intense struggle will take place for a Convention. If the workers are as successful as on the present occasion, then it is possible that a measure will be passed which later will come before the various Parliaments of the world for their ratification.

The Workers' Case for Shorter Hours

By
WALTER M. CITRINE

General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress and President of the International Federation of Trade Unions

THE purpose of this Conference, as you are all aware from the circular which was sent out by Comrade Schevenels, is to consider the urgent need for the reduction of working hours as a means of fighting the crisis and unemployment. We have to mobilise working-class opinion as represented by the Trade Unions of the various countries. This conference has not been restricted to the organisations who are directly affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions. There are other organisations present who are not affiliated, but who are none the less in general agreement with the line of policy and the programme which the International Federation has drawn up.

We, I think, are completely united on the necessity for reducing the hours of the toilers, giving them more leisure and opportunity for cultural development and raising the standard of life to the highest possible level. That, of course, is not a new ideal and has been the principle of Trade Unionism since its inception. Difficult as the task of accomplishing this has been, if we look back for the last few decades we can see a steady progress, particularly in the more highly industrialised countries. From 60, 70, 80 and even more hours per week, hours of labour have been reduced until to-day I think it is true to say that 48 hours or even less are the general rule in industrial occupations in many countries. Economists, employers and statesmen have usually been found resistant to the rightful aspirations of labour in this matter. They have almost invariably painted a lurid picture to explain the inability of industry to survive a curtailment of working hours.

We have had in Great Britain several classic examples of that. During the time when we

were attempting to reduce hours of work in Great Britain from ten to nine per day the employers found an advocate in an Oxford professor, known as Nassau Senior, who came forward and proved mathematically that the whole of the employers' profits lay in the last hour of work—in the tenth hour of work. He demonstrated that if hours of labour were reduced by curtailing the working day by one hour, it would mean the disappearance entirely of the employers' profits. Well, the hours of work were reduced from ten hours to nine, and despite the present trade depression, I think the employers in Great Britain and in other countries are still doing business in a way that has fairly good results for themselves.

I mention that because I have no doubt we shall find that at the forthcoming Conference of Governments, employers and workers, it will be argued that it is mathematically impossible to reduce the hours of labour materially without some very dire consequences to industry. The example of Great Britain in that respect may be remembered. The employers have invariably proved to be wrong, and on every occasion industry has rapidly adjusted itself to the change in the working hours. Production has increased and labour costs have certainly been lowered. Indeed, the enormous increase in productivity is one of the principal causes of the vast unemployment which exists to-day.

I am sure that those of you who have read through the very ample report which has been produced by the International Labour Office on Hours of Work and Unemployment will have appreciated the tremendous degree to which rationalisation, improved methods of technique, have caused unemployment. It is perfectly true that there is no exact data on the subject, and

Cut Working Time, Not Wages!

On January 10th a Special Conference of the I.L.O., at which the Governments, the workers, and the employers were represented, began discussions on the question of the reduction of hours of work. (An account of the conference is given on page 476.)

The Conference was preceded by a meeting held by the International Federation of Trade Unions, at which the attitude of the workers' delegations to the I.L.O. was defined.

In the following article Mr. Arthur Hayday, British workers' representative, analyses the proceedings at the I.L.O. Conference.

Mr. Hayday's article is followed by the text of the important speech delivered by Mr. Walter M. Citrine, President of the I.F.T.U., at the gathering held by that body.

SHORTER HOURS—LESS UNEMPLOYMENT

By

ARTHUR HAYDAY

British Workers' Delegate, and member of the I.L.O. Governing Body

IT is to the International Federation of Trade Unions that credit is due for the convening of an International Preparatory Conference on the Reduction of Hours of Labour. More than a year ago, it brought forward at Geneva through the intermediary of the Workers' Group a resolution in favour of holding an unofficial conference, in which governments, employers and workers could be represented in order to secure agreement on the general shortening of hours of work to 40 per week. This suggestion, however, was rejected, although even then it was only lost by two votes. Last year at the instance of the Italian Government, a special session of the International Labour Office Governing Body was called for the purpose of considering the possibility of holding a conference. The proposal was accepted.

Reduction of hours of work has always been one of the principal aims of Trade Unionism. In the past they have succeeded in forcing down hours until a twelve hour day was replaced by one of eight hours. Had the International Labour Office not been in existence, no doubt some other form of concentrated action would have been devised to shorten working hours still further. If by any chance no legislation should result when the present struggle is finished and the Parliamentary arena is reached, the Trade Unions will attack in another manner, for they are convinced that the time is ripe-ripe for this reform.

Up till the present time the shortening of working hours was claimed on social, hygienic and cultural grounds. The principal reason now advanced is that it may tend to alleviate unemployment. It is true that there are large

numbers of men in employment who are on short time. But the I.L.O. have calculated that once the 40-hour week is agreed upon, the number of workers, whether on full or short time, could be increased by at least 10 per cent. and in most cases considerably more. The prospect for a reduction in hours of labour is therefore a well-founded one.

Immediately, however, a start is made to reduce hours of labour a dispute arises as to the wages to be paid. The employer at once claims a reduction in wages to correspond with the less time worked, for the maintenance costs of production will be increased. But if the sum total of wages is to be paid as before and spread over those unemployed men and women taken into industry by the reduction in hours, then the only advantage is these men and women have an occupation instead of being kept idle. On the other hand the general standard of life is lowered. It would be advantageous for the employers because they would be relieved from the burden of the social services given to the unemployed before the alteration in hours took place.

Now it is the firm conviction of all our Trade Unions that the standard of life is already sufficiently low. For a long period of time, reductions of wages have been forced upon the workers. They cannot and will not tolerate further sacrifices because a law is passed reducing hours of labour. The British delegation, having in mind this fact and the very explicit instructions received from the Congress, thought that the maintenance of wages should be recognised by the Conference as a basis for the discussions. The other workers' representatives, however, while acknowledging that wage standards must be upheld, were not averse to separating the

two questions. They were not agreeable to the maintenance of wage standards being made an absolute condition of the discussions. How was it possible, they argued, to fix an international standard? What government could lay down a level of wages calculated as being equitably comparable to that in other nations? Would it not be better to get the reduced hours and let Trade Union action see to the maintenance of the wage standards. The British delegation, however, urged that their demand should be brought before the Conference, and eventually the Workers' Group agreed to letting it go before the Conference in their name. Meanwhile, the governments had got to work because they knew that serious consequences might arise in their countries should they imply by their rejection of the British workers' claim that they believed wage standards could not be maintained. A compromise resolution was drawn up, which in somewhat ambiguous terms, acknowledged that wages must not be lowered. It is worth while to quote the two Motions:

WORKERS' RESOLUTION.

That discussion on the project of a 40-hour week Convention shall proceed on the basis that weekly wages or salary standards shall not be reduced by reason of the reduction of hours resulting from the adoption and application of such convention.

GOVERNMENTS' RESOLUTION

Resolution presented to Conference Tuesday, January 17, 1933:

The Conference, after reviewing the various arguments advanced for and against a reduction of working hours, considers that it is one of the measures which would contribute to reducing unemployment.

The Conference therefore decides to examine its detailed aspects, taking the questions raised in Part 2 of the conclusion of the Report of the Office as the basis of its examination, in order to reach an arrangement of an international character the methods of giving effect to which would be determined with a view to rendering possible the maintenance of the standard of life of the wage-earners.

The two resolutions were put to the vote, and voted for, 32 against the first resolution. There were also 17 abstentions. The governmental resolution passed by 41 votes against 22, with 7 abstentions. Included in the votes against, was that of the British Government representative.

On behalf of the British Workers' delegation, and in order to make their position clear, I then made the following declaration, which was included in the Conference records, as I had voted with the other Labour delegates in favour of the Governments' resolution:—

"We would have preferred the clearer language of the Workers' resolution, but as two governments, in response to the direct questions put to them, have said that there is no vital difference of intention or principle but only of phrasing between the Workers' resolution and that of the Governments, we have, on that understanding, while keeping ourselves free to decide what our action shall be in June when we see the actual terms in which the draft international measure is presented, decided to vote for the Governments' resolution."

There is no doubt that the persistent attitude of the British workers caused the formulation of the Governments' resolution, which acknowledges that whatever international measure is passed, it must be framed so that its application will not injure the standard of life of the workers.

These resolutions were submitted to the Conference after days of debates had taken place on the general question of the reduction of hours of labour. Every conceivable argument was used by employers and certain governments to prove that it was impracticable. It was alleged that the evidence so far collected was inconclusive and that the figures in the Report which the I.L.O. had issued on the subject were unreliable.

A fair answer to this contention was given by the Director of the International Labour Office. While he admitted that the statistical information produced was inadequate, he reminded the Conference that Death existed in the world before there were mortality statistics. But nobody tried to slacken the fight against disease and death, because he had not got sufficient statistics in regard to it. But leaving analogies aside, one might reasonably ask whether the workers have not a right to demand from the employers themselves conclusive proof that reducing hours would work harmfully instead of beneficially. It will, of course, always be impossible to produce absolutely satisfactory evidence, so long as there exists no democratic control of undertakings.

It was likewise maintained by various speakers that the question of unemployment was an economic one, that it was necessary first to find remedies for the problems which will come before the World Economic Conference. The obvious reply is that it will take a very long time



"FORTH GO THE BANNERS!"

The Hyde Park Rally: February 5

ONE of the less banal of the gossip-mongers who do their morning capers in the capitalist Press, glanced beyond the confines of Cloud-cocktail-land one fine Sunday, and beheld a spectacle, the mere telling of which would, as he very well knew, cause chilblains in Belgravia and Mayfair.

But he seems to have been impressed of course, in a bored sort of way—and so he gave the Hyde Park rally, in which about 300,000

Yes, and the "Tribune" was there, trying to understand, according to one commentator. Well, there's no harm in trying.

And "quantitatively impressive."

Well, that is as far as the social blunderer of Mayfair could be expected to go. It was quantitatively impressive, all right. Nearly 80,000 Trade Unionists, Socialists, Co-operators, men and women, workers and workless, marched through the centre of the great metropolis, through swarms of spectators whose num-



A corner of the crowd in the Park

workers and workless took part, a few languid phrases before passing on to recount the latest sensational developments in the manufacture of dress shirts. One of his remarks, deserves recording; it is rather "marvellous."

"If any Cabinet Ministers watched yesterday's Hyde Park demonstration, they must have felt slightly uneasy; it was at least quantitatively impressive."

"Slightly uneasy!" Yes, the good gentlemen were slightly uneasy, and understanding their symptoms better than the cause, demonstrated their uneasiness by transforming Hyde Park into what one newspaper called an armed camp, with all those interesting accessories of modern police work of which we hear so much whenever another smash-and-grab merchant gets away with it, and the "Yard" has to be white-washed.

showed that they, at any rate, found the spectacle more than quantitatively impressive. Apart from the marchers more than 200,000 demonstrators had gathered in Hyde Park; this is quite a quantity for a rather boisterous Sunday in February, when, ordinarily, the worker is only too glad to make the most of his leisure in his own way.

But a certain summons had gone out, and its urgency was clear to the hearts and minds of the thousands of those working folk who, at any rate, are not to be scared by the prospect of a little sacrifice from paying their debt to a great cause held in common.

This gave the spectacle its quality; this made it memorable as one of those occasions when the portents of coming change have been made clear to all observers whose sense of political

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Incorporating The British Trades Union Review and the Labour Party Bulletin

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Official Monthly Journal of the Labour Movement

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No. 10.

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LOTTERIES**

By ALFRED SHORT

**THE CHURCHES AND SOCIAL
QUESTIONS**

By REV. ALBERT D.
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An allusion to *the Reserve which* should not be allowed to pass. He said:

"The House will be surprised to learn... that the (Lands Trust) Ordinance itself... provides that leases may be granted of land which is not for the time being in beneficial occupation of natives, up to 99 years in certain cases, without any provision being made as to land being added to the reserve as compensation. If we were dealing with land which at this moment was not actually being occupied by the natives, land which had not a native sitting on it, I, of the Governor of Kenya, could, without any breach of this Ordinance, give a surface lease for 99 years without adding a quarter of an acre to the reserve. How ridiculous, therefore, is this charge of breach of faith."

Reference to the text of the Lands Trust Ordinance shows that the Colonial Secretary was here indulging in another suppressive

veri. The section explicitly says that ... "no lease or licence of or in respect of any land in any native reserve shall be granted unless the Central Board is satisfied, after reference to the appropriate local Board, that the following condition has been complied with, namely:-

(a) That the proposal to grant such lease or licence has been brought to the notice of the Local Native Council and of the natives concerned and that such Local Native Council and such natives have had an opportunity of expressing their views upon the proposal;

and in the case of a lease, that the following further conditions have been complied with, namely:-

(b) That there is reason to believe that the natives of the tribe for which such land has been reserved will derive benefit, apart from any revenue which may accrue therefrom, from the grant of such lease;

(c) That the land to be leased is not being beneficially occupied by the natives of the tribe for which such land has been reserved, and is not likely, during the

currency of the proposed lease, to be required for the use or support of such natives;

Provided that in no case shall any lease or licence be granted which is objected to by the Local Native Council or by any African member of the Local Board concerned without the prior approval of the Secretary of State."

Sir Philip refrained from reminding his hearers that the Chief Native Commissioner in Kenya, in speaking to the Amending Ordinance, had said: "It is obvious, therefore, that in the closely populated area of North Kavirondo, no lease can be so granted. .. To consult them (the natives) would be a farce for it is unlikely that they would agree whatever compensation was paid, and the same thing applied to the Councils." The claim with which Sir Philip regarded the House "to be unoperative in Kavirondo."

10

~~10~~

Misrepresentation of the native's case
as a landholder in very much the
same position as an owner of entailed land
with us: —

Lord Hailsham said:

"As we understand the ownership of land in
England, there is no such thing as the
individual native holding land."

Hansard col 592

The report says:

Report, para 58.

"From every location" (in the North Kavirondo
Reserve) "we received an emphatic statement
that ... no man can so dispose of his interest
in the land which he has inherited from his
father as to impair the equal right of his
heirs to inherit it from him."

This same Land Tenure report further says:

LD. para 16

"Each family has exclusive rights of
occupation and usufruct over its own holding,
and these rights pass by inalienable right
from father to son."

Lord Hailsham's variant of this, as given in Hansard, speaks

col 592.

of "each family having an area in which it
cannot be disposed of and in which there is
no individual property."

This is a case of usufructus in re.

4
18

Two aspects of native land tenure in the Reserve were inaccurately placed before Parliament (vide attached sheets marked X and Y - prepared for another purpose originally).

The allusion to "one and a half square miles" (col. 222) and "300 natives including their families moved or partly moved" (col. 223) are covered by the explanation of cross-purposes with which I open this letter. Both figures are fantastically inapplicable to the conditions prevailing under the said fractionally represented on the enclosed blue print - while the imagination boggles at their inability to describe what would occur if indiscriminate prospecting were allowed to spill over into the 1,005 square miles of Kitson's area N^o 2 - along the boundary of which miners are camped in anticipation of a rush being sanctioned (Times Feb. 11).

I should be grateful if you could kindly arrange that the blue print ~~did~~ not leave your Office for the next few days, until you have done with it, so that, if I had urgently need to borrow it for an hour or two in connection with 2 pending interviews in which I may be involved, I could get it by calling at the Office.

ENCL. 3

Yours very sincerely,
W. McGregor Esq

by displacement or something
 approaching the grand scale,
 among a population not
 averaging 142 to the sq. mile
 (Hailsham Lords Debate col 592)
 but from 100 to 400 to the sq. mile
 (vide map of population-density

attached to report on "Native Land Tenure in
 the North Kaurondo Reserve"). Before you
 receive this, the "M.G." may have
 published an allusion to something
 approaching a major public work in
 the diversion of the Yala River for 2 miles
 or so. This would involve the complete
 destruction of many native shambas.

The Secretary of State said (col. 228) of
 reports of rows between ~~between~~ natives
 and miners: "That is not true". I
 hope, by next air-mail a copy of the case-
 file in which a Kaurondo girl was
 sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment for
 stunning a miner who was assaulting
 her father. This was about a year ago.
 Other instances of assault were adduced
 to the P.C. in Garaya on June 22. 1932
 and are mentioned in Complaint N^o 3
 of the K.T.W.A. in M.G. of Jan 12.

2
16

other employe' of Government.

This quite possibly may not have happened up to the 8th inst., but numbers of Africans have nevertheless been pushed off their land as completely as residents near tribal borders frequently were in pre-Government days under an onset of raiders from another tribe. The differences are that Kavirondo now being dispossessed will be unable to resume their holdings at as early a date as would have been possible under a tribal raid, and secondly that their lands are being misused much more severely than old-time raiders would have done.

Owen (Kand. Guardian Jan. 12) in resolution No 4 of the K.T.W.A. meeting on Dec. 31st last speaks of "the great dissatisfaction of those evicted" ... and in M.G. of Feb. 15 he challenges Kitson to explain "how natives whose interests have been affected by eviction have been safeguarded."

Apart from these assertions, the enclosed map carries conviction that the widespread and considerable degree of mining enterprise indicated must inevitably have been accompanied

24 MIDDLEWAY,
LONDON, N.W. 11.
SPEEDWELL 4800.

✓
February 22. 1933.

2¹⁵

KAKAMEGA GOLD-FIELD.

Dear Sir Cecil Cottonley,

In confirmation of my call on you this afternoon, I quite understand that the Secretary of State, in addressing Parliament, has to avail himself of information contained in despatches from the officer administering the Government of Kenya. From some lack of clarity in the despatches, however, or from some misunderstanding of them on receipt, the fact remains that he and the Survey are, on more than one topic, at cross-purposes.

Sir Philip says (Kansard 8/2/33 col. 220) "Nobody has been turned out of his holding; and "No single native has in fact been expropriated" (Op. cit., col. 255). Apparently, what is considered to be "expropriation" at the Kenya end would be formal notice to remove, conveyed by document, askari, tribal retainer or

Copy to J. P. 10

C. O.

C 3
P 23 EB
D 23

3006/a/33

14
3

Mr. ~~Walter~~ 23/2 atom

Mr.

Mr.

Mr. Parkinson.

Mr. Tomlinson.

Sir C. Bottomley.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permi. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

Kamp

~~Had answered by No 7~~

dated 23.2.33
1.55 pm

DRAFT. Tol.

Prof. Naumb

No 63 grateful if you could
procure without difficulty and
forward by next air mail
copy of blueprint map of
Kahamanga Goldfield scale one inch
to one mile dated Dec. 1932 prepared
by J.C. COVERDALE and
Prof. Naumb

SEGER

I am very sorry to have to add to your work.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) W. C. BOTTOMLEY

The first is the alleged scheme for diverting the Yala River. I do not suppose that there is anything in this rumour, and I rather hope not, but I feel sure that if such a proposal is made the question will be very carefully considered whether any native shambas will be affected.

The statement

The other point is that while there have been no evictions of natives from their land in the legal sense of the word, natives had been ejected by miners without any complicity on the part of Government and without any compensation under the Mining Ordinance. It would be very helpful if you could let us have as definite a contradiction as is possible of the allegations of the forcible ejection of natives, and, at the same time, information as to the extent to which cases of the sort have by exception occurred and how they have been dealt with.

The Secretary of State has agreed to my writing to you in these terms, but at the same time

Answered by No. 8

4

Downing Street.

27th February, 1933.

My dear Byrnes,

I enclose a copy of a letter with its enclosure which I have had from McGregor Ross whose name must be familiar to you and whom I introduced to you on the platform at Liverpool Street when you left for Kenya.

The Blue Print to which he refers at the end of his letter is that of which we have asked you by telegram to try to get us a copy.

I am not answering his letter, which I suggested he should send, in order that I might be able to lay his points before the Secretary of State in his own words. I send you the copy chiefly in order that you may see the sort of thing which we are getting at present, but also to draw your attention to two points on which I think that McGregor Ross really feels that he has a mission.

The

BRIGADIER GENERAL
SIR JOSEPH BYRNES, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B.

NOTE: This plan has been compiled from all available information obtainable as a guide to persons visiting the Goldfields and every effort has been made to ensure that it is as correct as possible but its accuracy cannot be guaranteed.

KAKAMEGA GOLDFIELDS.

Scale 1 inch = 1 Mile



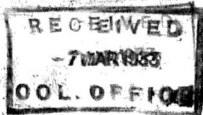
AIR MAIL

KENYA

NO. 143



7 8
GOVERNMENT HOUSE
NAIROBI
KENYA



28 February, 1933.

Sir,

No 3
With reference to your telegram No. 63 of the 23rd February, I have the honour to transmit a copy of the plan of the Kakamega Goldfields to which you refer.

2. It is understood that the claims shown on the plan were inserted on information supplied by their owners and in this respect the plan is neither complete nor reliable. It will be observed that the note on the plan disclaims accuracy in this connection.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

W. Wilson


GOVERNOR'S DEPUTY.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
MAJOR SIR PHILIP CUNLIFFE-LISTER, P.C., G.B.E., M.C., M.P.,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES,
DOWNING STREET,
LONDON, S.W.1.

every application is for 100 acres (more than double Sir Albert Kitson's estimated maximum) the total area required for exclusion would be 1,000 acres or about 1 1/2 square miles. As has already been stated, the average population over the area is believed to be less than 144 to the square mile. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister's estimate of 300 natives who might be moved so far from being "fantastically inapplicable" is based on known conditions and errs if at all on the side of caution.

No 1.
1006/13/33

In a personal letter to the Secretary of State I have enclosed a letter from the Land Commission making an interim pronouncement on the question of adding land to the Reserve as compensation for any land that may be leased in the Kakamega area. An official despatch will follow dealing with this pronouncement.

Yours sincerely,


SIR CECIL BOTTOMLEY, K.C.M.G., C.B., O.B.E.,
COLONIAL OFFICE,
DOWNING STREET, S. W. 1.

Lands Trust Board. It has been approved in principle by the Local Board and the Provincial Commissioner reports that the local inhabitants have no objection of any sort to the proposal and that none of them will be in any way adversely affected by it. The approval of the Local Land Board was given subject to certain conditions, e.g., that all engineering works must be approved by the Director of Public Works and that a sum of £1,000 is to be deposited as a guarantee. Mr. McGregor Ross's statement "this would involve the complete destruction of many native shambas" has not one atom of truth in it. The proposed canal does not go through cultivation. It goes through some rocky country and through a little grass land which may on occasions be used for grazing purposes and for which the Local Native Council will be compensated at the usual rate. It is not believed that a single native shamba will be in any way affected by the proposed scheme if it eventuates.

Other schemes are in contemplation for damming the Tala.....

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA.

Tala River at sundry places for the purposes of obtaining power and for sluicing, but these schemes have not yet come before Government in any concrete form.

Paragraph 8. There is nothing whatever fantastic in the figures "1½ square miles" and "300 natives including their families moved or partly moved". Sir Albert Kitson in his letter to the "Times" dated 17th January says:-

"In the early stages of development these shafts will be equipped with windlasses for hauling the material (decayed rock, etc.) out of the shafts. This material, and the shafts, sheds and huts of the miners will occupy only small portions of the total area needed - say 5 to 10 acres in each case. In the event of a reef proving to be sufficiently large, rich and continuous in length and depth to make a large mine eventually, the surface required for residences, mining plant, etc. will of course be greater, but the area even then required will be a matter of acres only - probably from 30 to 40 acres in each case".

It is not believed at present that there can be more than a very few applications for leases in the mining area - at any rate until the Carter Commission has reported. Ten applications seem to be a very outside estimate. If every.....

Resolutions 2 and 5. Resolution 2 reads:-

"Great dissatisfaction is felt at the method of assessing compensation to be paid to natives evicted..... Compensation for houses removed has been very low".

This certainly suggests that some huts have been moved, but no such movement in fact seems to have occurred. Resolution 5 of the same meeting reads:-

"There is great dissatisfaction that those evicted by order of Government are left to shift for themselves".

This is quite a different matter from Mr. McGregor Ross's misquotations - "the great dissatisfaction of those evicted", which amounts to a definite statement that persons have already been evicted. The actual resolution as quoted refers to the general position as misunderstood by the meeting consequent upon the amendment to the Native Lands Trust Ordinance. There was never any intention that if any natives were evicted they would be left to shift for themselves. As the Chief Native Commissioner explained in his speech to Legislative Council arrangements would be made by local authorities for their accommodation.

The map.....

The map to which Mr. McGregor Ross refers could not possibly "carry conviction" to anyone in the least acquainted with this subject that there must inevitably have been "displacement on something approaching the grand scale". The map is a map of the country and not a map of displacement and on it are marked the boundaries of claims, locations and licences. These do not in themselves necessitate any displacement whatever.

The map of population density attached to the Native Land Tenure in the North Kavirondo Reserve Report shows quite clearly that the population density in West Kakamega is estimated to be between 100 and 200, although it is true that in the Bidakho Location the population is estimated to be between 300 and 400. Actually it appears that the average population over the present mining area is likely to be less than 144 to the square mile.

Proposed Alienation of the Yala River.

A proposal has been made to divert the Bend of the Yala River into a canal and thence into a dry water-course. This proposal is at present under consideration by the Central

Lands.....

RECEIVED
11 APR 1933

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA

29th March, 1933.

My dear Bottomley,

No 4

Herewith a reply to the points raised by McGregor Ross in the enclosure to your letter of the 27th February:-

Paragraphs 2 to 5: Evictions. The Provincial

Commissioner reports that to the best of his belief no single native has as yet been either evicted or moved whether by agreement or otherwise. If any such movements have taken place it does not appear that they have been reported to any officer of Government, although the District Officer (Mines) has made special enquiries on this point during February last at native barazas in every location in the goldfields. There does not appear to be any authority whatever for Mr. McGregor Ross's statement that numbers of Africans have been "pushed off their land". He quotes Resolution No.4 of the Kavirondo Taxpayers' Welfare Association at their meeting on the 31st December. Actually he has quoted the wrong Resolution and has misquoted it. There are two Resolutions of that meeting dealing with compensation for eviction, viz.

Resolutions.....

River, but that if such a proposal is made, the question will, no doubt, be very carefully considered whether any native shambas will be affected.

W.C.S.

24 Feby., 1933.

mt
25/2

3. To Emma Feb. 63 — cons — 23 Feb '33

By air mail 7/3

4 To Sir J. Byrnie (with 2) — no — 27/2/33
(No draft)

Correspondence with Mr. Gregor Ross

(a. to the Blue print) attached.

DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

W.C.S. 28.2.33

4. Govs. Deputy Moore 14.3 (Am. Mail) — 25 Feb. 33.

Trans. a copy of plan of Kakamega Goldfields.

S.P.S. may wish to know that the Blue print is now available, but that it is not accurate.

1.26.92
7.3.33
14/3/33

8. Sir J. Byrnie 29 Feb. 33
Transfers claims on points caused by the Gregor Ross regarding erection of natives, proposed alienation of the Yala River & number of natives moved & area of land involved

The only new point of interest is that about the proposed diversion of the Yala River

- pp 3-4.

It would be a waste of time to write further to Mr. Byrnie.

? P. C. H.

W.C.S. 12/11

Sir G. Bottomley

No use in writing to Mr. Ross, I agree, but the Governor's letter gives some useful information.

The map is mentioned in the 'New Statesman' of 7 April as proving conclusively that vast areas & vast numbers of natives are being dispossessed!

S. E. W. Hand

12.4.33

There is certainly no idea of writing to Mr. Ross - our intention was to have material for answering criticism based on the lines of this letter.

W.C.S. 12.4.33

(initials)

ago.

We have heard nothing about the proposed diversion of the Yala River mentioned on p. 3. In any case Sir Albert Kitson tells me that the Yala flows for most of its course along a narrow valley with steep sides, and that the land between the present river bed and the sides of the valley is ^{rarely} ~~really~~, if ever, occupied by natives. There is reason, therefore, for supposing Mr. Ross's suggestion of "the complete destruction of many native shambas" to be an exaggeration.

As regards his remarks about Kavirondo land tenure, it is perhaps useless to pursue this topic with him. I understand from Mr. McGeagh that the thoroughness and accuracy of the North Kavirondo Land Tenure Committee's Report, which Mr. Ross regards as verbally inspired, is not above question; the Committee spent only 17 days on land investigations.

It is perhaps hopeless to seek to convince Mr. Ross of his errors; and if a reasoned reply is thought necessary to this letter, it might be limited to pointing out the distinction between prospecting and mining under lease.

M. P.

He was asked for it on Monday

Secretary of State.

There is really no reason to reply to Mr. McGregor Ross at all, except that in due course I must return his map. His letter is simply due to my asking him to put in writing what he had told me in order that I might be able to pass it to higher authority, in his own words.

As regards the last words of Mr. Freeston's minute, I did, of course, impress on Mr. Ross the distinction between prospecting and mining under lease, and I do not think it necessary to do so again. But leaving aside his unhappy way of seeing crookedness in everyone, there are, I think, two points which really disturb him,-

(i) the alleged scheme for diverting the Yala River, and

(ii) the information which he has had that natives have been booted off their land by miners without any complicity on the part of Government, and without any compensation under the Mining Ordinance.

I should like to be allowed to send out to the Governor, privately, a copy of Mr. Ross's letter, and enclosure, in order that he may see the sort of thing that is being served out ^{here}, but, more particularly, to ask him to let us have as definite a contradiction as is possible of the allegations of forcible ejection of natives, with information as to the extent to which cases of the sort have by exception occurred. I should also propose to say that I hope that there is nothing in the supposed scheme for diverting the

River,

ago.

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A. M. M. M.
2/12

1. The Labour Magazine
- Gold in Kenya by W. Mc Gregor Ross

2. W. Mc Gregor Ross 1/2 _____ 22 Feb. 33

Suggests that there is some misunderstanding between the S. of S. Gov. of Kenya regarding the dispossession of natives & states natives have been removed from their land, & there have been cases of assault of natives by miners.

The "misunderstanding" and "cross purposes" are entirely Mr. Ross's. Like the Editor of the "Manchester Guardian" he seems unable to appreciate the difference between a prospecting right and a mining lease.

*A letter went to
A. Smith yesterday asking
for it and how - if any
BP

The areas marked on the map are obviously either claims or exclusive prospecting licence areas. In either case the concession is valid, in the first instance, for one year only, and there is no obligation on Government to renew (Mining Ordinance Sections 33 and 18(5)). Nothing in the Mining Ordinance empowers either Government or the miner to dispossess or "push off" a native from his land before the lease stage is reached. The rights of the prospector, claim holder, or exclusive prospecting licence holder are strictly defined in Sections 15, 36 and 20 respectively; Section 26 provides for compensation by the miner for disturbance of occupier's rights and damage to surface crops and buildings. A native may demand that the amount of such compensation should be assessed and determined by the Administrative Officer in charge of a district.

The comparison with "tribal raids" in the first paragraph of p.2 is, of course, ludicrous. As regards "rows between natives and miners" it is significant that the only instance which Mr. Ross is in a position to substantiate occurred about a year ago