

## The Owners of The Universe

LET us corner up the sunbeams  
Lying all around our path ;  
Get a trust on wheat and roses,  
Give the poor the wheat and chaff.  
Let us find our chiefest pleasure  
Hoarding bounties of to-day,  
So the poor shall have scant measure,  
And two prices have to pay.

Yes ; we'll reservoir the rivers  
And we'll levy on the lakes,  
And we'll lay a trifling toil tax  
On each poor man who partakes ;  
We will brand his number on him  
That he'll carry through his life ;  
We'll apprentice all his children,  
Get a mortgage on his wife.

We will capture e'en the wind god  
And confine him in a cave,  
And then, through our patent process,  
We the atmosphere will save.  
Thus we'll squeeze our little brother  
When he tries his lungs to fill,  
Put a meter on his wind-pipe,  
And present our little bill.

We will syndicate the starlight,  
And monopolise the moon ;  
Claim a royalty on rent days,  
A proprietary noon ;  
For right of way through ocean's spray,  
We will pay just what it's worth ;  
We will drive our stakes around the lakes,  
In fact, we'll own the world.

—“Great Thoughts.”

## The Socialist Objective at the Hull Labor Conference.

ON Thursday of last week the Australian capitalist press jubilantly proclaimed that a motion to adopt a Socialist objective had been overwhelmingly defeated at the Hull (Eng.) Labor Conference, and long leading articles were written on the lesson the sturdy British working-man had thus conveyed to the working-man elsewhere, and fulsome eulogies in printer's ink were plentiful enough for anything. But the pæon of joy was ever so short-lived. Friday's cables brought the revolutionising intelligence that the world's Socialist objective had been adopted by the Labor Conference by a substantial majority. Then the daily press started to manufacture reasons, and reporters rushed around and interviewed the Liberal and Reform man, the Labor man, the professional politician, and every freak person whose voice might chance to be lifted in denunciation of Socialism. One solitary paper sought information from the Australian Socialist movement.

The rejected resolution was put forward by the Paper Stainers' Union, and read—

That the Labor Party's ultimate object be to obtain for workers the full results of their labor by overthrowing the present competitive system of capitalism, and the institution of a system of public ownership and the control of all means of life.

The objective adopted was moved by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers—

"That in the opinion of this Conference the time has arrived when the Labor Party should have as a definite object the socialisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, to be controlled by a democratic State in the interest of the entire community; and the complete emancipation of Labor from the domination of Capitalism and Landlordism, with the establishment of social and economic equality between the sexes."

This is the objective of the British Social Democratic Federation, and is similar to that printed on the front page of the "Review."

The Australian papers that have so far commented upon the

incident have, without exception, betrayed a marked degree of ignorance concerning the British labor and socialist movement. Two months ago the agenda paper of the Conference was in print, and a reference to the files of the British Socialist and Labor papers would have revealed the fact that two resolutions in favor of a Socialist objective were to be dealt with, as it would also have shown that the A.S.E. resolution most clearly set forth the Socialist position. It would also have saved quite a number of foolish blunders from going into print.

"The overwhelming majority of trade unions," says London "Justice," through the most representative body of trade union opinion in the United Kingdom—the Trades Union Congress—have over and over again declared their adherence to Socialism. The trade unions are more socialist than than the Labor Party. It is not the trade unions which are keeping the Labor Party from declaring for Social-Democracy, but the timid professing Socialists who are afraid of losing their seats or their place."

The foregoing is especially instructive in view of the scarce headlines of the Australian press re the "capture" of the trade union movement by the Socialists, and the nervous after-assurances that after all there is really no danger of the British working-man in the mass being ensnared in the Socialist net. It makes especially clear the fact that the people who fought the Socialist objective most strongly were those of the professional politician class—just as is the experience in Australia. And it appears that the "politician" started to get his fine work in even in the construction of the agenda, for the Paper Stainers' resolution, which it was known would be defeated was placed among the "Amendments to Constitution," while the A.S.E. proposal with a certainty of securing a majority vote, was placed down among "General Resolutions," and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald set himself the task of endeavoring to make it appear that, because of the relative positions of these resolutions on the agenda, the carrying of the Paper Stainers' proposal would bind every candidate and every affiliated union to Socialism, while the endorsement of the A.S.E. motion would not amount to more than a bald expression of opinion

That, of course, was the mere word-juggling of the expediency-monger.

Whatever else the carrying of the A.S.E. resolution at Hull might mean, it certainly demonstrates the growth of Socialist thought in Britain, and for Capitalism it constitutes another mighty finger pointing ominously to the handwriting on the wall of Human History, while the knees of the modern Belteshazzar class knock together in terror of things, and their hired soothsayers rush into print to say that after all things aren't nearly so bad as they appear to be. But, their assurances to the contrary notwithstanding, they can't rub out the handwriting on the wall.

## "Common Sense Prevails."

"COMMON sense prevails!" gleefully shrieked a N.S.W. politician when the Marrickville resolution in favor of a Socialist objective was voted down at the P.L.L. Conference by 118 to 37.

From the first sentence of the chairman's wearisome and colorless opening address to the last adjournment motion, the P.L.L. Conference stands out as a complete justifying circumstance for the attitude taken up by the International Socialists.

As in past years, and with a consistency that becomes as monotonous as it is inconsistent from a working-class viewpoint, the conference (because while it does represent some working-class men, it doesn't represent working-class thought) overwhelmingly voted down the attempt to provide the P.L.L. with a Socialist objective, and once more the emphatic repudiation of Socialism by a middle-class political organisation was made a public ceremony.

Mr. Keegan, pleading for an objective understandable by the people, ridiculing the nationalisation-of-monopolies cry, declaring that the time was over-past when they should throw dust in the eyes of people; Mr. Lee (of the wharf laborers);

Mr. Farrar (of the Saddlers), protesting against being tied down to a constitution that in no way indicated working-class principles, and mercilessly lashing for their dishonesty the politicians who objected that their chances of getting into Parliament would be destroyed by a Socialist objective; Mr. Kavanagh (of the pressers) demanding that they should stand for the full product of the workers' toil for the workers, that they should let the workers know that they did stand for such an objective, for Socialism; and the others who voted for the objective—especially Mr. Jabez Wright, of Broken Hill, who [while he couldn't help aiming a blow in the dark at the Barrier Socialist Group] asserted that a man who wanted to stand for Parliament as anything else than a Socialist should be fired out of the movement—these and all of them should recognise the utter hopelessness of attempting to swing the P.L.L. movement into line with the world's working-class movement; and their business should be to get into harness in an honest Socialist movement with as little delay as possible. If there were nothing else to force home to them the hopelessness of the middle-class condition into which the P.L.L. has collapsed, the endorsement of Mr. Foster's statement that the Labor Party "can do all that is required by nationalisation of monopolies" should be sufficient. The utter inability of scarcely any of the Labor members to display even a rudimentary knowledge of the economic aspect of the Labor movement, their absolutely ridiculous squabble of nearly three hours duration over the question of whether the capitalist Commonwealth Parliament or the capitalist State Parliament should enact domestic laws [as if it mattered which set of capitalist hirelings did that work]—a squabble that was shelved for 12 months because of the disruption it threatened: the State members fighting for their jobs and their existence against the A.W.U. and the Federal members—all of these things go to make clearer the deep gulf that divides the P.L.L. movement from the world's great working-class organisation, just as the revelations made concerning Phillip and Annandale selections—in the latter case, it being alleged that a "Labor" candidate, after having been selected by the local branch, was withdrawn by the executive in order that a money-lending capitalist might have a clear run for the seat; and it has been alleged that this was only one item in a long list of bad political bargainings

(Concluded on Page 7.)

# COMRADES, GOOD-BYE!

=====  
F. SCEUSA'S  
FAREWELL...  
=====

R.M.S. "Oruba,"

Fremantle, 20th January, 1908.

I CANNOT leave Australia without thanking my Sydney comrades for the help given me in settling my affairs, and carrying me on board the boat that is taking me home. Had it not been for them and a few sympathetic countrymen of mine, I would be still in my old dismal abode at St. Peters, between a "Christain" Sunday School and a Cemetery.

I must not leave the Australian coast without thanking the International Socialist Club and the Socialist Federation of Australasia for their soul-stirring addresses and other tokens of love presented to me at the parting hour.

The enforced isolation of the last four years, the apparent abandonment in which I was left by my friends, had damped my spirit, if not my faith, prostrated me, and made of me a pitiful wreck—a derelict in the darkness, and in an ocean of despair, slowly but surely drifting towards destruction. Even Hope, the last goddess, had deserted me.

But light came at last with those addresses, and, with light, hope and confidence in myself returned to me.

The magic words "Red International," the dates "1877," "1881" and "1908," the symbolic pictures of the illuminated address—a beautiful artistic production, by the way—reminded me of my whereabouts; my mission in life, of the starting point of my career, my actual position, and my destination; the volcanic island facing Scylla (the Scylla sketched on the address) watched by Charybdis, a dangerous land to the mariner as it may be seen; but a fruitful one for an earnest social-reformer or revolutionary, however invalid he may happen to be.

To that ever oppressed Sicilian land—the granary of Imperial Rome—where the Titans waged war against the gods, where the first Social War (ab. 50 B.C.) was fought, and where the revolution which convulsed Europe in 1848 has its birth, I am now directed, there to end life as I commenced it, fighting for the cause of morality and justice.

Comrades, good-bye!

FRANCIS SCEUSA.

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## H. E. HOLLAND & SCOTT BENNETT

Will speak in Sydney Domain on Sunday Next, on the

### P.L.L. CONFERENCE

and its Conclusions.

Why the Conference repudiated Socialism.

(Concluded from Page 5.)

sufficient to utterly damn any working-class party. These latter items are, however, not more than the incidents which must find their existence in a party so constituted. It is more than ever a fair thing to again ask those men and women who, claiming to be Socialists, have clung to the P.L.L. movement honestly believing that by so doing they were best serving the Socialist movement—we say it is fair to once more ask these if they are not now forced to realise the utter futility of endeavoring to make Socialist propaganda from within a party that officially repudiates Socialism. There can be one answer only to that question; and that answer should be followed by immediate withdrawal from the ranks of the enemy—immediate enrolment in the ranks of the world's great working-class movement as represented by the Socialist Federation of Australasia.

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## INTERNATIONAL

# Socialist : Picnic

At Sir Joseph Banks' Grounds, Botany on

## Sunday Next, Feb. 2.

Admission—Gents, 1/; Ladies, 6d.

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### P.L.L. CONFERENCE

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## Wit, Humor, and Pathos.

SIR HENRY FOWLER (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster) speaking at Wolverhampton, made a strong pronouncement against Socialism, which, he said, was advocated by well-meaning men who had not thought the question out.

Comedy:—A number of old-time aldermen at Leichhardt, fearing to face the poll on the slightly-widened franchise of the new Local Government Act, did a bolt from the arena the other day. Then the "property-owners" rushed around frantically, and held a meeting, and resolved that confidence would be destroyed and capital driven out of the county if "property" failed to secure the domination of the borough, and the three run-aways were pathetically besought to re-enter the lists—and consented. The daily press stated that there was a danger of the borough being handed over to the Socialists; and the humorous side of all the fuss and tearfulness is that there isn't a solitary Socialist in the field. There are some P.L.L. candidates, who will get very close to the top of the poll; but they're not likely to do anything so very revolutionary as to warrant the local capitalists wheeling their jam

factories and boot shops and other sweating dens away on hand barrows.

"Silly-shibboleth" Holman, M.L.A., has been telling Sydney "Daily Telegraph" that "the man who is content to let things stand as they are does not care if the legislative machinery [of the Capitalist State, mind you] breaks down altogether, whereas for the Labor Party its accuracy and its effectual workings are essentials." This is neither wit, nor humor, nor pathos. It is just dropped in at this spot as a fearsome example of the deep and silly pit which an uninformed professional politician is capable of digging for himself with the reckless volubility of his phonographic tongue. (The "bull" in this last sentence isn't nearly so ridiculous as from a working-class standpoint is the foregoing utterance of Mr. McGowen's political understudy.)

Winston Churchill is "confident that an attempt to replace the existing organisation of society by an official hierarchy, such as the Socialists contemplated, must end in failure." The fact that the Socialists do NOT propose to replace the existing organisation of society by an official hierarchy or by any other sort of hier-

archy doesn't deter Mr. Churchill. Facts appear to be regarded by the Crown Minister of Capitalism as small absurdities. That's what makes their official pronouncements so uproariously humorous.

Humor—unconscious humor.—Mr. McGowen has been telling the Sydney "Evening News" that his party is trying to extend the State as an employer of labor," and that such extension of the functions of the Capitalist State "is a Socialism of evolution instead of a Socialism of revolution."

Fred Flowers, M.L.C. (who doesn't incite people to murder blacklegs sooner than dogs any more) says: "There is, however, little doubt that the people of Australia are more democratic, taken right through, than the people of England, and, in consequence, our chances of the realisation of democratic measures are better than in England, inasmuch as we have more of the democracy behind us."

Humor? No. Pathos? No. Just bally rot.

Labor member Carmichael, told the "Daily Telegraph," re the Hull resolution:—"No reference was made to State ownership, although that might be contemplated in the far or near future. As he read

the cable there was nothing to warrant the construction put on it that the resolution provided for the nationalisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and that being so, he did not feel justified in expressing a definite opinion." And Mr. Carmichael is still wondering what he really meant to say when he said that lot.

Labor member Beeby is alleged by the "Daily Telegraph" to have said that the resolution carried at the Hull conference "was after all only an adoption by the English Labor Party of an objective similar to what was framed by the Australian Labor Party." We can hardly conceive that even a middle-class politician could be so utterly stupid as to perpetrate a palpable untruth of that sort. We await Mr. Beeby's denial or explanation.

One of the most pestiferous professional politicians hooked on to the car of Capitalism has been telling St. George electors that they should select a better class of politicians to represent this State—and the "Review" calculates that if the advice is taken there won't be any more W. E. Johnstons in the Federal House of Capitalism.

## Under the Red Flag.

### Australasia.

#### SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

FROM Brompton, S.A., C. O. Bennett—a member of the Barrier Socialist Group—writes:

"Just a few lines re the movement in this part of the world, which up to the present has been a pretty slow part as far as the Socialist movement is concerned.

"Tom Mann, while returning from his recent trip to the Barrier, spent a few days in Adelaide for the purpose of holding meetings. On Saturday evening, Jan. 11th, a thoroughly successful street corner meeting was held at Port Adelaide, and a quantity of "Flames" were disposed of quite easily, the demand for literature being highly satisfactory; but we were not properly prepared to meet a demand in this direction, so a good opportunity was lost. The tone of the meeting was gratifying, the general feeling being a desire for more straight talk such as you may guess Tom gave them. The following afternoon another highly successful meeting was held in the Rotanic Park. Tom was in real good form, and added further testimony to his brilliant ability on the platform. We came in touch with a number of Socialists, and arrangements have been made to hold a meeting to form a Socialist body here soon, and I am hoping that in the future something of a real live character will be done for Socialism in Adelaide.

"Judging by appearances there is a heap of material here; it only wants organizing, and I think that the few of us who have the beginning effort in hand can hope to

have reasonable success; and I am looking forward to sending you Adelaide notes in the near future."

#### SYDNEY.

Sunday's meeting in the Domain was quite up to the average. A good deal of interest was taken in the address, and the speaker, Scott-Bennett, was kept busy at the conclusion of the meeting answering a large number of questions.

E. Price and Scott Bennett were the speakers at Darlinghurst on Sunday evening. The attendance was very good, which is more than can be said of the objections raised by one or two anti-Socialists at the conclusion of the speeches.

Scott Bennett will, by invitation, be the speaker at the Unitarian Church on Tuesday evening next. His subject will be "Two Great Thinkers of the Nineteenth Century—Karl Marx and Charles Darwin." A cordial invitation to attend is extended by the Church authorities.

Comrades generally will be pleased to hear that Comrade Pantano, of Broken Hill, is now making rapid strides towards recovery. He is at present at Walker's Convalescent Home, Parramatta.

Comrades H. E. Holland and Scott Bennett will be the speakers in the Domain next Sunday afternoon. The subject is advertised in another column.

The Group picnic will take place at Sir Joseph Banks, Botany, on Sunday. These well-known picnic grounds are sure to be well patronised. The prices of admission are—Gentlemen, 1s; ladies, 6d.

"Victoria" and "Other Lands" crowded out.

## The Reviewer.

### Vandervelde's "Collectivism and Industrial Evolution."

By H.J.H.

THE editor of the "Review" hands me a stout and solid volume of some 250 pages, being No. 5 of the Socialist Library: a translation of Emile Vandervelde's "Collectivism and Industrial Evolution," and demands a review thereof.

First a word as to the series of which this volume is a part. "The Socialist Library" is a venture of the British Independent Labor Party—which, by the way, is not independent, as, though claiming to be Socialist, it is affiliated with non-Socialists for political purposes—and is edited by J. Ramsey Macdonald, M.P. The works hitherto published are of very unequal merit, and Enrico Ferri's splendid revolutionary volume, "Socialism and Positive Science," and this work of the Belgian parliamentary leader are easily the pride of the basket.

As for the editorship, Mr. Macdonald certainly cannot be congratulated upon his "editorship" of Vandervelde. No attempt whatever is made at editorial comment or introduction. The numerous class of readers who know little or nothing of the author and his previous writings and political career are left without this useful, though not absolutely necessary information. More important still: the reader is not even informed to which of the two great camps of the International Socialist movement, the revolutionaries, or the reformers or revisionists, the Belgian Socialist belongs. And even in details the editorship is so slovenly

that foreign denominations of weights and measures, kilogrammes, cents, francs, marks, dollars, hectares, and the calculations based upon them are not translated into English terms.

Editorship on these terms affords a very easy method for an enterprising politician to identify himself with thinkers of international reputation. The preliminaries over let us get down to the book itself. Here we have a more pleasant task. Unhesitatingly this work can be recommended to the student of social problems.

The author's introduction is notable, coming from Vandervelde, the politician, the parliamentarian, who may be broadly termed a reformist. Such a passage as this marks an enormous gulf between even the right wing of the Socialist army and the mere laborists and nationalisers.

"The management of affairs . . . would belong not to the State, as is said and repeated in order to mislead, but to autonomous public corporations under the control of the State."

And again the author pronounces for: "a complete revolution in the regime of production and distribution."

It is true that in the very next paragraph the quotation is approvingly made: "Radical changes cannot be sudden; sudden changes cannot be radical." But, the context makes it clear that the author is referring to that long evolution of the economic structure of society which has already progressed almost to its limit under capitalist conditions, and not at all to the political action of the working-class in the battle to alter the social superstructure in conformity with the already accomplished economic

evolution. The "go-slow," "moderate," "step-at-a-time" politician can find no consolation here. "The social revolution," says Vandervelde, "is on the march." In the body of the work, the proofs of this contention are ably handled. The work is divided into two parts, one entitled "Capitalist Concentration," the other: "The Socialisation of the Means of Production and Exchange."

It is impossible to deal here with the mass of facts dealing with the division of labor, the growth of technical efficiency, the development of machine production—for which the author has coined the ugly word machirofacture, the centralisation of capital, which the author has collected. Without accepting all his conclusions, we gladly recommend perusal of these ably written chapters. One illustration of the contradictions in which the reformist tendency involves our author will explain the qualification which hedges our recommendation.

On page 79 the statement is made: "The enormous increase in social productivity reacts—in spite of deplorably numerous exceptions—on the general well-being: it increases in a certain degree the average of wages and salaries." In general support of this position a statistic table is quoted in a footnote. On page 92 Vandervelde states:

"Finally, the tendency to reduce wages to the minimum, to prolong the working-day to its extreme limits, to replace the worker by the machine, the adult man by his wife and children, in order to increase profit without intermission, remains the dominant, inevitable aim of capitalist production."

These two passages are obviously

and directly contradictory. The reformist tries to escape the contradiction by the alleged efficiency of his various reform panaceas. But the very statistics quoted by those who hold this view really tell in quite the opposite direction. Let us quote and analyse the table of statistics on page 79 above referred to. Here it is:

Persons having an income of	Increase per cent		
	1879	1894	absolute
800 marks	828,686	972,257	143,571
800 to 1000 "	165,362	337,974	192,612
1600 to 3000 "	61,810	106,316	44,326
3300 to 9600 "	24,072	41,194	17,118
9600 to 54000 "	4,683	10,518	5,835
More than 54000	238	886	648

First of all, add the two columns headed respectively 1879 and 1894. The first year dealt with 1,084,841 persons, the second with 1,489,841, an increase of 404,990 persons. Therefore the columns dealing with "increase" are deceptive. At first sight the casual reader would probably suppose that hundreds of thousands of people had substanti-

ally bettered their position. This is not so; simply a larger mass of persons are dealt with in the second year than in the first. Next, we must repair the editor's carelessness by changing "marks" into pounds sterling. Eight hundred marks per year look quite a respectable sum until it is discovered that a mark is equal—as German friends inform the writer—to a small fraction less than 1/, and that therefore 800 marks equals £40 per annum, or the handsome sum of 15/4½ per week! Fine progress, splendid "increase in social productivity," "reacting on the general well-being," which adds in 15 years nearly 150,000 persons to this army of wretchedly underpaid workers. If we take all those at 1000 marks (£50 per year, 19/3 per week) and under, it is discovered that this period of "advance" (!) added 336,183 persons to those earning these paltry amounts in 1879. Fine improvement in conditions this! Especially if increase in cost of living, and the earlier exhaustion of the worker by greater intensity of exploitation is taken into consideration.

Such figures really re-inforce the revolutionary position and are consistent not with mere reformism but with the conclusion arrived at by Vandervelde in finishing his first part.

"It" (capitalism) "engenders at the same time, digging its own tomb, the revolutionary forces which are henceforth framing within the womb of modern society the mighty embryo of collectivist society."

The second part of the book deals with "The Socialization of the Means of Production and Exchange." This section is, on the whole informative, though very

unequal, confused, and disappointing. For instance to write of Socialism as a process of changing "by collective appropriation, wage-workers into capitalists" is absurd. Socialism will not turn wage-workers into capitalists—means of production will no longer function as capital, i.e., as means of exploitation of labor. Again, the author writes of "the capitalist function." Now it is one of the most important contentions of modern, scientific Socialism that the capitalist has no economic function—is unnecessary. It is also a misconception to speak of the community of the future renewing social "capital," and one would really like to know why the author writes of the profit-plundering process as promoting "too often (!) dishonest speculations," as if the whole process were not based on the dishonesty of working-class exploitation!

The obsession of the State "Socialist" also evidently still possesses the great Belgian Parliamentarian to some extent, for he writes of the administration of justice as "socialised for centuries," and quotes Hamilton with approval as saying that post offices, currency, highways, have been taken possession of by "society," overlooking apparently the class nature of the society which owns and administers these public services. The profits wrung from labor by State and Municipal exploitation are apparently supposed to possess some mystic quality which sweetens the toil and poverty of the public employe.

It is true Vandervelde concludes on this point that "the despotism of the State employer is no better than the despotism which holds sway in most" [note] "of the workshops run by private industry."

It is unfortunate that minor considerations, often of doubtful importance, should be allowed to obscure the main issues of the Socialist movement, and this section of the work under review is an admirable object lesson as to the futility of the reformist policy, and the confusion of ideas which it breeds amongst the workers. The author's conclusion that: "As long in fact as the social reign of the bourgeois continues, public enterprises will of necessity assume the form of capitalist enterprises, exploited by the State as employer, if not exclusively in the interest of the governing classes, at least paying most attention to that interest," will receive general endorsement from all Socialists, and some of us will hold that sub attention as is paid to the workers' interests in these enterprises is really indirectly in the service of the capitalists also—helping to side-track the political activities of the working class.

The sections of this book which deal with political action are distinctly disappointing, but, allowing for the defects inherent in the reform position, the book as a whole is decidedly worthy perusal.

## INTERNATIONAL Socialist : Picnic

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Sunday Next, Feb. 2.

Admission—Gents, 1/; Ladies, 6d.

### At the P.L.L. Conference.

At the Conference it was remarked that delegates wearing red ties found it almost impossible to catch the chairman's eye.

The drought-robed hours of the day sped by  
The wranglers pitched their war-notes high.  
But the brother that looked in the chairman's  
eye

Was never the brother with the bright red  
tie.

Babel of tongues made the night-hours fly,  
And evermore rang the vote-catchers' cry—  
While the M.P. man got the chairman's eye  
But never the brother with the blood-red tie.

"Vorwärts," the Berlin Socialist organ, calculates that there are 60,000 unemployed in Berlin. About 12,000 met in the German capital on Tuesday of last week, and demanded that the State should undertake building work at trade-union wages, the removal of food taxes, and the immediate institution of municipal relief works. Armed police provoked some disorder at the meeting by unnecessary interference. Thinking that some of the unemployed were trying to force a passage over a bridge, the police drew their sabres, and mercilessly slashed many until there were pools of blood in the streets.

### Brief Mention.

An article "Concerning Anandale," is held over till next issue.

Airley miners are still locked out by the Commonwealth Oil Corporation, and Sydney Labor Council is soliciting help from organised Labor on their behalf.

A challenge from the International Socialists to the P.L.L. Conference for a three-side debate had not been dealt with by the conference when the "Review" went to press, although it was placed in the secretary's hands early on Monday morning.

The boys employed on Anthony Hordern and Sons' carts struck work on Tuesday. They had been getting 10s a week (long hours) and demanded 12s 6d and 15s. We understand that their demands were eventually conceded by the big sweat-shop. It should be a great advt. for Hordern's—the fact that the nippers had to strike for an advance on a 10s a week wage.

The girls on strike at Jones Bros.' jam factory have a good case. The workers should let some one else eat Jones's jam in the meantime.

Under Capitalism the worker is regarded only as a beast of burden. When it is proposed that the weight of wheat bags shall be reduced to 200lbs, Messrs. Wade and Bent start to shriek that, unless the workers still go on carrying 240lb. bags and over, "State rights" will be violated! But the Federal Parliament will stop short at interfering with the handling of wheat on farms and railways. "If the State Parliament thinks that 340lb. is a fair weight for a man to lift, we cannot help it," helplessly complains Mr. Chapman. So long as the workers are satisfied to be driven like horses and asses, so long will they have to carry the loads of horses and asses. When they make up their minds to stand upright like men, they won't want any middle-class Parliament to make a pretence of lightening their loads, and there won't be any Wades or Bents to raise a wail about the State Rights of Capitalism.

So far Mr. W. W. M. Hughes' reply to our recent "Strike-breaker" article has not come to hand. Probably P.L.L. Conference arrangements have prevented Mr. Hughes from preparing his defence. Failure to answer the "Review" charges will be accepted as an unqualified plea of guilty.

Socialist Picnic, Botany, Sunday.



Mr. A. Balfour has declared that if "the Labor Party succeeded in carrying out the principles of the Red Flag, it would, he held, produce the greatest calamity that ever happened in this world, not to the rich, but to the poor." When his own position is threatened, and the right of his class to live without labor by the robbery of the workers is challenged, then the head of the robber class begins to weep for the calamities that will happen down on the heads of the poor—if they should succeed in bucking the robber class off their backs.

Preliminary steps have been taken to form a non-Socialist Labor Party in Britain.

The "Westminster Gazette" (a middle-class paper) considers that the "academic triumph achieved by the Socialists at Hull is likely to produce a catastrophe similar to that which overwhelmed Continental Socialism, and will probable put back socialistic 'reforms' another generation." As continental Socialism hasn't yet been overwhelmed by any catastrophe, the humor of the "Gazette" pronouncement will be immediately recognised.

This was a great week for

Socialism. Teddy and Taft both made speeches decrying the evils of Socialism, Emperor William is reported to have seriously discussed the advisability of chasing the International Socialist Congress out of Germany, and the Tsar of Russia had a few more Socialists shot for questioning his absolutism, while the Sultan of Turkey is still to be heard from. There were also a few master-loving working-men who were heard to remark that "them lazy Socialists want to divide up everything." It was a great week.—Cleveland Citizen.

"Will we work for ten bob a week?" shouted a lad of 15 or 16 to his fellow-nippers on strike at Hordern's in Goulburn-street, Sydney, on Tuesday. "No!" roared half-a-hundred lusty young voices. And then somebody went for the police.

## A Blue Mark

Through this paragraph indicates that your Subscription to the "Review" has expired, and should be renewed if you wish to still receive the Magazine.

## A Red Mark

Indicates that unless Subscription is paid within Fourteen Days, your copy of the "Review" will be discontinued.

## The Lords of the Whirling Machines.

We are lords of the whirling machines,  
And our wings are of Water and Fire,  
The strength of the thunder-fraught clouds  
We have shackled to work our desire.  
But into our factories we send little maids  
To work whilst their health and happiness fades.

We possess all the wealth of the world,  
Of the field, and the forest, and mine,  
And the track of the smoke from our ships  
Trails o'er the farthest sea-line,  
But the men at the docks where our treasure ships  
come,  
Are ragged and hungry, and few have a home.

Very great is our knowledge of things;  
We can split up the light from a star,  
And we peer through a magical glass,  
To see what Ephemeron are.  
And we look in the heart of our cities, and know  
Into what men and women must children must grow.

We have builded a Palace of Art,  
Where enchanters of Beauty compel,  
With colors and sounds and with words,  
The spirit of Beauty to dwell,  
But beautiful girls we abandon to meet  
The fate of the hags who court lust in the street.

We are slaves to the whirling machines;  
Naught availeth our knowledge and power,  
Whilst a few hold the wealth of the world  
God gave to all men for a dower.  
He gave us the world, then on us be the blame  
If we sweep not our heritage free from this shame.  
—"Labor Leader."

## Political Movement of the Working Class.

From the "Western Clarion."

Too much stress cannot be laid upon the need of a thorough understanding of the circumstances surrounding the present system of property and proper application of all the powers at its command to relieve the workers from the economic pressure they suffer under it.

The purpose of production, under the rule of capital, is to bring profit to the owners of the resources of the earth and the machinery of production. This profit cannot be obtained unless those who perform the labor necessary to carry on production can be in some manner compelled to surrender their power to labor for something less than an equivalent of the wealth produced by its expenditure. This is, happily for the capitalists, very neatly provided for under the guise of what is termed the wage system. In return for the expenditure of his labor-power the worker receives wages. Upon the face of it he appears to be paid for what he has done. If he were actually paid for what he had done some shrewd figuring would be required to determine how his employer could obtain a

profit from the transaction. That the purchasers of the labor-power do make a profit out of the game somehow, lead to the conclusion that the worker is not paid for what he does. His wages must, therefore, come to him as a result of other calculations. It is of prime necessity that he be made to understand clearly the secret of the wage process in order that he may so shape his action as to enable him to escape from the exactions that are laid upon him under it.

Under production for profit the things produced take their place in the market as commodities, i.e., things for sale. Things for which the owner has no use, but which he must sell in order to transform their value into things for which he has use.

As the workers have no ownership in the means of production, the capitalists are in complete command of the workers' labor-power. The workers must sell their labor-power to the capitalists in order to obtain the necessities of life. Having no means of production of their own through which they can expend it and thus obtain the requisites for sale in the market in order to transform its value into the things for which they have use, i.e., food, clothing, shelter, etc. Their very

bodies become, as it were, factories for the production of the commodity, labor-power, and themselves sellers of that commodity. They must sell or starve, hence the purchasers where-of, the capitalists, have a powerful lever in their favor in determining the price.

Commodities, as a rule, exchange in the market according to the respective amount of necessary social labor embodied in the production. This holds as true of the commodity labor-power as of any other. If a given amount of food, etc., is requisite to the production of a day's labor-power, i.e., the keep of the laborer for one day, then the true exchange value of a day's labor-power, expressed in money is the price of that amount of food, etc. If this given amount of food, etc., can be produced in, say, four hours, and the length of the normal working-day be eight hours, then it logically follows that the exchange value of a day's labor-power is only one-half the exchange value of the product of one day's labor. If the worker gets the equivalent in money of this given amount of food, etc., he has received all that his labor-power for one day is worth in the market. As he has produced this food, etc., or its equivalent, in four out of the

eight hours he has worked, the product of his labor for the remaining four hours is a clear gain for the capitalist. It has cost him nothing. It represents his profit. It is the price the worker pays for the blessings of capitalist rule.

The capitalist class is enabled to maintain its position of mastery of the means of production and its consequent dominion over the army of laborers solely by virtue of its instrument, the State. By control of the organized powers of government, legislative, judicial and executive, it sustains, bulwarks and defends its property rights in the means of production, and its consequent enslavement of labor.

So long as the laborers give their political support to the parties of capitalism they but forge the fetters upon their own limbs. They grant to the master class the power and privilege to enslave and rob them.

The interests of the enslaved class demand that their economic bondage be brought to an end by breaking the rule of capital over the means of production, the things upon which the workers depend for their sustenance. To effect this it is necessary to wrest the control of the State from the hands of the capitalist class and use its powers to ef-

fect such transformation of property rights in the means of production as will henceforth secure to all men the full fruits of their labor.

To effect this requires the best efforts of every member of the working-class. The political movement of labor

throughout the world signals the rapidly approaching day of reckoning for that vulgar and repulsing profit-mongering class that now holds sway over the world's industries and makes the lives of workers a hideous sacrifice upon their thieves' altar, capital.

## UNDER THE RED FLAG.

### Australasia.

#### SYDNEY.

LAST Thursday evening Scott-Bennett spoke to a very fair audience at Reidfern on "Liberalism, Laborism, and Socialism." The address was attentively listened to throughout, some good-humored discussion ensuing at the conclusion of the address.

The inclement weather that prevailed in Sydney on Sunday last prevented the usual propaganda meetings being held. H. E. Holland and Scott-Bennett were to have spoken on the P.L.L. conference in the Domain, a subject that will be dealt with, however, next Sunday at 3 p.m.

Needless to say the frowns of Jupiter also interfered with the attendance at the Group's picnic that was held at Sir Joseph Banks'. Had the weather been fine it is quite evident that the Botany trams would have been kept very busy, for, notwithstanding the teeming rain, some two hundred comrades were present, and under shelter of the capacious pavilion enjoyed themselves, depressing circum-

stances to the contrary notwithstanding. The Internationals will hold another Sunday picnic at the Grounds in the course of a week or two.

We note with extreme pleasure the fact that the Victorian Socialist Party have decided to contest State, Federal, and Municipal seats at the earliest opportunity. This is as it should be. Whilst as Socialists we fully recognise the limitations of political action, yet, upon the other hand, we also recognise the absolute necessity that exists for demonstrating to all and sundry that those who are not with us in the fight against the domination of Capitalism, must necessarily be against us.

There was no meeting at Newtown on Friday last. Rain and mud rendered the holding of an open-air meeting quite out of the question.

This Saturday afternoon the anniversary of the International Socialist Club will be held at the Club rooms. The proceedings will be open to Club members only.

We were glad to see Comrade Paul Pantano at the International

headquarters during the week. He is beginning to look quite himself again, the operation for appendicitis having proved very successful. Paul will prove, we are sure, a big acquisition to the ranks of the Internationals.

### BROKEN HILL.

R. S. Ross challenged Rev. Schafer to debate Socialism and anti-Socialism, but the "anti" parson knew a thing or two, and jibbed at the job.

The "Flame" of Jan. 25 contains articles on "Morality, Law and Classics," "Economics and Morality—Tom Mann's Case for Socialist Sunday Schools," "Free Will, does it Exist—Up Against Schafer," "Panic and Slump," "Tom Mann and Barrier Truth," and many other interesting items.

### Other Lands.

#### UNITED STATES.

THE Circuit Court sitting at St. Clairsville, O., has declared the Child Labor Act invalid.

A temporary injunction has been granted against the American Federation of Labor, prohibiting the Federation from continuing to boycott the Buck Stove and Range Co. of St. Louis.

Fast upon the news of the Mononah mine disaster in West Virginia comes the report of another in the Yolande mines of Alabama. This time 75 are added to the gruesome pile of bodies slain through the criminal recklessness of the capitalist class. Again women are widowed and little children are left fatherless—to become paupers, or perhaps, in the struggle to live, to become worse.

The number of immigrants returning to Europe this fall shows an increase of from 20 to 33 per cent. One hundred and twenty thousand steerage passengers left Atlantic coast ports, as against 54,000 in the same period last year.

The Panic Edition of the "Appeal to Reason" reached a total of over 2,000,000 copies. It was chock full of excellent matter dealing with the present industrial depression. Sensational and scare-head truck was conspicuous by its absence.

That the present ruling class is ever ready to do murder in defence of its right to rule and rob was most strikingly illustrated recently by the sending of troops to Goldfield, Nevada. Goldfield is one of the greatest gold camps in the country. Its output is about \$1,000,000 per month. When it so happened that the employers saw fit to pay the wages of the miners in stage money—scrip—the latter refused to accept it and demanded the real stuff instead. It occurred to these workmen that if they produced \$1,000,000 dollars in gold per month for their masters it should be possible for those useless but otherwise worthy persons, to give them the equivalent of their rations in the yellow metal itself. They refused to take the scrip and the necessity for troops becomes immediately visible to the capitalist eye. Such rebellious conduct upon the part of the workmen must be frowned down by the bayonet and gatling gun. The call is sent to Roosevelt and the unformed murderers are at once forthcoming.

It is reported that all news dispatches from the Goldfield district, Nevada, are being censored.

Free speech fight is still being waged in Seattle.

## WHERE ARBITRATION FAILS.

THE "Review" anticipates a strike of Wyalong miners early next week, in spite of the Arbitration Act. Sydney wharf laborers are on strike; Airley miners are on strike; other workers are on strike; Newcastle wharf laborers are on strike; Sydney timber employees are on strike; Sydney jam employees will be on strike—in spite of the Arbitration Act. And now a greater calamity threatens. The "Review" predicts that Judge Street will also go on strike—in spite of the Arbitration Act. When Mr. Street strikes matters at Newcastle will be further complicated; and Judge Heydon will in all probability declare a sympathy strike—in spite of the Arbitration Act. Whether both judges will then form a kindred committee and state a case to be heard by the court remains to be seen; but if compulsory arbitration is good for the use-

ful worker who goes on strike in his moleskins, it is surely good for the not very useful judge who gets his real hair off, and then goes on strike with his horse-hair on. The "Review" would like to warn Messrs. Street and Heydon that there is a clause in the Act which provides that a person doing anything in the nature of a strike or lock-out under certain circumstances is liable to a fine of £1000 or a month's hard in Darlinghurst. It would be a fearsome thing to send a man up with a horse-hair wig on his head. After the judges have struck, the engine men at Pelaw Main will follow suit, and in due time there will be a general strike of Newcastle miners. But all of these things lumped together won't stop certain middle-class politicians from proclaiming the efficacy of the Arbitration Act as a solver of industrial problems.

## THE KILLING OF KINGS.

KING CARLOS of Portugal is dead. As a French Socialist put it, "He met an accident incidental to his profession." All kings are merely national figureheads of Capitalism. And assassination is the ripe political fruit of Capitalism.

But it is only when a king is killed that flare headlines in jingo organs proclaim the news and the horror of it to the world.

India's millions may die from pestilence and famine born of Britain's robbery of the Indian people; the International Capitalists may forcibly steal a country like South Africa, and in the process kill off men and women and even little children; British troops may fire on working class men at Featherstone and kill them; Irish workers may be murdered in the

open streets to please the master class; a Bulli "disaster,"—a Stockton "disaster," a Dudley "disaster" a Kembla "disaster"—with their tens and their hundreds of workers hurled to the black pit of death. But there is no outcry from the great dailies against the callous brutality that kills them for the sake of profit-making. It is a class matter.

The killing of working-class men, women, and children is a small matter. The killing of a King shakes the foundation of things in the world of Capitalism.

The killing of Portugal's king was a matter of political tactics. The Socialists object to the killing of kings; they aim at the destruction of the capitalist system that grows figurehead kings.

Discerning people saw trouble ahead for Carlos. "L'Asino"—an Italian paper—six weeks ago—caricatured him sitting terrified on a "portugal" (another name for a large variety of orange) with the black night gathering around him, and the whirlwind of Republicanism sweeping and shrieking about him and rocking him to and fro on his uncertain perch.

Carlos sowed the political wind, and he has reaped the whirlwind of Death.

Under his regime, conditions in Portugal were unbearable. Freedom was manacled. For years trade unions had to be organised as secret societies. To belong to a union was to do an illegal thing, and the unionist who was found out was mostly sent to a living death on the west coast of Africa. To the African west coast also were sent hundreds of political agitators—particularly students—and the African fever was the King's Exe-

cutioner. In 1884, on the day on which 268 young men were being shipped to the certain death of that African hell, Carlos paid all the expenses of an English eleven in order that a cricket match might be played in the grounds of the royal palace.

A freethought journalist denounced the torturing of the Spanish workmen who were prisoners at Montjuick—and for this "offence" was forced to fly from Spain. Seeking refuge in Portugal, he was given 24 hours by Carlos to quit the country!

Eight or nine years ago the present queen shot at Carlos with a revolver because of his intrigues with certain women at the court; and once, while under the influence of drink at a high-class brothel, he gave written permission to place the royal arms over the house of ill-fame. Much of the Portuguese crown jewellery is pledged in a British pawn-shop.

Lately, Carlos has exercised his monarchical powers to suspend the constitution and strip the people of every political right, and the country has simmered on the borderland of physical force revolution. Carlos desired to be a dictator—and the ruling classes didn't want him for a dictator. They only wanted him for a figurehead. So they made him a corpse.

The Socialists don't favor the making of kings into corpses.

It is not only brutal.

It is a wicked waste of good time and good energy.

The overthrow of the capitalist system that grows kings and fosters imperialism is a much more important thing than the execution of a mediocre person who happens to wear a crown for the time being.

# The Jam We Eat.

AND HOW THEY  
MAKE IT.

By H.E.H.

THE chronic unrestfulness which characterises modern capitalist industry is spreading to Sydney sweating hells as represented by the factories where they turn fruit—good, bad, and indifferent—into cheap jam for the working-class to eat.

Jones and Co.'s factory at Darlington is the storm centre for the time being. On Friday, January 17, a sectional strike occurred at this factory as a result of the brutal and filthy language flung at the female employees by a departmental foreman, S. Boyce, jun.

The firm of Jones and Co. is said to include a combination of original jam-making firms, viz:—Jones Brothers, Boyce Brothers, the original Peacock, Moore, and W. Peacock (O.K. proprietary). Edwards is the gentleman who formerly represented South Sydney in the Federal Parliament. He is married to a daughter of the original Peacock, and still runs the Newtown factory. The original Peacock used to employ as a trade mark a fire-pointed star, bearing the Bible motto: "They that be wise shall

shine." Every morning he read prayers to the men, women, girls, and boys employed in the jam sweat-shop—but all the prayers and all the huge chunks of Scripture hurled daily at the heads of the victims were weaker than the force of economic circumstances which unrelentingly drove the weaker-willed of the sweat-shop female victims to the shame life of the streets. Twenty years ago the jam factories were hells of steam and fly-blown fruit and perspiring underpaid workers and praying, profit-grinding proprietors, and coarse, bullying, cursing, slave-driving, cowardly foremen. Twenty years ago! To-day it is not less so. The jam workers haven't yet learned the gain of intelligent class organisation.

The girls who struck at Jones at Co.'s on Jan. 17 aver that the foreman who cursed and insulted and villified them was to receive a bonus for "speeding them up!"

As the "language" offence is to form the subject of a police court prosecution, it may not be commented upon. But

this miniature strike of a few unorganised girls has thrown the fierce light of exposure on a rotten sore part of the capitalist system. And as that light revolves it reveals to the public—the working-class public—what Socialism makes for the destruction of.

Let it be remembered that Jones's factory is no worse than any other factory—as a matter of fact, it has the reputation of being in some ways a slightly better place to work in than some others. Remember this, and then—well, then, join in with the International class-conscious Socialists whose organisation exists for the overthrow of that Capitalism which lights the fires of Hell for the workers and wrecks the lives of men, women, and children alike with the long horrors of misery and torture.

Take the carriers, for instance.

The carrier must be an active man. No wharf-laborer will work harder than he does. In Jones's factory he has to pass with his load through a cellar, the roof of which is only about 5 ft. high. It has been described as another Black Hole of Calcutta. A man of 5ft. 3in., standing up straight, would hit his forehead. Consequently he must

carry his case or tray on his arms in front of him, instead of on his shoulder. And as his load often weighs as much as 1½ cwt., the strain on him can be imagined. For thus transforming himself into a beast of burden, the carrier is paid wages which range from 18/ to 30/ per week of 50 hours! If he works overtime the pay is time and a third—7¼d an hour. Therefore, if a top-grade carrier worked a week of 60 hours he would receive exactly 37/6! (It is reported that since the present agitation commenced, the carriers' wages have been raised by 3s per week.)

In the Boiling Room, the fruit is fed into the steam boilers by male employers, who, in addition to being feeders, are also pot carriers, and to these belong the dangerous work of emptying the jam from the boilers to the wooden troughs, from which it is handfilled into tins by the girls. For this risky work the pot carriers are paid from 15/ to 25/ for a week of 50 hours.

The girls who fill the tins are paid from 15/ to 17/6 (50 hours' week). Recently, when a new girl started at Jones's at 15/, the permanent girls who had been receiving 17/6 immediately demanded a rise to £1, and their demand

being refused they ceased work. Applying at Edwards's factory, they were given employment at £1 a week—displacing male employees who had previously received £1/5/. When these girls left the employ of Edwards as a member of the combine and secured employment with Edwards as an individual manufacturer, they each benefitted to the extent of 2s 6d a week, but they also each benefitted Edwards to the extent of 5s a week. This, of course, was the logical consequence of working-class disorganisation.

These girl employees work in a fetid atmosphere all day long. They are never dry—their clothes are wet all the time, from the steam which rises continuously from the jam. In addition, they are on their feet all the time, and no departure is made in the case of young married women who are about to become mothers, and who have been driven by force of economic circumstances to seek employment at the jam factory.

The preserving room is bossed by a man Hurley. Lurid, brutal, vulgar language is hurled at the female employees in this department, where 150 women and girls stand all day long peeling fruit—sacrificing themselves physically—although it is

work that could easily be done sitting. They handle all classes and quantities of fruit. Sometimes they handle fruit that is flyblown, and they allege that occasionally they carry maggots away in their clothes.

Last year the payment for this work was 9d a case. The firm tried to reduce this price, but the girls declared a strike and forced a return to the 9d.

The Factories Act says there must be separate lavatory accommodation for every ten persons, but this clause is not complied with. There are only three lavatories on this floor—that is, one for every 50 persons, and the girls complain that they have to ask a male foreman before they can use these. There is no basin at which the girls can wash themselves, and there is no eating accommodation. The female employees eat their luncheon in a dirty squalid little room adjoining the factory, and the men take theirs in the lane and street.

During school holidays numbers of boys and girls between 12 and 15 are engaged in "picking" and stoning fruit. These are paid from 5/ to 7/6 a week. In this way a cheaper labor supply is secured during the holiday season. In the absence of these school children girls would have to be

paid about 10/ a week each for this work. In connection with the employment of these children, there is a wholesale evasion of the provisions of the Factories Act, especially of those clauses which deal with exemptions and certificates. The capitalist class and the Wade Gov. know that the control of the power to administer laws is even more important than the control of the power to make laws.

The foregoing is the brutal story—in part only—of the vile conditions under which a portion of our food supply is prepared. It is the story of the physical and moral wrecking of women and girls destined to be the mothers of the future Australian nation—the story of the destruction by capitalism of the marriage tie and the smashing up of home life: the story of men, women, boys, girls, and little children working under abominable and filthy and sweated conditions to make a cheap and shoddy food article in order that a half-religious combine might score heavy profits.

It is the story too of how, unorganised, the workers must and do suffer under Capitalism.

And the "Review" prints its details as an object lesson for the workers—as a solid reason for the immediate or-

ganisation of the jam employees on the solid lines of industrial unionism—work of systematic organisation to be followed by a prompt demand for revolutionised conditions, and the refusal of such a demand to be determinedly followed by an unhesitating cessation of work, and a systematic boycott of the firms that stand out for a perpetuation of the existing revolting conditions.

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According to Mr. John Wallace, secretary of the N.S.W. Flour Millers' Association, farmers and millers are strongly opposed to 200 lb. as the weight of cornsacks; the 240 lb sack is "more convenient in every way. . . . Sacks holding up to or over 300 lb should be severely condemned, as it is cruelty to ask men to handle them. Those used to them, however, could handle the 240 lb sack without serious inconvenience." The "millers and farmers" know that the day of the 300 lb sack has gone, and they cunningly endeavor to squeeze in the 240 lb sack by condemning the 300 lb one. Fancy "handling" a 240 lb. bag of grain "without serious inconvenience." To the crowd Mr. John Wallace speaks for the laborer is only a human beast of burden reckoned to be willing to stagger along under a load any decent donkey would buck off without notice.

## About an Interview.

By H.J.H.

THE Oracle has spoken! Mr. J. S. T. McGowen, M.L.A., interviewed by the "Evening News," has made his pronouncement upon the Socialist resolution passed, to the great dismay of capitalism everywhere, by the British Labor Representation Conference. Mr. McGowen is very, very, kind. So good of him to give his gracious permission to the English workers as follows:

"They can go in for Socialism in their time if they like."

Imagine a ridiculously pert cock-sparrow giving an eagle permission to fly.

Later Mr. McGowen gave his whole show away. It appears that the Labor Party policy to-day is so very "evolutionary that it is no more radical than that pursued by the Cowper ministry in 1856. 1856! According to Mr. McGowen, then, the Laborites are just half-a-century behind the times!

"We are trying all we can," says Mr. McGowen "to extend the State as an employer of labor, and to bring about great changes in our social and industrial life, and if those changes are considered by people to be of a socialistic nature—which they are, I will admit—then it is a socialism of evolution instead of a socialism of revolution."

How is it that Mr. McGowen and his friends are so purblind that they continue to confuse mere State Capitalism with Socialism? If the state ownership of railways and

other public utilities is socialistic, then was Bismarck, "the man of blood and iron," the author of the anti-socialist laws in Germany a "socialist" too!

The McGowens and their ilk offer us state-owned shin-plasters, and political pink pills for pale people to meet the economic crisis! Mrs. Partington trying to sweep back the Atlantic with a broom was not a more pathetic figure.

Just one more quotation from the interview:

"If it is true that they carried diametrically opposite resolutions at the Hull Conference," says Mr. McGowen, "then it is impossible for anyone to give a direct opinion about their aims."

It is impossible to believe that Mr. McGowen does not know that the British Labor Representation Conference did not carry "two diametrically opposite resolutions." There were two resolutions, coming from different affiliated unions, each affirming a socialist objective.

It would have been absurd to carry both. No party needs two similar objectives. So one was defeated in order to make way for the other.

The British trade-unionists are a very slow-going, practical, hard-headed crowd, and the reason why the capitalist leaders and press are so exercised in mind over the passage of this objective is not simply that they are astounded and perplexed to find the immense spread of Socialist ideas amongst the conservatively-minded English workers—but because the more acute leaders of Capitalism know that economic conditions have forced conviction upon the minds of the

## The Searchlight.

By H.J.H.

Speaking recently at Manchester (England) on Science in its relation to Health, Dr. F. H. Bowman, F.R.S.E., said, referring to the brain, "It is impossible to do hard physical work all day, and then study hard at night."

Yet there are those who claim that the workers are lacking in brain capacity—totally ignoring the fact that the bulk of the working class are compelled from an early age to toil hard for a livelihood when they should have conditions which would foster brain development.

The fact that so many workers show high intellectual capacity despite unfavorable environment points hopefully to an enormous upward development mentally for the whole race when Socialism shall have killed hard toil, and rendered work, as it should be, recreative.

"The social problem cannot be divided from the economic, and the banker, the merchant, the manufacturer, and the agent of transportation, must unite to create and maintain that reasonable distribution of opportunity, of advantage, and of profit, which alone can forestall an adjustment that left to itself must needs assume the character of a revolution."

Thus the Hon. C. F. Phillips in his introduction to "Practical Problems in Banking and Currency," published in the United States in 1906.

Phillips is president of one of the great American banking and trust companies, and, in common with others of the most shrewd and

British workman far more than the splendid and energetic propaganda of the Socialists during the past long weary years of agitation.

The agitation was necessary, and has had its effect, but the actual sharpness of economic fact has roused the most conservatives workers in the world to action.

The Australian workmen can follow the Briton, or he can stand by the Labor Party—but when the great populations of the world move the small and backward communities will be necessarily drawn into the movement.

For detailed information printed in our article, "The Jam We Eat," we are indebted to Mr. C. Belpitt—a former employee of Jones & Co.

At last meeting of the jam employees, the speakers were Messrs. Mitchell, Stuart-Robertson, C. Belpitt, H. E. Holland, and Mrs. Kenna and Miss Searle (secretary and assistant-secretary respectively of the Tailoresses' Union).

On Tuesday evening last, H. Scott Bennett lectured at the Unitarian Church on "Two great thinkers of the Nineteenth Century—Charles Darwin and Karl Marx." The lecture was a masterpiece of logic and eloquence, and we regret exceedingly that arrangements were not made for the taking of a verbatim report. The chairman, the Rev. Geo. Walters, said that since his arrival in Australia he had not listened to a more splendid intellectual effort.

With this issue the "Review" completes the first year of its existence. Great work has been done, and great changes have taken place within that year. Greater work is ahead of us—and a big portion of it is to widen the "Review's" circulation.

far-seeing financiers of the world he is aware of the real nature of the crisis to which society is rapidly approaching.

The economic interest underlies the political action, and the social superstructure depends thereon. Therefore Mr. Phillips, though very guardedly, advocates reform in order to prevent revolution. In other words, in the hope of remaining a little longer on the backs of the people, some concessions must be made to "the working bullocks." Mr. Phillips' words show reform in its true light as an expedient of capitalism to forestall revolution—that is to say economic justice.

The "S. M. Herald" lets the truth out perforce sometimes. The following paragraph indicates the folly of those who wish to develop Australia industrially, when naturally this is primarily a country of extractive industry, specially adapted for mining, pastoral, and agricultural production. Secondly, the increase of female labor is a satirical comment upon the breaking up of home life which is being accomplished under capitalism. Here is the passage referred to:—"We find that industrial activity has not progressed nearly as rapidly as has been the progress in some other directions. During the last ten years the railways of this State, for instance have increased their passenger traffic by just on 100 per cent., while the output of our mines has increased in value in almost the same proportion, and the number of letters carried by the Post Office has just about doubled themselves within that period. The number of hands employed in our factories, however, has made only half this progress, and dissecting

the figures a not too satisfactory feature is disclosed. Whereas ten years ago, only one out of every six factory hands was a female, the latest returns point to the fact that now one out of every four is of the weaker sex. And what applies to this State in this respect applies with even greater force to Victoria, where female labor is relatively still more in evidence.

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Capitalism causes hard times. Socialism will cure hard times by abolishing capitalism.

Widespread poverty is an evil, inasmuch as it is hardly possible to prevent such people from becoming inciters of sedition.—Aristotle.

Close upon the heels of the terrible coal mine explosion at Monangah, W. Va., killing several hundred miners, comes another at the Yolande mines of Alabama, snuffing out the lives of 75 more. The "risks of capital" are something terrible.

London "Referee" knows all about it:—"One man produces enough to satisfy his own needs and something more. This something more he supplies or lends to another man who has not produced enough for his own needs, and thereby saves him from starvation. The first man was, and is, the capitalist, the second the laborer."

Because "The Flame" re-printed an article with which the "Catholic Press" disagreed, the "Press" hysterically called upon all good Catholics to boycott "The Flame." That's how the "Press" demonstrates its practical Christianity. It's also how the "Press" drags Catholicism in the mud at the cart tail of Capitalism!

## Revolution is in the Air!

REVOLUTION is in the air!

Pity the poor wretch who does not feel it throb in his heart, burn in his bosom, glow in his eyes and leap in his veins!

He is a dead soul and living in fetters.

Pity the human vassal who is proud of his master and boasts his own degeneracy, but smite without mercy the system that so debases him.

How glorious to hear the trumpet-call of the Social Revolution! To ears attuned its notes are vibrant with enthusiasm and its message fresh from the fountain of inspiration.

Every liberty-loving being should welcome the issue, eager for the fray.

Eager to strike a blow at capitalist misrule and wage-slavery.

And, as grand old Swinton said:

"Give 'em hell! Give 'em hell!"

Waste no time on the money question, the tariff and other weather-beaten and moth-eaten adjuncts of capitalism. Get down to bed-rock.

Deal with causes and leave effects to take care of themselves.

Wheel into line under the banner of the social revolution. It alone symbolizes a living issue; it alone is worth a decent man's fighting for.

Long enough have you listened to the stuffed prophets of profit. They have put you where you are.

Listen now to the call of your own class; to the voice of the revolution. They will put you where you ought to be.

Stop your bickering and backbiting; your quibbling and petty contentions. The battlefield is before us. The enemy is upon us.

Let us unite and fight!

"Divide the thunder into single tones, and it becomes a lullaby for children; but pour it forth in one quick peal, and the sound shall shake the heavens."

What incentive is there to join us, do you ask?

Magnificent! We can assure you—as Garibaldi said in answering the same question: "We can assure you poverty, hardship, battles, wounds and—VICTORY."—Eugene Debs.

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Capitalists know enough to fight Socialism. Workingmen should know enough to support it.



## Political Action.

TOM MANN writes editorially in the "The Socialist":—"In Melbourne, we have not only advocated Socialism, but have organised a straight-out Socialist Party, which is preparing to take the field politically, at an early date. It has taken us fully two-and-a-half years to do the educational work; but as a result, we now have a compact body of class-conscious Socialists, all the time fighting against the Capitalist System, and with no desire to be known by any other name than Socialists. We are for the overthrow of the Capitalist System, and we believe this will be done by comparatively rapid and revolutionary means, not chiefly by Parliament, but, probably, chiefly by the industrial organisations. Still, Parliament must not be left in the hands of the plutocracy for them to use political power to establish a judiciary favorable to themselves, and to habitually legalise their own unholy robbery of the people. Nor yet can Parliament be left to be controlled by a Labor crowd, who want to cure the evils of Capitalism by ringing the changes of fiscalism, and assisting the canting hypocrites who prate about the morals of the people, as

though the people were grossly immoral (who do all the work!), and they were sent to purify the earth. Such Labor men are no good for the great economic upheaval we are entering upon. There isn't enough fight about them. They don't breathe the right atmosphere, and it is now for us to get our candidates ready and face all consequences."

The second number of "The Flame" (new issue) is to hand, and the high standard set up in the first number is fully maintained. Subscription, 1s per year. Send it along at once.

Socialism would reduce hours of labor as the powers of production increase. Capitalism throws some out of work to starve, while others are overworked, and wages are kept down by competition.

## A Blue Mark

Through this paragraph indicates that your Subscription to the "Review" has expired, and should be renewed if you wish to still receive the Magazine.

## A Red Mark

Indicates that unless Subscription is paid within Fourteen Days, your copy of the "Review" will be discontinued.

## THE ENIGMA

The goaded grind of the toiler,  
The work that is never done,  
The ceaseless struggle for living,  
By sweat from sun to sun;  
That others may loll in plenty,  
In ease they never won.  
The haggard eye of a woman,  
The twisted form of a man,  
The child, with its shrunken features,  
Who knew not when childhood began—  
All for the sake of her raiment,  
The price of her silken fan;  
Yet the papers make much of her giving,  
And speak of her charities rare;  
Forgetting the ones she is feeding,  
The ones that are burdened with care,  
Have given their lives for her dainties,  
And the jewels that gleam in her hair.

—W. T. SHEPPARD, quoted in "The Arena."

## TIME FOR CONTEMPLATION

From the "Western Clarion," Vancouver, B.C.

THE present industrial depression should afford much food for thought amongst workingmen. Those who are still fortunate enough to hang on to a job even at reduced wages should give their careful attention to a study of the capitalist system of production in order to learn just why they are subjected to alternating periods of feverishly driven industry and periods of stagnation and depression. Those who have lost their employment through the adverse condition now prevailing have ample time for serious contemplation of the uncertainty of existence for the wage-slave under the yoke of capital.

The prospects for the future are not particularly rosy for the working-class judged from the standpoint of comfort and well being within the confines of the wage-system. The industrial depression now in evidence must of necessity become chronic, for it is an utter impossibility for the capitalist class to operate its industries to the extent of employing all of its slaves and at the same time dispose of the product. Less than the

full force of workers will be necessary to keep the market supplied with goods and those whose services cannot be utilised must remain as industrial outcasts subject to all the miseries that a condition of unemployment entails. Whenever any considerable number of workers are out of employment and their necessities, of course, compelling them to accept work when offered, they become a standing menace to the security and wages of those who are in employment.

The rapid expansion of capital which has been going on during the past few years has made it possible for the bulk of the workers to obtain employment. The building of new factories, the enlarging of old ones, the building of railroads, irrigation works and the opening of new mines have absorbed large quantities of labor, thus relieving the stress upon the labor market. Now that many of these undertakings are completed and their powers ready to be used in the production of goods to be put upon the market the fact looms up that it is impossible to longer furnish employment to all of the workers.

Thousands are thrown out of employment to vegetate as best they may until the turn of fortune's wheel may afford an opportunity for capital to once more set them to work.

The more powerful becomes the machinery of production under the capitalist regime the more impossible it becomes to employ the entire labor force. The more widespread becomes the poverty and misery of the working-class.

Capitalist expansion has not been entirely confined to this western hemisphere. In the Oriental countries a rapid transformation from older forms of production to the capitalist method has taken place. This has been especially marked in Japan and territory over which she has control. Up to date factories have been builded and equipped with the most modern and powerful machinery. While for a time this machinery was imported from Europe or America it is a well-known fact that the Orientals are now building it upon their own account. An outlet that was for European and American capitalists to dispose of the plunder taken from their wage-slaves is thus being closed, most seriously aggravating the situation in those countries.

As the Oriental countries

move to the front in the capitalist procession by arming themselves with the most powerful industrial appliances and methods, they become powerful competitors for the trade that has previously afforded, to a large extent, a safety valve against industrial depression and the turbulence and even revolutions that are liable to result from it, in the older capitalist countries.

European and American capitalism is now confronted with the crisis of its life. The mechanism of industry has become so powerful that it can no longer be utilized under capitalist control in such a manner as to assure social peace, order and well being. Unless some drastic action be taken in the near future by the class which now especially suffers because of the inability of capitalism to longer administer industry in the interest of social health and peace, capitalist civilization will perish in its own rottenness, the stench from which is even now so nauseating as to make that arising from ancient Roman civilization in its decay scarce worth mentioning in comparison.

If the working-class rises to the situation and takes the action that should be taken, this rotten capitalist regime

may be brought to an end and all the social forces worth while turned to the comfort and well-being of all, and the consequent uplift of the race to a saner and more decent civilization.

Capitalist dominion over the means of production, and the consequent enslavement of labor, must be broken at all hazards. It cannot be broken too soon for the common good of the world's workers. It cannot happen too soon for the good of the race.

These are times for reflection and study upon the part of working people. These are times in which conclusions should be drawn and action taken accordingly. These are times when slaves should become men. The time lies immediately before us when the enslaved working-class must take the centre of the stage and play its part in the historical process. Decadent capitalism, already self-condemned as a nuisance, must be brushed aside and the earth's resources and the machinery of production made free of access to all, in order that the worker may be free to provide for his necessities without paying tribute to rulers and, their cut-throats and assassins, as he has

been forced to do for some thousands of years.

Better think it over, Mr. Wage-Slave. There are glorious days awaiting your class in the near future. Will you get in line and do your part?

"Garn!" said a P.L.L. country delegate. "Why your blanky Socialists did all the talking and busted things all crooked at the Conference!"

"Didn't know that was so," wearily replied the Socialist. "Who were the Socialists, anyhow?"

"Why, Jabez Wright and Hector Lamond!" triumphantly retorted the country delegate.

Then the Socialist fainted.

They had a "harmony" night at the P.L.L. Conference on Saturday. All over the selling-out of certain constituencies to the Owe-Cohen party.

While in Sydney, Mr. Jabez Wright told a "Review" representative (not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith) that the Barrier Socialist Group is "the curse of Broken Hill." And the "Review" feels constrained to exhort the Barrier Socialists to persevere in the good work of being a curse to the sweaters and slave-drivers of Broken Hill and their henchmen the political crooks and sellers-out of the "labor" movement.

Karl Kautsky has recently written a brochure on "Socialism and Colonial Policy." It will be shortly translated into English.

## UNDER THE RED FLAG.

### Australasia.

#### SYDNEY.

THE attendance at the Domain meeting on Sunday afternoon was very large, and a considerable amount of interest was displayed in the speeches delivered. The recent P.L.L. Conference was dealt with by Comrades H. E. Holland, Hawkins, and Scott Bennett, in addition to Comrade Price who acted as chairman. Although an unusually large number of "Reviews" were taken the meeting the supply ran short of the demand.

In the evening Scott Bennett spoke at Darlinghurst on "Industrial Unionism." At the conclusion of the address an unusually large number of questions were asked, and by the time all were answered the hour was fairly late! Comrade Sloan presided, and during the evening Comrade Young got in some well aimed shots at the capitalist system!

The first of a series of lectures in the School of Arts, Pitt-street, under International Socialist auspices, will be given by Scott Bennett on Friday next at 8 p.m. The subject will be "Before Adam—and After!"

As comrades are aware "May Day" will soon be with us. Internationalists will see to it that "the day we celebrate" is celebrated in a manner of worthy of the occasion.

The "Review" will shortly announce some interesting arrangements in connection with the celebration in Sydney!

The International Socialists will

shortly be in receipt from Scotland of a large parcel of valuable Socialist pamphlets. In addition to the valuable Kautsky pamphlets there will be a good supply of works dealing with Industrial Unionism.

#### MELBOURNE.

As the International Socialist Group endorses the Preamble to the Industrial Workers of the World, I am instructed to request you to publish the fact that an I.W.W. Club has been formed in Melbourne to afford earnest industrialists of all parties an opportunity of working together harmoniously for the advancement of this great principle.—M. O. Down, Sec.

### Other Lands.

#### BRITAIN.

The Social Democratic Federation of England is raising a fund to send out thirty-six propaganda vans. The "black marias" of the anti-Socialist organisations are doing such good work for Socialism that it is felt that their efforts should be supplemented in the manner suggested above.

The last number of "Justice" to hand contains a report of an excellent address delivered by H. M. Hyndman on "Marx's Assumed Contradiction of Himself." The address is one of a series that Hyndman is delivering on Socialist Economics.

FRANCE. There were 1,309 strikes in France during 1907, involving 438,000 workmen.

Guesde's new paper has made its appearance, and is likely to have a very large circulation.

#### CANADA.

The Finnish Socialists of Port Arthur, Ontario, are in the field with a full ticket for the forthcoming municipal election, reports the "Western Clarion," of Jan. 4.

#### GERMANY.

The employers in the building trade held a secret meeting at which it was decided to make a determined stand against the reduction of hours to nine or less. Unfortunately for the employers, one of the circulars fell into the hands of "Vorwärts," and was published.

#### RUSSIA.

In spite of the fact that the most strenuous and repressive measures were used to prevent the election of any "undesirable" members to the last Douma, that body has proved to be by no means subservient as the autocracy has expected. There are between twenty and thirty members of the Socialist Party among those elected, and many of the remainder are strongly opposed to the Government. These have taken advantage of the opportunity afforded them to denounce the Czar from the floor of the Douma until in one case the speaker was mobbed by the reactionary members of the Douma. The first official action was in reply to the speech from the throne and in this reply the word "autocracy" was stricken from the form of address by the Czar. Famine and starvation are reigning over Russia to-day. The harvest of wheat and rye is fifty millions bushels less than the average for the last five years. As a result of this, the price locally is raised to a

great height. In the attempt to raise wages to correspond with the increased cost of living, strikes have broken out that are little more than desperate struggles against starvation. These have been met at once by the Russian Government with a reply of "Cossacks, whips and lances." The Jewish Social-Democratic paper, *Hoffnung*, has been again suppressed and six of its force imprisoned. Manuscripts and letters were discovered and confiscated.—"International Socialist Review" (Chicago.)

## The Factory!

The whistle blows, and ere its shriek has died

A thousand feet reecho on the stairs,  
Girlhood, upon whose face the  
mother's cares

Retell their tale of nature's laws  
defied;

Manliness, sapped of all the higher  
man,

A skeleton of what might once  
have been.

They mingle, man and maid, and  
move as when

A cow and bull are yoked, to work  
in span.

And man and man-made law would  
call it just—

But, God, what thinkest thou of  
human lust?

—W. T. SHEPPARD, quoted in  
"The Arena."

In the Domain on Sunday afternoon Scott Bennett will lecture on Socialism and its Critics.

Meetings next Sunday evening as usual.

# THE Socialist Federation OF AUSTRALASIA.

HEADQUARTERS:

274 Pitt Street, Sydney, N.S.W.

GENERAL EXECUTIVE—H. J. Hawkins, Broken Hill; H. Scott Bennett, Victoria; E. Raps, Sydney; A. Borax, General Treasurer; H. E. Holland, General Secretary

PUBLICATIONS—"The Flame," Broken Hill; "The Socialist," Melbourne; "The International Socialist Review for Australasia," Sydney.

## Objective.

The Socialisation of the Means of Production, Distribution and Exchange

## Statement of Principles.

The present form of society rests on ownership of the land and the machinery (tools) of production.

The owners of most of the land and the machinery of production constitute what are economically known as the Capitalist Class. Hence the use of the term—"The Capitalist Form of Society."

This form of ownership divides society in all countries into two distinct and opposing classes—the Capitalist Class and the Working Class.

The Working Class produce all the wealth that sustains society, while they are held in complete economic and industrial subjection to the Capitalist Class, who live on the wealth produced by the Working Class.

The statistics of all countries show that the Working Class receive a continuously decreasing share of the wealth they produce, the present proportion being about one-third of the total. Thus, although the workers constitute approximately 85 per cent. of the population, 15 per cent., who do no useful work, confiscate the remaining two-thirds. This inevitably causes an irreconcilable conflict between the interests of the Capitalist Class and the Working Class.

The interest of the Capitalist Class is to secure an ever-increasing proportion of the wealth produced by the Working Class. The interest of the Working Class is to get the full value of the product of their labor. Hence there is a struggle, which is called the

CLASS STRUGGLE, between these two classes.

To win economic freedom, the non-owning Working Class must organise on the lines of the Industrial Workers of the World, and they must force the struggle into the political field, and use their political power the ballot, in conjunction with their industrial organisation, to abolish Capitalist Class ownership, set up the Socialist Republic, and thus revolutionise, in the interests of the Working Class, the entire structure of industrial society.

Political power is only useful to the workers for the purpose of overthrowing Capitalism, Parliaments being essentially capitalist machines designed to enable that class to perpetuate class domination.

The workers of Australia must, without delay, take up their position along with the organised class-conscious workers of all other countries. There is no escape from the baneful effects of Capitalism short of its complete overthrow, and this can only be achieved by the class-conscious industrial and political strength of the Working Class.

The Socialist Federation of Australasia therefore, CALLS UPON ALL WORKERS TO FORTHWITH IDENTIFY THEMSELVES WITH THE EXISTING SOCIALIST ORGANISATIONS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE STATES, and to work unceasingly for the complete overthrow of the Capitalist system, and for the emancipation of their class from wage slavery.

## Bolting from an Ugly Corner

THE following par from "Barrier Truth" should provide cause for merriment in Socialist circles:—

"Barrier Truth" has of late received considerable attention from the journals representing the Socialist "impossibilists." Some of the adverse criticism has gone beyond the bounds of decent journalism, in that it is personal, untrue, and unfair. We are at all times prepared to reply to argument, for we only desire the truth, but personal abuse is as childish as it is harmless, therefore, it is beneath further notice.

That's one way out of an awkward corner. Some time back the editor of "Barrier Truth" printed most astounding misrepresentations concerning the S.F.A., and when the "Review" promptly nailed each lie, the Barrier "labor" editor made no attempt to either justify or defend his attitude. He just wailed that the "Review" was abusive—and members of the S.F.A. are still waiting for that manly retraction and apology to be expected from any ordinarily honest person.

Now when some Barrier workers are wondering in pretty loud terms why "Truth" failed to justify its attitude towards the Socialist

movement, Mr. Jones hastens to say that the "journals representing the Socialist impossibilists" have "gone beyond the bounds of decent criticism," etc.

Decent criticism! And this is the labor editor who wrote that recent miserable lying paragraph concerning H. J. Hawkins!

Socialist Impossibilists! And this is the labor editor who, in his preceding issue, quoted with evident approval from Hobart "Clipper's" article on Extremists—and "Impossibilists":—

Galileo, Herschell, Darwin, Watt, Arkwright, Hampden, Garibaldi, Kościusko, Christopher Columbus, were all extremists, and were all voted dangerous by the goat-brained aldermen of their day.

Marx, Liebknecht, Engels, and George are modern extremists. Anyone who tries seriously to get at the practicability of their scientific deductions is extremist! extremist!

"Their gospel is impossible," we are told, "impossible idealism." Is it?

But the dailies grind out "impossible—impossible—impossible" monotonously on and on. And people won't trouble to think for themselves.

"Impossible, impossible, impossible!" say the printing presses, as the cantering legs of Tennyson's Northern Farmer's horse said, "Proputty, proputty, proputty!"

You object to the so-called pre-

sent-day extremists being likened to these great names of history!

Friend or brother comrade, the humble disciples of these great men were all termed extremists in their day.

Would you like another illustration?

That standard-bearer of the ancient Romans. Julius Caesar's crack troops funk'd—wouldn't budge. But the man with the eagle emblem sprang overboard on his own. Others followed. Result—VICTORY! Who showed the way? An un-named extremist, wasn't it?

The so-called extremists of today are the standard-bearers of the True Democracy—Socialism!

And, as the "goat-brained aldermen" jeered at Galileo and the others, so do some goat-brained editors, straddling uncomfortably the sharp-edged rail of political opportunism, jeer at the world's great working-class movement of which the Socialist party is the conscious expression; and through the columns of their alleged labor papers they eternally and monotonously shriek "Impossibilist, impossibilist, impossibilist!" at the man who, understanding Socialism, has sufficient honesty to give straightforward and conscientious expression to the faith and the knowledge that is in him.

Socialist Lectures, Sydney School of Arts, Friday evenings.

## I.S. Club Anniversary.

ON Saturday last the ninth anniversary of the International Socialist Club was enthusiastically celebrated by the members.

Val. Lolato (one of the founders of the Club) presided; and the "Red Flag," "The Marseillaise," "When the Revolution comes," and other Socialist songs were heartily sung. A number of comrades also contributed vocal items. Comrade Wutke presided at the piano.

H. E. Holland proposed the toast of International Socialism, reviewing the history of the Australian Socialist movement, and especially the growth of their International organisation. The work of Peter Munari, Chas. Eyre, Francis Scusa (founders of the Club), and Chas. M. Barlow (who was a member of the Club, and loyally strove for Socialist unity) was eulogised by the speaker, who contrasted the great advances the Internationals had made with the Socialist position of six or seven years ago.

H. Scott Bennett responded with a speech full of vigorous eloquence and enthusiasm.

H. J. Hawkins moved—"That this gathering of Sydney Socialists, met to celebrate

the ninth anniversary of the International Socialist Club, sends fraternal greetings to the united Socialist organisations of Australasia, and urges them to still greater efforts in the war of the Social Revolution."

This was seconded by O. W. Jorgenson, and carried by acclamation with great enthusiasm.

After the chairman's health was toasted, the Marseillaise and cheers for Revolutionary Socialism brought to a close one of the most enthusiastic and successful Socialist functions ever held in Sydney.

Dasznski, the well-known organiser of the Polish workers in Austria, who was defeated at the Austrian elections in May last, has been re-elected to the Parliament of Austria by an imposing majority. One of the other members of the party gave up his seat to enable Daszynski to be returned to the House.

Berne (Switzerland) municipal council is now made up of 31 Socialists, 32 Liberals, and 17 Conservatives. Eight Socialists were returned at the recent elections. At Bellinzona, 11 Socialists were returned.

## The Jam We Eat.

By H.E.H.

LAST week various police court charges preferred against Jones and Co. by the Factory Inspectors were disposed of. The firm pleaded guilty to every charge; and the fines and costs amounted to a fraction over £30!

There are several very grave matters in connection with these cases which require clearing up.

It is alleged that prior to the hearing of the cases, the prosecuting inspector and defendants' counsel met in "caucus," and arranged that defendants' plea should be guilty; and it is noteworthy that no detailed evidence was given for the prosecution, and there was no production whatever of the firm's books.

The court was assured by defendants' counsel (Windeyer) that the statements made in the press and elsewhere concerning the sanitary conveniences at Jones's were altogether untrue, and the inspectors would bear him out that the lavatory accommodation was in full compliance with the provisions of the Act.

Now, Mr. Windeyer may have been instructed to make that statement—and he may have accepted his instru<sup>v</sup>c.

tions as gospel truth (the morality of the law court run by and for the capitalist is so utterly loose that it permits a barrister to so accept his instructions, the only apparent qualifying circumstance being the cash consideration); but he was conveying a lie to the court all the same so far as the preserving room was concerned. And if the Inspectors acquiesced in the falsehood—and we are informed that they nodded their assent—then they are guilty of something worse than perjury, and are utterly unfitted to hold for a day longer positions involving the health and safety of thousands of working-class people, and their conduct should be challenged at the earliest possible moment. If they have any explanation to offer in justification or extenuation of their extraordinary attitude, the "Review" columns are open to them. In the meantime, we are determined that this matter shall not be permitted to rest. Anyhow, if Windeyer's statement to the Bench was true, why didn't he place Miss Duncan in the witness box to swear to the truth of it, instead of leaving her to nod from her seat in court? The answer is obvious.

Why, in this particular fac-

tory, they have occasionally to cut the water off from the lavatories in order to secure a sufficient steam supply; and then the stench from the lavatories becomes almost unbearable; and, in the lavatory on the boiling-room floor, certain sanitary pans were broken, the leak creating a most awful stench, alongside of which men at work soldering sat and labored all day long!

One day last week three fruit inspectors visited a certain establishment, and proceeded to minutely examine a quantity of plums which were passed without any trouble. On the same floor were a quantity of apples in bags. These were not looked at. They hummed with codlin moth, and must have been condemned if inspected. The inspectors passed on, however, and the apples were eventually converted into pulp, to be employed later on in the form of essences to flavor various jams!

And that's how a great food industry is monkeyed with under Capitalism.

In Victoria there are 35,300,000 acres occupied for agricultural purposes, and of this only 4,269,553 acres under cultivation, and still Victoria's population is declining.—"The Socialist."

## The Time Has Come.

THAT capitalism, the economic system under which we live, grows increasingly impossible is proved in a marked and unmistakable manner by recent events and existing conditions on this continent.

Looking at it from a merely mechanical standpoint, aside from any moral or human aspect, and regarding only its function as a distributor of wealth, it has fallen short of social needs to a greater extent than any system existing within range of the historical period. This absolutely, and the indictment is made immeasurably stronger when we have regard to the volume of wealth now created and the vacillities available for its distribution. It creates, and needs, for its support a class outside the pale of its consideration; and this while it controls practically all the developed resources of the earth.

Capitalism takes for itself the super-abundant cloth of world's industry, makes for the itself a sumptuous garment and the remnant remaining extends in rags and patches over the class which has produced the whole, leaving always a residuum naked and portionless.

From the beginning of

its regime capitalism has been a failure, if we regard it from the viewpoint of the working-class alone. No sooner was it in operation, than, octopus-like, it seized upon the disinherited class, cut off from the land and the communal rights and privileges that survived from feudalism, and chained them, by their necessities, to its profit-grinding mines and mills and factories.

The area covered by the United States and Canada has no equal on the earth for richness, variety and extent of resource. Moreover, it is peopled by the most energetic and intelligent of the human race: yet at this time millions are suffering from want, having no work, millions more are leading pinched and anxious lives through the reduction of their wage-pittance; and all this following sharply upon the longest period of uninterrupted "prosperity" in the annals of industry.

With these facts and conditions before them the Socialist Party address themselves to the workers and urge them to realize their position, their opportunity and the mission of their class, so plainly indicated by the evolution of human society, political and social.

Capitalism is breaking down. The capitalist class

will defend its wealth and privileges as long as it is possible. Drawing their sustenance from the unpaid-for labor of wage-slaves capitalists are to that extent demoralized and dehumanized in the process and unfit, as a class, for any regenerative work in society. Capitalism has no ethic. It will not pull its castle down about its own ears. But that castle must and will come down.

Socialism implies a revolution by transferring the economic base or control of production from a class to society itself. But a revolution implies, again, an agent, and this agent we find, naturally, in the revolutionary, that is, the intelligent section of the working-class, the conscious victims of capitalist exploitation.

Unpolluted of privilege, and trained in the supplying of human needs, it follows that whatever survives of social wisdom and virtue will be found in the working-class.

But in the working-class we find that strangest in all political history, "a slave with a vote-ballot in his hand," a slave who not only refuses his real enfranchisement, but on occasion, gives himself some trouble to rivet afresh chains that bind him. Work-

ers! you cannot escape the reflection that flows from the literal truth, that every capitalist member in every legislature sits there by virtue of wage-slave votes. Look for a moment at the bald, plain fact here. The capitalist class that dominates every phase of society and inflicts on you the degradation you feel, or ought to feel, does so, not by its own voting strength or real political power, but by yours. After the manner of a poacher he snares you at the ballot-box and then skins you in his thieves' kitchens of industry. He, following the law of his being, has been true to his class instinct, you have been deluded into treachery to yours. Ignorance is your best and most honest excuse, and by ignorance we mean not lack of brains, but knowledge of facts, and this article is designed to stimulate your interest in the most vital of all social concerns—the relation of man to his fellow-man in the production and distribution of these things by which physical life is sustained. This is the pivot on which all others rest and are conditioned. If a reading of it fails to satisfy you, don't give the matter up, get in touch with a Socialist, get more literature, your self-respect as a man and citizen de-

mands that you investigate our estimate of your class and its destiny. You are bound to wage slavery by chains you cannot break at present, but none can chain your mind if you would be intellectually free. For this the time has come.—“Stonehenge.”

## “Labor Call” Humor.

By “Red Light.”

THAT strange collection of disjointed paragraphs, the Labor “Crawl,” is evidently developing a sense of humor. The following excerpt is from its issue dated February 6th:

De Leon, at the I.W.W. Chicago Conference, thus:—“It is passing strange that anyone who quotes Marx should not be an advocate of political action, when Marx was a confirmed foe of that anarchistic propaganda that has caused so much blood to flow, and he declared himself upon that position which it has been the privilege of American men to be the first to take—the position that recognises the necessity of political action, and knows that without political action economic action is not worth that much. (Snapping fingers). . . . Every man who lives with his eyes open knows that the capitalist class fears the political agitation of the working people. They fear, because if we place ourselves upon that plane of civilisation, of a theoretical peaceful solution, we can demand anything we want, whereas if we do not put ourselves on that plane then they can do whatever

they choose. If you strike out that political clause and leave there the clause ‘to take and hold,’ you place yourselves entirely upon the plane that has come to be known as the anarchistic, and then good-bye to the I.W.W.” De Leon’s friends in Australia INSIST THAT POLITICAL ACTION IS WORTH NOTHING. Probably it would be worth little if left to them.

If by “De Leon’s friends in Australia” reference is made to the Socialist organisations that have endorsed the principles of Industrial Unionism, then the “Crawl” answers itself, for on page six of the SAME ISSUE we find that delectable journal reduced to hysterics because the Victorian Socialist Party (which has endorsed the I.W.W. position) has decided to run candidates in future for both State and Federal seats! The “Crawl” should try again.

The municipal elections in Norway resulted in a great increase of Socialist votes. In Christiania there were elected 27 Socialists, 10 Radicals, 3 Totalists, and 44 Conservatives and Liberals. In Bergen, 24 Socialists were successful, 14 Radicals, 9 Totalists, and 29 Conservatives and Liberals. In twelve smaller towns, 103 Socialists were successful!

School of Arts, Friday of this week—“Before Adam and After.”

## Looking for Work.

By A.J.

“ARE you wanting a hand?” Has it ever been the reader’s misfortune to have to utter these words? Have you ever had to trudge from shop to shop day after day, for weeks together from early morning till dark looking for employment, asking the same dreary question, until you are thoroughly sick and tired of the sound of the words? Have you ever felt the keen disappointment caused by the stereotyped reply of “Full handed?” If so, you know what it is; if not—well, I will try to describe it to you, and then you may say with me that this present capitalist system is a curse and a blot on our boasted civilisation. You are out of work, through no fault of your own; perhaps you have been ill, as is my case. You are of no use to your master whilst ill, and so lose your position. When you are well again, you look for more work. You eagerly look down the advertising columns of the paper to see if there is anything there. You see nothing that you can do, so you put on your hat and commence your march.

The first day or two you don’t mind so much, so you leave home light-hearted and hopeful. You have read in the capitalist press that there is plenty of work for those who want it, and that workmen are so scarce that the employers are almost prepared to pay any wage to get men. You, poor fool, swallow this and start out sure of getting work soon. You visit first one, and then another of the alleged busy shops to find that it is all a dream. The “plenty of work” is a myth, the “plenty of money” non-existent. You go up to the foreman, who looks at you

as if you have no right on the earth, and you ask him “Do you require a mechanic, sir?” “No, full up,” comes the reply sharp and short, and—you are alone. What does it matter? You are only a workman, only an out-of-work mechanic. Your services are not required, so you need not be taken into account, need not be treated with even ordinary civility. You are not disheartened yet, however, for has not the “Herald” said that there is “plenty of work?” You try another shop, and the foreman there says, “Things are very slow with us; we haven’t enough to keep the present hands going, let alone take on new.” And so it goes on. One foreman glares at you when you ask for a job, and says “Oh, go to—” (well, not Sydney); “we have too many d—d loafers looking for work here.” Your feelings count for nothing. You are only a workman to be slaved whilst you are of use and kicked out when you are of no further use. You are in very truth a slave. You have to ask others for the right to live. You have to practically beg the crumbs from the rich man’s table. He owns you body and soul. If you are not satisfied with what he offers you, well—you can starve. You have no right to be alive except to do his bidding, and he isn’t going to bother about you if you are out of work.

After a week or so of this sort of thing, you begin to grow despondent; you begin to despair; and you begin to think.

The capitalist tells you things are slack, but he smokes just as many cigars, he drinks just as good wines, while you can’t afford even a pipeful of tobacco or a glass of gingerbeer. He goes round in his



motor car, whilst you have to walk, because you can't afford a penny for the tram. You wonder why this should be, and you become a Socialist. You want to work to earn your daily bread, but the capitalist won't let you, because his profits wouldn't be large enough if he employed you; his share of the plunder would not satisfy him. You who will work can starve, whilst he who won't work lives on the fat of the land. You say to yourself, why should not we who make everything, we who produce everything, we, who do ALL the work—why shouldn't we be the ones to reap the benefit of our labor?

Workers, until you control all, until you own all the means of production, until you put down this curse, this blot on civilisation, this thrice-accursed capitalist money-grabbing system; until you rise in your manhood and take what is your right; until you take your own property the fruits of your own labor, and prevent your exploiters from robbing—yes, robbing—you; until you do this you will never get a fair deal, but will always be ground down and kept under the lash of hunger and want.

When you do this, and not till then, can you truthfully say "Britons (and others) never shall be slaves."

In spite of Mr. Kelly's foolish declaration to the contrary Sydney wharf laborers are doing the correct thing in asking kindred bodies to come to their practical assistance in the present strike.

"Barrier Truth" declares that by its repudiation of the Socialist objective "the N.S.W. political conference has branded itself reactionary. Labor must ultimately learn that its destiny is Socialism. Otherwise it is a mere liberal party." And then "Barrier Truth" returns to its self-imposed task of reproving the Socialists because they persist in remaining outside of the ranks of this "merely liberal" party which furnishes proof of its own reactionary attitude by its emphatic repudiation of Socialist principles.

In our next issue will be printed "The Economic Foundation of Australian Politics"—a pronouncement from the S.F.A. General Executive. It will afterwards be on sale in pamphlet form.

## A Blue Mark

Through this paragraph indicates that your Subscription to the "Review" has expired, and should be renewed if you wish to still receive the Magazine.

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Indicates that unless Subscription is paid within Fourteen Days, your copy of the "Review" will be discontinued.

### Straight.

HE who serves the common weal  
Must not see, or hear, or feel;  
For the wolves are on his track,  
And the hounds are at his back;  
Speed he must at any cost,  
If he falter, he is lost;  
Till the victory is won  
Straight the course that he must run.

He who serves the common weal  
Must not see, or hear, or feel,  
For a feast his lovers make,  
Lure him back his ease to take;  
Feast of friendship and of flowers,  
Underneath the sheltering bowers;  
If he falter he will flee,  
Ease is not for such as he;  
Till the victory is won  
Straight the course that he must run.

—KATE B. SHERWOOD.

## The Jam We Eat.

By H.E.H.

THE more one contemplates the general conditions surrounding the jam industry, the more one marvels at the attitude assumed by factory-inspectors Taylor and Miss Duncan in the recent police court proceedings against Jones and Co. A case might there have been presented that would have staggered the jam-eating community for a year and a day; but the inspectors were silent.

Even their acquiescence in the false statement made by defendants' counsel Windeyer concerning the sanitary conditions consisted of a nod of the head.

In the sauce room in Jones's factory there is practically no ventilation. The room itself resembles a long narrow lane, and girls occasionally faint there while working.

The tomatoes used in the making of sauce are from Hobart and locally-grown.

The best tomatoes go to the preserving room, where girls cut the decayed parts away. There are generally more decayed than sound parts in the tomatoes that find their way to the sauce department. The

sound portions are made up and sold as "preserved tomatoes."

Much of the tomato supply, in addition to being decayed, swarms with grubs. The employees call them maggots. A man who "has been there" tells the "Review" that it is a common thing to see the tomatoes alive with these abominations fully  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches long. With the decayed portions it has been the custom for girls to cut these maggots away from the sound parts, and the rotten matter and maggots are thrown into a box, to be finally taken down to the sauce room, and there used with green tomatoes in the making of tomato sauce. Grubs (or maggots), squashy rotten-ripe and greenly unripe tomatoes, all go into the boiler together, and are boiled up, and bottled, and sent out for human consumption. And they call it "I.X.L. Sauce." They have even a finer sense of humor than their fellow capitalists had when they sent Geo. H. Reid rambling up and down the Australian continent to plead for the preservation of the sanctity of the

marriage tie, the inviolability of the family, and the throne of Providence.

What applies to the sauce-room and tomatoes also applies to the jam department and peaches. "During the whole season," says an ex-employee, "I scarcely saw a really sound peach." The peaches were mostly over-ripe and rotten, and were crawling with maggots, and girls have been made sick while peeling and slicing them. The maggots and rotten matter were scraped out with a specially-made spoon, and—while the sound portions were used as preserves—the rotten stuff and the maggots were thrown into a box to be made into jam and eaten by the working-class later on.

Recently a consignment of preserved peaches sent to the Hobart branch was returned because the fruit was unusable. To cheapen production and swell profits, the firm had been experimenting with solder and chemicals, and the result was failure. Leakages in the tins caused the fruit to go bad, and in some cases the tins exploded with a report like that of a gun, involving great risk to the employees handling them. However, when the returned preserved peaches were being opened in Sydney, the foreman-preserver left it to the employee opening the tins to

use his discretion as to whether the fruit was still good enough to be used up in jam-making, throwing out whatever he considered "crook." A lot of the stuff was found to be absolutely rotten, and this was placed on trays. The manager came on the scene, and asked what was going to be done with it. "Going to throw it on the dirt-heap," was the reply; "it's rotten." The manager couldn't see it that way. "It's quite good enough for jam," he said; "put the lot in." The employee suggested that the manager should smell the stuff, but the latter remained unconvinced, notwithstanding that the "preserves" fairly hummed with stink. Notwithstanding the boss's instructions, the employee exercised discretionary powers, and the decayed fruit was passed along to the dirt-heap.

Reference has already been made to the employment of school children in the jam hells during Christmas vacations. We are assured that boys of from 10 to 13 years of age, during the five weeks' holidays, do the work of carrying from the tanks. The task is described as wharf laborers' work. Two boys carry a tray, and each tray holds 36 lb. tins. The boys also carry cases, each of which holds

6 dozen 1lb. tins—a weight, including case, etc., of nearly 80lbs. For this the boys get 6s a week. For the same work the men were paid 30s, but were recently raised to 33s as the result of a strike.

A complaint also reaches the "Review" that the boiler in Jones's factory is alleged to be unsafe, and it is said that if ever an explosion does take place, almost every life in the factory will be in danger of being sacrificed, especially as the large gate—which is really the principal means of ingress and egress—is kept locked, apparently in contravention of the provisions of the Act.

And in the face of all these things—and much worse things, as we shall prove later—all the middle-class politicians have to offer are pieces of capitalistic patch-work—a tongue-in-cheek promise from the Wade Party of a Wages Board Bill; a pitiful plea from the McGowen party for an Arbitration Act Amendment Bill, and an assurance (to the capitalists) from the State labor leader that he is putting forth his best endeavors to "allay industrial unrest"—promises and pleas and assurances that are, metaphorically speaking, as repulsively rotten and fly-blown as the fruit

the others make into jam for the workers to eat.

And this when the voice of every honest working-class representative should be raised to make Australia ring with the crime and the shame of it—when the business of every true labor member should be to raise aloft the red flag of revolt against the hideous industrialism that turns the daughters and sisters of working-class men into sweated wage-slaves and producers of a filthy abomination for a working-class food supply.

The only remedy is in the conscious strength of the working class organized under the banner of Revolutionary Socialism.

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## To Correspondents.

W. A. SUMMERS (likewise Walter Say, also James Brown, otherwise Alec. Robinson, etc., etc., and so on, and so forth).—The "Review" has no time to waste on persons [who hang villainously-disguised hieroglyphics over names that don't belong to them. However, if you will call at this office in your individual capacity of Smith, or your several other capacities of Summers and Say and Brown and Jones and Robinson and the rest, we shall be pleased to read you a lecture on the enormity of your stupidity. Your previous letter re non-delivery of the "Review" was handed to the Press Secretary, by whom the matter has been attended to, and we trust that you are now receiving the magazine regularly.

# LABOR'S DAY OF HUMILIATION

By H.E.H.

SO LONG as Capitalism lasts will there be strikes and lock-outs; and not all the Wages Boards of the Wade Party nor the Arbitration Courts of the confiding Labor Party, nor yet Mr. McGowen's herculean attempts to "allay industrial unrest," will alter that fact one iota.

Wealth produced by the workers does not belong to the workers. These have their "wages"—a minor portion of the wealth they produce. But the capitalists have their profits—also a portion of the wealth the workers create. And the stress of economic circumstances compels the workers to demand a larger share of the wealth they produce, while the capitalists are also ever reaching out for a greater share of the wealth THEY don't produce.

Hence the class struggle.

Hence the strike and the lock-out.

Hence the underlying causes that have made for so much "industrial unrest" in the timber trade, culminating in a cessation of work.

And a week or more ago it looked as if the timber workers would win through in one of the greatest industrial

battles of the 20th Century with honor to labor and immediate gain to themselves.

Working intermittently, staggering under loads heavy enough to snap the heart-strings of any human, the casual got 1/ an hour, and he was a lucky man who earned 30/ a week.

The average timber worker will tell you a pathetic story of long weeks of wageless worry, of unsatisfactory intermittent employment, of unsatisfied landlords, of little children who wait for food when no food is available—he will tell you, in short, how he has averaged 23/ or 24/ a week on which to keep wife and family. The permanent man receives 36/, 38/, and 40/ per week of 48 hours!

Munificent remuneration this for the wealth-makers of a nation!

The "industrial unrest" that Mr. McGowen complains of and so assiduously seeks to allay found a temporary culminating point in a formulated demand on the part of the casuals for 1/3 an hour. Had we got that," said a casual, "we might have earned from 30s to 34s a week." And then, as if to emphasize the

timber-worker's deplorable inability to grip the economic root-cause of his industrial slavery and its accompanying chronic poverty, he added, "Give me a constant income of 36s, and I should be satisfied."

However, the employers met the demand with an emphatic refusal (they knew the influences they had at their command to be exercised in the "allaying of industrial unrest"). The prompt manner in which the men struck by way of rejoinder to the rejection of their terms gave promise of an honest fight on straight working-class lines, and the subsequent cessation of work on the part of the permanent hands (out of 3000 men not more than 20 remained at work), with probable action on the part of the Trolly and Draymen's Union, strengthened that promise considerably.

Unfortunately it was a promise doomed to unfulfilment.

When the war tocsin of the working-class movement should have changed from end to end of Australia on behalf of the timber-workers, the fraudulent plea of mediation was introduced, the leader of the State Labor Party told the capitalist press how he was out to allay industrial unrest, and every act was done to get the

men back to work at any price. Sunday's meeting in Sydney Domain—successful in point of numbers—was an utterly dispirited gathering. There was no enthusiasm in the audience; there was no ringing note of defiance in the utterances of the various speakers. Instead there were assurances that the men would be willing to go to arbitration and to give a guarantee to abide by the Court's decision—that is, the decision of the Master Class: and Labor-member Foster, deliberately smothering all the accumulated facts, declared in effect that fundamentally Arbitration was right and only the administration was wrong. Labor-member (!) Catts was also down to speak, but failed to turn up. And so—between the conscious or unconscious political agents of the Master Class in the garb of labor-members and the unscrupulous agents of the same class who boss several big unions, the constant men were unresistingly and unconditionally led back to their long drudgery at the sweated 36/ to 40/ a week rate, and—with the aid of the officials of two unions over which Mr. W. M. Hughes holds a controlling hand—the casual men were practically bludgeoned back to work at 1/14 an hour! So that now, instead of earning up to "34s a week," they'll slave it out at about 30s. The most reprehensible thing in the whole business was the threat (assuming the daily press reports to be correct) that the Trolly and Draymen and certain other unions would adopt a hostile attitude towards the casuals if they refused to resume work at the sweated rate stipulated.

(Concluded on Page 16.)

## The Economic Foundations of Australian Politics.

### Manifesto of the Socialist Federation of Australasia to the People of Australasia.

There is at the present moment an urgent necessity for a clear statement of the underlying essential facts of the Australian political situation. Particularly is this needful because of the common over-estimation of political possibilities, due to the failure to understand the nature of the forces which dominate politics.

It cannot be too often reiterated that politics are of secondary, not primary, importance to the people. Political action is the outgrowth of social necessities. Necessary itself, but derivative, not fundamental.

The State, the political organisation, does not exist of, and for, itself. It is the expression of economic forces, the instrument whereby what has been already achieved, what has been evolved, in the world of industry and commerce, in the sphere of production and distribution of wealth, is registered and regulated. Moreover, this being so, it follows, finally, that the greatest economic force must always ultimately control the political power. In other words, the possessing class in the community can, and does, dominate the political life and activity of the State.

There are, of course, differences of interest between individuals and sections, or sub-classes of the possessing class. But, as against the non-possessing class, in modern society the great bulk of the people, the differences are overruled and cancelled by the common interest of the proprietors as a class.

In order to understand politics and political issues it is obviously necessary to discover what material interests the different political parties or groups in any community represent.

All political parties except the Socialists claim to represent the interests of the people AS A WHOLE. The majority of voters for each party are workers. The bulk of these voters are divided in opinion, not upon the real issues, the class issues, but upon the merits of this or that man or measure, and in the confusion consequent upon this failure to understand the essentially class nature of politics the people are kept divided and the interest of the possessing class is admirably served.

In Australia to-day there are three well-organised political parties representing sections of the propertied class, and a working-class party clearly discernible in the process of growth, of evolution.

The first three, the capitalist parties are variously known as Liberal, Conservative, Labor: or, more commonly as Reidite, Deakinite, and Labor, or, the term "conservative" being very seldom used, as Free Trade Liberals and Protectionist Liberals, and Labor. In the latter case the Labor Party is divided between both fiscal creeds. Indeed, the divid-

ing line between all these different sections is not always clear and definite, there being no fundamental difference of class interest between them.

In order to comprehend the real relations of these parties it is necessary now, to briefly review the economic categories into which the Australian people are divided.

Firstly: Australia is economically separated into two main, distinct social classes, the possessors and the non-possessors, the haves and the have-nots, the capitalists and the wage-workers, or, in more scientific terms, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The capitalist class and the working class stand opposed to each other. The former lives upon the wealth produced by the latter. The central gravitational point to which all the political activities of the capitalist class irresistibly set, as the magnet is drawn by its very nature to the pole, is towards the preservation of the economic system in its main feature, viz: the continuance of their ownership, however disguised, of the means and instruments of production, and thus the continuance also of the consequent power of their class to live at the expense of the working-class.

The class-interest of the latter, on the contrary, is to do away with capitalist ownership, and to place economic power, ownership, in the hands of the working-class, and so secure to the latter the full results of their industry.

Right here mark the key to the position. Economic power is the basis of political power. The capitalist class possesses economic power under the form of ownership. And the capitalist class has powerful well-organised political parties working in its interests. The working-class has not economic power, and, as yet, not only has not political power, but, in this country has not even organised the political party of its class.

Here, too, an important difference between the essential (or economic) conditions for power between the working class and their oppressors comes into view. The economic power of the capitalist is the power of ownership. The working-class, however, cannot get ownership under Capitalism. It would appear at first sight that, therefore, the working-class cannot obtain political power, which follows, not precedes, economic power.

But the working-class does possess the power of production, upon the exercise of which power Society is built. Ownership is the means whereby the capitalists control this power of production. The working class can obtain control by means of organisation for that purpose in their respective industries. Not by means of political power will the workers gain economic control, but the converse. To-day they operate all the means of production. Thoroughly organised economically, on industrial lines, they can assume control where now the owning class dominate, and thus end capitalist ownership. As industrial organisation, on class—not sectional trade—lines, grows, so will the power of the worker grow economically and politically.

So much for the main outlines of the fundamental class division of modern society. We must now examine the existing parties and explain their meaning and the reason for their existence.

Why has not the capitalist class one political party, one only?

Because, whilst united as against the workers, the propertied class is

divided into sub-classes according to the different kinds of property and also the magnitude of property held. Thus, in Australia, we have to deal chiefly with three main classes of owners.

First, and most important, are the primary producers, the pastoral and mining capitalists, and the larger agriculturalists. With them, also, are the importers. Secondly, there are manufacturing interests. Thirdly, the smaller agriculturalists, the retail traders, and what is known generally as the petty-middle-class or small trader.

The fiscal issue will serve to illustrate how these differing interests are expressed politically. The first section, the primary producers, are naturally freetrade. It pays the large producer to obtain tools and other requisites in the cheapest market, amidst the competition of the traders of the world for his custom. His profits and his power to compete for trade in the world market are alike increased by this cheapening of tools and materials of production including the cost of living of the worker, who can in consequence be bought cheaper also. The importer and ship-owner and industries of transportation generally, naturally hold the same faith.

The second division, the manufacturing capitalists, are naturally protectionists. If, by a tariff, the manufacturers of other countries can be shut out of Australia, or partially hampered, then it becomes possible for the Australian manufacturer to force the exploiters of the main industries—those of production—to purchase tools, implements, etc., etc., of them, and so permit them to share in the profits or plunder of the primary field of exploitation.

The manufacturing industries in Australia are, however, by themselves comparatively weak. Fortunately for them, section number three, the smaller traders are also in the main, protectionist, for the massing of population favored by manufacturing industry is also a condition of prosperity of the main body of retail traders.

The Liberal and "Labor" parties are accordingly found on one side of the fiscal fence, and the Conservatives (disguised as democratic freetraders, etc., etc.) on the other.

The attitude of these parties towards those huge agglomerations of the capital known as trusts and combines is similarly instructive. The anti-trust campaign is more or less used by all parties, but with a difference. The manufacturers desire to hamper the great foreign trusts and to build up their own businesses to the stage when they can themselves adopt trust methods. The small traders oppose the Trust in a genuine desperate effort to avert economic destruction. The large financial interests, the mining magnates, the wealthy pastoralists and land holders desire similarly to prevent the great foreign trusts from squeezing them, but would have no objection to the development of trusts in which their wealth would give them the chief control and profit. The owners of the primary industries would also find their interest in the cheapening of production rendered possible by trustification and a world market.

Land policy shows a very clear line of demarcation. The landed industry, the primary producers, the conservatives—despite their various names—are naturally opposed to the policy of progressive land taxation which the manufacturing Liberal, and the small capitalist "Labor," par-

ties support. The £5000 exemption advocated by the "Labor" Party is, in itself, conclusive proof that this party caters for the interest of the small capitalist, who is frequently the most cruel and rapacious exploiter of the worker.

Here we may usefully give some attention to the objection which will be raised in some quarters to the classification of the "Labor" party as a section of the great capitalist political machine. It will be urged that this party has endeavored to better the condition of the wage-worker. This may be, to avoid useless discussion, cheerfully admitted. But it must be pointed out both Tory and Liberal parties in England, and particularly the former, have passed Factory Acts, given Free Education, etc., without thereby becoming working-class parties. It is easy to bid for working-class votes and to purchase them by small concessions, provided always that the essential features of capitalist profit-mongering remain untouched. Furthermore, the force of working-class economic organisation even on the imperfect trade union lines has compelled these concessions, and it is immaterial which section of capitalist politicians has succeeded in making political capital thereout.

It should be also remembered that, in the main, the small trader benefits by better wage-conditions of the worker—whose wages are spent with the shopkeeper. The smaller manufacturer and farmer, it is true, desire cheap labor, but care is taken of their interests, for Arbitration Courts and Wages Boards are careful to "consider the conditions of the industry" in fixing wage conditions, and the organised strength of the union of workers gains what sectional concessions are obtained, and would force these conditions in any case. Indeed the Queensland "Worker" recently stated that "the farmers . . . would themselves dominate . . . the Wages Board . . . which would ensure to them industrial peace." This is surely a sufficiently plain indication of the essentially middle-class nature of "Labor" Party politics.

The nationalising and municipalising objective of this party are also in line with middle-class interests. Indeed, in Great Britain, where municipalism is most extensive, this policy of control by public bodies of public utilities, has been put into practice by councils exclusively controlled by manufacturing and shop-keeping interests. By this means the control of certain important industries—as, water, gas, electric light and power, means of transport—are kept in the hands of the possessing class as a whole, whereas otherwise they become trustified, which enables a section of the wealthier capitalists to exact a toll from the profits of the remaining exploiters.

History supplies us with a similar party to the Australian Labor Party—the so-called Social Democratic party in France, sixty years ago. The small traders of Paris and the Parisian proletarians, the workers, made alliance against Bonaparte and the royalist ministry.

"A common programme was drafted, joint election committees were empanelled, and fusion candidates were set-up. The revolutionary point was thereby broken off from the social demands of the proletariat, and a democratic term given to them; while from the democratic claims of the small traders' class, the mere political form was rubbed off, and

the Socialist point was pushed forward. . . . The peculiar character of the Social Democracy is summed up in this: that Democratic republican institutions are the means, not to remove the extremes—Capital and Wage-Slavery—but in order to weaken their antagonism and transform them into a harmonious whole." (From the 18th Brumaire of Louis Napoleon, by Marx).

Could there be a better parallel? Of course this Party failed miserably and has been wiped out of existence, the French Socialist Party taking its place as representative of working class interests whilst the middle class element forms the various sections of French Radicalism.

The Australian "Labor" Party is obviously breaking down, its two main elements being unable to harmonise because their essential economic interests are opposed. The defeat once again of the working class element over the proposed Socialist objective for New South Wales is a significant and hopeful sign, and the ineffectiveness of any attempt to use the Labor party for fundamental working class interests is becoming more and more apparent to the average worker.

It is no use simply labelling a party "Labor." The French party above referred to was even labelled Social-Democratic. Yet it failed, as the "Labor" Party would still fail even if it also formally called itself a Socialist Party whilst not understanding the class struggle and not moulding its policy thereon.

So evident is the middle class nature of the "Labor" party that a prominent "Labor" paper—"Barrier Truth"—stated, after the rejection of the Socialist objective by the 1908 N.S.W. "Labor" conference:

"The New South Wales political conference has branded itself re-actionary. Labor must ultimately learn that its destiny is Socialism. Otherwise it is a mere liberal party." This frank admission, from such a source, is valuable. Non-socialist, "re-actionary," and "a mere liberal party"—that excellently sums up these political exploiters of the Labor Movement.

To re-capitulate: Political parties are based upon the interests of social classes and their sub-divisions. The existing parties in Australia are at one in recognising the fundamental right of the capitalist to exploit the wage-worker, and the continuance of the wage system. Consequently none of them represent the essential class interests of the workers.

Inasmuch, however, as economic forces compel political action, the economic interests of the working class force that class everywhere to examine the system which enslaves them and to struggle towards emancipation. Inevitably this leads to the growth of Socialist organisation everywhere, and Australia is no exception to the rule.

For many years the Australian Socialist League (despite utopian and corrupt elements which were from time to time swept into the Labor Party); the Queensland Vanguard (which became wholly absorbed by the small traders); the International Socialist Club of Sydney, and the others, have more or less intelligently and successfully striven to push forward the knowledge of Socialism amongst the workers. The formation of the Victorian Socialist Party, and later, of the Barrier Socialist Group, and the holding of the initiative, on the latter, of the Unity Conference in Melbourne, in June, 1907, consolidated the greater part of the

Socialist forces in the Socialist Federation of Australasia. It is only a question of time when the few organised Socialists who stand aloof—bittered into sectarianism by past experience of the treachery of unreliable elements in their own organisation—will also be united with the same body. The working-class element in the "Labor" Party is also marching forward, and gradually detaching itself from the short-sighted folly and corruption of capitalist politics.

Isolated political action has already been taken on more than one occasion by Socialist groups. With the rapid development of more complete organisation a compact party will be welded together, and, in the near future, Socialism will become the vital force in Australian politics.

Socialist work for the present, therefore, is chiefly propagandist and educational.

The Socialists support every industrial struggle of the workers, for, against the capitalist, the worker is always right. The Socialists unceasingly educate and organise for the complete overthrow of Capitalism, not merely to re-form or tinker therewith. Whatever concessions can be wrested from the capitalist class, either by industrial or political action, without compromising the object of emancipation, the Socialists will, from time to time, endeavor to gain, making each advance the stepping-off ground for further demand, and convinced that the growing industrial and political strength of the workers organised for the revolutionary purpose of ending, not mending, the wage-system, will cause the capitalist parties to make concessions in the hope of deluding bodies of workers into comparative contentment, and so prolonging the wage-system by endeavoring to make it more tolerable. The Socialists, therefore, do not put forth a palliative program.

They strive to unite the workers at the polls on the definite class issue. Socialism against Capitalism, the working-class against their exploiters. As political questions arise they define the working-class attitude thereon, expose the inadequacy of bourgeois reforms, and the class administration of capitalist government, and use politics as a weapon against the existing order, and a means to increase the class-consciousness and the revolutionary organisation of the workers.

Finally, the Socialists do not expect to overthrow Capitalism by political action alone. Economic power is the basis of political power. The economic evolution controls the political evolution, the cause dictates the effect. Scientific sociology simply laughs at the silly utopians who imagine that a series of political reforms will suffice to gradually transform society.

The working-class must obtain economic power, and this they can obtain through revolutionary industrial unionism. Not sectional, or trade unionism, but class unionism. Not trade unionism simply to obtain better wages or working conditions under capitalism, but class unionism to enable the workers who now possess the economic power of production, to control that power in their own interest, and end the capitalist system. Then, possessing the economic power, the working class will also have complete political power, which they will use to build up the working-class State, the Socialist Republic.

To aid in this achievement then is the object of the Socialist Federation of Australasia.

Political action, strictly limited by its own nature, and chiefly valuable as a means of agitation, education, and organisation, is valuable if used to this end. But an enlightened working class, conscious of its class interests, and organised industrially, must itself achieve emancipation. According to the degree of industrial organisation achieved when economic evolution produces the inevitable break-down, so will the revolution be peaceful and orderly or the reverse. Complete industrial organisation is invincible. Any endeavor to use force against the people must fail if the food, clothing, transport, munitions of war, all produced by the workers, are refused by the industrial union to the forces of capitalism. The very battle-ships would lie, useless hulks upon the ocean, if the miners refused to supply coal, and the coal lumpers to fill the bunkers. The workers are the only necessary class. They have but to organise, industrially and politically, on class lines, to achieve power, and end the capitalist system which to-day enslaves and degrades society.

Fellow workers: Do you wish to be freemen, and to obtain for yourselves and your children an honorable and full life, no longer functionary as beasts of burden for an idle class, but cheerfully co-operating with your fellows in production and enjoying distribution to the full? If so, join the Socialist ranks.

Do you desire a peaceful and orderly revolution, or will you recklessly risk disorder and confusion and bloodshed in the coming change? The present system is not eternal, it has evolved from other systems, and every keen observer can see to-day the signs of its approaching breakdown. Working-class organisation is the urgent need if the coming social revolution is to be achieved with a minimum of disorder.

Join then, working-class comrades, the Socialist organisations, and forward the international movement of our class.

## Under the Red Flag.

### SYDNEY.

SUNDAY'S meeting in the Domain was addressed by Comrades Scott Bennett, Hawkins, and Holland. Industrial Unionism was the subject to which the speakers chiefly addressed themselves. The attendance throughout was splendid, and the literature sales even better than on the previous Sunday.

On Sunday week, March 1, the Group picnic will be held at Botany. Scott Bennett will speak at the picnic grounds, in accordance with a recent Group resolution.

The first of the International Socialist Lecture Series at the School of Arts on Friday night last was a marked success. The lecturer (Scott Bennett) was in splendid form.

In addition to the successful meeting held in the Domain on Sunday, a good meeting

was held by the organiser at Darlington in the evening.

Don't forget the picnic at Sir Joseph Banks, Botany, on Sunday week. Tickets are now ready, and may be obtained from the organiser.

Lecture, Friday next, at School of Arts. Subject: Two great thinkers of the 19th century—Karl Marx and Chas. Darwin.

Great Socialist Demonstration on May Day—watch for particulars.

### SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Just as we go to press news is to hand of the formation of the Socialist Party of South Australia. "The Review" extends a hearty welcome to the new party.

The day after the "settlement" of the Timber Strike the secretary of the union complained to the Arb. Court that the employers were violating the terms of settlement by blacklisting strikers.

## Is This a Society.

CALL ye that a society where there is no longer any Social idea extant: not so much as the idea of a Common Home, but only of a common overcrowded Lodging House?

Where each isolated, regardless of his neighbor, turned against his neighbor, clutches what he can get and cries "Mine," and calls it Peace because in the cut-purse and cut-throat scramble no steel knives, but only a far cunninger sort can be employed.—Thomas Carlyle.

The jam war developed a police court phase the other day, when Jones's foreman, Hurley—whose hard swearing recently caused the girls to strike—prosecuted a male striker (Leonard) for insulting language. Ex-Labor-member Phil Sullivan appeared to champion the bosses' slave-driver, and sternly demanded that the unionist should be severely dealt with in order that "this sort of thing might be put down once and for all." Leonard applied for an adjournment, but the ex-Labor member demanded that security be given for his costs (£1 1s), and when Leonard remarked that the unionists would probably stand to

him for a guinea, Phil said he wouldn't give a snap of his fingers for the guarantee of the unionists. Which reminds the "Review" that the P.L.L. Executive practically forced the Darlington P.L.L.-ers to adopt Phil as their candidate last election; and it is needless to add that the P.L.L. found the lawyer man a most unsatisfactory infant to adopt, with the result that Phil was left on the outside doorstep of political life, and as a foundling he isn't any more satisfactory than he was a sa compulsorily adopted infant.

Tom Mann has been doing splendid work in the Albury district in organising the bush workers.

There is a good prospect of Groups of the Victorian Socialist Party being formed in various country parts of Victoria.

## A Blue Mark

Through this paragraph indicates that your Subscription to the "Review" has expired, and should be renewed if you wish to still receive the Magazine.

## A Red Mark

Indicates that unless Subscription is paid within Fourteen Days, your copy of the "Review" will be discontinued.

# THE Socialist Federation OF AUSTRALASIA.

HEADQUARTERS:

274 Pitt Street, Sydney, N.S.W.

GENERAL EXECUTIVE—H. J. Hawkins, Broken Hill; H. Scott Bennett, Victoria; E. Raps, Sydney; A. Borax, General Treasurer; H. E. Holland, General Secretary  
PUBLICATIONS—"The Flame," Broken Hill; "The Socialist," Melbourne; "The International Socialist Review for Australasia," Sydney.

## Objective.

The Socialisation of the Means of Production, Distribution and Exchange

## Statement of Principles.

The present form of society rests on ownership of the land and the machinery (tools) of production.

The owners of most of the land and the machinery of production constitute what are economically known as the Capitalist Class. Hence the use of the term—"The Capitalist Form of Society."

This form of ownership divides society in all countries into two distinct and opposing classes—the Capitalist Class and the Working Class.

The Working Class produce all the wealth that sustains society, while they are held in complete economic and industrial subjection to the Capitalist Class, who live on the wealth produced by the Working Class.

The statistics of all countries show that a the Working Class receive a continuously decreasing share of the wealth they produce, the present proportion being about one-third of the total. Thus, although the workers constitute approximately 85 per cent. of the population, 15 per cent., who do no useful work, confiscate the remaining two-thirds.

This inevitably causes an irreconcilable conflict between the interests of the Capitalist Class and the Working Class.

The interest of the Capitalist Class is to secure an ever-increasing proportion of the wealth produced by the Working Class. The interest of the Working Class is to get the full value of the product of their labor. Hence there is a struggle, which is called the

CLASS STRUGGLE, between these two classes.

To win economic freedom, the non-owning Working Class must organise on the lines of the Industrial Workers of the World, and they must force the struggle into the political field, and use their political power the ballot, in conjunction with their industrial organisation, to abolish Capitalist Class ownership, set up the Socialist Republic, and thus revolutionise, in the interests of the Working Class, the entire structure of industrial society.

Political power is only useful to the workers for the purpose of overthrowing Capitalism, Parliaments being essentially capitalist machines designed to enable that class to perpetuate class domination.

The workers of Australia must, without delay, take up their position along with the organised class-conscious workers of all other countries. There is no escape from the beneficial effects of Capitalism short of its complete overthrow, and this can only be achieved by the class-conscious industrial and political strength of the Working Class.

The Socialist Federation of Australasia therefore, CALLS UPON ALL WORKERS TO FORTHWITH IDENTIFY THEMSELVES WITH THE EXISTING SOCIALIST ORGANISATIONS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE STATES, and to work unceasingly for the complete overthrow of the Capitalist system, and for the emancipation of their class from wage slavery.



(Concluded from Page 6.)

Why the permanent men should be prepared to accept a lesser rate than the casual men—seeing that both do the same amount of work—is not explained, and the utter docility of their return to work at the crack of the bosses' whip wielded by alleged labor men can only be accounted for by the fact that the spirit of the men was utterly broken and all the fight taken out of them by the tactics adopted at the command of alleged "labor leaders."

The fact that the defeated strikers have a promise that their case shall have priority before the Arbitration Court counts for nothing. It will be the same old Court run in the interest of the same old Master Class, and the result will be the same old verdict with some minor (sop-to-Cerberus) concessions for the workers and a general win for the sweaters. How could it be otherwise?

To say that the casual employees are dissatisfied is to put it mildly enough. It would be a serious reflection on their collective intelligence were it otherwise. And surely the carters who came out in support of the strikers should be dissatisfied, too! These are counselled "to return to work as opportunity offers."

No wonder Mr. Walker, of

the Kauri Timber Co., has declared that the Masters are eminently satisfied with the "settlement."

There never yet was a "settlement" that involved disaster to the workers that the Master Class was not satisfied with.

But the casual men should not be content to let the matter rest where there betrayers have left it. They should reform their ranks, and strike another blow on straightworking-class lines. As honest men they must know that there is no remedy for them in the Arbitration Court. Not to know it would be to confess to an utter ignorance of the history of that court and the basic principles of the Arbitration Act.

It is to the credit of the organized working class that there is unrestricted indignation and much vigorous denunciation of the political selling-out of the strikers and the manner in which they have been coerced into such an unconditional and humiliating surrender.

In time the conscious working-class element will force to the front the solid principles of industrial unionism, and then both the seller-out and the capitalist will find themselves down and under.

## Looking Forward.

HAPPY he whose inward ear  
Angel comfortings can hear,  
O'er the rabble's laughter;  
And while Hatred's faggots  
burn,  
Glimpses through the smoke  
discern  
Of the good hereafter.

Knowing this, that never yet  
Share of truth was vainly set  
In the world's wide fallow;  
After hands shall sow the  
seed,  
After, hands from hill and  
mead  
Reap the harvest yellow.

Thus, with somewhat of the  
Seer,  
Must the moral pioneer  
From the future borrow;  
Clothe the waste with dreams  
of grain,  
And on midnight's sky of  
rain  
Paint the golden morrow.

—WHITTIER.