

# THE CASE FOR THE **O.B.U.**

By E. E. JUDD



Executive Member of the N.S.W. O.B.U. Congress, and  
One of the N.S.W. Delegates to the Interstate O.B.U.  
Congress held in Melbourne, January 11-16, 1919.

COPYRIGHT

Issued by the Executive of the N.S.W. O.B.U. Congress,  
May, 1919.

PRICE SIXPENCE.



---

---

# O.B.U.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE "WORKERS'  
INDUSTRIAL UNION OF AUSTRALIA"

---

**ONE PENNY per Copy**

---

**EVERYONE** who believes that the Working Class should own the means of production that it creates and operates; that Capitalism should be abolished, and a Socialist Republic established, with production for use instead of production for profit,

**SHOULD ASSIST TO INCREASE  
THE CIRCULATION OF THE**

**O.B.U. Paper**

---

Send all Orders to **J. S. GARDEN**  
Secretary

**N.S.W. Labor Council**  
Trades Hall, Goulburn Street  
SYDNEY

---

---

*Tom Judd  
with the Authors  
complement*

**PREAMBLE.**

*27.5.19.*

"Whenever any form of government is destructive to these ends—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and institute a new government, laying its foundation upon such principles and organising its powers in such form as may seem to them most likely to secure their safety and happiness." \*

"To rear the Socialist Republic; to abolish all class antagonisms by abolishing the last of the systems of human exploitation; to accomplish its own redemption together with that of the whole, not at the expense of any portion, of mankind—that is the historic mission of the working class; that is the noble aim that swells with pride the breast, and sweetens the present bitterness of the lot of every worker who is conscious of his class distinction and the obligation it imposes upon him." †

"There is no subject more important than the organisation of Labor. It is one that involves the future of the world. The whole course of human events depends upon it." ‡

\* Declaration of Independence of the United States of America.

† Karl Kautsky, "The Working Class," p. 32.

‡ H. E. Boote ("The Australian Worker"), 16/1/19.



**THE PREAMBLE OF**  
**The Workers' Industrial Union of Australia.**  
**ITS 6 CLAUSES.**

1. We hold that there is a class struggle in society, and that the struggle is caused by the capitalist class owning the means of production, to which the working class must have access in order to live. The working class produce all value. The greater the share which the capitalist class appropriates, the less remains for the working class; therefore, the interests of these two classes are in constant conflict.

2. There can be no peace as long as want and hunger are found among millions of working people, and the few who constitute the employing class have all the good things of life.

3. Between these two classes the struggle must continue until Capitalism is abolished. 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. Long experience has proved the hopeless futility of existing political and industrial methods, which aim at mending and rendering tolerable, and thereby perpetuating, Capitalism, instead of ending it.

4. The rapid accumulation of wealth and concentration of the ownership of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the Trade Unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because Craft Unionism fosters conditions which allow the employer to pit one set of workers against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby defeating each in turn.

5. These conditions can be changed, and the interests of the working class advanced, only by an organisation so constituted that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, shall take concerted action when deemed necessary, thereby making an injury to one the concern of all.

6. We hold that, as the working class creates and operates the socially-operated machinery of production, it should direct production and determine working conditions.

**THE CASE FOR**  
**THE O.B.U.**  
**OR**  
**THE PREAMBLE OF**  
**THE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION**  
**OF AUSTRALIA.**

**By E. E. JUDD.**

"Through the importance of their work, through their irreplaceability in the process of social production, the power of the working class is much greater than its numerical strength would have it appear. However, mere numbers and irreplaceability cannot alone give a class power, if it is not conscious of the same. Therefore, to numerical strength and indispensability as factors of working-class power, clear conception and knowledge must be added. Only through class-consciousness will the workers become conscious of the might slumbering in their economic irreplaceability, and be able to apply the same in their own interests."\*

"When the worker becomes class-conscious he feels himself the peer of the members of the higher classes; he contrasts his lot with theirs; he makes greater demands for the comforts of existence; he aspires to have a share in the conquests of civilisation; and, above all, he becomes more and more sensitive to oppression."†

"Class-consciousness is the basic prerequisite of Socialist organisation."‡

"**T**HE Workers' Industrial Union of Australia" aims at the abolition of Capitalism and the establishment of a Socialist Republic. It will be the Australian Section of the New International, which will unite the workers of all lands, and constitute the greatest power the world has known. A statement made for such a sublime cause, a statement that will

\* Adapted from Anton Pannekoek, "Industrial Union News," 1/12/18.

† Adapted from Kautsky, "The Class Struggle," p. 22.

‡ "Industrial Union News," 1/12/18.



be circulated among millions of our fellow workers, and that is calculated to assist to mould the thoughts and determine the actions of so many people, should be impregnable in truth and reason. The writing of such a statement carries with it a grave responsibility, while it has this great advantage—that the basis, nobility and grandeur of our cause makes it imperative to place all relevant facts in their true light and the whole of our case without reservation before the world.

The Socialist Movement is the only political and industrial movement that is in accord with economic development, and whose success is conditioned upon stating the truth. We say, straightly and frankly, that there is nothing in common between the capitalist class and us, and that we will continue to fight the capitalist class, on both the political and industrial field, until we have wrested the ownership of the socially operated means of production from them, and vested it in the whole of the community.

We want our mission perfectly understood. With all other movements the dominating note is “beware of the high, and hold fast to the safe”—however mean, sordid, and immoral the “safe” may be. The Socialist Movement is the only political and industrial movement in the world that has a “high” aim, and is prepared to do to all men as its members would like to be done by. The cultivation of class-consciousness in the working class, and their organisation for the purpose set forth in the Preamble of the W.I.U.A., are the most vitally necessary matters in the interests of humanity.

A sound and comprehensive knowledge of the W.I.U. Preamble, and the facts upon which it is based, is an indispensable prerequisite to class-consciousness and its expression in scientifically organised form.

## Clause 1.

### CAPITALISM.

The fundamental “fact” upon which the Preamble is based is Capitalism. To understand the Preamble a knowledge of the fundamental basis and the salient features of Capitalism is indispensable. There are three elements in production: “(1) The personal activity of the individual applied to a specific purpose, or labor itself; (2) the object on which the labor is expended; and (3) the means by which labor works.”\*

The “objects” on which labor is expended are land, minerals, forests in their native state, etc., and raw materials. “The means” by which labor is expended, or the “means of labor,” “is a thing, or a collection of things, which man interposes between himself and the object of his labor as the conduit pipes, as it were, of his own activity. He employs the mechanical, physical, or chemical properties of certain things as forces brought to bear upon other things according to his purpose.”† “Means of labor”—which are the results of previous labor—include roads, workshops, machinery, railways, ships, canals, mine shafts, tunnels, haulage machinery, hydraulic power, compressed air, steam power, and electric power.

The capitalist class own both the “means” by which labor is applied and the “objects” to which it is

\*Karl Marx's “Theory of Value” (Bellamy Library), p. 139.

† Karl Marx's “Theory of Value,” pp. 139-140.



applied. As the owners of those "means" and "objects"—which constitute two out of the three elements of production—the capitalist class purchase the third element of production—"labor-power."

"Under the name of 'labor-power' we include the entire collection of those physical and intellectual faculties which dwell in the human frame and constitute the living . . . [person], and some of which the individual puts into operation whenever he produces any kind of use-value." \*

### VALUE AND LABOR.

"Value" is the socially necessary labor embodied in commodities; or, in other words, value is the labor expended, with the "means of labor" in general use, in the production and transportation of commodities.

"The value of labor-power is determined, as in the case of every other commodity, by the labor-time necessary for the production and, consequently also, the reproduction of this special article. So far as it has value, it represents no more than a definite quantity of the average labor of society incorporated in it. Labor-power exists only as a capacity or power of the living individual." †

"A certain mass of necessaries must be consumed by a man to grow up and maintain his life. But the man, like the machine, will wear out, and must be replaced by another man. Besides the mass of necessaries required for his own maintenance, he wants another amount of necessaries to bring up a certain quota of children that are to replace him on the labor market and to perpetuate the race of laborers. . . . After what has been said, it will be seen that the value of laboring power is determined by the value of the necessaries required to produce, develop, maintain, and perpetuate the laboring power." ‡  
As a general law, the capitalists only pay—in the form of wages—the "value" of labor-power.

\* Karl Marx's "Theory of Value," p. 129.

† "Capital," by Karl Marx (Swan Sonnenschien edition), p. 149.

‡ "Value, Price and Profit," by Karl Marx ("New York Labor News" edition), pp. 42-43.

### "PRODUCTION OF SURPLUS-VALUE."

"Now suppose that the average amount of the daily necessities of a laboring man require four hours of average labor for their production."\* In that case the laboring man would, in working four hours, replace the amount of value expended in the production of his labor-power by another and equal amount of value. In other words, the worker would produce the equivalent of his daily wage in four hours. During those four hours the worker would be engaged in the production of value. Whatever time he worked beyond the four hours would be devoted to producing surplus-value—which is retained by the capitalist. "One part only of the workman's daily labor is **paid**, while the other part is **unpaid**." †

For example, if a bootmaker added ten shillings to the value of certain leather, nails, etc., in four hours, and that ten shillings was the equivalent of his wages, he would be paid for those four hours, but for the next four hours, in which he added another ten shillings to the value of more leather, etc., he would receive no payment, and those four hours would constitute "**the surplus-time or surplus-labor** performed for the capitalist." Such a process is equivalent to a man working at home for the first three days of each week to produce the necessities of life, and going into a capitalist's factory and giving the capitalist the three subsequent days' work for nothing.

"As he has sold his laboring power to the capitalist, the whole value of produce created by him belongs to the capitalist, the owner for the time being of his laboring power. By advancing ten shillings as the

\* "Value, Price and Profit," p. 44.

† See page 47, "Value, Price and Profit."



bootmaker's wages the capitalist will, therefore, acquire a value of twenty shillings, because advancing—as wages—a value in which four hours of labor are crystallised, he will receive in return a value in which eight hours of labor are crystallised. By repeating the same process daily, the capitalist will daily advance ten shillings and daily acquire twenty shillings, one-half of which will go to pay wages anew, and the other half of which will form **surplus-value**, for which the capitalist pays no equivalent. It is this **sort of exchange between Capital and Labor** upon which capitalist production, or the wages system, is founded.”\*

After what has been stated, it will be seen that Capitalism is based upon the ownership by a small section of the people—the capitalist class—of both the “objects” on which social labor is expended, and of the socially operated “means of labor,” and wage labor.

### THE TWO CLASSES.

Capitalist class ownership of the socially operated means of production, etc., divides the people into two separate and distinct economic classes—one, the class of employers; the other, the class of wage workers. The employers are the capitalist class; the employees the working class.

### THE WORKING-CLASS POSITION.

In many industries where men used to work with hand tools, those hand tools have been displaced by great and wonderful machinery, and instead of one man making a pair of boots, fifty men, women and children may socially make a pair in a factory. Social production has taken the place of individual production.

\* Paraphrased from “Value, Price and Profit,” p. 46.

As a general law, under Capitalism those who can produce commodities the cheapest get the trade. Capitalists with machinery, operated by employees working co-operatively, can produce commodities and sell them at a far lower price than working men without machinery. For example, John Hunter, boot manufacturer, with electrically-driven machinery and many employees working co-operatively, and purchasing leather, nails, etc., by the ton, can produce boots far more cheaply than a bootmaker making boots on his knees and buying leather by the pound. The manufacturer would as easily undersell the bootmaker, as John Brown, colliery proprietor, with electrically-driven coal-cutting machinery, electric haulage, railways, etc., operated by employees working co-operatively, would undersell a coal miner who cut coal with a pick, hauled it to the surface with a windlass, and took it to market in a wheelbarrow.

In consequence of the capitalist class owning the “objects” on which, and the means by which, Labor works, the members of the working class, in order to obtain food, clothing, shelter and fuel, must sell their labor-power to it.

### “THE WORKING CLASS PRODUCE ALL VALUE.”

“Value,” as we have seen, is the socially necessary labor embodied in commodities. By its labor applied to the materials provided by nature, the working class produces all value. For example, coal in its natural state—perhaps with layers of rock above and below it and hundreds or thousands of feet from the surface—has no value. But when labor makes the coal accessible for use it has value. Labor alone gives it value.



**THE FUNDAMENTAL ROBBERY.**

The working class produces all value, out of which they receive, perhaps, one-fourth in the form of wages. For example, a wage-worker engaged in the production of raw materials—such as gold, iron, copper, lead, zinc, timber, wheat, wool, etc.—may embody two pounds in value in the raw materials he produces in a day, and only receive ten shillings in the form of wages, or a bootmaker may, by converting certain raw materials—such as leather, cotton, etc.—into boots, add two pounds in value to the raw material in a boot factory in a day, after which he may receive ten shillings in the form of wages.

The same illustrations will apply to all industries in which raw materials are converted into finished commodities. The amount of value that the working class produce over and above their wages, and which is retained by the capitalist class, is called "surplus-value." In consequence of the capitalist class owning the "objects" and "means of labor" and purchasing the labor-power of the workers, it owns the commodities the workers produce.

As the capitalist class only pay the workers an average of about one-quarter of their product as the price of their labor-power, the workers are robbed of three-quarters of their product at the point of production. That is where the great robbery of the working class takes place.

**A STRIKING INSTANCE.**

The operations of the famous Broken Hill Proprietary Mining Company furnish a splendid illustration of where the workers are robbed. At its inception the company was only a small affair of seven £70 shares

—or £490 in all. Now its authorised capital is £600,000, and it has paid to its shareholders, out of the total products of its employees, to the end of 1917, in the form of dividends, cash bonuses, etc., the enormous sum of £13,031,653.

It is vitally necessary for the workers to realise that the great robbery takes place at the point of production; and that they should organise to prevent the capitalist class securing possession of the commodities there. The non-recognition of these facts has caused the workers of Australia to waste a vast amount of money, energy and time over the prices of commodities, instead of concentrating their forces for the purpose of securing the abolition of capitalist class ownership of the socially operated means of production and substituting ownership by the whole people—thereby preventing the capitalist class securing possession of the commodities at the point of production.

**CLASS INTERESTS.**

The larger the amount of value that the working class can force from the capitalist class in the form of wages, out of the total amount of value created, the less surplus-value there is for the capitalist class. As De Leon said: "If the working man produces £4 and takes £1 in the form of wages, the capitalist would take £3; if the working man takes £2, the capitalist takes £2; if the working man takes £3, the capitalist can only take £1; and should the working man 'divide' in such a way that he 'takes and holds' all that he produced, the capitalist will have to go to work. In other words, he would cease to be a capitalist."\*

\* "What Means This Strike?" by Daniel De Leon (Socialist Labor Party Edition), p. 13.



The W.I.U. is organising the working class for the purpose of "taking and holding" the socially operated means of production—thereby securing the full product of their labor, and incidentally putting the capitalists to work. In consequence of the capitalist class realising that, their press organs, such as the "Brisbane Courier," "Sydney Morning Herald," and Melbourne "Age," describe the O.B.U. as "a more terrible menace than German militarism," and publish frantic and piteous appeals to what they term the "sane," "reliable," "commonsense," "sober," "thrifty," "industrious," "practical," "reasonable," "level-headed," "intelligent," and "enlightened" section of the workers to oppose the W.I.U. The men that are regarded as "reasonable" by the capitalist press are those who are prepared to give six working hours out of every eight of every working day to the capitalist for nothing, and act as targets for cannon when the capitalists' interests are at stake.

As already explained, "the working class produces its wages as well as the profits of the capitalist class. In other words, the wage-workers work only a part of each day to produce their wages, and the rest of the day to produce surplus-value (profits) for the owning class. The interests of the capitalist class is to get all the surplus possible out of the labor of the working class. The interests of the working class is to get the full product of its labor."\*

### THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

"As a consequence of the constant conflict of these opposing economic interests, there is a struggle going on between these two classes who make up capitalist

\* "Two Wars" (pamphlet).

class society. This struggle is called 'The Class Struggle.' It is a struggle between the owning capitalist class (who must, in order to live as a capitalist class, continue to exploit the working class) and the non-owning working class—who, in order to live, must work for the owners of the land and the machinery of production."\* Unions, strikes, lockouts, demands, arbitration court cases, etc., are all manifestations of the class struggle. Even the "Sydney Morning Herald"† admits that "the class war" (class struggle) "is the most salient feature" in the present world. As Daniel De Leon said, the struggle "between the working class and the capitalist class is an irrepressible conflict, a class struggle for life,"‡

The New South Wales O.B.U. Conference held on August 4, 1918, and the Melbourne Interstate O.B.U. Conference, which finally adopted the W.I.U. Preamble and Constitution on January 13, 1919, recognising the basic facts as herein related, adopted Clause 1 of the Preamble, which reads:

(1) We hold that there is a class struggle in society, and that the struggle is caused by the capitalist class owning the means of production to which the working class must have access in order to live. The working class produce all value. The greater the share which the capitalist class appropriates, the less there remains for the working class; therefore, the interests of the two classes are in constant conflict.

\* "Two Wars" (pamphlet).

† "Sydney Morning Herald" leading article, 11/1/19.

‡ "What Means This Strike?" p. 14.



## Clause 2.

The second Clause reads:

(2) There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few, who constitute the employing class, have all the good things of life.

The first question that arises is: "Are hunger and want found among millions of working people?" In considering the question the first essential is to clearly understand what is meant by "hunger and want." Does it mean only empty stomachs? No! As will be explained presently, "hunger and want" may or may not include empty stomachs. For example, there is a world "hunger" for companionship, kindness, and affection. The satisfaction of that "hunger" is as vitally necessary for human well-being as the satisfaction of the "hunger" that proceeds from an empty stomach. As Nicholas Barbon said: "Desire implies want; it is the appetite of the mind, and as natural as hunger in the body. . . . The greatest number of things have their value from supplying the wants of the mind."\* Wherever there is an unsatisfied human necessity—whether proceeding from the stomach or the mind—there is "want." But, as we will see presently, even if we narrow the application of the term "hunger and want" to the lack of food alone, it is equally true.

\* Nicholas Barbon: "A Discourse on Coining the New Money Lighter, in Answer to Mr. Locke's Considerations," etc., London, 1696), pp. 2-3. Quoted by Marx in "Capital," p. 2.

### FULL AND COMPLETE LIVES.

For men and women to live full and complete lives, as social beings and free from "hunger and want," they must have (1) Good health, (2) Liberty, (3) Happiness. What is requisite to secure those three essentials? Let us consider them singly. What is required to secure good health? The requirements are, briefly:

- (1) Plenty of fresh air.
- (2) An abundance of pure and wholesome food.
- (3) Good clothing.
- (4) Good housing.
- (5) Freedom from anxiety.
- (6) Adequate rest, leisure and recreation.

Do the working class have all those requisites? Let us consider each of them separately.

#### (1) Plenty of Fresh Air.

Hundreds of thousands of men, women and children in the ships, factories, shops, offices, overcrowded houses, etc., suffer through insufficient fresh air. The terrible mortality amongst stewards on ships during the pneumonic influenza epidemic, compared with the mortality amongst first-class passengers, is proof of this.

#### (2) Abundance of Pure and Wholesome Food.

Meat, milk, butter, eggs and fruit are among the essentials of life. Millions of the men, women and children of the working class of Australia cannot secure a sufficiency of those things—and are suffering in consequence. Such things as meat and milk are entirely beyond the reach of a great many. Whilst Pure Food Acts may tend to secure a little more cleanliness in restaurants, they do not prevent the



adulteration of food. Food adulteration is rife throughout Australia. "There is hardly an article of food, especially the food that a working man can afford to buy, that is not adulterated, consequently that has not deteriorated in quality." Food adulteration undermines health and shortens life. It is responsible for the deaths of thousands of infants every year. In some cases the Health Authorities compel the manufacturers to print "substitute for vinegar" on a bottle containing a large amount of acetic acid, or label a box of margarine "substitute for butter." Many working people see the labels and take the substitutes, acetic acid and margarine, because they cannot afford to purchase vinegar and butter. What is the use of Pure Food Acts to people who do not receive sufficient wages to purchase pure food?

### PATENT FOODS.

Lack of sufficient natural foods has so weakened many thousands of working men and women that they have endeavored to regain their lost strength with much-boomed patent foods. A certain well-advertised patent food has been widely used in Australia during recent years. In an American publication, entitled "How Capitalism Has Hypnotised Society," it is stated that "Collier's Weekly" has proven that this alleged "food" is made of material having just about the same amount of nutriment as sawdust. If the workers knew how little nutriment is contained in many patent foods they would be astounded.

Daniel De Leon, speaking on the subject of "hunger and want" among the working class, said:

"The man I am about to quote is not a 'firebrand agitator'; although he often spoke in public, his subject was

never of the sort that might tempt a man to exaggeration. It is Huxley, the slow, plodding, accurate scientist. He said that four-fifths of the people die of slow starvation. There may be those among you who are of a statistical turn of mind. If such there be, they may have nosed among the statistics of mortality furnished by the Census and other official sources. Such friends of statistical turn of mind may say: 'Why, that's nonsense; a man or two may occasionally die of starvation; but hundreds and thousands of them, impossible! I have seen the statistics on mortality; I have seen the list of diseases; but I never saw starvation entered among the causes of death.' People holding such views are in error; in serious error. A man may be dying of slow starvation and not know it. His stomach may be full; he may never have felt the gnawings of hunger; and yet he may be dying of slow starvation.

"If in summer a man is not properly clad, he is emitting more heat than his system can stand—he is dying of slow starvation; if in winter he is not clad warm enough, he is consuming more heat than his system can afford—he is dying of slow starvation; his stomach may be replete, he may imagine himself well fed, but if the matter in that stomach is adulterated food, then the organisms that carry the nutrition from the stomach, and spread it throughout the body, find no nutrition to carry, the tissues that are consumed are only partly replaced—that man is dying of slow starvation.

"The fact is brought home to him when it is too late; aye, it is concealed from him and from his friends even then. He catches a cold; a robust constitution would cast off the distemper without difficulty; his constitution, however, is not robust; his constitution has been long drained by slow starvation; the slight distemper throws him on his beam-ends; it develops into pneumonia; he dies; the physician reports pneumonia as the 'cause of death'—but **starvation it was.** And so down the line of consumption, rheumatism, diabetes and most of the other ills plentifully bestowed upon the working class . . . [by Capitalism]."

"A recent exhibition in Boston, U.S.A., showed an incandescent lamp which flickered into darkness twice



a minute, to illustrate the rate of deaths from tuberculosis in the world."\* In Australia the deaths from tuberculosis averaged over three per day during 1916. The great majority of deaths from tuberculosis occur among the working class, and are chiefly due to the lack of sufficient nourishment—together with overwork and the insanitary conditions in which the majority live and work. An eminent physician has said, "There will be no great decrease in the death-rate in Australia from tuberculosis until the workers' conditions are improved and slum life abolished." The working class of Australia, as a class, do not get sufficient pure and wholesome food to ensure good health.

### (3) Good Clothing.

The clothing that is bought by the working class has increased in price and deteriorated in quality. Shoddy is visible everywhere. "It is particularly the housekeeper who makes acquaintance with this fact." Sufficient good clothing is beyond the reach of most members of the working class. Thousands of the daughters of the working class, who like, and are as much or more entitled to good clothes than their rich sisters, must either go without them or sell their bodies to get them.

### (4) Good Housing.

It is well known that hundreds of thousands of the working class of Australia live in overcrowded and unhealthy houses.

### (5) Freedom from Anxiety.

Those (the capitalists) who own the means of production and distribution—land, railways, mines, shops, factories, ships, etc.—have the power to grant or refuse

\*Sydney "Sun," 25/10/10.

the workers a **livelihood**. "Most men," says Hilaire Belloc, "now fear the loss of employment more than they fear legal punishment, and the discipline under which men are coerced in their modern forms of activity . . . is the fear of dismissal. The true master of the working men to-day is not the Sovereign, nor the Officers of State, nor, save indirectly, the laws; his true master is the capitalist."\*

Belloc further asks:

"Of what are the mass of men most afraid now in a capitalist State? Not of the punishments that can be inflicted by a Court of Law, but of 'the sack.' . . . Some generations ago a man, challenged to tell you why he foreswore his manhood in any particular regard, would have answered you that it was because he feared punishment at the hands of the Law; to-day he will tell you it is because he fears unemployment." . . . "To-day a man fears to speak in favor of some social theory [such as Unionism or Socialism], which he holds to be just and true, lest his master should punish him."†

Whenever working men dare to speak or act contrary to the wishes of their masters they risk being thrown out of employment and being left, with their wives and little ones, to starve.

## THE COALMINERS' NOBLE MANIFESTATION OF WORKING-CLASS SPIRIT.

When the Great Strike was on in New South Wales, in August, 1917, the coalminers, seeing their fellow, unionists attacked by the united forces of the capitalist class, made common cause with them. Their action was a noble manifestation of working-class spirit. When the Strike was over the Coal Barons said, in effect, to every militant member of the Miners' Union: "There is no work for you! You have dared to

\* "The Servile State," by Hilaire Belloc, p. 85.

† "The Servile State," p. 142.



Speak and work contrary to our wishes! No! We won't argue with you! We have no time! We must hurry to buy War Bonds to protect our women and children from the Huns!"

Hundreds of men were refused employment. That is over a year ago. Since then, Mr. Willis informs me, it has cost the Miners' Union approximately £40,000 to keep their victimised members from starvation. Many of the men have not even yet procured employment. The same applies to many other Unions—especially the Wharf Laborers' and Coal Lumpers' Unions.

### THE HARDSHIPS OF WOMEN WORKERS.

Women in shops, factories, restaurants, offices, etc., may be ill; their bodies seem to be but big aches, but they dare not leave their work for a few hours, in many cases dare not even sit down, for fear of dismissal. They fear those cruel words: "Take a week's notice! We won't require you after Saturday," etc. How can women on a 30/- per week wage, which they may be deprived of at any hour, be free from anxiety? "The iron clutch of Capitalism" compels the working class to live in the grip of a numbing and ever-present fear. "Fear and anxiety," says an eminent physician, "lower the power of resistance, and render the body more prone to infection, and less likely to deal successfully with disease." The power of the capitalist class to grant or refuse a **livelihood** to members of the working class and the ever-present fear it inspires has done and is doing incalculable injury to humanity.

"Security," says G. B. Shaw, "is the chief pretence of our civilisation." Is "freedom from anxiety" possible for a working class that lives in the grip of fear and for whom security is only a "pretence"?

### "A STRANGE DELUSION."

The next and last question is: Do the working class get

#### (6) Adequate Rest, Leisure, and Recreation?

"Rest," says the Spanish proverb, "is healthful." "Plato and Aristotle, those intellectual giants, beside whom our latter-day philosophers are but pigmies," says Lafargue, "wish the citizens of their ideal Republic to live in the most complete leisure, for as Xenophon observed, 'Work takes all the time and with it one has no leisure for the Republic and his friends.' According to Plutarch, the great claim of Lyeurgus, to the admiration of posterity, was that he granted leisure to the citizens of Sparta. . . ." The voice of these philosophers has been concealed from the workers. "A strange delusion," says Lafargue, "possesses the working classes of the nations, where capitalist-class civilisation holds its sway. . . ." "This delusion is the love of work, the furious passion for work, pushed even to the exhaustion of the vital force of the individual and his progeny."

Dr. Max G. Schlapp, one of the foremost neuro-pathologists of the United States, who is director of the clearing house for mental defectives of the city of New York, and professor of neuropathology at Cornell University, in an interview with the "New York World," said:

"We are manufacturing things at a rate never before dreamed of demanding the highest efficiency, but paying for this stress and speed in the wreck and ruin of human life." \*

In the report of the Inspector-General of the Insane for N.S.W., we find that during 1917 "2348 miners, laborers, seamen, shepherds, etc.," were "under care,"

\* "Industrial Union News," March, 1916.



besides 489 of their wives. During the same period "778 servants, charwomen, laundresses, etc.," were "under care." Many hundreds of other workers were also "under care."\* The figures are a striking commentary on the unsatisfactory conditions of the working class.

Compare the well-conditioned, high-spirited race-horses of the capitalist class with the overworked, underfed, and low-spirited members of the working class. Even as far back as 1770, in London, "plenty of work" was proposed to "curb the sentiments of pride and independence" in the workers. The suffering imposed upon women by constant work and overwork is incalculable. Certain physiological facts demand that they should have a periodic rest of, say, three days every four weeks. Do they get such rest? Thousands of girls who come from towns in the country to work in the cities cannot afford even railway fares to go home to see their parents and rest. They cannot afford to send even the little presents that are so much treasured by mothers. The girls may be animated by noble and generous impulses, but they lack the means to give effect to them. In this way is humanity stunted and repressed at its very source.

Wherever one observes the women of the working class, whether it be in their homes, or on railway stations, or in city streets, he will notice their physical deterioration.

"Instead of buxom girls, always on the move, always singing, always spreading life, engendering life's joy, giving painless birth to healthy and vigorous children; to-day we have

\* See Report for 1917 by Dr. Eric Sinclair, Inspector-General for the Insane for New South Wales Government.

factory girls and women, pale, drooping flowers, with impoverished blood, with disordered stomachs and languid limbs." —(Lafargue.)

### "THE VICE OF TOO MUCH WORK."

"The workers have given themselves up body and soul to the vice of too much work." It has brutalised them. The introduction of labor-saving machinery has failed to give the workers more rest. Whether a steamship takes the place of a sailing ship, typewriting the place of handwriting, or electrically-driven sewing machines the place of hand-sewing, the story is the same. "In proportion as the machine is improved and performs man's work with an ever-increasing rapidity and exactness, the laborer, instead of prolonging his former rest times, redoubles his ardor, as if he wished to rival the machine." Modern work necessitates both the use of the worker's limbs and his sustained attention. This sustained attention, as Marx says, involves the constant application of his will.\*

And the less interesting the work, and the less enjoyment it affords the worker, from the exercise of his bodily and mental faculties, the more intense must be the application of his will to maintain that attention. This application—and, in many industries, intense application—of the will for many hours at a time, so seriously affects and dominates the worker that the mind reverts to it even in sleep.

### WORK UPPERMOST IN DELIRIUM.

An instance of this was recorded by an officer at the Sydney Quarantine Station during the pneumonic influenza outbreak in November, 1918, and published in

\* Karl Marx's "Theory of Value," p. 139.



the Sydney "Sun." "It was remarkable," said the officer, "that all the men talked about their work when they were delirious." "Work" was predominant, even in delirium!

The workers now spend as much of their lives at and travelling to work, as if they were living to work instead of working to live. Capitalists, politicians and clergymen have abundant opportunities to rest. Governors and other figure-heads can rest twenty-three hours out of the twenty-four. Judges, magistrates, etc., are on duty five hours a day for five days each week, with several vacations each year, with large salaries and six months' leave on full pay occasionally. The men and women of the working class have to work eight and nine hours per day continuously—unless out of work—except for Sundays and a few holidays a year. That is all the rest they get, unless they get ill or meet with an accident.

### ACCIDENTS.

Probably not more than one in every four industrial accidents in New South Wales are reported under the Workmen's Compensation Act. Yet the reports show that compensation was paid for 4821 accidents in 1917—34 of which were fatal.

A Commission which was appointed in France to investigate industrial accidents gave its report on the eve of the war. The report showed that during the first two hours' work the accident rate per hour was very low. During the third the rate increased slightly, in the fourth the rate almost doubled, and in the fifth hour of continuous work the accident rate was three times that of the second hour. After the

rest for lunch the rate fell to that of the second hour, and from then gradually increased until the last hour of the day's work, when the accident rate per hour exceeded any other hour of the day. The report proved conclusively that the accident rate increased in the same proportion as the minds and limbs of the workers grew tired. Through insufficient nourishment many workers tire quickly. The great majority of industrial accidents are due to insufficient nourishment and overwork.

### WHEN TO MEET WITH AN ACCIDENT IS A GOOD THING.

Many doctors have said repeatedly, when working men have been carried to them, with broken legs or arms, "This will give his body a rest that he would not get otherwise. It is a good thing for many working men to have an accident like this. It gives the rest that tends to lengthen their lives." When members of the working class are ill, and consult doctors, they are frequently told, "You want rest! Go away for three or six months, and just do nothing." In almost every case the reply comes, "It's impossible, doctor; I can't afford it."

They can't afford it because they have given six hours out of every eight hours of every working day to the capitalist for nothing. They get some medicine and struggle on without rest—until they enter into the Great Rest. And the politicians of the capitalist class propose to continue this overwork. In the Sydney "Sun" (2/3/19), Mr. W. M. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia, is reported, by



cable, to have said that "AUSTRALIA'S FUTURE DEPENDS UPON INCREASED PRODUCTION, HARD WORK, AND INCESSANT TOIL."

### SCOURGE OF OVERWORK.

It has been said truly that "the overwork to which the working class has given itself up for the last hundred and fifty years or more is the most terrible scourge that has ever struck humanity." But a great change is at hand. The workers of the world are rapidly realising "that by overworking themselves they exhaust their own strength and that of their progeny; that they are used up and long before their time incapable of any work at all; that absorbed and brutalised by this single vice they are no longer men, but pieces of men; that they kill within themselves all beautiful faculties, to leave nothing alive and flourishing except the furious madness for work."—(Lafargue.) The growing recognition of these facts by the members of the A.W.U. was largely responsible for their deciding last month against the continuance of piecework by 18,249 votes to 8751; and also for the growing agitation among sections of the Coal and Shale Employees' Federation for the abolition of piecework, and the growing demand everywhere of the workers for more rest. They are realising that the cry of the capitalists and their press and politicians to "work, work harder to increase the national wealth," really means "work, work harder to increase the capitalists' wealth."

### INSUFFICIENT REST.

The lack of sufficient rest extending over many years of continuous and monotonous work, for long

hours each day, was largely responsible for many workers willingly joining in the Great Strike. The same cause also impelled hundreds of thousands of men in different countries to volunteer for war service. The overwork, monotony, insecurity, etc., of the workers' daily life is driving scores of thousands of them to seek solace and stimulus in the drink—which is undermining their physical powers of resistance and moral fibre.

Whilst the Australian worker goes to a picture show, or rides on a tram to the seaside for recreation, his masters are taken by other workers—stokers, seamen, etc.—to Japan, Italy, America, Switzerland, France, or England for recreation. The working class want rest to recuperate their health, change to break the monotony of their work, leisure to meditate, and recreation to brighten their lives. Rest is as vitally necessary to life as food. The man or woman who does not get adequate rest is as much in "want" as the person who lacks food.

The foregoing facts, together with the reader's experience and observation, should convince him that the working class do not "get adequate rest, leisure, and recreation."

When we set out to consider the "hunger and want" section of Clause 2 we decided—(1) That the "wants" of the mind are as important as the "wants" of the stomach; (2) that for men and women to live full and complete lives, as social beings, and free from "hunger and want" they must have "good health, liberty, and happiness"; and that in order to secure good health these things were vitally necessary:



- (1) Plenty of fresh air.
- (2) Abundance of pure and wholesome food.
- (3) Good clothing.
- (4) Good housing.
- (5) Freedom from anxiety.
- (6) Adequate rest, leisure, and recreation.

And we have seen that Capitalism denies all those things to the working class; that the conditions for working-class health, liberty and happiness—the essentials for “full and complete life”—do not exist; and that “hunger and want are found among millions of working people,” both as regards the wants of the stomach and the wants of the mind.

Contrast the present condition of the working class with what is possible, if they organise in the W.I.U., and take and hold the socially-operated means of production, and require every able-bodied member of the community to render useful or productive social service.

For example, less than one-tenth of those at present engaged in the sale and distribution of commodities in all sizes and kinds of shops, etc., would be required for the distribution of commodities in a scientifically organised State, and the other nine-tenths could be transferred to other employment. It has been estimated that, if the means of production were collectively owned, as advocated by the W.I.U., and the most up-to-date machinery, methods, etc., brought into general use, the labor of men between the ages of twenty and forty years alone, for forty-three minutes per day, for four days per week throughout the year, would be sufficient to enable each to live at the same standard which £600 per annum would secure before the war.

### WHEN WORK WILL BE A CONDIMENT TO PLEASURE.

In that case “work would become a mere condiment to the pleasures of . . . [life]—a beneficial exercise to men and women.”

But even if, instead of forty-three minutes per day, men had to work four hours per day, for four days per week, would not that be a wonderful change? You give six out of every eight working hours of every working day to the capitalist for nothing. Don't you think that your loved ones are nearly as much entitled to that six hours of your time as the capitalist? Imagine the difference it would make to you if tomorrow you were to commence work at eight and finish at twelve, and have the rest of the day at home to read, or engage in domestic hobbies, or go swimming, cricketing, footballing, tennis-playing, or visit music halls or dances, or indulge in any other recreation, and you were told that you had only to work the same length of time on all future work days! Would not a wonderful vista open before you? Would not you and other members of the working class feel that new life and hope were springing within you, and that you were in a wonderfully changed world? The large amount of time available for thought and exchange of thought would result in marvellous intellectual development.

The second half of Clause 2 of the Preamble reads:

“And the few, who constitute the employing class, have all the good things of life.”

If anyone doubts this let him examine the food, wines, clothing, houses, education, motor-cars, first-class railway carriages, saloon steamship accommoda-



tion, etc., of the employing class, and the rest, leisure, recreation and comparative freedom from anxiety they enjoy.

“Peace,” in a general sense, according to Webster, “means a state of quiet or tranquility.” “Peace” in a country necessitates harmony among its people. Harmony is not possible in a world where the majority are robbed of a large part of their product by the minority, and where the majority live in the grip of fear of what the minority may do—from depriving members of the majority of a livelihood to bringing about wars in which members of the majority get slaughtered.

Clause 2 of the Preamble is based upon the basic facts herein related, and the recognition of those facts by the W.I.U. Conference at Melbourne caused its adoption. It reads:

(2) There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few, who constitute the employing class, have all the good things of life.

## Clause 3.

The first part of Clause 3 reads:

“Between these two classes” (working class and capitalist class) “the struggle must continue until Capitalism is abolished.”

As the explanatory statement preceding Clause 1 shows, Capitalism and the class struggle are as inseparably connected, and stand in practically the same relation to one another, as fire and the heat that arises from it. Therefore, just as it would be necessary to abolish fire in order to stop the heat that arises from it, so it is necessary to secure the abolition of Capitalism in order to stop the class struggle. Therefore, “the struggle must continue until Capitalism is abolished.”

The second part of Clause 3 reads:

“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.”

As previously explained, the present system—Capitalism—is based upon capitalist class ownership of the means of production; “consequently,” says Dannenberg, “the basis of Socialism—Capitalism’s antithesis—can only be social ownership; as can readily be seen—one excludes the other, and the domination of one implies the subjugation of the other.”\* Therefore, a

\*“The Road to Power,” by Karl Dannenberg (“Industrial Union News,” 1/12/18).



Socialist Union must demand the social ownership of the socially-operated means of production.\* Or, in other words, as the power of the capitalist class is founded upon its ownership of the means of production "to shatter this foundation of capitalist class might, to capture this stronghold of industrial despotism in the interests of the workers, must be the one great object of Constructive Socialism. . . . The holding of this economic citadel imparts . . . a power to the capitalist class phenomenal in scope and only explainable by the absolute indispensability of these economic resources to society. To capture this position from the capitalist class, to meet the economic power of the plutocrats with a superior economic power of the workers, that is the next logical step in this gigantic struggle. . . . Economic power can be correctly defined as the basic element of social might. Consequently, if a class seeks . . . to attain control over society, it must predicate its ambitions and demands upon a solid structure of organised economic power. . . ." †

### BASIS OF WORKERS' ECONOMIC POWER.

What form of economic power can the working class organise with which to be able to overthrow Capitalism and inaugurate a Socialist Republic?

"In the first place, unlike previous social classes that struggled for supremacy, the working class does not and actually cannot base its economic power, necessary to oust the capitalist class, upon a title of ownership; it is . . . acknowledged . . . that the working class as a class are absolutely propertiless. Secondly, . . . the emancipation . . . of the working class does not spell victory for the workers as a class and corresponding subjugation for another class, but actually implies the victory of society over class rule. . . . As the working class cannot base its economic power . . . upon a title of ownership . . . what can they base it on?" ‡

\* See Appendix "A" at end of pamphlet.

† "The Road to Power" (Dannenberg).

‡ F. H. Hartmann, "Mass Action versus Socialist Industrial Unionism."—"The Radical Review," New York, October, 1917.

As previously mentioned, labor applied to natural elements produces all value.

"In consequence," says Hartmann, "the economic life of the present society rests upon the proper organisation of the forces of productive labor, of the workers, in the interests of the capitalist class. . . . Therefore, without willing and purchasable labor-power, no capitalist process of production, no economic and social life. And without a submissive working class, ready to apply its labor-power in the interests of the exploiters no surplus value for the exploiters. Therefore, the working class actually represents the groundwork, the pillars, upon which the economic structure of society rests. In . . . this indispensability of the workers to the economic social life of society, in this absolute necessity of the workers to the capitalist productive process, slumbers the economic power of the workers."\*

Or, as Dannenberg so well states it:

"The economic power of the workers rests not as it is and has been the case with all parasitic ruling classes, in the power of ownership, but in the power of production; not in its problematical indispensability as a possessing class, but in its actual indispensability as a producing class. The physical and intellectual productive faculties of the working class form the groundwork of present-day society. . . . Consequently, . . . the possessors of those faculties, the workers, organised in the interests of their class, represent and form the structure of working-class economic power. . . ."

### CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS.

The prerequisite of working-class power is the consciousness in the working class of its "indispensability as a productive agent—in the consciousness of being the working class." As Dannenberg adds:

"This survey of the economic, political and social position of the capitalist class reveals that the basic power or influence of this class resides not, as is so often so erroneously assumed,

\* Hartmann, in "Mass Action versus Socialist Industrial Unionism."



in its political domination or control of government, but in its economic rule over society. History teaches and profusely illustrates that the class in control of the resources of society in a given period has also been the class to exercise practical control over political society—i.e., over society itself.

"The destruction of the economic power of the capitalist class, of course, also spells the collapse of its political rule, together with the social position occupied by this class, and announces the inception of the social revolution and the elevation of all the producers in society to the rulership of society.

"The class-consciousness of the workers is the generator of their economic power. . . . Recognising the indispensability of the workers in the process of production, and thereby appreciating the role played by them in the maintenance of society, it is now a simple matter to translate these conceptions into proper forms of organisation.

"Production being the origin of and maintaining element in social life; production also being solely carried on by the workers; furthermore, exploitation or the appropriation of surplus value also taking place at the point of production, and, again, the point of production also being the seat of capitalist economic power, it logically follows that the class organisations of the workers will first marshal and organise their forces at this point.

"To sum up: The economic power of the workers rests not in some form of ownership or property prerogative, as is the case with the capitalists, but in the recognition of their status as workers, in the recognition of their economic worth or indispensability—in their class-consciousness. In order to assert itself effectively, this class-consciousness must take on certain organised forms on the industrial as well as the political field—i.e., must express itself in accord with the requirements of capitalist development in particular, and social evolution in general."

### UNIT OR FORM OF ORGANISATION.

The working class is ONE. From the fundamental principle of their oneness of interest arises the ideal to be achieved—their solidarity. Such solidarity is impossible whilst they are organised in Unions based on the theory of Craft Sovereignty. Therefore the form of organisation must be based on industrial instead of craft lines. Or, in other words, instead of all the workers in a given section of an industry—such as a coal mine—being organised in separate unions as miners, carpenters, enginedrivers, blacksmiths, engineers, etc., all the men in and about the mine would be organised as one section of the Mining Department of the W.I.U. All the workers in a given section of an industry—organised without respect to the tools they use—shall constitute a section or unit of organisation. For further particulars regarding the form of organisation read the Constitution of the W.I.U.

### "TAKE AND HOLD."

The working class have cleared and cultivated the land, made the roads, tunnelled the mountains, bridged the rivers, built the railroads, built houses, towns, cities; produced the food and clothing of the world, and, with the exception of the wages paid the workers, the capitalist class has taken and held it all. They have taken and are taking millions of infants into their schools and have poisoned their pure minds with the foul glorification of war. They have taken and are taking millions of children of tender years—when they ought, as Debs said, "to be upon the playground or at school; when they ought to be in the sunlight; when they ought to have wholesome food and



enjoy the fresh air—and have crushed the sunshine out of their lives, and fed them to industry to produce profits." They have taken and are taking what should be the rest time of the world's working class, and converted it to labor time in which to produce profits to keep the exploiters in idleness. The workers know why about 100 men lost their lives in the Mount Kembla coalmine explosion, and a large number at Mount Lyell. The capitalist class are taking millions of working men and women and sacrificing them on the industrial field for the production of profit. And, not satisfied with their taking of working-class life on the industrial field, the powerful sections of the capitalist class quarrel among themselves, and—to achieve supremacy in the world markets, and prolong their class rule—plunge the world's working class into a war such as the one just over.

In Australia alone, through the deaths of over 52,000 of its men, at least that number of women are deprived of the possibility of mating. During the progress of the war—besides doing to death many brave men who refused to fight for it, and acting ferociously and savagely to many others—the capitalist class took millions of workers by compulsion and fed them to the capitalist class cannon, thereby taking fathers from millions of children, taking husbands from millions of wives, taking away the possibility of millions of young women ever securing mates, and taking away whatever sunshine and joy there were from millions of homes.

The capitalist class did not create the things they have taken; they did not take them to preserve life, nor for the benefit of humanity. The aim of the

capitalist class was to enrich and aggrandise themselves, and to perpetuate their rule. In other words, the capitalist class have taken and are taking all those things for an ulterior purpose.

### A NOBLE PURPOSE.

The W.I.U. says that the working class should "take and hold the means of production." The working class creates and operates the means of production. The W.I.U. proposes to organise the workers to take and hold them to preserve life, and not for the benefit of a few, but for the benefit of all humanity. Unlike the capitalist class, and their organisations and their upholders and apologists, the members of the W.I.U. believe that every human being is entitled to "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness." The W.I.U. only asks the same rights for its members as should be enjoyed by all men. Unlike the capitalist class, it is prepared to give effect to the golden rule, to "do unto others as you would they should do unto you." Unlike the capitalist class, the W.I.U. does not want children sacrificed, men and women exploited, and the wholesale murder that is called war committed in its interests.

The capitalist class have taken and are taking all the means of production for their own selfish aggrandisement. The W.I.U. aims at taking and holding those means for a noble purpose—for the ending of poverty, prostitution, etc. Yet the capitalist class—which in point of fact is the greatest "taker and holder," "robber" or "confiscator" that the world has produced—yells: "The O.B.U. proposes to rob us, to



confiscate our property, to take it without paying for it, without compensating us!" etc. However, if the capitalist class is prepared to pay us the difference between the value of what it has taken from the working class, and the value of the means of production that we propose to take from the capitalist class, we'll consider that.

### W.I.U. WILL NOT "BUY OUT" THE CAPITALIST.

The capitalist class is quite right in thinking that the W.I.U. intends to organise the workers to take and hold the means of production without paying for them. As the working class only receive wages, which they must spend each week in order to live, they have not the money to buy out the capitalist class. And, in any case, for the workers to buy out the capitalist class would mean that the workers would have to create an amount of value equal to the value of the means of production, and exchange this newly-created amount of value for the value of the means of production of which the capitalist class had previously robbed them. The W.I.U. is not so "practical" as to advocate that the robbed should pay the robber for the restitution of the stolen goods.

Sydney "Sun," in its leading article of 2/3/19, says:

"The plain, outstanding truth is that the capitalist is a sordid person. . . ."

If one did not read the capitalist press and hear the Nationalist and other politicians, and the rest of the upholders of and apologists for Capitalism, one would not believe that a man could be so base, mean, and cowardly

as to want children to be sacrificed, robbery to continue, and murder (war) to take place, and the consequent drenching of the world with women's tears, in order that his class should live in idleness and debauchery. If such a man were in a life-boat at sea, and denied his companions the same share of water and food as he claimed for himself, he would be passed overboard. Why should people on the land tolerate the injustice and robbery that they would not tolerate at sea?

### HOW WILL THE CHANGE BE EFFECTED?

It is not possible to lay down with mathematical precision and absolute certainty the manner in which the transition from capitalist class 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 W.I.U. wishes to secure the transition without violence, and with as little friction as possible. Therefore, it proposes a peaceful method of securing the transition. The method, briefly stated, is as follows:

(1) The organisation of the working class on the Preamble of, and in accordance with, the Constitution of the W.I.U.

(2) The creation of a political arm by the W.I.U., 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 Socialist Republic," by Karl Kautsky, p. 31.



the conduct of the nation's production to the Central Administration, or Grand Council, of the W.I.U.; 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.

(4) Simultaneously with the abolition of the Class State by the political arm of the W.I.U.; 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 W.I.U. may not be afforded the time for triumph at the polls. Daniel De Leon has said:

"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 . . . [W.I.U.] 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 . . . [W.I.U.] 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 . . . [W.I.U.] 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 says:

"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.'"†

\* "As to Politics," by Daniel De Leon, p. 43.

† "As to Politics," pp. 70-71.



We shall define the kind of Parliamentary activity later. "Summing up, political action by the revolutionary working class, that action 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 organisation, that is, a party, 'to take and hold' the machinery of production." Both the "reason" for a political party and its "structure" unfit it for such work. We cannot do better, in considering why a political party cannot "take and hold" the plants of production, than read the following statement by De Leon, the greatest authority on revolutionary political action of the present century:

### THE REASON FOR A POLITICAL PARTY.

"The 'reason' for a political party unfits it to 'take and hold' the machinery of production. The 'reason' for a political movement 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 Robber Burg by the capitalist class. The reason for such initial tactics also dictates their ultimate goal—the razing to the ground the Robber Burg 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 pur-

pose 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 movement of Labor 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 movement obviously unfits it to 'take and hold' the machinery of production. What the political movement 'moves into' is not the shops, but the Robber Burg of Capitalism—for the purpose of dismantling it.

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

#### THE BALLOT.

"The Preamble of the . . . [W.I.U.] poses well **both** the political and the economic Movement of Labor, and it places them in their proper relation towards each other.

"Inestimable is the value, dignified the posture, of the political movement. It affords the Labor Movement the opportunity to ventilate its purposes, its aspirations, and its methods, free, over and above board, in the noonday light of the sun, whereas, otherwise, its agitation would be the circumscribed sphere of the rat-hole. The political movement renders the masses accessible to the propaganda of Labor; it raises the Labor Movement above the category of a 'conspiracy'; it places the Movement in line with the Spirit of the Age, which, on the one hand, denies the power of 'conspiracy' in matters that not only affect the masses, **but in which the masses must themselves be intelligent actors**, and, on the other hand demands the freest of utterance. In short and in fine, the political movement bows to the methods of civilised discussion: **it gives a chance to the peaceful solution of the great question at issue.** By proclaiming the urgency of political as well as of industrial unity, the Preamble amply and sufficiently proclaims the affinity of the economic with the political movement.

"The Ballot is a weapon of civilisation; the Ballot is a weapon that no revolutionary movement of our times may ignore except at its own peril; the Socialist ballot is the emblem of **right**. For that very reason the Socialist ballot is 'weaker than a woman's tears,' unless it is backed by the **Might** to enforce it. That requisite **Might** is summed up in industrial organisation of the working class. Now, mind you, that **Might** the Labor Movement needs, as much, I would almost say, against the political movements which its own breath heats into being, as against the capitalist tyrant itself. It needs that **Might** to prevent the evil consequences to which, in this corrupt atmosphere of capitalist society, the political movement is inevitably exposed. The two points are vital. Much infinitely more than appears at first sight, hangs thereby."

Some members of the working class think that political action is unnecessary. Have they noticed that the capitalist class, whilst wielding economic power



in the plants of production, does not ignore the political field, but spends millions of pounds to maintain its possession of the political State or Parliament? Would the capitalist class like the working class to refrain from political action? Yes, they would give millions of pounds to induce them to refrain. Further, have they considered the following question put by De Leon, and which so far has never been answered?

### AN UNANSWERED QUESTION.

"How do you expect to recruit and organise your industrial army, if you begin by rejecting the peaceful method of solving the social question: to wit, the political method?"

A manifestation of the power of the political Class State to hinder economic organisation occurred when the non-political I.W.W. was decreed an illegal association by the Federal Government. A few politicians sitting round a table pulled a few sheets of paper towards them, wrote a few paragraphs, and in a short time the organisation ceased to exist. When Daniel De Leon concluded his famous speech, "Reform or Revolution," he was asked the following question:

QUESTION: The social question is an economic question. Why should not an economic organisation be enough?

DE LEON: The social question, and all such questions, are essentially political. If you have an economic organisation alone, you have a duck flying with one wing; you must have a political organisation or you are nowhere. Watch the capitalist closely, and see whether the social question is exclusively an economic one, or whether the political wing is not a very necessary one. The capitalist rules in the shop. Is he satisfied with that? Watch him at election time, it is then he works; he has also another work shop, not an economic one—the legislatures and capitols in the nation. He buzzes around them and accomplishes political results. He gets the laws passed that will protect his economic class interests, and he

pulls the wires when these interests are in danger, bringing down the strong arm of political power over the heads of the striking working men, who have the notion that the wages or social question is only an economic question. Make no mistake. The organisation of the working class must be both economic and political. The capitalist class is organised upon both lines; you must attack it on both.\*

### 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 W.I.U. 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 in-

\* "Reform or Revolution," by Daniel De Leon, p. 30.



dustrial field is the development to the highest possible degree of an intense class-consciousness among the workers organised on the Preamble of, and in accordance with, the Constitution of the W.I.U. As De Leon puts 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 Labor Movement: it must be uncompromisingly revolutionary. This fact dictates the conduct of the successful candidates of Labor in the Parliaments of Capitalism."

### WHAT THE POLITICAL ARM MUST DO.

The political arm of the W.I.U. 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.\*

(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.†

\* "No Compromise," by Wilhelm Liebknecht, p. 17.

† "No Compromise," p. 33.

(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 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 W.I.U. MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

W.I.U. 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 Labor Movement must fight on the highest civil-

\* "No Compromise," p. 57.

† "Two Pages from Roman History," by Daniel De Leon, p. 40.



ised 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:

(1) That the power of the capitalist class is based upon its ownership of the socially-operated means of production and wage-labor.

(2) That a class-conscious revolutionary Union must demand the social ownership of the aforementioned means of production.

(3) That the working class are indispensable to the economic social life of society.

(4) That the workers' economic power must be based upon class-conscious economic organisation.

(5) That the form or unit of organisation must be based on industrial instead of craft lines.

(6) That the capitalist class is the champion taker and holder of the ages.

(7) That the workers are morally and ethically entitled to take and hold the means of production for the purpose of instituting social ownership by the whole of the people in place of capitalist ownership.

(8) That the W.I.U. advocates a peaceful method of solving the social question.

\* "As to Politics," p. 17.

† "Unity," by Daniel De Leon, pp. 21-22.

(9) That both industrial and political action are vitally necessary.

(10) That the political arm of the W.I.U. will be destructive and the economic arm constructive.

(11) That the chief functions of the political arm will be to act as a shield whilst the Union is organising its forces, and when they are organised to abolish the existing Parliaments, and leave the conduct of the productive forces of the nation to the Central Administration of the Union, whose economic arm had taken and held the means of production simultaneously with the abolition of the existing Parliaments by the political arm.

(12) That the working class must fight the capitalist class on both the political and industrial field, and have one central directing authority.

(13) That the value of political agitation is immeasurable.

(14) That the economic arm is indispensable.

The second part of Clause 3 is based upon the fact narrated in the foregoing explanatory statement. It reads:

"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.

The next and third sentence of Clause 3 of the Preamble is a condensed interpretation of "revolutionary industrial and political action," as set forth in the foregoing statement. It reads:



"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."

In consequence of earlier explanatory matter, it is only necessary at this juncture to make a brief statement on State ownership.

### STATE OWNERSHIP.

In Japan the capitalists have introduced State ownership of railways, electric trams, post and telegraph offices, wireless system, naval dockyards, and State ownership of the tobacco industry. In every capitalist country the capitalist class have introduced State ownership in different industries, and sections of the capitalist class are continuously advocating the extension of State ownership. The workers should be suspicious of a form of ownership which the capitalists themselves have introduced and are extending.

The workers in State-owned industries are not part owners of such industries. They have no more say in the management than they have in the management of a Trust. Have they any greater security in such industries than in privately-owned industries? Do the workers own their jobs in such industries, or are they discharged when the managers think the profits are insufficient? Frequently hundreds of men are discharged from State-owned industries. If they were part owners of such industries, would they walk out to starve, whilst others stayed on and drew as much as three thousand pounds per annum each out of the industry?

The workers in the State-owned industries of Australia have to work as long hours, and receive as low wages, as the employees of a private or trust-owned industry. Have not the workers in State-owned industries had to strike in scores of cases to get a living wage, just the same as in privately-owned industries?

### THE SERVILE STATE.

Hilaire Belloc defines the Servile State as a "State wherein every member of the proletariat will be registered as a worker, his tendency to rebellion against Capitalism known and set down, how far he is willing to serve Capitalism, whether and when he has refused service, and if so, where and why." All that prison-like registration is already in operation in the State-owned industries of Australia.

### GOVERNMENTS—EXECUTIVES OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

Governments, acting as Executives of the capitalist class, invest the capitalists' money in State-owned industries, and guarantee them interest on their money. State ownership of industry is collective capitalist class ownership instead of individual capitalist or company ownership. Under State ownership, just as under private or company ownership, the minority—the capitalist class—own the industry, and the great majority—the working class—have to work at a wage under them. The wages system—the internal mechanism of Capitalism—still operates under State ownership. The W.I.U. aims at abolishing the wages system; under it the workers only receive a wage, whereas under a Socialist Republic the working class would receive the full product of their labor.



### THE MODERN STATE.

As Karl Kautsky says, in his book entitled "The Socialist Republic":

"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 sole purpose of protecting the capitalist system and establishing it on a firmer basis."

Frederick Engels says:

"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."\*

"The capitalist class," says Newbold, "is adopting State ownership because they are realising that they are more powerful, more capable, and more comfortable when acting in association than when competing with each other." That explains why capitalists are seeking to introduce it wherever they rule. In many cases capitalists are receiving a higher rate of interest from State-owned industries than from private or company owned industries.

### WHY THE SO-CALLED MIDDLE CLASS SUPPORT STATE OWNERSHIP.

The following extract from that splendid work by William Paul, "The State: Its Origin and Function," clearly explains some of the reasons why the middle class support State ownership:

"The middle-class activity on behalf of State enterprise or control is due to the fact that the future of competitive Capitalism shows little hope of the intellectual proletarians improving their lot. With the extension of the activities of the State, new avenues of well-paid officials' jobs are opened

\* "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," p. 27.

up. The candidates for these official posts [as teachers, civil servants, secretaries, etc.] have to pass examinations for which they have to be specially prepared. It is indeed a problem for modern middle-class parents to find well-paid situations for their sons and daughters. To them the extension of State ownership shows a way out of the difficulty. Consequently, during the past few years there has been an amazing increase in the number of State employees. Small wonder that the middle class looks upon the State as a glorified institution, as something destined to save the world."\*

### "SUPPRESSING UNREST.

"The growth of Capitalism is entering upon a period wherein the whole force of the capitalist class will be centred upon suppressing the 'unrest' among the workers. . . . The desire to control national production, the fear of industrial unrest and the wish to enforce discipline upon the workers will compel the capitalist to extend State control. The extension of State control will bring with it armies of official bureaucrats, who will only be able to maintain their posts by tyrannising and limiting the freedom of the workers. The nominal wages of the workers may rise, but it will be at the expense of their relative position in society, and of the limitation of their freedom. Within such a system the workers will be little better than serfs. And instead of having to overthrow a system buttressed by a handful of capitalists, the workers will be faced with a system reinforced by a gigantic army of State subsidised officials, who will fight like tigers to maintain their status and power. Such indeed is the logical outcome of the advocacy of State or National ownership. It is a social despotism organised from above. . . ."

"Municipalisation, Nationalisation, and Trustification are all parts of the higher evolved Capitalism. . . . Not only will Capitalism be strengthened as a consequence of State control, but it will dominate in an ever intensified form the press and the educational forces."†

The facts set forth in the foregoing explanatory statement show that State ownership, with its wages

\* "The State: Its Origin and Function," by William Paul, pp. 178-179.

† "The State: Its Origin and Function," by William Paul, pp. 182-83.



system, is collective capitalist class ownership—a form of ownership that greatly strengthens the power of the capitalist class.

### ARE EXISTING METHODS FUTILE?

The next and last sentence of Clause 3 reads:

“Long experience has proved the hopeless futility of existing political and industrial methods, which aim at mending and rendering tolerable and thereby perpetuating Capitalism—instead of ending it.”

“Existing political and industrial methods” means reform methods, such as pleading in Arbitration Courts and before Wages Boards, appearing before Fair Rents Courts, Cost of Living Inquiries, striking with Craft Union machinery, sending men into Parliament to administer the capitalist class State instead of to abolish it, etc.

In considering the question as to whether existing methods have proved futile, we cannot do better than examine the statistical bulletins published by that very able statistician, Mr. Knibbs. In his bulletin on “Manufacturing Production,” as quoted by Mr. Ahern,\* we get the following illuminating comparisons:

	Average wage per annum.	Product value returned per employee per annum.	
1911.....	£92/5/-	£427	
1917.....	£118/11/-	£641	
Increased wage	£26/6/-	Increased product	£214

In 1911 the proportion of wages paid to the employees in factories, for every £100 worth of product, was £20/14/-; in 1917 the proportion was £17/15/-. “There was an actual decrease in the wages paid of no less than £2/19/- for every £100 produced.”

\* “Australian Worker,” 10/4/19.

Those figures prove that existing methods have failed to prevent the capitalist class increasing the share taken by it from the workers’ product.

The following table, which should be closely studied, and which was kindly supplied, at our request, by Mr. H. A. Smith, Acting Government Statistician of N.S.W., on 8/4/19, shows the fluctuations in wages in New South Wales and cost of living in Sydney since 1896:

### WORKING CLASS'S REDUCED STANDARD OF LIVING.

	Cost of Living, Sydney (Food, Groceries, and Rent).	Average Nominal Rate of Wage (Adult Male Workers).	Effective Wage (Adult Male Workers).	
	Index Numbers.	Average Weekly Rates. s. d.	Index Numbers.	Index Numbers.
1896....	1000	42 1	1000	1000
1901....	1113	43 11	1045	939
1902....	1221	Not available		Not available
1903....	1194			
1904....	1087			
1905....	1168			
1906....	1164	45 4	1079	927
1907....	1155	46 7	1108	959
1908....	1229	46 9	1112	905
1909....	1233	48 3	1147	930
1910....	1241	49 7	1179	950
1911....	1285	51 5	1222	951
1912....	1431	54 3	1289	900
1913....	1469	55 9	1325	902
1914....	1504	56 2	1335	888
1915....	1650	57 7	1369	829
1916....	1738	61 11	1471	846
1917....	1754	64 5	1531	873
1918....	1779	*65 0	*1544	*868

\*Preliminary figures. Subject to slight alteration.



The Effective Wage Index Number was obtained by multiplying the nominal rate by 1000 and dividing by the cost of Living Index Number.

No particulars are available as regards either wages or cost of living for the years 1897 to 1900 inclusive, nor for the years 1902 to 1905 inclusive as regards wages. In the columns showing index numbers the figures for the year 1896 are taken as a basis and called 1000.

The rates of wages are based generally upon the rates prevailing in Sydney. In industries such as mining, agriculture, etc., the rates are necessarily those ruling in places outside the metropolis.

This table proves that whilst the cost of living has increased by over 77 per cent. in 22 years, the money or nominal wage has not increased by 55 per cent., and, therefore, the "effective wage" is far lower now than 22 years ago. Although the workers receive more shillings per day now than in 1896, those shillings will not purchase as much of the necessaries of life now as the lesser number of shillings did then. In other words, whilst the money wage has increased, the "effective wage" has decreased.

### A WIDESPREAD FALLACY.

The chief reason advanced for the increased cost of living by the newspaper editors and economists of the capitalist class, and other economically unsound people, is that the increase in the cost of living is the result of and follows on the granting of higher wages. As a general law the reverse is the case; the increased wages follow the increased cost of living, and do not even keep up with it. Whenever men go on strike, or to an Arbitration Court for an increase in their wages, they do not base their demand on the ground that the

cost of living may or will rise, but upon the fact that the cost of living has already risen.

In spite of the expenditure of millions of pounds by the working class of Australia on Arbitration Courts, Wages Boards, Fair Rents Courts, Cost of Living Inquiries, Craft Union Strikes, sending men into Parliament to administer the capitalist class State, etc., the working class cannot purchase as much meat, butter, eggs, milk and other necessaries of life now as they could 22 years ago. The working class are both relatively and absolutely worse off than 22 years ago. What greater proof do our friends desire of the "hopeless futility of existing methods"?

### CAPITALIST PRESS SUPPORTS CRAFT UNIONISM.

Those of the working class who are satisfied with the "existing methods" should be proud to know that the "Sydney Morning Herald," one of the bitterest, most implacable, and venomous organs of the capitalist class, is in accord with them. On 7/8/18 it said:

"The idea is being vigorously promulgated that the Unions must come together under one control if they wish to achieve their ideals. But the principle is entirely foreign to the methods which have brought so much success during the last quarter of a century. . . ."

"So much success" that the workers have advanced from butter to margarine, and from meat to without meat, etc., etc. "So much success" that within a few days of the N.S.W. Government closing certain businesses during the influenza outbreak in January and again in March last thousands of workers were on



the bread-line and seeking relief orders for food from the Government. "So much success" that the stomachs of the working class are still contracting and the stomachs of the capitalist class still expanding.

Not only has all the aforementioned expenditure of time, energy and money failed to prevent the reduction of the effective wage, but it has also failed to give the workers a firmer grip on their jobs—failed to give them greater security.

Recently the Steel Trust manager at Newcastle said in good, straightforward English: "We reserve the right to hire and fire whom we like." None of the aforementioned "methods" interfere with or can interfere with that "right." The W.L.U. will abolish it.

### COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

We hold that a man has a right to withhold his labor or to use it as he may deem proper. The Secretary of the Coal and Shale Employees' Federation, Mr. Willis, said recently that "compulsory industrial arbitration means legal machinery for holding the sheep while the employers shear them." As he has repeatedly contended, the workers, as a general law, only get from the Arbitration Courts awards in proportion to their organised power to compel the employers to pay without arbitration. The employing class have introduced compulsory Arbitration Courts and invite the working class to settle their differences with them there. The capitalist class have chosen the Arbitration Court as the battle-ground. It is not wise to accept the battle-ground chosen by your enemy. The wiser way is for

you to choose the battle-ground and force the enemy to meet you there.

Advocates of compulsory arbitration and the other existing methods will probably say that were it not for such methods conditions would probably be even worse. Even accepting this (to paraphrase De Leon), it would follow that such methods are, at best, a brake to check the downward course of Labor; it would follow that such methods are not only useless to emancipate the working class, but that they cannot prevent decline; and that all they can do is to slacken or reduce the downward trend of things. As Daniel De Leon says:

"Even accepting this most favorable of views it would be an argument to cast the thing aside. The mission of Unionism is not to act as rearguard to an army defeated, seasoned in defeat habituated to defeat, and fit only for defeat. The mission of Unionism is to organise and drill the working class for final victory—to 'take and hold' the socially operated means of production."

The labors of those who seek to improve the workers' conditions by "existing political and industrial methods," "resemble those of Sisyphus, who eternally rolled a stone up a hill only to see it roll back again, and to find himself no further at the beginning of the next day than he was at the beginning of the previous day." "Existing political and industrial methods" cannot bring any profound change in the daily lives of the workers. "The accomplishment of the One Big Union, on the other hand, is the beginning of a new life."\*

\* H. E. Boote, "The Australian Worker," 16/1/19.



Clause 3 of the Preamble is based upon the facts herein related. It reads:

Clause 3: "Between these two classes the struggle must continue until Capitalism is abolished. 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 political and industrial action.

"'Revolutionary action' means action to secure a complete change, namely, the abolition of 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. Long experience has proved the hopeless futility of existing political and industrial methods, which aim at mending and rendering tolerable, and thereby perpetuating Capitalism, instead of ending it."

## Clause 4.

Clause 4 reads:

"The rapid accumulation of wealth and concentration of the ownership of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the Trades Unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because Craft Unionism fosters conditions which allow the employers to pit one set of workers against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby defeating each in turn."

"Rapidly and inevitably," as Debs said, "the industries of the land are becoming centralised into fewer and fewer hands, while the labor of the workers in field and factory, in workshop, mill and mines becomes more co-operative and interlinked than ever." That Trade Unions "are unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the capitalist class" can be proved in many ways. The introduction of card systems in spite of the resistance of Craft Unions, the wholesale victimisation of unionists everywhere, the reduction of the effective wage, etc., are incontestable proofs that the Trade Unions are "unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the capitalist class."

The second part of Clause 4 is also easy to prove. It reads:

"Because Craft Unionism fosters conditions which allow the employers to pit one set of workers against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby defeating each in turn."

**"UNITED WE STAND; DIVIDED WE FALL."**

In Australia there are about 700 Trades Unions. About 200 of them are in New South Wales. At some



coalmines, such as Hepburn, on the Maitland field, the employees are divided among as many as nine Unions. The workers in and about Hepburn colliery are divided among the following Unions:

The Coal and Shale Employees' Federation.  
 The Shot Firers and Deputies.  
 Colliery Mechanics' Protective Association.  
 Electrical Workers.  
 Engine Drivers and Firemen.  
 Australian Workers' Union.  
 Amalgamated Society of Engineers.  
 Australian Society of Engineers.  
 Progressive Carpenters.

In the Randwick (Sydney) Tramway Repair Shop the employees are divided among about nine Unions; Eveleigh (Sydney) Railway Workshops about twelve; Mort's Dock and Engineering Company (Sydney) about seventeen; and at Cockatoo Dock (Sydney) the employees are divided among about twenty-eight Unions, as follows:

Timber Workers.	United Laborers.
Amalgamated Carpenters.	Progressive Carpenters.
Bridge and Wharf Carpenters.	Shipwrights.
Amal. Society of Engineers.	Australian Society of Engrs.
Iron and Steel Dressers.	Sheet Metal Workers.
Federated Iron Workers.	Moulders.
Blacksmiths.	Boilermakers.
Engine Drivers.	Loco. Drivers' Association.
Electricians.	Builders' Laborers.
Boat Builders.	Amalgamated Painters.
Plumbers.	Ship Painters and Dockers.
Federated Painters.	Clerks.
Bricklayers.	Storemen.
Firemen and Deck Hands.	Sailmakers.*

\* List as supplied by the Secretary of the N.S.W. Labor Council, Mr. Garden.

On Eight-Hour Day most of these Unions carry banners with this inscription: "United we stand; divided we fall." In the case of a dispute arising, the members of each Union have to refer the matter to their Branch, and perhaps State or Federal Executive. In addition to being divided among many Unions, the employees are further handicapped by most of the Unions having different agreements—mostly three-year agreements, which expire at different times. Under such conditions effective action is impossible. Under the W.I.U. form of organisation all the workers at Randwick Workshop would be in one section, the workers at Eveleigh Workshop another section, at Mort's Dock another section, at Cockatoo Dock another section, and all the workers employed about or in a coal or other mine could constitute one section. It is only by such a form of organisation that the workers can deal united, lightning-like, and decisive blows at the capitalist class.

### ORGANISED FORMS OF SCABBING.

Generally, when the members of one Union strike, the members of the other Unions in the same industrial department remain at work, and thus help the employers to defeat the efforts of their fellows on strike. "This fact has been well illustrated during the periods of industrial upheaval in which Australian workers have played a part. During the Sydney Tramway Strike (July, 1908), when tram drivers and conductors, at a given signal, left the cars in an organised body, and had this section of the transport service completely held up, the electrical operatives (all trade unionists) remained in the power house under police protection,



supplied the necessary electricity to enable the officials to clear the lines of all standing cars, and establish a limited 'scab' service. Thus were organised workers scabbing upon organised workers; thus were unionists aiding and abetting in the defeat of unionists on strike for better working or wages conditions.

### LITHGOW STRIKE.

"A strike which took place at the Lithgow Blast Furnace lasted nine months. While it was in progress unionists employed in the railways—engineers, shunters, guardsmen, etc.—conveyed 'scab' labor and police to the scene of the trouble, transported iron ore from Carcoar, limestone from Portland, and coke from Oakey Park to keep the plant running. As these three raw materials are primarily necessary to the production of pig iron (without which the blast furnace would have run cold in 48 hours), it will readily be seen that members of Unions, by handling and transporting those materials to a place where the strike was in progress, assisted as much in defeating the strikers as the 'scabs' that worked at the blast furnace.

### MAITLAND COAL STRIKE.

"For years the miners on the South Maitland coal field were up against the double-shift system. The miners employed at the pits where the double-shift system was insisted upon refused to work it, with the result that the industrial War Lords of the Northern coal fields, at whose head stood John Brown, practically closed the mines against the miners refusing to work the two-shift system. This occurred in May, 1914. For many months the miners were on the grass, and

the Northern Colliery Employees' Federation which paid many thousands of pounds to the members on strike was absolutely helpless. The coal owners suffered little inconvenience, as only a few mines were concerned in the struggle and the rest of the mines kept on working and supplying the demand for coal."\*

During the course of coalminers' strikes Union men on the railways have transported slack coal and large coal loaded on to the railway waggons by scabs, and they have also transported firewood as a substitute for coal.

### "THE BOSSES' UNION."

During and subsequent to the Great Strike in New South Wales (August-September, 1917) the Steel Trust at Newcastle sought to destroy whatever power the Craft Unions had in the steel works. A Union (?) was launched, if not by, at least with the approval of, the Steel Trust. It was and still is called the "Iron and Steel Industry Employees' Protective Association." One extract from its "Application for Membership" form reads:

"... and I most solemnly assert that I am not a member of any other Union of employees which has any, or seeks to obtain any jurisdiction in this industry; I believe in conciliation and arbitration for the settlement of disputes, and while I am a member of this Association I will loyally and intelligently promote these principles, and I will do my utmost to discourage strikes, strike-methods, and any form of industrial disorder. . . ."†

"The applicant's signature to this form had to be witnessed. The employee was further required to sign

\* "The Two Wars" Pamphlet, pp. 9, 10, 12.

† "Newcastle Argus," 20/11/18. Article by Mr. Z. Vaisey.



a statutory declaration—whilst a J.P. with Bible in hand stood by—to the effect that he had resigned from his old Union and became a member of the Bosses' Union."\* The existence of such a Union, and consequent victimisation of splendid Union men, depended upon, among other things, supplies of iron ore and coal. Union men mined the iron ore, and Union railway men and seamen transported it half-way round Australia to Newcastle. Union men mine the coal and Union men transport it to the works. This is still being done, and will probably continue till we have the W.I.U. established.

### PRESENT INSTANCES.

Many other instances of unionists assisting to defeat unionists could be quoted. However, for purposes of illustration, two more will suffice. Ever since the Great Strike in Sydney in August-September, 1917, members of Unions have been hewing coal, members of other Unions have been transporting it by boat and train to Sydney, where "loyalist" coal lumpers place it into the steamers and other receptacles, where members of other Unions shovel it into the furnaces. Whilst this has been, and is, going on, one of the bravest bodies of Union men in Australia—the Coal Lumpers' Union—has been, and is, carrying on a desperate struggle for existence. The Wharf Laborers' Union has been, and is, practically in the same position. Union men have been, and are, manufacturing goods; Union men take them to the wharves, where "loyalist" laborers put the goods into steamers manned by Union men.

\* "Newcastle Argus," 13/11/18.

In many strikes the employers use Union men to print foul slanders and calumnies on Union men and proclamations calling for "scabs" to take the place of Union men.

The foregoing instances prove that "Craft Unionism fosters conditions which allow the employers to pit one set of workers against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby defeating each in turn."

The present form of organisation, even where it assumes an apparently industrial character, is rendered impotent because of its imperfect foundation, being built upon a craft instead of a class basis. Further:

"The Trades Unions fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organised forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class—that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system." \*

### FEDERATION OF CRAFT UNIONS.

What the W.I.U. aims at is not a loose Federation of Craft Unions, but **One Great Class Union**, under one Constitution, and composed of Industrial Departments, each of which includes many and closely related forms of labor, and organised for the abolition of the wages system.

"The federation of Craft Unions as a substitute for [class conscious revolutionary] industrial organisation must be fought and opposed, however much such opposition should be misunderstood. The craft form of organisation, with its narrow craft consciousness, must be discarded." †

It is very significant that whenever any persons put forward a scheme for federating Craft Unions in opposition to a Class Union like the W.I.U., the official

\* "Value, Price, and Profit," (Marx), p. 74.

† "One Big Union for Australia," by N. C. Anderson, p. 24.



organs of the capitalist class, like Melbourne "Age" and Sydney "Telegraph," support them. The employers' press does this because it recognises that Craft Unions—either singly or as a Federation—tend to keep the working class in the same position as a horse on a treadmill, always moving but never advancing. Craft Unionism is dead-end Unionism.

---

## Clause 5.

---

Clause 5 reads:

"These conditions can be changed and the interests of the workers advanced only by an organisation so constituted that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, shall take concerted action when deemed necessary, thereby making an injury to one the concern of all."

The statements made in this Clause are proved by the explanatory matter on preceding pages.

## Clause 6.

---

Clause 6 reads:

"We hold that as the working class creates and operates the socially-operated machinery of production, it should direct production and determine working conditions."

It is only just that those who do the work of the world should determine how and when and, as far as possible, where it is to be done. The W.I.U. combines the workers in such a way that they will be able to elect all those—from the foreman to the most responsible officers—they think most capable of directing industry. Under the new economic regime, the Central Directing Authority will be a Parliament composed of men and women elected by those in the various departments of industry. There could be one delegate to every five, ten, or twenty thousand in each Department, or such other basis of representation as the majority deemed best. By plebiscite vote, or such other means as they shall devise, the workers will determine working conditions. The results would be beneficial beyond all our dreams of prosperity.

### NATURAL RESOURCES OF AUSTRALIA.

In Australia there are vast mineral deposits, vast forests, great rivers, on whose courses many inland seas could be created, and an incalculable amount of electric power generated; also there are vast areas of grazing, wheat-growing, corn-growing, sugarcane-growing, and fruit-growing lands.

There is land and water to provide plenty of rich food for all. Land to provide plenty of wool, etc., for



beautiful clothes, etc., for all; land and building material for beautiful homes for all. All that is required is the proper application of labor in the interests of the whole community, instead of in the interests of the capitalist class.

### LOSSES!

What can the working class lose by organising in the W.I.U.? Every good element that exists now will be perpetuated, strengthened, and developed by the W.I.U. Of course, the workers will lose the exploiters and landlords and "time-payment" and "lay-by" systems, and the chance of achieving glory by being forcibly taken and scattered about the fields by the exploiters' cannon, and working women will lose the necessity of securing assistance from "gentlemen friends," in addition to their low wages, in order to live.

### GAINS.

When the Socialist Republic is established, woman will have economic equality with man, and every woman will be enabled, as Gronlund said, "to earn her own living honorably and pleasantly whenever she chooses to do so."\* The Socialist Republic will not only afford an improved condition of well-being, but also the certainty of **livelihood**. The abolition of the ever-present fear which the working class suffer from under Capitalism, the abolition of poverty, of child labor, and prostitution, together with the vast amount of leisure that will be enjoyed by everyone, would make the people's lives one grand sweet song.

\* "Co-operative Commonwealth," by Gronlund, p. 197.

The Socialist Republic is the goal of the W.I.U. Whilst organising to achieve that goal, it will also fight to secure the best possible conditions under the present system.

### THE OPPONENTS OF THE W.I.U.

The most powerful opponents of the W.I.U. are the capitalist press organs. Their editors and leader writers receive from £500 to £1000 per annum to write what the capitalists want written—to chloroform the working class in the capitalists' interests. What care they for men who only receive about £3 per week, and women who receive 30/- or less? Their women folk are well dressed, well housed, and well fed. Both these women and their husbands look upon working men and women as only fit for exploitation and food for cannon. What have these people ever done for the working class? Every time the workers struggle for shorter hours or higher pay, they are slandered, abused, threatened and bullied by these journalistic hirelings of the capitalist press.

"Human rubbish" was the term applied by the Sydney "Daily Telegraph" to the South African strike leaders. So long as you suffer in silence they are silent about your wrongs, but the moment you propose to end the injustice by organising in the W.I.U. they advise and warn you against joining it. What have the hiring editors of the capitalist press ever done for our class that would justify you in acting in accord with their advice? Have they not endeavored to conscript you when their masters demanded it? Have they not glorified the scabs who poured in in thousands to take the bread from the mouths of the wives and children of you and your fellow-workers? And have



they not mocked the hunger and suffering of your loved ones, and boasted that the sight of them starving would force you into submission?

Your enemy—the capitalist class and its hirelings—want you to remain disorganised as you are. To do so is to place the interest of your enemy before your own, your wife's and your children's interests. Would that be a manly act? Remember that you are robbed of three-quarters of your product at the point of production. Remember that your health is ruined and your life shortened by too much work. Why should you sell the whole of your active life, your "very capacity for work, for the price of the necessaries of life"? Why should you give six working hours out of every eight to the capitalist class? Your life is short! Why give the best of it to those that calumniate and despise you?

Remember that the safety and well-being of you and your loved ones depend upon the degree to which class-consciousness is developed, and the workers organised in the W.I.U. Fight on the industrial field is inevitable! Therefore, why not fight scientifically? Ignore the hirelings of the capitalist press and the Labor lieutenants of the capitalist class! The W.I.U. will outlast them! Press on with the work of the W.I.U. Be one of the world's noble army of unselfish, courageous, implacable, jail-and-death-defying men and women who will force the brutal and subtle capitalist class to unconditionally surrender its power, and who will inaugurate a Socialist Republic, wherein you will be free men and women, and in which your little boys and girls will be able to live brighter, happier, nobler, grander, and more beautiful lives than we have lived.

E N D.

## APPENDIX "A" TO PAGE 32.

---

Socialist production does not require as a precedent condition "the social ownership of all instruments of production." That which renders the Socialist system necessary is **large production**. Production in common requires common ownership of the means of production.

"For the same reason that private ownership in the implements of labor is repugnant to the system of production in common that is carried on in large production, so likewise would common ownership in the instruments of labor be repugnant where production can, and must necessarily, be carried on by separate individuals. Production in such cases requires the private ownership by the worker of his tools. There are industries that are still carried on upon this small and individual system, and which tend to be absorbed by larger ones. The transformation of these into social industries, in other words, the transformation of the instruments requisite to them into social property, would be a matter of policy, to be determined in each case by its special circumstances.

"With regard to these industries, it were senseless to make any sweeping declaration except that, speaking generally, the socialisation of such instruments of production would be purposeless; the aim of Socialism is to place in the hands of the producer the requisite implements of labor. To turn into social property the implements of any such small industry would amount to nothing else than to withdraw them from their present owner and forthwith to give them back to him. It follows that the Socialist Republic does not absolutely require the turning into social property of the instruments of production used in the handicraft trades that still exist and even in some branches of agriculture. The transition from the present to



the Socialist system would not only take nothing away from such handicraftsmen and farmers, but give them positive advantages."\*

Under Capitalism the small farmer may have splendid crops and receive nothing for them. Often the small farmer or orchardist sends a consignment of fruit to a city, and instead of receiving payment he receives a bill for freight. Often his fruit is dumped into garbage destructors or the ocean whilst thousands want it, and he wants payment for it.

Under Capitalism the small farmer is deprived of the greater portion of his product by commission agents, manufacturers, sugar and tobacco trusts, etc. Under Socialism he would receive the full equivalent of all he produced.

\* "Socialist Republic," p. 32.

## A WARNING.

---

The Reformer advocates changes or reforms **to be inaugurated under the present capitalist State**. Such changes or reforms imply the continuation of the capitalist State. The Revolutionist, on the other hand, advocates **the abolition of the capitalist State** and the inauguration of the Socialist Republic.

Beware of the Reformer who, with specious arguments, pleads with you to only demand "a-little-at-a-time." The capitalist class will not allow itself to be pared to death. The Reformer has had a long innings. Despite all his reforms you are worse off than 20 years ago. All the reforms that he has achieved and that have proved such ghastly failures were set forth just as seductively as the reforms he is advocating now.

Always remember that the capitalist class and its press support the Reformer against the Revolutionist. The capitalist class praise the Reformer as a "sane," "far-sighted," and "practical" man. Spurn the "sane," "far-sighted," and "practical" man! His reforms are only "sops" and narcotics to keep you quiet! Spurn the Reformer and his "sops"! Be a Revolutionist! Rely on yourself and your comrades alone! Fight for the Socialist Republic.



## RECREATION.

O, hurry, People, hurry!  
 You are missing all the show!  
 The great, green earth a-spinning,  
 The midnight skies aglow,  
 The whirl of circling seasons,  
 The dance of flying days,  
 The scented, shadowy forests,  
 The still, blue waterways,  
 The meadows, white like snow!  
 The meadows, red and gold with flowers—  
 O, hurry, People, hurry!  
 You are missing all the show.

Why are you waiting, People?  
 Leave your flat walls and floors;  
 There's room for everybody;  
 It's simply all outdoors!  
 There's time for everybody  
 To have three months to play;  
 We needn't work the hours we do,  
 We needn't work that way;  
 We can arrange a whole new game  
 And show our children how—  
 Why are you waiting, People?  
 Why don't you do it now?

—Charlotte Perkins Gilman

## INDEX.

	Page
Preamble of the W.I.U.A. ....	2
Introduction .....	3
<b>CLAUSE 1</b> .....	5
Capitalism .....	6
Value and Labor .....	7
Production of Surplus Value .....	8
The Two Classes .....	8
The Working Class Position .....	9
Working Class Produce all Value .....	10
The Fundamental Robbery .....	10
A Striking Instance .....	11
Class Interests .....	12
The Class Struggle .....	14
<b>CLAUSE 2</b> .....	15
Full and Complete Lives .....	16
Patent Foods and Starvation .....	19
Coalminers and Class Spirit .....	20
Hardships of Women Workers .....	21
"A Strange Delusion" .....	23
Vice of Too Much Work .....	23
"Work" in Delirium .....	24
Accidents .....	25
When to Meet with an Accident is a Good Thing ..	26
Scourge of Overwork .....	26
Insufficient Rest .....	29
When Work will be a Condiment to Pleasure ....	31
<b>CLAUSE 3</b> .....	32
Basis of Workers' Economic Power .....	33
Class-consciousness .....	35
Form of Organisation .....	35
"Take and Hold" .....	37
A Noble Purpose .....	38
W.I.U. will not "Buy Out" the Capitalist .....	39
How will the Change be Effectuated? .....	40
If the Capitalist Class Resists .....	41
Political Action .....	41



## INDEX—(Continued).

	Page
The "Reason" for a Political Party .....	42
The New Parliament .....	44
The Ballot .....	45
An Unanswered Question .....	46
Central Directing Authority .....	47
The Safeguard Against the Workers Being "Sold" .....	47
What the Political Arm Must Do .....	48
Duties of W.I.U. Members of Parliament .....	49
Both Political and Industrial Action .....	49
Revolutionary Action .....	51
State Ownership .....	52
The Servile State .....	53
Governments—Executives of the Capitalist Class..	53
The Modern State .....	54
Why Middle Class Support State Ownership .....	54
"Suppressing Unrest" .....	55
Are Existing Methods Futile? .....	56
Reduced Standard of Living .....	57
A Widespread Fallacy .....	58
Capitalist Press Supports Craft Unionism .....	59
Compulsory Arbitration .....	60
<b>CLAUSE 4</b> .....	63
"United We Stand; Divided We Fall" .....	63
Organised Forms of Scabbing .....	65
Lithgow Strike .....	66
Maitland Coal Strike .....	66
"The Bosses' Union" .....	67
Present Instances .....	68
Federation of Craft Unions .....	69
<b>CLAUSE 5</b> .....	70
<b>CLAUSE 6</b> .....	71
Natural Resources of Australia .....	71
Losses! .....	72
Gains .....	72
The Opponents of the W.I.U. .....	73
Appendix to Page 32 .....	75
A Warning .....	77
"Recreation" .....	78

"Worker" Print, St. Andrew's Place, Sydney.

## BOOKS RECOMMENDED

To be read in the order in which they are enumerated.

	Per Copy.	Per Dox
"WHAT MEANS THIS STRIKE" (Daniel De Leon) .....	3d.	2/4
"INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM" (Eugene Debs) ....	3d.	2/4
"REFORM OR REVOLUTION" (De Leon) .....	3d.	2/4
"THE WORKING CLASS" (Karl Kautsky) .....	3d.	2/4
"THE CAPITALIST CLASS" (Karl Kautsky) ..	3d.	2/4
"THE CLASS STRUGGLE" (Karl Kautsky) ....	3d.	2/4
"THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC" (Karl Kautsky) 3d.	3d.	2/4
"MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY" (Marx and Engels) .....	1/3	
"SOCIALISM—UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC" (Engels) Do., do. (Cloth) .....	3d.	1/3
"TWO PAGES FROM ROMAN HISTORY" (De Leon)	1/-	
"NO COMPROMISE" (William Liebknecht) .....	6d.	
"VALUE, PRICE, AND PROFIT" (Marx) .....	10d.	
"FIRST NINE CHAPTERS OF CAPITAL" (Marx)....	1/9	
"CAPITAL" (Karl Marx) .....	11/-	
"ANCIENT SOCIETY" (Morgan) .....	6/6	
"EVOLUTION OF PROPERTY" (Lafargue) .....	2/3	
"WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM" (Bebel) .....	6/6	
"PARIS COMMUNE" (Marx and Engels) .....	1/3	
"LISSAGARY'S COMMUNE" .....	4/6	
"EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE" (Marx) .....	2/3	
"POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY" (Marx) .....	1/9	

Send all orders to J. S. Garden, Secretary O.B.U., Trades Hall,  
Goulburn-street, Sydney.

ALL ORDERS ONE SHILLING OR OVER POST FREE.



## 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.