

**S. L. P. New Series, No. 1.**

# **How To End Capitalism**

**and inaugurate Socialism.**

**By E. E. JUDD**

**S. L. P.  
New  
Series  
No. 1**



**Please  
watch  
for  
No. 2**

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## Our Party's Stand.

The Socialist Labor Party never compromises truth to make a friend, never withholds a blow at error lest it make an enemy.

In firm assurance of final victory, it pursues its course unswerved by weak desire for temporary advantage. It is ever outspoken and straightforward, believing that, in fearless independence, the integrity of purpose by which it is inspired will, in the long run, win the respect and confidence of those whom it aims to weld into a class-conscious, aggressive body.

Its propaganda is not alone to educate; it is to organise the working class for the conquest of power, for the complete overthrow of Capitalism. Until that mission is accomplished, it will stand like a rock, alert and watchful, yielding nothing.

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## The Impregnable S.L.P.

The [Socialist Labor] Party carries on its work of education encouraged by the knowledge that some day, somehow, something is bound to rip. And then, at that crisis, when the people, who have allowed themselves to be misled from Mumbo Jumbo to Jumbo Mumbo, will be running around like Chickens without a head, there will be one beacon light in the land burning as clear in that darkness as it is burning 'midst the clouds to-day; one beacon, whose steady light will serve as guide; whose tried firmness will inspire confidence; and whose rock-ribbed sides will serve as a natural point of rally from which to save civilisation.

—DANIEL DE LEON.

## Introduction.

"The first remedy, or prevention, is to remove, by all means possible, the material cause."—Lord Bacon, Chancellor of England.

"All that is human must retrograde if it does not advance."—"The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," by Gibbon, Vol, 2, Chap. LXXXI, p. 617, col. 1.

As Grote, the profound philosopher and historian, said in his great work on Plato, the ordinary mind accepts as reasoned truth many beliefs that it acquires without any conscious process of examination from traditional or other authority. No matter how unsound such unreasoned beliefs are they exist as established facts.

The widespread acceptance, holding, and acting upon such unreasoned beliefs is a "perpetual drag-chain, even when its force is not absolutely repressive," upon progress. As the great Karl Marx said, in his work "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," "The tradition"—which is only a part of the aforementioned mass of unreasoned beliefs—"of all past generations weighs like an alp on the brain of the living."

The Socialist Labor Party advises the reader to critically examine all the beliefs that he holds—particularly those relating to economics and politics—in the light of the thought embodied in this series of pamphlets.

In this series all the fundamental facts relating to the great economic and political matters will be placed in their true light and relation to each other.

Most Socialist works have not been published as parts or sections of a complete series and in accord-



£100 that he adds to the value of the raw materials in the process of production.)

It is because of the commodity status of labor-power and the fact that the capitalist only pays for labor-power about a quarter of what it produces, that the capitalist class accumulates great wealth.

As the worker is compelled to sell his labor-power for a wage he is termed a wage-slave, and the system of wage-labor is termed wage-slavery. It is the most degrading and brutalising form of slavery in the history of mankind.

The Socialist Labor Party advocates the abolition of Capitalism and the inauguration of Socialism.

The ghost of the "Communist Party," the Country Party, the "Labor Party," the Liberal Party, the Nationalist Party and the "Socialist Party" of Victoria all support Capitalism and oppose Socialism. Could they commit a greater crime again humanity?

The fact that the ghost of the "Communist Party," the "Labor Party" and the "Socialist Party" of Victoria partly conceal their support of Capitalism by specious pretences that they are opposed to it, only makes their crime worse.

Throughout the Capitalist world exploitation of wage-labor, war, unemployment and prostitution are just as much elements of Capitalism as heat is an element of fire.

As such exploitation, war, unemployment and prostitution are inevitable co-existents of Capitalism, those who support Capitalism support such co-existents, just as much as a man who supports fire supports heat.

Therefore the ghost of the "Communist Party," the Country Party, the "Labor Party," the Liberal Party, the Nationalist Party and the "Socialist Party" of Victoria support such exploitation, war, unemployment and prostitution. Could they commit a more terrible crime against humanity?

### "A CANNIBAL CLASS."

The capitalist class lives upon the product of the working class.

Daniel De Leon said in his magnificent work, entitled "Two Pages from Roman History," that "the capitalist class is . . . a cannibal class. The roots of Capitalism are literally watered with the blood of the proletariat. The fields of production—mills (mines), shops, railroad beds, yards—are strewn with the limbs and fallen bodies of workingmen."

The six aforementioned parties support this bloody system of Capitalism and its "cannibal class." Could they commit a more revolting crime?

Why are so many workers prepared to go to war and murder each other in the interests of the "cannibal class"? Largely because of the propagation by the aforementioned parties of that bloody thing called "National Sentiment." Could they commit a more dastardly crime?

The governmental machinery of the Capitalist State in New South Wales has "fixed" the "Living Wage" for women at 41/6 per week. The "Living Wage" for women in the other States is approximately the same. To compel a woman to live on 41/6 per week is a cruel crime. To compel a man to support himself, wife and family on 82/- (the "Living Wage") is an even greater crime.

It is almost impossible to realise the awful and ever-present anxiety of a single woman compelled to live on 41/6 per week, or a mother compelled to provide for herself, husband and children on 82/- per week. Such continuous anxiety and its terrible effects constitute a sad tragedy. One of the most deplorable features of this tragedy is that the vast majority of its men and women victims acquiesce in it.

Why do the 1,500,000 or more men and women victims in Australia alone not only acquiesce in, but pay and vote to continue, this sad tragedy? Largely because of the capitalist propaganda disseminated by



the aforementioned supporters of Capitalism. Could they commit a more cowardly crime?

Why do the workers acquiesce in the tragedy of their unemployment under Capitalism? Largely because of the capitalist propaganda of the aforementioned supporters of Capitalism.

And why do the great majority of the workers acquiesce in a system that forces their sisters and daughters in thousands on to the streets? Largely because of the capitalist propaganda of the aforementioned supporters of Capitalism. Could they commit a more loathsome crime?

As the ghost of the "Communist Party," the Country Party, the Liberal Party, the "Labor Party," the Nationalist Party and the "Socialist Party" of Victoria combination supports Capitalism with its co-existent evils of exploitation of wage-labor, war, unemployment, prostitution and "cannibal class," and assists the capitalist class to secure the workers' acquiescence in suffering such things, and prosecutes and jails, or supports the prosecution and jailing of, strikers and revolutionaries that tell the workers the truth about Capitalism, it is no wonder that the capitalist class and its press support them in preference to the Socialist Labor Party.

Every member of the aforementioned combination, and every Secretary, President and Executive member of all the Unions in Australia (except the W.I.I.U.) are supporters of Capitalism, with its exploitation, destruction of working-class life in capitalist war, unemployment, prostitution, disease, cannibalism, murder and premature death.

Why should we continue to give six out of every eight hours of every working day of our lives to the capitalist class?

Under a better system, even according to Flurschheim (a capitalist economist), if the most up-to-date means of production were applied to all industry, adult male labor alone would need to work only one hour two and a half minutes per day for 300 days per year to

produce all the necessaries of life. To produce all the luxuries in addition they would need to work only two hours and twelve minutes per day for only two months in the year.

Lord Leverhulme, in his preface to Professor Spooner's book, "Wealth from Waste," says: "We might with the means science has already placed at our disposal, and which are all within our knowledge, provide for all the wants of each of us in food, shelter and clothing **by one hour's work per week** for each of us from school age to dotage."

Could there be a sadder spectacle than what Mr. Joseph McCabe describes as "the whole terrible tragedy of generation following generation into the silence, content to have had a few hours of child-like pleasure, while they might so easily have made the world so rich and so harmonious"?—(R.P.A. Annual, 1925.)

The aforementioned upholders of Capitalism, etc., do all in their power to prevent the inauguration of such a Socialist system of society.

The issue is Capitalism v. Socialism.

The aforementioned parties and individuals support Capitalism with its "cannibal class," the rule of the drones, the exploitation of wage-labor, the destruction of working-class life in capitalist war, unemployment, prostitution, cowardice, cruelty, corruption, starvation, disease and premature death.

The Socialist Labor Party advocates the inauguration of a Socialist system of society, with its guarantee of "plenty of fresh air, abundance of pure and wholesome food, good clothing, good housing, freedom from anxiety, adequate rest, leisure and recreation," and with all such a system's potentialities for justice, kindness and a full and happy life.

**Which side are you on? Are you for Capitalism and Death—or Socialism and Life?**

[Note.—This article was first published in the Socialist Labor Party Section of the One Big Union "Herald" (Melbourne), September 1, 1924.]



## THE REAL "TERROR."

Whenever the capitalist press shrieks about any 'terror' that the workers are compelled—as in Russia—to set up in self-defence, the earnest reader should bear in mind the following extract from chapter thirteen of Mark Twain's great work, "A Yankee at the Court of King Arthur":

"The French Revolution . . . swept a thousand years of . . . villainy away in one swift tidal-wave of blood—one: a settlement of that hoary debt in the proportion of half a drop of blood for each hogshead of it that had been pressed by slow tortures out of that people in the weary stretch of ten centuries of wrong and shame and misery, the like of which was not to be mated but in hell.

"There were two 'Reigns of Terror,' if we would but remember it and consider it; the one wrought murder in hot passion, the other in heartless cold blood; the one lasted mere months, the other had lasted a thousand years; the one inflicted death upon ten thousand persons, the other upon a hundred millions; but our shudders are all for the 'horrors' of the minor Terror, the momentary Terror, so to speak; whereas, what is the horror of swift death by the axe, compared with lifelong death from hunger, cold, insult, cruelty and heartbreak? What is swift death by lightning compared with death by slow fire at the stake?

"A city cemetery could contain the coffins filled by that brief Terror which we have all been so diligently taught to shiver at and mourn over; but all France could hardly contain the coffins filled by that older and real Terror—that unspeakably bitter and awful Terror which none of us has been taught to see in its vastness or pity as it deserves."

## The Capitalist State.

"Philosophy accepts political power as being the result of actual forces, the will or the acquiescence of the strongest elements of the community; and sees no more sacredness in the head of a State than in the chairman of a commercial company."—"The Holy Roman Empire," by Lord Bryce, p's. 502-3.

"According to Marx, the State is the organ of class domination, the organ of oppression of one class by another."—Nicholai Lenin ("The State and Revolution," p. 7).

An understanding of the nature of the Capitalist State is vitally necessary to the working class. The nature of all Capitalist States—irrespective of their age or degree of development—is the same. The rising Capitalist State of Japan, the older Capitalist States of America, Germany and France, and the still older Capitalist State of England, for example, are all Capitalist machines for the oppression and more effective exploitation of the working class.

The circulation of a vast amount of loose matter both in the form of speech and print about the State has further obscured from the majority of the working class the nature of the Capitalist State. The working class now see Capitalist States in operation that in most cases were established before they were born.

Being born in such States tends to make them appear natural and just to the workers. The Labor lieutenants of Capitalism and other obscurantists strengthen the worker's wrong impression.

If the workers saw a Capitalist State created in two or three days, and the obscurantists were absent, instead of coming in contact with it when it has been long established and in operation, with its obscuran-



tists in full blast, they would easily see it in its true light.

Suppose, for instance, that there were two million adults in the Capitalist State of Australia, and that two thousand of them were capitalists who owned all the socially-operated means of production in Australia, and suppose that to-night the Capitalist State of Australia and all its forces—such as police, army, navy, etc.—ceased to exist as such.

Suppose, further, that the two thousand capitalists met to-morrow and decided to appoint an Executive Committee to organise (chiefly from the working class) all the forces, such as police, army, navy, judiciary, etc.—necessary for the subjection of the one million nine hundred and ninety-eight thousand other adults; and to moderate, as much as possible, the collisions such as in strikes, lockouts, etc., between the two sections or classes; and secure the greatest possible exploitation of the working class with the greatest possible smoothness.

Such a state would be what Marx terms "an engine of despotism," and its relation to the working class would be the same as that of all existing Capitalist States. Their "engine of despotism," nature is the basic and vital characteristic of all Capitalist States, irrespective of their form and when and where they exist, and irrespective of whether the wage-slaves have a vote as to the personnel of the Executive or Government of such States or not.

The interests of the Capitalist Class require that the workers should believe that capitalist wars are "The Peoples' " wars.

The interests of the Capitalist Class also require that the workers should be kept in ignorance of the nature of the State, and that the working class should believe that the Capitalist State is "The Peoples' State."

In the recent (30/5/25) State elections in New South Wales, both the leader of the Nationalist Party

(Sir George Fuller) and the leader of that bulwark of Capitalism, called the "Labor Party" (Mr. Lang), appealed to the workers to vote for the good of the "State."

The State has many arms or tentacles that penetrate among the people like the roots of a cancer penetrate the flesh of a man's body.

Some of the State machinery, arms or tentacles—such as police, secret service, army, navy, judiciary, schools, universities, etc., for keeping the working class in subjection—operates direct, whilst the State's other machinery, arms or tentacles, such as craft or industrial Unions that get registration and arbitration awards, and keep them by making their objectives, constitution, rules, etc., conform with the requirements of the Capitalist State, operates indirect.

The churches also are arms, tentacles or parts of the machinery of the Capitalist State that operates indirectly for the purpose of keeping the workers in subjection and facilitating their greater exploitation.

The Church of England, for instance, is so closely attached to the Capitalist State of England that it cannot even alter its prayer-book without the consent of the House of Commons and the House of Lords.

About eighty years ago in England craft Unions were fighting organisations of the working class and membership in them rendered a worker liable to starvation (through capitalists refusing to employ Union men) or even deportation.

Until about thirty-three years ago most of the Unions in Australia were fighting organisations of the working class, and in many cases men were refused employment if they joined them.

Now the Courts of the Capitalist State, in many cases, give "preference to unionists," and assist Union officials to enforce the payment of Union dues.

Once men were refused employment if they were members of a Union. Now they are refused employment, in most industries, if they are not members of a Union. What has caused the change?



The change is due to the capitalist class and its Labor lieutenants having transformed nearly all the Unions that were fighting organisations of the working class into a part of the machinery of the Capitalist State.

To-day, in many cases, Union officials act in conjunction with the Government and other employers to deprive Socialists of employment for refusing to pay patriotic levies, refusing to support bulwarks of Capitalism, and otherwise acting in accord with the interests of the working class.

A Union official in most Unions now, as a part of the machinery of the Capitalist State that operates indirectly for the purpose of keeping the working class in subjection, is more effective than a military officer who is part of the machinery of the Capitalist State that operates directly.

Capitalist ownership and control of the State is based on the capitalist ownership of the socially-operated means of production and the exploitation of labor-power.

The application of all the reforms advocated by reform parties involves the continuance of the exploitation of the working class and the perpetuation of the Capitalist State.

The great revolutionary thinkers—Marx, Engels, Daniel De Leon and Lenin—have proved that the destruction of the Capitalist State is a prerequisite to "organising production anew on the basis of a free and equal association of producers."

The "Labor Party" and the ghost of the "Communist Party" advocate the perpetuation of the Capitalist State.

The Socialist Labor Party, acting in accordance with the teachings of Marx, Engels, De Leon and Lenin, advocates its destruction.

[Note.—This article was first published in the "Revolutionary Socialist," the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party, June 1, 1925.]

## How to End Capitalism and Inaugurate Socialism.

"Lenin said: 'Daniel De Leon first formulated the idea of . . . [industrial] government. . . . Future society will be organised along . . . [industrial] lines. There will be . . . [industrial] rather than geographical boundaries for nations. Industrial Unionism is the basic thing. That is what we are building.'"—Robert Minor, in the New York "World."

It is not possible to lay down with mathematical precision and absolute certainty the manner in which the transition from capitalist ownership of the means of production to social ownership, or, in other words, the social revolution, will take place.

As Kautsky has said: "The manner of the transition will depend wholly upon the special and surrounding circumstances under which it is effected, as, for instance, upon the power and enlightenment of the classes that are concerned. . . ."

The Socialist Labor Party wishes to secure the transition without violence if possible, and with as little friction as possible. It proposes a peaceful method of securing the transition. The method, briefly stated, is as follows:

(1) The organisation of the working class in one great class-conscious revolutionary industrial Union.

(2) The creation of a political arm by the Union when it is sufficiently powerful.

(3) When its nominees constitute a majority of those elected to Parliament, they shall decree the abolition of the Class State with its Parliaments, and leave the conduct of the nation's production to the Central



Administration, or Grand Council, of the Union, thereby replacing Class Governments, composed of the persons elected on geographical areas, by an Industrial Parliament, composed of men and women elected from and by those in industry. For example, the workers of the coal-mining industry would elect one delegate for every 1000, 2000 or 3000 members, or such other basis as may be adopted and applied throughout the industry.

(4) Simultaneously with the abolition of the Class State by the political arm of the Union, its economic arm would "take and hold the means of production."

That is the peaceful method proposed for achieving the Social Revolution.

### IF THE CAPITALIST CLASS RESISTS.

If the capitalist class refused to abide by the majority vote of the people, and tried by violence to prevent its being given effect to, so much the worse for them. As De Leon said, "The might, implied in the industrial organisation of the working class of the land, will be in the position to mop the earth with the rebellious usurper in short order, and safeguard the right that the ballot proclaims."

However, the political expression of the Union may not be afforded the time for triumph at the polls. Daniel De Leon said that:

"Most likely the necessities of Capitalism will, before then, drive it to some lawless act that will call forth resistance. A strike will break out; capitalist brutality will cause the strike to spread; physical, besides moral, support will pour in from other and not immediately concerned branches of the working class.

"A condition of things—economic, political, social, atmospheric—will set in, akin to the condition of things at the time of the . . . [Great Strike in Sydney in August-September, 1917].

"What then? The issue will then depend wholly upon the stage, in point of quality and in point of

quantity, that the organisation of the . . . [Union] has then reached.

"If it has reached the requisite minimum, then that class instinct of the proletariat that Marx teaches the Socialist to rely upon, and the chord of which the capitalist class instinctively seeks through its Labor fakirs to keep the Socialist from touching, will readily crystallise around that requisite . . . [Union] minimum of organisation.

"The working class would then be organically consolidated. Further efforts for a peaceful measuring of strength would then have been rendered superfluous by capitalist barbarism. Capitalism would be swept aside forthwith.

"For this consummation, however, in the eventuality under consideration, be it remembered, the . . . [Union] must have reached the requisite quantitative and qualitative minimum of perfection, and that in turn will depend upon the freeness of its previous agitational work, a freedom that it never could enjoy, except it plants itself upon the principle that recognises the civilised method of peaceful trial of strength—the political ballot."

As both the economic and political arms are vitally necessary to overthrow Capitalism, and as it is vitally necessary that the working class should have a sound and comprehensive grasp of the functions of both, we shall examine them in greater detail.

### POLITICAL ACTION.

As De Leon said: "Political action is a purely technical expression. It means the peaceful trial of strength in social issues. As such, the term is generous. It embraces a number of things, that is, all the things necessary for its realisation. It embraces meetings, conventions, or any other established method for the nomination of candidates"—for election to existing Parliaments—"campaigning, that is, agitation in favor of the principles and, of course, candidates of the party



voting; finally, as a consequence, 'parliamentary activity.'"

We shall define the kind of Parliamentary activity later. "Summing up, political action by the revolutionary working class means the endeavor to settle, by the peaceful method of a trial of strength, the issue between the working class and the capitalist class. That issue demands the overthrow of the capitalist regime, implies the razing to the ground" of the political Class State, and the conduct of the productive forces of the nation by Industrial Parliament.

"It does not lie in a political arm 'to take and hold' the machinery of production." Both the "reason" for a political arm and its "structure" unfit it for such work. We cannot do better, in considering why a political arm cannot "take and hold" the plants of production, than read the following statement by Daniel De Leon:

### THE REASON FOR A POLITICAL ARM.

"The 'reason' for a political . . . [arm] unfits it to 'take and hold' the machinery of production. The 'reason' for a political arm are the exigencies of the capitalist shell in which the social revolution must partly shape its course.

"The Governmental administration of Capitalism is the State, the Government proper. That institution is purely political. Political power, in the language of Marx, is merely the organised power of the capitalist class to oppress, to curb, to keep the working class in subjection.

"The capitalist shell in which the social revolution must partly shape its course dictates the setting up of a body that shall contest the possession of the political . . . [State] by the capitalist class. The reason for such initial tactics also dictates their ultimate goal—the razing to the ground the . . . [political State] of capitalist tyranny.

"The shops, the yards, the mills; in short, the mechanical establishments of production, now in the hands of the capitalist class—they are all to be 'taken,' not for the purpose of being destroyed, but for the purpose of being 'held'; for the purpose of improving and enlarging all the good that is latent in them, and that Capitalism dwarfs; in short, they are to be 'taken and held' in order to save them for civilisation.

"It is exactly the reverse with the 'political power.' That is to be taken for the purpose of abolishing it. It follows therefrom that the goal of the political arm is purely destructive.

"Suppose that at some election the class-conscious political arm of Labor were to sweep the field," or, in other words, that its nominees constituted a majority of those elected, they would simply decree the abolition of the Class State, adjourn and disband, and the conduct of the productive forces of the nation would devolve upon the Central Administration of the economic organisation, as already outlined.

As De Leon says: "The 'reason' for a political arm obviously unfits it to 'take and hold' the machinery of production. What the political arm 'moves into' is not the shops, but the political State of Capitalism—for the purpose of dismantling it.

"And now, as to the 'structure' of a political arm. Look closely into that, and the fact cannot escape you that its structure also unfits the political arm to 'take and hold' the machinery of production. The disability flows inevitably from the 'reason' for politics. The 'reason' for a political arm, we have seen, is to contend with Capitalism upon . . . [the political] field. . . .

"It follows that the structure of a political arm must be determined by the capitalist governmental demarcations—a system that the Socialist Republic casts off like a slough that society shall have outgrown.

"Take . . . [the Federal Parliament] for instance, whether Senate or House of Representatives. The



electorate of the Federal representation is purely politically geographic; it is arbitrary. The structure of the Federal electorate reflects the purpose of the Capitalist State—political, that is, class tyranny over class.

"The thought of production is absent, wholly so, from the Federal demarcations. It cannot be otherwise. The Federal Parliament not being a central administration of the productive forces of the land, but of the organised forces of the capitalist class for oppression, its constituent bodies can have no trace of a purpose to administer production.

"Shoemakers, brickmakers, miners, railroad men, together with the workers in all manner of other fractions of industries, are, accordingly, jumbled together in each separate Federal electorate. Accordingly, the political arm of . . . [the Socialist movement] intended to capture a Federal electorate is wholly unfit to 'take and hold' the plants of industry.

"The only organisation fit for that is the organisation of the several industries themselves—and they are not subject to political lines of demarcation; they mock all such arbitrary, imaginary lines. The Central Administrative Organ of the Socialist Republic—exactly the opposite of the central power of Capitalism—not being the organised power of the ruling class for oppression, in short, not being political but exclusively administrative of the producing forces of the land—its constituent bodies must be exclusively industrial.

### THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

"The form of central authority to which the political arm had to adapt itself, and consequently look to, will have ceased to be. As the slough shed by the serpent that immediately reappears in its new skin, the political State will have been shed and society will simultaneously appear in its new administrative garb.

"The mining, the railroad, the textile, the building industry, each of these, regardless of former political boundaries, will be the constituencies of that new

Central Authority. Where the Industrial Parliament will sit there will be the nation's capital.

"Like the flimsy card houses that children raise, the present political Government . . . [both State and Federal] will tumble down, their places taken by the Central and Subordinate administrative organs of the nation's industrial forces.

"Obviously, not the 'structure' of the political arm, but the structure of the economic movement is fit for the task to 'take and hold' the industrial administration of the country's productive activity—the only thing worth 'taking and holding.'"

### CENTRAL DIRECTING AUTHORITY.

In consequence of the revolutionary political action and the revolutionary industrial action requisite for the abolition of Capitalism and the inauguration of Socialism being inseparably interlocked, and in consequence of simultaneous and perfectly co-ordinated action on both the political and industrial fields being vitally necessary, the political arm must be under the direct control of, and receive instructions from, the Central Administration of the Union.

Just as a combined attack on a given place by naval and military forces necessitates one central directing authority, so the workers when attacking Capitalism with their political and industrial arms must have one central directing authority. For the political and industrial arms to act independently, or to be but loosely allied, would be suicidal.

### THE SAFEGUARD AGAINST THE WORKERS BEING "SOLD."

Many earnest minds have given much thought to the danger of Labor men in Parliament "selling out," or betraying the working class. The same danger exists on the industrial field. The chief preventive against such selling out on both the political and industrial field is the development to the highest possible degree of an intense class-consciousness among the workers organised in the Union. As De Leon put it:



"Against this danger there is but one protection—the industrial, that is, the class-conscious economic organisation to keep that ballot straight. Nothing short of such an economic organisation will prevent the evil, because nothing short of such an economic organisation can keep sharp the edge of the special sword wielded by the political movement of Labor.

"What that special sword is I have shown before. It is purely destructive. . . . It follows herefrom that the political movement of Labor may not even remotely partake even of the appearance of compromise. It exemplifies the revolutionary aim of the . . . [Socialist] Movement: it must be uncompromisingly revolutionary. This fact dictates the conduct of the successful candidates of . . . [the Socialist Movement] in the Parliaments of Capitalism."

### WHAT THE POLITICAL ARM MUST DO.

The political arm of the Union must, among other things:

(1) Fight on the basis of the Class Struggle, and demand the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class.

(2) Keep clear the class character of the Movement.

(3) Wage systematic war against the Class State.—Wilhelm Liebknecht.

(4) Avoid all alliances, agreements, arrangements, contracts, or whatever they may be called, which would involve a surrender of principles, or in general change the relation of the Movement towards the capitalist parties in a manner injurious to us.—Wilhelm Liebknecht.

(5) Emphasise the purity of the principles and the idealism and grandeur of the Movement.

(6) Emphasise that the emancipation of the working class must be the class-conscious act of the working class.

(7) Emphasise that "the State is, so long as Capitalism exists, necessarily a Class State, and the Government of this State, with like necessity, is a Class Government."

(8) Emphasise, as De Leon did, that the revolutionary force must be self-reliant, "that it must march by its own light, look to itself alone, and that whatever act it contemplates, it judges by the code of law that, though as yet unformulated into statute, it is carrying in its own womb"—that the test to be applied to every matter is: Is it for or against the interest of humanity?

### DUTIES OF SOCIALIST MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

The Union Representatives in Parliament would be under the direction of, and receive instructions from, the Central Administration of the Union. They would be expected to defend the interest of the working class, resist all acts of aggression by the capitalist class, fight to secure and maintain such rights as free speech, free press, right of assemblage, right to organise, etc. Their services would be at the disposal of the Union for political agitation and organising work, or whatever the Union deemed necessary.

### BOTH POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL ACTION.

Political as well as economic action is necessary. The Socialist Movement must fight on the highest civilised plane. To step down from that plane would be to play into the hands of the capitalist class. As Daniel De Leon said, "The value of the Ballot as a constructive force is zero; the value of 'political agitation' is immeasurable."

The economic arm is "indispensable to the revolutionary act" of taking and holding the socially operated means of production, and "is the framework of the Co-operative Commonwealth."

After what has been said it will be seen that:

"Capitalism can only be abolished by the workers uniting in one class-conscious, economic organisation



to take and hold the means of production by revolutionary industrial and political action."

"Revolutionary action means action to secure a complete change, namely, the abolition of capitalist class ownership of the means of production—whether privately or through the State—and the establishment in its place of social ownership by the whole community."

[Note.—This article was first published in the "Revolutionary Socialist," June 1, 1925.]

## The Quacks.

### A SAD TALE.

Sometimes an allegory is very forceful. Sometimes a metaphor kicks home an argument with the force of a discontented mule. Sometimes a fable has value almost incalculable. What follows isn't quite a fable, but it hammers home a lesson which needs to be understood these days.

The constant cry of the mentally-confused is for more palliatives.

They want palliatives to palliate the evils which previous palliatives created, and as time goes on they demand still more palliatives to palliate the palliatives which, in spite of great expectations, entirely failed to palliate the palliatives which were to palliate the—— (Here, steady, steady.—Ed.) Well, palliatives which failed to palliate anything.

They confess that Capitalism is the root cause of all our social evils and must be abolished; yet they demand in the same breath the enactment of measures which they claim will remove these evils one by one without in any way interfering with the original cause.

Can mental muddle-headedness and utter lack of logic go further?

Yes.

Let us take a simple illustration of the existing position. Suppose a person to be suffering from the intrusion of a large poisonous thorn in the flesh.

Inflammation, accompanied by great pain, at once sets in.

His friends surround the unfortunate, give him volumes of good advice, apply liniments, poultices, fomentations of hot water, of cold water, of turpen-



tine, and a hundred and one other remedies; but the patient gets worse instead of better.

An intelligent physician comes along and advises the removal of the thorn, which, being the sole cause of the trouble, will lead to the speedy and automatic recovery of the sufferer.

His friends doubt the statement of the doctor, and continue to apply their remedies, and in course of time build up prosperous businesses for themselves by the invention and discovery of fresh cures, none of which ever do cure, although some of them may give a little temporary relief.

At length the alarming sickness of the patient convinces everyone, excepting those who personally profit by his sufferings, that the physician was correct, and that the only sure and permanent cure will be effected by the removal of the thorn.

### THE ONLY CURE.

The next step, therefore, is a surgical operation, which, through the long delay, has now become somewhat more difficult to perform; but all the more necessary, from the fact that the poison has by this time permeated the whole system, and dangerously lowered the man's vitality.

It would naturally be thought that no further delay would take place, but, strange to say, two factions at once arise among the man's friends.

On the one side, those who have been profiting by the man's sufferings are so blinded by self-interest that they will not admit the need for an operation.

And on the other hand are many real sympathisers, so muddled in their intellects, and so chicken-hearted, that they are horrified at the very thought of an operation, which will involve the loss of blood and possible danger to the patient's life.

### CRY OF THE SOFT-HEADS.

So with one accord these latter say: "Do not attempt to operate for a little while, but wait until under our

new system of treatment the patient grows stronger. Help us, meanwhile, to fight and overthrow the traitors who profited on this man's misfortunes. When they are driven out of the house we will prepare him for the great operation we are convinced is necessary to save his life.

"But," they continue, "he cannot wait for that good time without something to go on with, and we have therefore compounded, with great skill and care, a complete course of restorative remedies, a single bottle of each guaranteed to make a new man of the most obstinate and incurable invalid.

"One large bottle of Tariff pills," they remark impressively, "will enable him to sit up and take a little nourishment. The Right to Work Mixture will keep him so busy that he will have no time to worry over his sufferings. The Anti-Profiteering poultice will relieve his mind, find congenial jobs for his friends, and hurt nobody.

"The Arbitration liniment, the Accident Compensation ointment and the Fair Rents embrocation will all assist in allaying the pain, and, together with a number of other medicines too numerous to particularise, all of which are pleasant to take and perfectly harmless, will assist in driving all thoughts of the impending operation out of his head.

"Then," they concluded, "when our beloved friend has become healthy, prosperous, educated and happy the operation may be successfully performed, without risk to his life or to our peace of mind."

### BE SCIENTIFIC.

These arguments, having reached the general levels of the unintelligence of the man's friends, prevailed, and the physician went away sorrowing, for he was a worthy man of much kindness and wisdom.

And behold, the next day the afflicted man, becoming maddened with his great sufferings, ran amok, killing many of his "friends," then died in terrible convulsions.



Had they listened to the voice of the man of science, these things would not have happened.—A.R., in "Common Cause."

[Moral.—The only way to end social evils is to remove the cause—Capitalism. Palliatives can no more end social evils than dropping liver pills into the crater of a volcano can stop it erupting.]

### "Moderation."

(By William Lloyd Garrison, America's most ardent anti-slavery agitator, 1805-1879. The following pronouncement marked the beginning of the anti-slavery campaign.)

"I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as Truth, and as uncompromising as Justice. On this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen—but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present."

## Workers! Beware!

### KEEP CLEAR OF THE "QUACKS."

The "Labor Party" supports Capitalism.

The "Labor Party" supports the exploitation of the working class.

The "Labor Party" supports Capitalist war.

The "Labor Party" supports unemployment.

The "Labor Party" supports prostitution.

The "Labor Party," through its Governments, denies Socialists free speech.

The "Labor Party" has joined hands and secured a "united front" with the Czars, Kaisers, Kings, Capitalists and fake "Communists" in advocating that bloody thing called "National Sentiment."

The "Labor Party" has formed a "united front" with the Capitalist Class to fight against the formation of One Big Socialist Union.

The "Labor Party" is still betraying the Working Class.

The "Labor Party" is a masked battery of Capitalism.

The "Labor Party," through its Governments, would order the machine-gunning of Socialists who attempted to abolish Capitalism.

The fake "Communist Party" supports the "Labor Party" and Capitalism.

The "Labor Party" is in the pay of the Capitalist Class.

Workers! Do you think that the Capitalists who fight you over a half-penny per hour in your wages, or over an hour a week in your working time, are giving your "leaders" thousands of pounds to help them fight the Capitalists in your interests? Are you



such simpletons as to believe that such payments are in your interest?

The correct term for an individual or organisation that sells itself for base purposes is prostitute.

The "Labor Party," by being up for sale to the highest bidder, and selling itself for ulterior Capitalist purposes, has become a Public Prostitute.

The fake "Communist Party" solicits support for that Public Prostitute.

An organisation or person that solicits support for a Public Prostitute is a Procurer.

Therefore, the fake "Communist Party" is a Procurer, and its would-be Dictators are Procurers.

The fake "Communist Party" supports conscription in the coming war.

The great Karl Marx ridiculed their idea.

Do these "cackling geese"—or something worse—think they understand Capitalism better than Marx did?

The Capitalist Class have paid other enemies of the Working Class to advocate conscription.

The anarchistic "Communist Party" also advocates overthrowing Capitalism with the "gun."

The Capitalist Class has paid agents-provocateurs to go among the workers and advocate the same thing.

The majority of the members of the fake "Communist Party"—as members of the "Labor Party"—are in the pay of the Capitalist Class.

We do not say that the fake "Communist Party" or its members are in the pay of the Capitalist Class to advocate conscription or the overthrow of Capitalism with the "gun."

But we do say that the fake "Communist Party," or its leaders, are either paid by the Capitalist Class to advocate such things, or they are doing the work for nothing, and thereby scabbing upon those advocates and agents-provocateurs who have been paid by the Capitalist Class to advocate such things.

The fake "Communist Party" is afraid to meet the Socialist Labor Party out in the open before the Working Class on the aforementioned matters.

Some of the "leaders" of the "Labor Party" and the fake "Communist Party" are only what Marx termed "cackling geese," but most of them are what Lenin termed "the agents of the Capitalist Class among the Working Class."

Neither "cackling geese" nor "agents of the Capitalist Class" can emancipate the Working Class or be trusted by the Working Class—except at its peril.

The bulk of the membership of the fake "Communist Party"—lacking one of the first essentials of a revolutionary body, viz., self-reliance, and too cowardly to stand alone—has slunk into the "Labor Party" and the Craft Unions.

If the fake "Communist Party" succeeds in its attempt to "capture" the "Labor Party," in the coming war the Nationalist Party and the "Labor Party" will both be in favor of conscription, and they will have a "united front."

The "Labor Party" is in the pay of the Capitalist Class.

The fake "Communist Party" is either in the pay of the Capitalist Class or is scabbing upon those advocates and agents-provocateurs who have been paid.

The "Labor Party-Communist Party" combination is a menace to the Working Class.

Workers! If you value your lives stand clear of the Public Prostitute, and its Conscriptionists and Procurers!

Workers! Beware!

[Note.—This article mentions only the present crimes of the "Labor" Party and its Procurers. To narrate their past crimes would require a very large book.]

[Note.—This article was first published in the Socialist Labor Party Section of the "One Big Union Herald" (Melbourne), October 1, 1924.]



Face  
  
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Facts!

## A Many-faced Serpent.

"And the enemy is most dangerous when he comes as a friend to the fortress, when he slinks in under cover of friendship, and is recognised as a friend and comrade."—William Liebknecht, at Berlin, 1899.

An organisation for the purpose of ending Capitalism and inaugurating Socialism must be based on the recognition and acceptance of—and adopt principles and tactics in conformity with:

1. The Materialist Conception of History, as stated by Marx;
2. Marx's analysis of Capitalist Production—especially his conclusions as to the Commodity, Value, Capital, Labor Power, Exploitation of Labor Power and Production of Surplus Value;
3. The Class Struggle, as stated by Marx;
4. Marx's analysis of Capitalism;
5. Marx's analysis of the Capitalist Class State and his conclusions that it is "an engine of class despotism," and that its destruction is a prerequisite to Socialism.

The test to be applied to every organisation claiming that it is against Capitalism and in favor of Socialism, and capable of instructing and organising the workers and calling itself "Labor," "Communist," "Socialist," or any other name, is: Does it conform with the aforementioned statements of Marx?

If it does not, it is either ignorant of the vital matters mentioned, and therefore too ill-informed, or it is aware of such matters and too weak, cowardly and opportunist to act in conformity with such knowledge. It is either too ignorant or too weak, etc., to be a revolutionary organisation.

The test to be applied to every individual claiming to be against Capitalism and in favor of Socialism,



and capable of instructing and advising the workers, is: Does he support an organisation that conforms with the aforementioned statements of Marx? If he does not he is either too ignorant or too weak, cowardly and opportunist to instruct and advise the working class as a revolutionary.

A great many organisations and individuals of the foregoing description that are claiming to be against Capitalism and in favor of Socialism, and capable of instructing and organising the working class, are not only not based on the recognition and acceptance of, or supporters of, the aforementioned statements of Marx, but are actually Capitalist and counter-revolutionary.

The Australian Labor Party (into which the fake "Communist Party" has, as far as possible, crawled) is an example of such organisations, and Mr. A. C. Willis, Secretary of the Coal Miners' Federation, is an example of such individuals.

Such organisations and individuals adopt a certain specious plausibility calculated to mislead the uninformed worker. An excellent sample of this specious plausibility was supplied by Mr. Evan Davies, of Wollongong, member of the A.L.P., and recently in one of its selection ballots for candidates for Parliament, and claiming to be a member of the now defunct "Communist Party."

Davies admitted, in reply to the S.L.P. speaker (on the Sydney Domain, Sept. 17, 1924), that the "Labor Party" stands for Capitalism, that it is in the pay of the Capitalist Class for ulterior capitalist purposes, and that it is a Public Prostitute. But when the S.L.P. speaker said that the members of Parliament of the A.L.P. were prostitutes, and that Davies, by taking part in the selection ballot, etc., had tried to become one of them, Davies objected.

He did not deny that the A.L.P. members of Parliament were prostitutes, but he claimed that he was in the A.L.P., and took part in the selection ballot, etc.,

for a "different purpose" to that of the A.L.P. members of Parliament. That they are there for a "different purpose" is the common excuse for the "Communists" and many other opportunists being in the A.L.P. What is the "different purpose"?

The A.L.P. Objective and Platform advocates Capitalist ownership, and their adoption would strengthen the Capitalist Class. The "Communists," etc., endorse the Objective and Platform, and demand their adoption. In addition, the "Communists" advocate Conscription (which the Capitalist Class has paid other enemies of the workers to advocate), and they advocate that the workers should overthrow the Capitalist State with "the gun" (which the Capitalist Class has paid agents-provocateurs to advocate).

Therefore, the A.L.P. prostitutes in Parliament, and the "Communists," both advocate Capitalist ownership and the strengthening of the Capitalist Class. The only important difference being that the "Communists" also advocate Conscription and "the gun," etc., which the Capitalist Class has paid its agents and agents-provocateurs to advocate. Therefore, in the matter of Principles, the "difference" between the A.L.P. parliamentary prostitutes and the "Communists" is not in favor of the alleged "Communists."

As the "Communists" support Capitalism, and as the greater includes the lesser, they support all the effects and crimes of Capitalism. And, as members or supporters of the A.L.P., they are supporters of all its crime and treachery against the Working Class. In Britain the MacDonald "Labor Government" (which is supported by the fake "Communists" both there and here) voted in favor of allowing soldiers to be used to shoot strikers, and committed many other crimes against the workers (see "The Dangers of Labor Governments" section of this pamphlet). In Australia the crimes of the "Labor Party" are well known.

The "Communists" in many cases are not only supporters of, but active participants with, the A.L.P.



parliamentary prostitutes in treachery against the workers. For example, in the matter of the fake "Labor Daily" in Sydney. The "Communists" have been, and are, assisting in the infamous and cowardly attempt to bleed the miners and other workers for money to pay towards keeping the mine-owners and other Capitalists on the workers' backs. **Every shilling given to the alleged "Labor Daily" is a shilling towards perpetuating Capitalism.**

The hands of many of these "Labor Party" traitors are still wet with the blood of the workers that they betrayed in the last war. Many of our comrades in Berlin and Buda-Pesth were done to death—when they bravely attempted revolution—largely through the treachery of the same type of Labor leaders as the leaders of the A.L.P.

In supporting Capitalism the "Communists" and other opportunists of the "Labor Party" support the exploitation of the Working Class, Capitalist war, unemployment, prostitution, etc.

In supporting Capitalism they stand behind every boss that victimises a Revolutionary, behind every Judge that jails a Revolutionary, behind every White Guard whose bullet kills a soldier or nurse of the Red Army, behind the assassin whose bullet helped to kill Comrade Lenin, and behind the murderers of the glorious Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and other brave comrades.

Instead of telling the workers the truth, these cowardly traitors indulge in intrigue, bombast, dishonesty, subterfuge, lying and treachery. One of Dante's monsters had many faces, each of which wore a fawning and obsequious smile. Whilst there was a slight difference in the expression of each face, they were all parts of the one foul monster, and each playing a part in one foul purpose.

So with the alleged "Communists," "Industrialists," "Militants," "Left-wingers," and all the other opportunists in the "Labor Party." Despite all their "dif-

ferences," they are all parts of the one foul capitalist and counter-revolutionary party, and with the one great foul purpose—the perpetuation of Capitalism.

The best way to kill this kept thing of Capitalism called the "Labor Party" is to expose it and defeat the purpose of its foul brood of opportunists and traitors by telling the truth about it and them, and, wherever possible, cut off the workers' cash from it and them.

[Note.—This article was first published in the Socialist Labor Party Section of the "One Big Union Herald" (Melbourne), November 1, 1924.]



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Facts!

## The "Labor Party."

### THINKING IN THE FIRST PERSON.

"Tear out each word that makes this foulness fair,  
Strip off the gold and show the monster there."

—Richard Le Gallienne.

"The [reformist] 'Labor Leader' of to-day  
limits his aspirations to the feathering of his own  
nest. . . ."—Daniel De Leon, in "Two Pages  
from Roman History."

The Australian Labor Party is composed of two  
elements—place-hunters and their dupes.

The unfortunate dupes imagine that the A.L.P.  
exists for the purpose of improving their conditions,  
whereas the A.L.P. exists only for the purpose of  
enabling place-hunters to become parasites.

The first and common purpose of the A.L.P. and its  
place-hunters is (as stated in the "Many-faced Ser-  
pent" article) the perpetuation of Capitalism. The  
second and individual purpose of each of the place-  
hunters is to become—either as a paid Union official  
or as a politician—a parasite on the workers.

The success of their second and individual purpose  
of becoming a parasite depends on the success of their  
first and common purpose of perpetuating Capitalism.

The perpetuation of Capitalism is as vitally neces-  
sary for the purpose of the place-hunter becoming a  
parasite as for any capitalist purpose. Therefore, the  
place-hunters unanimously support the perpetuation of  
Capitalism.

As there are far more place-hunters than places, a  
treacherous struggle generally occurs for the places. In  
an electorate where the election of "Labor Men" is  
considered certain, as many as 30 place-hunters  
nominate for the "Labor" selection. But in electorates



## THE "LABOR PARTY."

where it is considered that "Labor Men" have no chance, the place-hunters are very few.

In "Labor Party" Leagues where preferential voting has been adopted for the selection ballot, a cut-throat struggle ensues with "tickets," etc., for the best preference votes. For example, at the Marrickville booth in the "Western Suburbs Labor" selection ballot, which was held on November 8, 1924, "about 179 gave their first preferences to Lazzarini," and 130 of them, obviously voting to a "ticket," put McTiernan (an at least equally capable man) last; and probably other voters, voting to a ticket in the interest of McTiernan, were placing Lazzarini last in other booths.

In electorates where proportional representation exists, the struggle among the place-hunters does not end with the "Labor selection ballot." After the three or five (as the case may be) "Labor candidates" have been selected—from perhaps 30—the three or five commence a further cut-throat struggle among themselves for No. 1 "Labor votes."

For example, in the Sydney State electorate in N.S.W. in March, 1922, Smith and Buckley ("Labor candidates") were both appealing for No. 1 votes with large advertisements, etc., pasted on walls. During the nights of the election campaign representatives of each repeatedly posted their advertisements over the advertisements of the other. Of course, all the struggling of the rival place-hunters for seats in Parliament is for the sole and exclusive benefit of the working class!

Now read carefully what the place-hunters—having become parasites—demand for themselves and what they consider good enough for the unemployed members of the working class. The parasites' salaries and the unemployed doles to workers are both drawn from the Capitalist State. Note the difference between what the parasites draw for themselves and what they allow the unemployed to draw from the Capitalist State purse. The figures for the politicians' salaries are approximate:

## N.S.W. PARLIAMENT.

Income Per Year.

Income Per Week.

	Politician.	Unemployed Worker.	Politician.	Unemployed Workers.	Politician.	Worker.
	£	£	£	s.	Income of—	
Ms.L.A. . .	600	46/16/-	12	18/-	1	equals 12
Ministers—						
1 at ..	900	46/16/-	17	18/-	1	.. 19
8 ea. at	1500	46/16/-	29	18/-	1	.. 32
1 at ..	1600	46/16/-	31	18/-	1	.. 34
1 at ..	2000	46/16/-	38	18/-	1	.. 42

## FEDERAL PARLIAMENT OF AUSTRALIA.

Ms.P. . . .	1000	46/16/-	19	18/-	1	.. 21
Ministers—						
8 ea. at	1650	46/16/-	32	18/-	1	.. 35
1 at ..	2100	46/16/-	40	18/-	1	.. 44

## BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS PARLIAMENT.

Ms.P. . . .	400	46/16/-	8	18/-	1	.. 8
Ministers—						
1 at ..	702	46/16/-	13	18/-	1	.. 15
2 ea. at	904	46/16/-	17	18/-	1	.. 19
1 at ..	924	46/16/-	18	18/-	1	.. 19
3 ea. at	1000	46/16/-	19	18/-	1	.. 21
7 ea. at	1200	46/16/-	23	18/-	1	.. 25
13 ea. at	1500	46/16/-	29	18/-	1	.. 32
13 ea. at	2000	46/16/-	38	18/-	1	.. 42
4 ea. at	2500	46/16/-	48	18/-	1	.. 53
1 at ..	3000	46/16/-	58	18/-	1	.. 64
1 at ..	4500	46/16/-	86	18/-	1	.. 96
9 ea. at	5000	46/16/-	96	18/-	1	.. 106
1 at ..	6000	46/16/-	115	18/-	1	.. 128
1 at ..	7000	46/16/-	135	18/-	1	.. 149
1 at ..	10,000	46/16/-	192	18/-	1	.. 213



The last two columns of figures can also be read as: the income of one politician for one year equals an unemployed worker's income from the 18/- per week "dole" for twelve years. For example, the House of Commons politician, who is the lowest paid, receives as much in one year as the unemployed worker in eight years; and the highest paid politician receives as much in one year as the unemployed worker in two hundred and thirteen years.

In N.S.W. the unemployed do not receive money, but orders for food, and in most cases the value is below the 18/- we have allowed.

In addition to the foregoing list of places for parasites, many other parasites are required, at correspondingly large salaries, such as Agents-General, Commissioners, etc. For example, a British "Labor member" named O'Grady, who has just been knighted, has "accepted" the Governorship of Tasmania at £2750 per year. In many cases the parasites have private income in addition to their "official" income.

The place-hunters of the A.L.P. not only become parasites on the workers, but expect, and get, the A.L.P. to bleed duped workers for cash to put the would-be parasites on the workers' backs and keep them there. No self-respecting donkey would pay into a party organised for the purpose of lifting men on to his back and keeping them there, but the duped worker that supports the A.L.P. pays.

The following extracts from the Sydney "Daily Telegraph" of January 3, 1924, show clearly that the A.L.P. parasites intend to let the dupes continue to pay into the A.L.P. to keep the parasites in their positions:

#### "ACID TEST FOR M's.P.

"Mr. W. Carey, General Secretary of the A.L.P. in N.S.W., in a letter to Mr. A. Blakeley, M.P., Secretary of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party, says:

"I am directed by the Finance Committee to bring under your notice the serious financial position of the Executive, and to request your urgent and immediate

assistance, with a view to approaching Federal Labor members and Senators for donations to tide us over a very difficult period. . . . The position of the Executive just now is very acute. Difficulty is experienced in securing sufficient funds to meet current expenses, including wages. . . ."

"Mr. Blakeley has forwarded a copy of the above letter to Senators and Ms.P., with the following remarks:

"As you are no doubt aware, there have been many schemes drafted during the past 12 months for a compulsory monthly levy from Parliamentarians. . . . Several of those I have spoken to agree with me that it would be preferable to make a voluntary contribution than to have any more talk of levies. Several members have decided to contribute £5 forthwith.'"

Note that Blakeley says that several of them "agree" with him "that it would be preferable to make a voluntary contribution than to have any more talk of levies." Also note that only **several members** have decided to contribute £5—and that only through threats of levies. The Federal members referred to receive £1000 per annum and travelling expenses. Therefore, after paying the £5 they had only £995 between each of them and the bread-line. Five pounds out of every £1000 is nearly 1½d. out of every pound! Could generosity go further? Could the parasites have shown greater or more superb contempt for "filthy lucre"?

Although the parasites expect the dupes to do the paying, they object to the dupes having control over them. For example, at the last N.S.W. Conference (April, 1924) of the A.L.P., a resolution was carried by the necessary two-thirds majority in favor of providing machinery for the recall of members of Parliament (see "Daily Telegraph," 28/4/24).

That resolution involved A.L.P. candidates signing undated resignations before being endorsed, such resignations to be left in the keeping of the A.L.P. Execu-



tive, which was to have the power to recall the politician if he voted against their principles.

The politicians refused to sign such undated resignations, and, supported by the Capitalist press, they bluffed and beat the Executive. No one but the credulous dupes of the A.L.P. would have expected the parasites to allow the Party (that exists only for the parasites' benefit) to control them.

The aforementioned statements make clear the opportunist-place-hunter-parasite attitude to the recall and salaries. Now note the Revolutionary Socialist attitude. Lenin says:

"The control of all officials, without exception, by the unreserved application of the principle of election, and at any time recall; and the approximation of their salaries to the 'ordinary pay of the workers'—these are simple and 'self-evident' democratic measures . . ." (See "The State and Revolution," by Lenin, page 45.)

And Frederick Engels and Karl Marx say:

"On the 1st of April, 1871, the Workers' Government of Paris 'decided that the highest salary of a functionary of the Commune, whether a member or otherwise, was not to exceed' £4/19/3 per week. 'From members of the Commune downwards, the public services had to be done at **workmen's wages.**' '**Plain workingmen, constituting the Workers' Government, under circumstances of unexampled difficulty, performed their work modestly, conscientiously and efficiently.** The workers' representatives were subject to the recall." (See "The Paris Commune," New York Labor News Co. edition, published 1920.)

Can anyone imagine the A.L.P. parasites reducing their salaries to the equivalent of the wages of "workers," or paying all they receive over a "worker's" wages into their organisation? Can anyone, apart from the dupes, imagine them working "modestly, conscientiously and efficiently" in the interest of the working class?

If there be such a credulous person, apart from the dupes, let him ask the A.L.P. parasites or paid Union officials, at a public meeting, if they are in favor of "the approximation of their salaries to the ordinary pay of the workers," or are they prepared to pay into their organisation all they receive in salaries over and above a worker's wages? After asking the question, the questioner may realise a little more clearly what Marx meant when he wrote of "the furies of private interest."

Can anyone imagine there would be such a rush of craft Union fakirs, budding lawyers, broken-down parsons, land agents, etc., for positions as "Labor members," if they were only going to receive the equivalent of the ordinary worker's wages?

The Australian Labor Party—with its cliques of "bawlers"—self-styled "Communists," "Industrialists," "Militants," "Left-wingers," "Moderates," etc.—is composed of two elements—place-hunters and their dupes. And the poor dupes pay towards lifting the place-hunters on to their backs! Not satisfied with the weight of the Capitalist on their backs, they assist his "lieutenants," or what Lenin calls the "agents" of the Capitalist on to seats beside him.

The A.L.P. exists only for the making of place-hunters into a second army of parasites on the workers.

The application of Revolutionary principles in such an organisation is impossible.

The Socialist Labor Party exists for the purpose of ending Capitalism, and giving all parasites the opportunity to work or starve.

[Note.—This article was first published in the Socialist Labor Party Section of the "One Big Union Herald" (Melbourne), December 1, 1924.]



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Facts!

## The Dangers of "Labor Governments."

"The serious horrors are those which seem entirely respectable and normal to respectable and normal men."—Preface by Bernard Shaw. to Brieux's Plays.

"And the enemy is most dangerous when he comes as a friend to the fortress, when he slinks in under cover of friendship, and is recognised as a friend and comrade."—Wilhelm Liebknecht, at Berlin, 1899.

This article—which will be the sixth and last of this series—will state, among other matters: (1) The nature of some of the laws made by "Labor Governments" in conjunction with other capitalist governments; (2) the nature of some of the laws made by "Labor Governments"; (3) the nature of some of the acts of administration by "Labor Governments"; (4) that under Capitalism Labor Governments are impossible; (5) the effects of "Labor Governments" on the character of the working class; and (6) how "Labor Governments" are a grave danger to the working class.

Limitations of space prevent the mention of more than a small number of the very large number of instances that could be quoted.

The facts stated herein should be kept constantly before the working class. As the world is on the eve of another great war, the facts relating to war measures are important.

Facts relating to the various "Labor Governments" will be stated in the following order: State, Federal and Imperial.



**"STATE GOVERNMENTS."**

In New South Wales the "Labor" and Nationalist Governments are jointly responsible for the law under which summonses are being issued and men and boys employed on the Illawarra coalfield sentenced to imprisonment. Under this law, if any worker takes part in what is termed an "illegal strike" to improve conditions, "he shall be deemed guilty of a default of public duty" and be liable to a penalty of fifty pounds or imprisonment for six months.

The "Labor" and Nationalist Governments of New South Wales are also jointly responsible for the Preference to Soldiers Act. In the passing of this Act the "Labor Party" went farther than the Nationalist Government proposed to go in attempting to prevent a worker who was not prepared to go to war for the capitalist class getting employment.

"Labor Governments" of N.S.W. have garnisheed workers' wages for striking (and left their wives and children without food); sent police to protect scabs; issued a proclamation calling for scabs to take the place of striking unionists who were seeking to force the gas trust to pay them nine shillings per day instead of eight; kept the police listening to and taking shorthand notes of Socialist speakers' statements for years, and prosecuted Socialists after they had been attacked by mobs incited by Nationalist politicians.

"Labor Governments" in Queensland—on behalf of the Capitalist Class and with the applause of the Capitalist press—fought and defeated the workers' attempt to raise wages from £4 to £4/5/- per week, and their attempt to reduce their hours from 48 to 44 per week. They also sent armed police against strikers and they victimised railway employees who refused to take the police by train to the scene of the strike.

The "Labor Government" in West Australia (1925) put the English crew of the steamer *Volumnia* in jail because they refused to assist the Bruce Nationalist Government and the ship-owners to lower the con-

ditions of the Australian seamen. When the first sentence expired and the men were released, they still refused to "scab," and the "Labor Government" put them in jail again.

**FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.**

Federal "Labor Governments," in conjunction with Nationalist Governments, are responsible for the "Defence Act." The following extracts are from it:

**"PART IV.—LIABILITY TO SERVE IN THE CITIZEN FORCES IN TIME OF WAR.**

"59. All male inhabitants of Australia (excepting those who are exempt from service in the Defence Force) who have resided therein for six months and are British subjects and are between the ages of eighteen and sixty years shall, in time of war, be liable to serve in the Citizen Forces.

"60.—(1) In time of war it shall be lawful for the Governor-General, by proclamation, to call upon all persons liable to serve in the Citizen Forces to enlist and serve as prescribed."

In Section 61 the politicians very carefully exempted all members of Parliament, parsons and policemen from service in time of war. And in Section 53 the politicians very carefully gave the Governor-General the power to send other citizens to any part of the world.

"53. In time of war the Governor-General may, subject to the provisions of this Act, place the Defence Force or any part thereof under the orders of the Commander of any portion of the King's Regular Forces or the King's Regular Naval Forces, as the case may be."

Those transferred would be subject to the British Army Act, and could be sent anywhere.

"74.—(1) Any person, of whom information is required by any officer or person in order to enable him to comply with the provisions of this Act relating to enlistment or enrolment, who refuses or neglects



(without just cause, proof whereof shall lie upon him) to give such information, or gives false information, shall be guilty of an offence.

"Penalty: Imprisonment for twelve months or twenty pounds for each item of information demanded and refused or neglected to be given or falsely given, or both.

"(2) Any person appointed in that behalf who (without just cause, proof whereof shall lie upon him) refuses or neglects to make any enrolment, or to make or transmit, in the prescribed manner, any prescribed roll or return, or copy thereof, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding fifty pounds.

"(3) When an offence against this section is tried by court-martial the court may, in lieu of sentencing the offender to imprisonment, sentence him to detention for the same period as that for which he might have been sentenced to imprisonment or for any less period.

"75. Any person who—

"(a) When called upon in pursuance of this Act to enlist, fails to attend at the time and place appointed for medical examination or enlistment; or

"(b) Counsels or aids any person, who is liable to enlist in the Defence Force, to fail to enlist or to evade enlistment; or

"(c) Counsels or aids any person who has enlisted or who is liable to enlist in any part of the Defence Force not to perform any duty he is required by this Act to perform; or

"(d) Conceals or assists in concealing any person who is liable to enlist in the Defence Force— shall be guilty of an offence.

"Penalty: Fifty pounds, or imprisonment for six months, or both.

"76. Any man who has enlisted or who is liable to enlist for service in the Defence Force, and who refuses or neglects to take the oath set out in the Third

Schedule, when tendered to him by a Justice of the Peace, or by an officer, shall be guilty of an offence.

"Penalty: Imprisonment for six months."

The oath is as follows:

### "OATH.

"I swear that I will well and truly serve Our Sovereign Lord the King in the Forces of the Commonwealth of Australia for the term of years or until sooner lawfully discharged, dismissed or removed, and that I will resist His Majesty's enemies and cause His Majesty's peace to be kept and maintained, and that I will in all matters appertaining to my service faithfully discharge my duty according to law. So help me God."

If the oath were stripped of all camouflage it would read: "I swear that I will well and truly serve Our Sovereign Lord Capital in the Forces of the Capitalist State of Australia for the term of years or until sooner lawfully discharged, dismissed or removed, and that I will resist Capital's enemies and cause Capital's peace to be kept and maintained and that I will in all matters appertaining to my service faithfully discharge my duty according to law. So help me God."

If the nature of the oath were thus placed in its true light the workers would more easily perceive the treachery of "Labor Governments" in making law to punish decent people who refuse to fight and die to defend or strengthen the Capitalist State. Now read Section—

"77. Any person who—

"(a) Procures or persuades any members of the Defence Force to desert; or

"(b) Aids or assists any member of the Defence Force in deserting; or

"(c) Knowing any person to be a deserter from the Defence Force, conceals him or aids or assists him in concealing himself— shall be guilty of an offence.



"Penalty: Fifty pounds or imprisonment for six months, or both.

"78. Any member of the Citizen Military Forces who, having been required to serve pursuant to a proclamation made under Part III. of this Act, and any person who, having been required to serve pursuant to Part IV. of this Act, absents himself without leave for a longer period than seven days from his corps or from the place at which he should be present, shall be deemed to be a deserter and shall be liable to the punishment provided for desertion by the Army Act.

"95. Every person who has been lawfully ordered or summoned to attend a court-martial to give evidence or produce documents, and who not being a member of the Permanent Forces has been paid or tendered reasonable expenses of his attendance, or who is before the court and who without just cause (proof whereof shall lie upon him)—

"(a) Disobeys the order or summons to so appear; or

"(b) Refuses to be sworn as a witness; or

"(c) Refuses or fails to answer any question which he is required by the court to answer; or

"(d) Refuses or fails to produce any documents which he is required by the court to produce— shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding one hundred pounds.

"100. No proceedings of any court-martial constituted or appointed under this Act shall be set aside or deemed void for want of form, or be removed by certiorari or otherwise into any civil court."

This section places the military law above the civil law.

From the foregoing extracts from the joint product of "Labor" and Nationalist Governments called the Defence Act, it will be seen that:

(1) They made a law to compel nearly all men between the ages of 18 and 60 years to fight for Capital when and where it wants them; and

(2) The politicians exempted themselves from doing what they attempt to compel other men to do; and

(3) Under Section 74 a woman who refuses to answer questions relating to her husband, father or son, or say where he is, in order to save him from the clutching hand of Capitalism, can be imprisoned for twelve months or fined twenty pounds for every question she refuses to answer or refrains from answering; and

(4) Anyone that fails to answer a call or counsels anyone not to can be fined fifty pounds or be imprisoned for six months, or both; and

(5) Anyone who refuses to take the oath can be imprisoned for six months; and

(6) Anyone who does not answer a call can be treated as a deserter under the Army Act and shot (see Clause 78); and

(7) Anyone who refuses to give evidence for the Government against the poor can be fined one hundred pounds.

#### "THE WAR PRECAUTIONS ACT REPEAL ACT."

The "Labor" and Nationalist Governments are also jointly responsible for "The War Precautions Act Repeal Act" (1920). Section 10 of this Act makes it unlawful for more than twenty persons to meet or be assembled in the open air on the streets within a large area surrounding the Federal Parliament House, Melbourne, to "make known their grievances or discuss public affairs," or "present any petition" or "complaint." "Penalty: One hundred pounds or imprisonment for six months, or both."

Under Section 11 any person who advises another not to enlist during war can be fined "one hundred pounds or be imprisoned for twelve months, or both."

Section 12 states that an "intention to effect any of the following purposes" is a "seditious intention":

"(a) To bring the Sovereign into hatred or contempt;



"(b) To excite disaffection against the Sovereign or the Government or Constitution of the United Kingdom or against either House of the Parliament of the United Kingdom;

"(c) To excite disaffection against the Government or Constitution of any of the King's Dominions;

"(d) To excite disaffection against the Government or constitution of the Commonwealth or against either House of the Parliament of the Commonwealth;

"(e) To excite disaffection against the connection of the King's Dominions under the Crown;

"(f) To excite His Majesty's subjects to attempt to procure the alteration, otherwise than by lawful means, of any matter in the Commonwealth established by law of the Commonwealth; or

"(g) To promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between different classes of His Majesty's subjects so as to endanger the peace, order or good government of the Commonwealth—  
is a seditious intention.

"24b.—(1) A seditious enterprise is an enterprise undertaken in order to carry out a seditious intention.

"(2) Seditious words are words expressive of a seditious intention.

"24c. Any person who—

"(a) Engages in or agrees or undertakes to engage in, a seditious enterprise;

"(b) Conspires with any person to carry out a seditious enterprise;

"(c) Counsels, advises or attempts to procure the carrying out of a seditious enterprise, shall be guilty of an indictable offence.

"Penalty: Imprisonment for three years.

"24d.—(1) Any person who writes, prints, utters or publishes any seditious words shall be guilty of an indictable offence.

"Penalty: Imprisonment for three years.

"24e.—(1) An offence under either of the last two preceding sections shall be punishable either on in-

dictment or summarily, but shall not be prosecuted summarily without the consent of the Attorney-General."

Under this Act—which is a joint product of "Labor" and Nationalist Governments—any man who tells the truth about the House of Lords, or any Government in the Empire, or the truth about the exploitation of the working class, or the truth about the Capitalist States of the Empire, is liable to "imprisonment for three years." Aren't we lucky the Germans did not come and take away our "freedom"!

### CHILD CONSCRIPTION.

The Federal "Labor" Government made the law conscripting the children of Australia at 14 years of age—whereas the German ruling class did not conscript children till they were 18.

The armies and navies of Capitalism only exist to defend the material interests of different sections of the capitalist class. During strikes the military, and at times the navy, are used against strikers, and in every country the military are used as a bulwark against the workers' endeavors to obtain better conditions. Any party that places such a weapon as an army in the hands of the ruling class is acting against the working class interests.

Read carefully what Senator Gardiner, Labor member, said in the Senate on 2/11/11, according to "Federal Hansard," vol. lxi., page 2147:

"The riots that occurred at Broken Hill during the last strike were due solely to the bad management of the police, in my opinion. Suppose that matters had gone a little further, suppose that similar trouble occurred to-morrow, and that an application was made to the Federal Government to call out the Defence Forces. **In that event, the sons of the miners on strike would be called out to fight against their own fathers.**" We cannot escape from that position. "The compulsory training law gives power to order conscripts to be called out by the



**Commonwealth to shoot down their fathers and brothers."**

That law was placed on the statute book by the Federal Labor Party. Senator Gardiner also said:

"What would have been the position if domestic violence had occurred at Mount Lyell? Suppose that the Tasmanian Government declared that a state of domestic violence had occurred, and that they required the assistance of Federal troops. The Labor Government would have had to send troops to shoot down men who had been fighting the battles of Labor for years.

"Under the pretence of training young men for the defence of this country, **they are being drilled so that they may be used for a different purpose altogether**, without being told that they may be required for such purpose."

Only three (Rae, Reedy and Long) members of the Labor Party supported Gardiner's attempt to prevent conscripts being used against strikers.

Could any political party have placed a worse law upon the statute book? Fancy calling a party that makes laws under which boys can be used to shoot their own fathers and brothers a Labor Party!

### THE WAR PRECAUTIONS ACT.

The Federal "Labor Government" prepared and made law the War Precautions Act (1914). Under Section 4, Clause (da), the Governor-General was empowered to make regulations "to confer on the Minister power, by warrant, under his hand, to detain in military custody," without trial, for as long as he liked, anyone he thought fit.

The most important part of Section 6 reads:

"6.—(1) Any person who contravenes, or fails to comply with, any provision of any regulation or order made in pursuance of this Act shall be guilty of an offence against this Act.

"(2) An offence against this Act may be prosecuted either summarily or upon indictment, or if the regula-

tions so provide by court-martial, but an offender shall not be liable to be punished more than once in respect of the same offence.

"(3) The punishment for an offence against this Act shall be as follows:

"(a) If the offence is prosecuted summarily—a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds, or imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or both;

"(b) If the offence is prosecuted upon indictment—a fine of any amount or imprisonment for any term, or both;

"Provided that where it is proved that the offence is committed with the intention of assisting the enemy the person convicted of such an offence shall be liable to suffer death;

"(c) If the offence is prosecuted by court-martial—the same punishment as if the offender had been a person subject to military law and had on active service committed an offence under Section 5 of the Army Act:

"Provided that where it is proved that the offence is committed with the intention of assisting the enemy the person convicted of such an offence by a court-martial shall be liable to suffer death."

In Sub-clause b of Clause 3 (under which E. E. Judd was prosecuted on three charges in 1918) there is no limit to the amount of fine or imprisonment that may be imposed. In this section the "Labor Government"—although pledged to the "abolition of capital punishment"—introduced the "death penalty."

### WAR CENSUS ACTS.

The Federal "Labor Government" prepared and made law the "War Census Acts" (July 23, 1915, and May 30, 1916).

Under Sections 16 and 17 anyone who failed to fill in and forward to the Government Statistician a form containing all the information that the Capitalist State required of him, for war purposes, was liable, if prosecuted summarily, to a fine of fifty pounds, or imprison-



ment for three months, or both; if prosecuted upon indictment, a fine of five hundred pounds or imprisonment for one year, or both.

In the opinion of the "Labor Government," two Acts were necessary to apply Conscription for overseas service: (1) A War Census Act to get all the necessary information prepared upon which the (2) (Conscription Act) could be operated. The "Labor Government" did the preparatory half of the work of conscripting the people, but funked doing the second half—the passing of a law to conscript them.

### ACTS OF ADMINISTRATION.

The New South Wales State "Labor Government" prohibited the holding of anti-conscription meetings in the Sydney Domain in 1916. And prior to that another New South Wales "Labor Government" actually issued a proclamation calling for scabs to take the place of strikers.

Under the Federal "Labor Government's" child conscription law, over 15,000 children have been prosecuted.

The Federal "Labor Government" itself, under its War Precautions Act, put the censorship hard down on Socialists, harassed them with military and civil police, and jailed many Socialists and others for telling the people the truth and giving them good advice about the war. For instance, Louis Klausen was prosecuted and jailed by the "Labor Government" for telling the truth about the war. And Tom Barker was jailed, chiefly on account of his publishing the following placard:

#### TO ARMS!!

Capitalists Parsons  
Politicians Landlords  
Newspaper Editors and other  
Stay-at-home Patriots,  
Your Country Needs  
You in the Trenches.  
**WORKERS,**  
Follow Your Masters!

And the Federal "Labor Government" took Australia into the war and boasted that it sent more men to the trenches than the subsequent Nationalist Government—and the "Labor Party" promised, if returned to office, to send more. The blood of the majority of the 60,000 dead who went from Australia is upon the hands of the "Labor Party" and its Federal Government.

### THE BRITISH "LABOR GOVERNMENT."

The MacDonald "Labor Government" in England acted as spokesman and apologist of capitalist policy, sent secret police to Labor meetings, ordered the construction of battleships, voted in favor of the use of troops against strikers, sentenced workers at Cawnpore in India to four years' imprisonment for endeavoring to organise a workers and peasants' party, with the programme of an independent republic, and sent aeroplanes to bomb the wretched tribesmen of Mesopotamia.

And that is not all. After the war, the French Government took possession of the best buildings in the German towns in the occupied area, for use as brothels for nearly a quarter of a million black troops, and ordered the German people to supply their women and girls for the use of the blacks.

[These troops were still there on May 18, 1925. See Sydney "Sun" cable of that date.]

The whole of the black army was, and is, taken regularly in squads to the brothels. German women and girls were captured by the French soldiery and taken for the aforementioned purpose.

The bodies of girls who were children were found in the rubbish dumps of the brothels, where they had been thrown after the girls had been destroyed by the blacks.

The brave Edward Morel exposed the terrible crime in his famous pamphlet entitled "The Horror on the Rhine." After the publication of Morel's pamphlet the MacDonald "Labor Government" collaborated



with the French Government and acquiesced in and was a party to the continuance of the terrible crime (which is still in progress) of destroying women and girls in brothels for the use of the black troops.

And when the French paper franc had depreciated from 24 to 127 to the £1, and the French Capitalist State was in danger, the "Labor Government" of England induced Mr. Neville Montagu, Governor of the Bank of England, to go to Paris with the representative of Pierpont Morgan and make a joint cash loan of fifty million pounds to the foul French Government to save it from destruction. Could the "Labor Government" have committed a greater crime against humanity than in its crime against women and girls and its assistance of its foul Ally?

The aforementioned condonations of the crimes of Capitalism and the laws and acts of administration of the various "Labor Governments" were, and are, all for the purpose of strengthening the Capitalist State against the working class.

The individuals who compose "Labor Governments"—whether they happen to be the Government at the time or not—as supporters of Capitalism, are supporters of all the measures necessary to defend and strengthen Capitalism.

### THE CAPITALIST STATE.

The following extracts from the works of the Revolutionary Thinkers state clearly the nature of the Capitalist Class State, and the impossibility of using its machinery in the interest of the Working Class:

"... the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery and wield it for its own purpose."—P. 39, "The Civil War in France," by Karl Marx.

"At the same pace at which the progress of modern industry developed, widened (and) intensified the class antagonism between Capital and Labor, the State power assumed more and more the character of the national power of Capital over

Labor, of a public force organised for social enslavement, of an engine of class despotism. After every revolution marking a progressive phase in the class struggle, the purely repressive character of the Capitalist State power stands out in bolder and bolder relief."—P. 40, "The Civil War in France," by Karl Marx. International Library Edition, N.Y., 1900.

"One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.'"—From the joint preface by Marx and Engels to the German Edition of 1872 of the Communist Manifesto.

"The modern State, whatever its form, is essentially a capitalist machine; it is the State of the capitalist; the ideal total capitalist. The more numerous the productive powers are which it takes in hand the nearer it is to that ideal total capitalist; all the more citizens does it exploit."—P. 27, "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," by Frederick Engels.

"The modern State is pre-eminently an instrument intended to guard the interests of the ruling class . . . and . . . when it nationalises certain industries it does not do so for the purpose of restricting capitalist exploitation, but for the purpose of protecting the capitalist system and establishing it on a firmer basis."—"The Socialist Republic," by Karl Kautsky.

"The State is a social despotism, organised from above. . . ."—"The State: Its Origin and Functions," by William Paul, pp. 182-3.

"The political power of the State is to be taken for the purpose of abolishing it."—Daniel De Leon.

"According to Marx, the State is the organ of class domination, the organ of oppression of one class by another. Its aim is the creation of order which legalises and perpetuates this oppression by



moderating the collisions between the classes."—  
"The State and Revolution," by Nicholas Lenin,  
A.S.P. Edition, p. 7.

"The liberation of the oppressed class is im-  
possible . . . without the destruction of the  
machinery of State Power, which has been created  
by the governing class. . . ."—Lenin in his afore-  
mentioned book.

" . . . The State is, so long as Capitalism exists,  
necessarily a class State, and the Government of  
the State, with like necessity, is a class Government."  
—"No Compromise," by William Liebknecht, p. 57.

### CAPITALIST GOVERNMENTS.

All governments under Capitalism are executives  
of the Capitalist Class. Labor Governments cannot  
exist under Capitalism. So-called "Labor Govern-  
ments" are Capitalist Governments, masked as Labor  
Governments. Even so-called "Labor Governments"  
can only exist under Capitalism by false pretences,  
double dealing, chicanery, corruption, etc.

An ugly feature of "Labor Governments" is that,  
through, among other things, the child-like faith of  
many workers in them—it is harder for the Revo-  
lutionary Movement to organise effective resistance  
to "Labor Governments" than to undisguised Capiti-  
alist Governments.

### CAPITALIST CONSTITUTIONS.

"Labor Governments" attempt to lead the workers  
to believe that by making laws or amending the con-  
stitutions of Capitalist States, the workers' lives and  
interests can be protected. Whereas no law or amend-  
ment of constitutions of Capitalist States can protect  
the lives and interests of the working class.

That State only exists to protect the interests of  
the Capitalist Class. And when the existence of the  
State is at stake, whatever is necessary to preserve it  
takes precedence over all that may be embodied in the  
laws or constitution.

For example, the constitution of the U.S.A. stated,  
and still states, that every person is entitled "to life,  
liberty and the pursuit of happiness." But that did  
not prevent the Government, when war was started,  
taking men by force across the Atlantic to the  
trenches in France to fight for Capital—or imprisoning  
them for 20 years, or shooting them if they resisted.

No matter to what extent a Government breaks,  
or contemplates breaking, the laws or constitution,  
no court would dare attempt to restrain it if it said  
that its acts or contemplated acts were necessary for  
the "preservation of the State." Therefore, workers  
should ignore the political ignoramuses or "confidence  
men" who ask them to vote for a "Labor Govern-  
ment" to make laws or amend constitutions under  
Capitalism.

### CORRUPTION.

The inevitable corruption of "Labor Governments"  
under Capitalism is one of their worst characteristics.  
The corruption of undisguised Capitalist Governments  
is a splendid asset for Revolutionaries to use, on the  
ethical side, to discredit them; and such corruption  
does comparatively little harm to the working class.

But the corruption of "Labor Governments" has an  
incalculably demoralising and corrupting effect on the  
character of the working class. "Labor Govern-  
ments"—from the Ministers to their Leagues—are can-  
cerous growths, subtly destroying the morale of a large  
number of the working class; whereas the Revolution-  
ary Socialist Movement is intent upon promoting the  
character and moral fibre of the working class.

Through a great many members of the working  
class not realising that "Labor Governments" are dis-  
guised Capitalist Governments, and therefore enemy  
Governments, they are more dangerous to the work-  
ing class than undisguised Capitalist Governments.

"Labor Governments" under Capitalism limit their  
aspirations to the feathering of the nests of their own  
members. They must operate demoralisingly upon the



working class. "Labor Governments" are masked batteries from behind which the Capitalist Class can further enslave and further degrade the working class.

"Labor Governments" are only executives of the Capitalist State. Not by "Labor Governments" can the worker secure justice, but only by the spread of Socialist thought and the organisation of the working class in one great class-conscious, revolutionary, industrial Union for the purpose of ending Capitalism and inaugurating Socialism.

When a revolutionary crisis develops in Australia, and the revolutionary elements of the working class threaten to abolish Capitalism by industrial and political action the Capitalist Class will probably use "Labor Governments" to mask its moves. And the "Labor Governments" will probably defend the Capitalist State to the tune of "Constitutional means," "Democracy," etc., and order out the armed forces of the State to destroy the revolutionary forces with machine guns, poison gas, etc.

Capitalist Governments that are masked as "Labor Governments" are more dangerous to the working class than other Capitalist Governments.

The Revolutionary Socialist Movement must expose and fight "Labor Governments" without mercy and without quarter.

[Note.—This article was first published in the "Revolutionary Socialist," Sydney, May 1, 1925.]

## The Perfect Ass.

"An Ass was wishing in a hard winter for a little warm weather, and a mouthful of fresh grass to feed upon, in exchange for a heartless truss of straw and a cold lodging. In good time the warm weather and the fresh grass come on; but so much toil and business for asses along with it, that the ass grows quickly as weary of the spring as he was of winter. His next longing is for summer; but what with harvest work and other drudgeries of that season he is worse now than he was in the spring; and so he fancies he never shall be well until the autumn comes. But then, again, what with carrying apples, grapes, fuel, winter provisions, etc., he finds himself more harassed than ever. In fine, when he has trod the circle of the year in a course of restless labor his last prayer is for winter again, and that he may but take up his rest where he began his complaint."—L'Estrange's Fables.

In order to show the Perfect Ass in his true light, it is necessary to first state the basic facts of the system of society called Capitalism in which he lives.

Capitalism is based upon wage-labor and the capitalist ownership of the socially-operated means of production, such as factories, mills, etc., and of the raw materials, etc., on which social labor is expended.

In consequence of the capitalist class owning the aforementioned materials and material means of production, the members of the working class, in order to obtain food, clothing, shelter and fuel, must sell their labor-power to the capitalist class.

When the worker sells his labor-power to the capitalist, the whole value of the product created by



him belongs to the capitalist—the owner of his labor-power during working time.

If the worker sells his labor-power for eight hours he will probably receive in the form of wages a sum equal in value to that he produced in about two hours.

In other words, on the average, at least six hours' product out of every eight hours' product goes to the capitalist in the shape of surplus value.

In the manufacturing production of Australia the employee only receives on an average in wages about £17 out of every £100 he adds to the value of the raw materials, etc., in the process of production.

It is because of the commodity status of labor-power, and the fact that the capitalist only pays for labor-power about a quarter of what it produces, that the capitalist class accumulates great wealth.

As the worker is compelled to sell his labor-power for a wage he is termed a wage-slave, and the system of wage-labor is termed wage-slavery. It is the most degrading and brutalising form of slavery in the history of mankind.

\* \* \* \*

The wage-slave allows the capitalist to determine the number of hours the wage-slave shall work, when he shall work them, and what he shall receive for them.

The wage-slave allows the capitalist to determine the time he shall start work, the time he may have his lunch, and the time he can finish work.

For example, in Sydney recently, most of the wage-slave bakers were in the habit of starting work at 6 a.m., but the master-bakers forced them to start at 12 o'clock (midnight) instead. The few masters said, in effect, to the few thousand slaves: "We command you to work whilst we sleep"—and the slaves worked.

The slaves of New South Wales and Queensland allow about 26 men (controllers of big capital) to determine the conditions of their working life. And

the slaves of Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania allow about 23 men (controllers of big capital) to determine the conditions of their working life.

And the male wage-slave allows the capitalist to employ the male wage-slaves' sisters and daughters at half or less than half a male-slave's wages. For example, in N.S.W. the basic wage is £4/2/- per week for the male slave, and £2/1/6 per week for the female slave.

\* \* \* \*

When the wage-slave, who has a job, is retiring to rest, he either sets the alarm clock or tells someone to wake him in time for "work." His last thought on retiring is about work.

His first thought on awakening, during any hour of the night, is: "Is it time to get up for work?" He hopes that it is not, but is afraid that it is.

When it is time to get up, no matter how much his body craves for more rest, or how ill he may feel, he has got to get up.

If, while thinking about getting up, he doses off again, and is late, he will rush off, perhaps without breakfast, to catch tram, train, bus or boat.

If he arrives a few minutes late at his place of employment, he will stroll in in a leisurely, bold and manly way as befits a free man "who fears not any man," and is part owner of the British Empire.

If he has gone to work breakfastless, or without sufficient breakfast, and gets hungry about 10 or 11 o'clock, even though his lunch bag may be within a few feet of him, if his "Boss" is standing by, he will show that he is master of himself by exercising the masterly self-restraint and fortitude for which, as a Britisher, he is famous, and go hungry till dinner-time.

And, as if to remove any possible doubt as to his perfect self-mastery, if his "Boss" is standing by, he will refrain not only from eating his food, but from even speaking to his fellow-slave.



Thoughts of "work," or the matters closely relating to "work," are constantly in his mind.

When he starts work on a Monday he is soon wishing for dinner-time. When he restarts after dinner he is soon wishing for "knock-off" time. And from Monday till Friday he is wishing for Saturday.

His state of mind is constantly expressed by such inquiries, in a most subdued voice, as: "How is the time going?" and such statements as: "I wish it was knock-off time!" or, "I wish it was Saturday!" In winter he is wishing for summer, and in summer he is wishing for winter.

He enjoys his work so much that from starting time to "knock-off" time, from Monday to Saturday, from week to week, from month to month, from year to year, he is wishing his life away.

From day to day, like a horse in a treadmill, he goes through his dull routine. And—like a horse in a treadmill—no matter how fast he goes, he can't advance.

\* \* \*

The working-life of this poor package of meat and bones, by courtesy called a man, is such a continuous round of happiness that when his master starts a war for markets, raw materials, etc., he will go up, in large numbers, to the recruiting depot, and say, in effect, to his masters' recruiting sergeant: "I've come to enlist. Please take my name, my mother's and father's names, and the name of the place where I was born! Take my age and my height, my weight and my chest measurement. Examine my feet and my teeth, and my heart! Make sure I'm fit to kill! Pack me like a sardine aboard a transport! Put me in a trench in the mud and the blood and the stench—among the rats and other vermin! Let me go over the top! Let me charge a gun sending a ton of steel at a muzzle velocity of 3000 feet a second! Let me stop it! If there is any of my body left, let it go blue and green in the sun! Let it manure the field as a sacrifice to my master—my one true god—Capital!"

Of course, in addition to the monotony of his working life, the wage-slave suffers from the extraordinary hallucination that his master (who will "sack" him for speaking to his mate or for being five minutes late to work) wages war for "liberty" and "justice."

The monotony of his working life and his perfect faith in his master's cause are chiefly responsible for him volunteering to die for his master—something the four-footed Ass would not descend to.

But our Ass is not as other Asses. He is not a "dreamer"—like those "fanatical Socialists." He chases no "illusions"! He is a "sane," "practical," "level-headed" and "desirable" citizen. Can there be any doubt about it? Has not his master said so? And is not that "confirmation strong as Holy Writ"?

The wage-slave is so considerate to his master that, in many cases, he places a little of his scanty wages every week for years into the Funeral Funds of Friendly Societies and similar organisations, in order to save his master the expense of burying him when he is worn out.

And that is not all. In order that his master will not have to go to work, the wage-slave rears, in most cases, at least one slave to take his place when he is worn out or dead.

His last hours would be troubled—troubled with a kind of advance touch of "purgatorial pain"—if he thought his master would be without a slave when he had gone.

\* \* \* \*

The amount of work that required 2,000,000 cotton-ginners eighty years ago is done to-day by less than 2000 men; that of 6,000,000 stocking-knitters is done by less than 3000 boys; that of 2,000,000 thread-spinners is done by less than a thousand girls; that of the 500,000 screw-makers is done by less than 500 girls, etc., etc. To-day each worker produces on an average over a thousand times as much as his forefathers of eighty years ago.



As he produces so much, and serves his master so faithfully, surely he must receive a great reward! Surely he must be able to lay by a great store of food, etc., for rainy days—especially when the humble bee, without machinery, can gather sufficient honey in the sunny weather to feed himself through all the months of winter weather!

When the humble bee can make such provision, surely proud man, of special and divine creation, and made in the image of his God, can make such provision! Does he? Can he get a month's supply, much less a winter's supply, of the necessaries of life?

He gets a "living wage"—when employed. That is, sufficient food, clothing and shelter to keep him in working order and to reproduce his kind—so that when he is worn out there will be another slave to take his place.

As a class he starts work on Monday, gets paid Friday or Saturday, pays his debts, and on Monday morning he is "broke" again. Week after week he goes through the same routine.

The Monday morning after New Year's Day he is "broke," and the Monday morning twelve months later he is still "broke."

And if he worked on for six days a week for fifty years, or a hundred years, or a thousand years, or a million years, he would be as poor the Monday morning after the million years' work as the Monday morning he started.

Sisyphus was engaged on the task of forever rolling a huge boulder up a hill. When he got it to the top it immediately rolled down again.

Like Sisyphus, the worker starts on Monday morning to roll the boulders of want and poverty—that are threatening to crush him—over the hill, and every Monday morning the boulders are at the bottom again, and he starts his task all over again. Worse than Sisyphus, the worker loses ground every week!

Even the savage did not work for drones. But the wage-slave not only works for drones, and produces a thousand times more than the savage, but gets less.

Further, he has less freedom, rest and recreation than the savage. When unemployed he is more helpless than the savage, and can walk and look for work till, through lack of food, he collapses.

For example, on Thursday evening, 13/9/23, "a woman speaker, at a deputation on behalf of the unemployed to a State Minister at Parliament House, Sydney, was so weak from the effects of prolonged hunger that she collapsed after she had put the case for her four children, and had pleaded for work for her husband. It took a doctor twenty minutes with restoratives to revive her."—"Daily Guardian," 14/9/23.

And on Monday, 2/3/25, a worker collapsed for want of food on the road at Canterbury (Sydney), after having walked 30 miles that day looking for work.

And so, with alternating periods of work and unemployment, with heavy tread, like an ox in a yoke, from year to year, the wage-slave journeys on—with ever less food, clothing and shelter, and ever less security, and ever greater fear of unemployment—to a premature grave, an old age pension, an old men's home, or an insane asylum.

His future under Capitalism offers him nothing but work, unemployment and war. His outlook under Capitalism is "all dark and drear, and desolate."

And that is not all! Our Ass—as if in order to remove any doubt as to his being a Perfect Ass—among other things, does the following:

(1) Keeps his class divided into 603 Unions in Australia alone, with an army of paid official parasites, and with as many as nine Unions at one coal-



mine, and as many as 28 Unions at one dockyard; and

(2) Helps the Australian Labor Party, which only exists for the purpose of enabling place-hunters to become parasites; and

(3) Supports "Labor Governments" whilst they are passing laws making his son a conscript, and compelling himself to become a corpse fighting for Capital or a corpse if he won't, and making his mother, sister, wife or daughter an informer or prisoner (see "The Dangers of 'Labor Governments'" article); and

(4) Pays the Union and Labor Party parasites to dope him and keep him ignorant; and

(5) Votes to perpetuate his awful conditions and keep a drone class on his and his offspring's backs.

Could there be a more Perfect Ass? As an Ass he is perfection personified! Capitalism has produced the Perfect Ass.

\* \* \* \*

All the great social evils in the capitalist world today are due to the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class—as explained at the beginning of this article.

Why should we continue to give six out of every eight hours of every working day of our lives to the Capitalist Class?

Under a better system, even according to Flurscheim (a capitalist economist), if the most up-to-date means of production were applied to all industry, adult male labor alone would need to work only one hour two and a half minutes per day for 300 days per year to produce all the necessaries of life. To produce all the luxuries in addition they would need to work only two hours and twelve minutes per day for two months in the year.

Lord Leverhulme, in his preface to Professor Spooner's book, "Wealth from Waste," says: "We might with the means science has already placed at our disposal, and which are all within our know-

ledge, provide for all the wants of each of us in food, shelter and clothing by one hour's work per week for each of us from school age to dotage."

Could there be a sadder spectacle than what Mr. Joseph McCabe describes as "the whole terrible tragedy of generation following generation into the silence, content to have had a few hours of child-like pleasure, while they might so easily have made the world so rich and so harmonious"?—(R.P.A. Annual, 1925.)

\* \* \* \*

The only way to end "the whole terrible tragedy" is to abolish Capitalism and inaugurate Socialism. The Socialists alone advocate the ending of the exploitation of the working class and the inauguration of a masterless world.

The Australian Labor Party and the ghost of the alleged "Communist Party" do all in their power to perpetuate Capitalism and prevent the inauguration of Socialism.

Their leaders are what Lenin termed the "agents of the capitalist class in the ranks of the working class," and what Daniel De Leon termed the "Labor lieutenants of Capitalism." During election campaigns the fakirs promise the worker "a thousand splendors."

Although their promises are "as false as dicers' oaths," the worker, grasping at the possibility of a few more crumbs being thrown from his master's table to him, as to a dog, believes them.

Like Machiavelli's "Credulous Fool":

"This . . . [Ass] of ours, 'tis not hard to delight him—

If you tell him 'twill gain him his heart's wish and joy,

He'll believe in good faith that an ass can fly,  
Or that black is white, and the truth a lie—  
All things in the world he may well forget, ..  
Save the one whereon his whole heart is set."



As election day draws near, the things he has been promised seem almost within his reach, but—and irrespective of whether Nationalist or the "Labor Party" is in office—after election day he slowly realises that the promised things are still beyond his reach.

At election after election our Asses stand, like the meagre ghosts in Dante's Purgatorio, who catch at the apples on a tree whenever the apples seem within their reach, but immediately they commence to raise their hands they see the trunk of the tree lift the fruit beyond their reach.

\* \* \* \*

But the Labor Fakir's false promises serve a double capitalist purpose. Firstly, as Lord Bacon, Lord High Chancellor of England, said: ". . . the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes against . . . discontentment." Secondly, continuously raising the workers' hopes and disappointing them, is calculated to break the working-class fighting spirit in many thousands.

In doing all in their power to break down the workers' fighting spirit, the Labor Party and the ghost of the alleged "Communist Party" are rendering a damnable service of incalculable value to Capitalism.

While brave Comrades like Lenin, Liebknecht, Rosa Luxembourgh and countless others have died, and many others are dying for the workers' cause, the slimy, creeping, crawling Labor Fakirs have been, and are, "feathering their own nest," and betraying the working class for capitalist gold.

The hands of many of them are still wet with the blood of the workers they betrayed for capitalist gold on to the battlefields in the last war.

What cares the £8, £10, or £12 per week, with pickings, Craft Union Secretary, or the £12 per week, with pickings, N.S.W. State Labor politician, or the £20 per week, with pickings, Federal Labor politician,

if their poor betrayed victims die on the battlefield for Capitalism, or collapse on the streets from starvation?

The Labor Fakir does all in his power to keep the workers in the condition so well described by Plato, when he said:

"Like cattle, with their eyes always looking down, and their heads stooping to the earth, . . . they feed and breed . . . [and] kick and butt at one another with horns and hoofs which are made of iron, and they kill one another . . . [for their masters]."

The Labor Fakir's constant supplication to Capital is: "O Lord, I crawl before thee like a dog before the master who beats him. I am thy property. May thy will be done."

These lower than Judas vermin should be regarded with contempt and loathing by every honest worker. How well the poet describes the Labor Fakir when he says:

"Thou fakir fiend, in lowest depths of Hell,  
No devil's spawn conceived a fouler crime,  
Nor arts infernal wove a blacker spell  
Than thou, most callous scoundrel of all time."

And this scoundrel is supported by the Perfect Ass.

\* \* \* \*

If a person reads this article, and afterwards acts as a Perfect Ass, one will be justified in thinking that such person is, in the matter of the density of his head, related to the stone statues of men. If he objects to being regarded as related to the stone statues of men, someone should say to him, in the words of Juvenal:

". . . 'tis no bar to kindred, that thy block  
Is formed of flesh and blood, and theirs of rock."

\* \* \* \*

The Socialist Labor Party is the first and only scientific revolutionary Socialist organisation in Australia.



It has been, and still is, the only organisation in Australia that implacably and consistently exposes all the enemies of the working class.

It is the only organisation in Australia that the "kept" men of Capitalism fear.

It is the only organisation acting in accord with the teachings of the great Karl Marx.

It is the only organisation that dares to tell the truth. With its speakers and splendid literature, it is gradually enlightening the working class.

The Socialist Labor Party is transforming into men those poor human beings who have been dehumanised below the level of Asses and other beasts of burden.

The rapidly awakening section of the world's workers is the new world power. So:

"Swing inward O gates of the future!  
 Swing outward ye doors of the past!  
 A giant is waking from slumber  
 And rending his fetters at last.  
 "From the dust where his proud tyrants hold him  
 Unhonored and scorned and betrayed,  
 He shall rise with the sunlight around him,  
 And rule in the realm he has made."

[Note.—This article was first published in the "Revolutionary Socialist," March-April issue, 1925.]

THE END.

## The Pacific and War.

(The following article is published for the information of readers as a supplement to the foregoing matters.)

The map published by the Socialist Labor Party shows in bold outline the immensity of the Pacific prospect. On the one side there is the American seaboard, with Chili, Peru, the Central Republics, Mexico, the Western States, Canada and Alaska. On the other side are Australasia, China, Japan and Siberia. In between are many islands. Half the human race dwell on the lands washed by the Pacific.

They can supply each other with almost everything. The Pacific and its lands are both a vast market and a vast reservoir of raw materials.

Two instances will do: Alaska is exporting millions of pounds worth of fish, and contains vast mineral wealth. It has been termed "the storehouse of the future."

China's coal, already available, is estimated at twenty times the amount of the coal of Great Britain. The State of Shan Si, over which Japan, through Shantung, has practical control, is another South Wales for its fine quality of steam coal.

China's iron ore, in easily accessible deposits alone, is estimated at 60 million tons. She also has valuable oil fields, and produces rice, tea, cotton, silk, etc., in great quantities. China is also a vast reservoir of cheap labor. She will soon become one of the greatest centres of industry in the world.

England, Japan, France and America have awakened China from her sleep of centuries. Now they are struggling for possession of her vast wealth of coal, iron, oil, etc., for railway concessions, etc., and for



opportunities to exploit the labor-power of her millions of industrious workers.

America is Japan's keenest competitor in the East.

France is trying to prevent the importation of Japanese goods into French Indo-China, because they are cheaper than French goods, and if allowed in free would out-compete the French and cause factories in France to close down.

England and Japan are trying to prevent America and France expanding in China, and France is trying to prevent British expansion in Europe.

Oil is a cheaper fuel for generating power than coal. Both England and America want oil. The "Sunday Chronicle," London, has said:

"American oil men see the danger ahead; they are therefore scouring the world for new oilfields; only to find that British enterprise has nearly everywhere been ahead of them, and that the control of almost all the most promising properties is in British hands.

"The past of the oil industry belonged to America; its present is predominantly under her control; but its future, if we play our cards well, should be, and will be, British.

"America is not going to see her old supremacy in the oil world pass without a struggle; that she will fight hard and long to prevent the British concessions in Mexico, Central and South America from remaining in our hands; and this question of oil is going to prove one of the most contentious that has ever arisen between the two countries."

The struggle for oil will be one of the chief causes of future wars.

The American worker, on an average, through having about twice the machine power to operate, is producing about twice as much as the British worker.

Just as Germany was producing goods cheaper, and out-competing Britain in the world markets prior to the last war, so America is doing now. Such an

economic conflict inevitably leads to rivalry in armaments and war.

The taking of the Philippines advanced the frontiers of the United States 7000 miles across the Pacific.

The Versailles Conference confirmed Japan in the possession of the Caroline, Pelew and Ladrone Islands, excepting Guam, and of the Marshall Islands.

The effect of this arrangement has been to surround Guam with a cordon of potential Japanese strongholds and naval bases.

Guam is expected to become the principal American war station in the Western Pacific.

The creation of great naval forces with naval bases and great fortresses is a manifestation of a great struggle for markets and raw materials.

"Sea-power," as Admiral Mahan has said, "is but the handmaid of expansion; its begetter and preserver."

Singapore base is to protect the oil supplies of Borneo, and the British oil pipe-line in the Persian Gulf, and to control the Singapore gateway to the Pacific.

America has 192 war vessels at the San Francisco base.

When Commodore Perry, an American naval officer, visited Japan in 1853, she had ceased intercourse with the outer world for over two centuries. Since his visit she has become a great naval and military power.

The stage is being set for war between England and America. Japan and France are also preparing. Probably Japan will be England's ally, and probably France will be America's ally in the war.

Recognising that the majority of Australians are anti-Japanese (as a result of capitalist propaganda), the capitalist class of Australia now realise the necessity of changing that opinion, and are now discovering that what they and ill-informed people termed "a Yellow Peril" has become a golden friend.



The struggle between England and America for markets and raw materials inexorably and inevitably must end in war.

England and Japan probably will require Australia as a base and recruiting ground for fighters against America and France.

All sections of the world's capitalist class look alike to Socialists.

The workers should let the capitalist class, with its Kings, Mikados, Presidents, newspaper editors, politicians and parsons, have the sole and exclusive use of the trenches, battleships, fighting aeroplanes and other means of destruction in the coming war.

Many workers are living in a false sense of security, with no more idea of what the wholesale butcher Capitalism is preparing for them than sheep on the way to the slaughter-yard.

The article entitled "The Dangers of 'Labor Governments'" (published in this pamphlet) contains, among other important matter, the laws that will commence to operate immediately war is declared. Under these laws every male British subject (except politicians, policemen and parsons) between 18 and 60 years of age can be called to arms. Failure to answer the "call" renders him liable to the death penalty. Every man and woman should read the laws in the article.

Always remember that all members of all Capitalist Governments and all Capitalist Governments are liars.

While Capitalism lasts there can be no disarmament. The development of Capitalism intensifies its antagonisms, and an ever-increasing force becomes a necessity for its maintenance. Armaments are the tools of the capitalist business for forcing the gates of the world market, and war is nothing more than business (by proxy) in armorplate. Hence, while business exists so must armaments and their burdens continue. There is no middle way.

The last war was only a prelude to other wars. War is inevitable under Capitalism. The destruction of Capitalism and the inauguration of Socialism is the only way to end war. All other proposals shrivel up the instant they are brought to the test. Socialism is the only hope.

[Note.—This matter was first published, with a map of the Pacific, by the Socialist Labor Party on May 22, 1925.]

END.

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The Socialist Movement is the greatest movement in the modern world. If you require further information about it, become a subscriber to the "Revolutionary Socialist," published monthly, subscription 3/- per annum, post free; or write to the General Secretary, Socialist Labor Party Headquarters, 107 Liverpool Street, Sydney.

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## A REMINDER.

To Labor Leaders who know the true but, for  
pecuniary reasons, propagate the false.

“ . . . To side with Truth is noble when we share  
her wretched crust,

Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis  
prosperous to be just;

Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward  
stands aside,

Doubting in his abject spirit, till his Lord is crucified,  
And the multitude make virtue of the faith they had  
denied.”

—“The Present Crisis,” by Russell Lowell.