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I. NORMINGTON — RAWLING

ONE BIG UNION FOR AUSTRALIA

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One Big Union for Australia



INTRODUCTION.

The world's toiling masses are stirring; the age-long mental sleep of Labor is breaking, and thoughts almost sweet and visionary whisper the hope of a new industrial world to countless millions.

In the factory and the field are work-weary men and women; in the trenches, high in the air, deep in the gloomy mine men are murmuring this new-born thought of **Industrial Freedom**.

Political freedom has failed to satisfy; the right to vote has been weighed and found wanting. Parliaments and Governments come and go, but the deadly struggle for meals never relaxes, a struggle so frequently fought by the wage-earner—and lost.

In the social crucible old ideas are vanishing. In the mad massacre for markets we see beliefs, customs and once-honored institutions being rapidly swept into a well-merited oblivion, and new conditions, bearing with them new ideas, are moving the laboring multitude.

More light, more leisure, more laughter, more room for the soul to expand, a longing for the bigger, finer, deeper; more wholesome and sociable things, more life; but underlying and interwoven and transcending all, burns the fierce desire for a sense of **security and freedom in work and life**. The eternal drudgery of working and sweating, of scheming and grabbing and grubbing

for meals—just meals—the drab world of mortar and mud, of pick and paint and shovel, the everlasting uncertainty of life itself, which appears as a circle about the boundary of which is written **hunger, or the fear of it**; all the hateful, hellish consequences of capitalism, including the war itself, are being realised and examined as never before. With four years and more of bitter experience, years of sacrifice and suffering, the world of Labor is realising that freedom—**real freedom**—is impossible without freedom in Industry. The truth that the mass of mankind are in a position of industrial dependence to a mere handful; the fact that this small group of industrial owners have power to stop one's job, one's bread, and consequently one's breath; the everlasting necessity of having to whimper and whine for permission to keep the wheels of industry turning, and to be "awarded" just sufficient to keep one living—and breeding: these things are the very breath and essence of industrial slavery.

Thoughts like these are everywhere seeking expression. The working millions are reaching out for a complete industrial change, and the masters and owners of Industry sense the menacing murmur with **forboding fear as the distant rumble translates itself into the clear and vibrant demand—we want Democracy in Industry; we demand the right to ownership and control in the sphere of useful production.**

And now is witnessed the fevered scurry and scamper in defence of the labor-sweating profit system. Furtive whispers concealing a thousand schemes, plans, plots and proposals, all liberally perfumed, are being got ready; all the wiles and wits and powers which can be bought are enlisting in one mighty siren song to Labor, one united mock melody which sings and purrs of an assumed "harmony of interests" between master and wage-slave.

There is danger ahead.

Behind all the glittering phrases about the "co-operation" of Capital and Labor there is seen the outline of a projected industrial slavery.

There are powers and interests, tremendous and far-reaching, backed by the entire strength of the Northcliffe Press, making a bold bid for the national recognition and organisation of private capitalism. It urges a capitalism backed by the State, for State aid in industrial research and expansion, for the "munitionising" of industry for the regimentation of Labor by repressive legislation and State provision for the training and discipline of efficient wage-slaves.

The danger is real, and lies in the likelihood that Labor, being unprepared for this giant mass attack, may be lacking in a clear-eyed conception of what are its wants and how to get them. Without the right realisation of both these, Labor stands in serious danger of being outflanked.

Time is precious, the days are slipping past. Organisation by industries, plus a clear-brained, class-conscious rank and file: these are the burning needs of the hour, the best line of defence and the greatest hope for laboring humanity.

With regard to the manner of handling here the matter of One Big Union, the method adopted has been threefold in character—(1) to establish the fact of a class struggle; (2) to criticise the existing form of labor organisation as a weapon of class defence or offence; (3) to induce the need for and superiority of One Big Industrial Union, with a broad outline of same.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOCIAL WAR.

The supply of good-tempered, cheap, white wage-slaves is rapidly giving out. The remains of millions of them lie bleaching on a hundred battlefields in Europe, ghastly victims to frenzied Militarism.

Come war, come peace, it has long since been discovered (if not admitted) that wage-workers are indeed a very useful kind of animal—a work animal. In the industrial scheme of things, the part played by the world's working millions is to produce the world's wealth. If the toiler would live, he has to produce it. At the sound of a hooter or a bell, he streams off into factories and workshops, mills and mines (all of which are the property of a select little clique, but all of which have been built and erected by the brain and manual workers), and there turns out the world's goods and piles up the world's wealth. At the end of the week he holds out his hand, opens and closes it with the value of about one-third of what he produced inside of it. This amount has been found quite adequate to keep him in sufficient health and strength to produce more wealth next week—enough to keep on festering and multiplying his spawn.

The wage-earner is but a human work animal, bought and sold on the instalment plan, to build and operate

the world's industries, provided he produces and hands over to the owners of Industry the bigger part of his product.

Even the dullest worker instinctively knows that he creates much more wealth than he gets back on payday. He does not understand—at present—that the story of mankind is but one long struggle on the part of Labor to win more of the portion which has been withheld from him, and also the struggle on the part of those who filched it from him to keep it and guard it. But until the majority do understand the above they will remain just where they are, and will get just as much or as little as will keep them in working order.

There is no hope for the worker without a frank recognition of this world-wide struggle. War has been well defined as "a collision of interests," and when we behold mankind organised broadly into two hostile camps; when we witness huge employers' federations confronted by federations of Labor, with strikes, lock-outs, unemployed, bread-lines and arbitration courts—all symptoms of a titanic conflict—the wage-earner who wilfully shuts his eyes to such glaring facts, and persistently mumbles about "Capital and Labor in the same boat," such a one is either the quintessence of ignorance or of deceit—or both.

All the old leaders in the Labor movements to the contrary, there still remains that axiomatic truth—the worker has got to face the problems of Labor's industrial freedom in terms of the vital conflict between the owners and the operators of Industry. The one-step-at-a-time Laborite (side-stepping frequently), however good his or her intentions may be, almost invariably shuts his eyes or sneers with superior wisdom at the term "Class Struggle." To the modern office-seeking opportunist, industrial or political, even a vague reference to the class struggle is like a breath from hell, scorching all

their crafty schemes, and undoing their well-laid and well-paid "peaceable" and "harmonising" plans for the "betterment" of the workers. Yet, however much of a cant phrase it may appear, or however blasphemous it may sound, until the clash of interests between industrial owners and operators is recognised and accepted; until both the cause and the remedy of such conflict is clearly comprehended and boldly proclaimed; until the Industrial movement builds upon and draws its vitality and plan of campaign from this collision of class interests and the world-wide struggle it gives rise to; until then the efforts of organised Labor must remain as fruitless as those of a blind man looking for a black hat in a dark room.

The goal of the Labor movement must be clearly radical; it must aim and strive for a complete change in the industrial foundations of the social structure. Just so long as a few own the industries that make possible our daily wants, then just so long will they virtually own the lives of the bulk of mankind. To place in the hands of a small minority the agencies which should supply us with abundant food, clothing and shelter, is tantamount to handing over our lives to their keeping.

The trembling uncertainty of life, with over-work or none at all, eking out a bare subsistence until too worn out for even that, such are the consequences; while those for whom we tug and sweat, strain and ache, flaunt their wealth in our face and parade their useless indolence, but live very pleasantly upon the surplus wealth pumped from our very veins.

Industrial freedom must remain a shadowy dream until the life-sustaining industries are in the hands of the working community. **owned, controlled, regulated,** and under conditions determined by the world's industrial operators. Man's possibilities cannot have said to

have really begun until such is accomplished. For ages the centuries have sung of the coming of the Common Man. In the course of mankind's march through history every class has had its day except the working class. We are here to accomplish our historic task—the building of the Industrial Commonwealth.

This is the message of the revolutionary Labor movement. It is kindling in the breasts of millions; it is lifting a myriad weary heads; it is flashing its song of hope around the world. Through the whirr of wheels and the clang of machinery a new world is forming. **Is the Trade Union movement qualified for the task of fighting for the ownership of Industry—and fighting to win?**

CHAPTER II.

OUR ANTIQUATED TRADE UNIONISM.

It is now taken for granted that the reader is conscious of the world-wide struggle between the **owners** and **operators** of industry. Pious wishes, legal enactments and profit-sharing schemes are but feeble and ineffectual attempts to conceal its unwelcome presence.

It cannot be smothered or bludgeoned out of existence. It will not be ignored.

Its disturbing influences increase daily. It can only end by the removal of its cause, and the cause (let it be again repeated) is the collision of interests between the buyers and the sellers of Labor-power, each side struggling to gain or retain as great a part of the product of Labor as possible.

That the organised Trade Unions have been of great service in this conflict in the past no one of average knowledge would be so foolish as to deny. But to maintain its present efficiency as a means of offence, or even defence, is a testimony to one's faculties having petrified a quarter of a century ago.

Trade Unionism is a peculiar product of Capitalism. In the "good old days," prior to the modern social fabric, the world moved along in a rather staid and leisurely way. The feudal lord of those days engaged cheerfully in sundry fights with neighbouring lords, while his serf tilled the soil and furnished himself with necessaries and his feudal lord with luxuries.

Steals upon this tranquil scene a triple circumstance, which, like some magic wand, altered in a few years the

whole surface of the globe. They stealthily grew and united—

**Surplus Labor,
Surplus Capital,
New Markets.**

They met in history and convulsed civilisation; surplus labor had accumulated in the cities. The discovery of gunpowder had shattered the castle walls, and as a consequence thousands of serfs drifted towards the towns to seek new masters and to accept whatever terms might be offered them.

Surplus Capital (in England), partly arising from the more scientific form of agriculture, which developed as a consequence of land stealing and Enclosure Acts, and partly from improved methods of general production.

New Markets, in the East and West; America and India calling and clamoring for woollen and cotton goods, and demanding for their rapid production new inventions and new methods.

And this trinity of factors, intersecting each other in place and time, mark a flash-point in history—the birth of a new form of wealth production. Capitalism was previously an infant; it now received an impetus which gave it a lusty strength, and twenty years later (about 1820) England pulsated with a new activity, to the accompaniment of escaping steam and the roar of machinery. In the twenty-five years of hell which followed, the toiling masses went through a veritable valley of death, when men, women and little children were swept into the industrial maelstrom and worked to the limit of human endurance—and worked to death. From out of that hell-period there emerged the first distinct trace of Trade Unionism; isolated attempts to reduce the murderous competition for jobs, to provide a little for themselves during sickness, and to insure a decent burial when dead.

It was a day when skill counted. The skilled men, the craftsmen, were the first to recover from their de-

moralisation—the struggle for jobs being less fierce in those occupations requiring superior skill. They organised themselves into little skilled groups, **not as workers, nor for the preservation of the working class, but as associations of men with a particular skill for sale, and for the special benefit of that section only.**

It is hardly necessary to follow in detail the rise of Trade Unionism. From those early days right up to the present moment, its tendency has been to segregate the workers into more or less isolated little groups. Each trade or group takes but little heed of any other, each group studying and pursuing their own craft interest alone. Jealousy is a marked feature between them, and great pride is experienced if one craft or trade can raise itself a little, even though it be at the expense of other sections less fortunate. Commanding a little better position than the unskilled worker, they early separated themselves from the mass of wage-earners, and, assuming a "superior" air on the strength of a slightly superior wage, they acted then, and do even now in many ways, to the detriment of Labor generally. The "aristocrats" of Labor have earned such title by their aloofness and indifference to the mass of wage-earners; if they have forgotten little, they have added to their knowledge even less.

Perhaps the reader prides himself on being such an "aristocrat." Perhaps these few sentences may rouse his latent class sense, may help him to do something more than keep his eye on the pay envelope. During the past fifty years what part have the "highly skilled" workers taken in the general working class movement? Times without number, when the lower-paid sections have attempted to improve their lot, they have not hesitated to throw their weight against them, standing "loyally" by the employers, and virtually robbing the struggling, unskilled sections of the chance of a few crumbs extra. The real upsurge of Labor, the defeats, the struggles, the aspirations of the intelligent, but

"common," laborer, have been to them unknown or unheeded. Their only concern has been to higggle in the Labor market for a few shillings increase for their own trade. No light has beaten upon their dull, cash-register minds. No thought for the welfare of their own class has penetrated their little, narrow "trader" brain. But the day is here when trades are disappearing with tragic suddenness, and to-morrow their position, if not their lives, will depend upon the strength of the working class as a whole.

It may seem paradoxical, but it is none the less true—**Trade Unionism attempts to organise the workers along the lines of division.** It organises them, not as wage-earners, but as users of particular tools or machines, and as performers of certain definite operations. The first weakness of Trade Unionism is herein exposed. **It subdivides the workers according to their skill.**

"Skill" is the determining factor in nearly all union wrangles and disputes. In union meetings, with monotonous regularity, one hears it heatedly discussed whether such-and-such work should be performed by plumbers, tinsmiths, by masons or plasterers, etc. How effectively Trade Unionism has divided the workers can be gathered from the following table taken from the "Commonwealth Year Book," 1916:—

Name of Industry.	No. of Unions.
Wood and Furniture	20
Engineering, Metal, etc	77
Food, Drink and Tobacco	72
Clothing	31
Printing	30
General Manufacturing	78
Building	63
Mines and Quarries	27
Transportation and Communication	121
Pastoral, Agricultural and Fisheries	12
Domestic, Hotels, etc.	20
Miscellaneous	162
Total	713

What a confused welter it is when we remember that there is neither common understanding nor co-related effort among them. "The unity of Labor is the hope of the world" is the emblem on many a Trade Union journal, which sounds like a sardonic laugh.

Over 700 Trade Unions in the Commonwealth, embracing more than half a million workers, and entailing the expenditure of something like £250,000 yearly for official salaries! Imagine, in modern warfare, an army half a million strong, subdivided into 700 parts; each part with its own rules and regulations; each part deciding when and how it should fight; each part discordant and disjointed, and, indeed, frequently attacking each other. A body of such description is as harmless and just as progressive as an army of oysters.

Furthermore, there are 24 different Trades Councils in Australia, with no common understanding and no Central Executive. No profound thinking is required to understand that any movement or body calling itself working class, which encourages or tolerates craft prejudices, which separates the workers into disconnected and even hostile groups; **such a body is unconsciously or deliberately fighting the battle of the employers of Labor.** Incidentally, it may be asked: How often have Australian Unions ordered its own members back to work; ordered them virtually to "scab" on other organisations who were on strike? Instances need not be cited; almost every unionist can recall instances when his particular union stayed on the job, while another union was out on strike.

DEFECTS OF PURPOSE AND METHODS.

"A fair day's work for a fair day's pay" is a union battle-cry. In its very nature it is a frank admission of the fact that Labor-power is for sale; that it is a thing flung upon the market—the Labor market—to be traded and higgled and priced like pork, coal, boots, blankets or

beer. The trader instinct or outlook is here plainly seen. "Collective bargaining" is the basis of Trade Unionism, with the "bargaining" principle much more in evidence than the "collective" one. Nor is this all; it supports covertly, or endorses openly, the illogical and entirely unfounded statement that workers and employers have some common bond, a similarity of interests, and almost invariably seeks to "promote harmonious relations between employer and employee." Yet the very principle of "collective bargaining" is the most convincing evidence of class interests, for (as the term implies) the buyers and sellers of Labor-power, like the buyers and sellers of anything else, pursue interests totally opposed to each other. Our daily experience of arbitration courts, which means "the settlements of dispute between two parties by the appointment of a third to act as judge," is conclusive proof of separate and colliding class interests. There can be no "harmony" between a robber and his victim. Capitalism is a gigantic "hold-up" of the mass of mankind by the owners of capital and industry. To seek to promote harmony where none is possible exposes the second weakness of Trades Unionism—it is based on a false foundation.

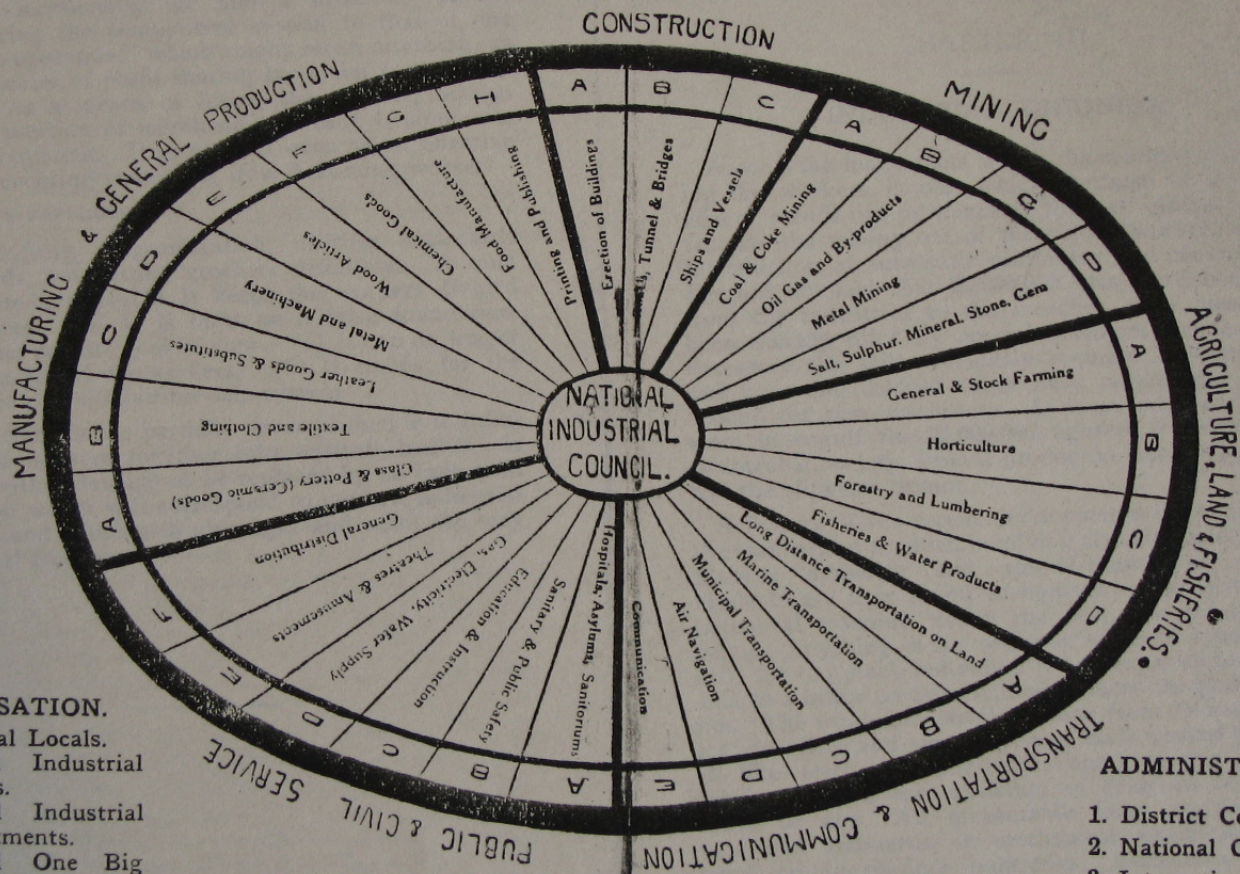
Its Purpose.

A movement to be a movement in the human or social sense must be a movement in a definite direction; a striving towards a definite goal. Let the worker ask himself the question: What is the goal of Trade Unionism? Is there a fitting answer to such a question? The following are a few sample "aims" of Trade Unionism:

- "To improve the working conditions of members."
- "To assist members when out of work or in distressed circumstances."
- "To protect and improve the conditions of labor in the trade."

(Continued on page 18.)

ONE BIG UNION FOR AUSTRALIA



ORGANISATION.

1. Industrial Locals.
2. National Industrial Unions.
3. National Industrial Departments.
4. National One Big Union internationally affiliated.

ADMINISTRATION.

1. District Councils.
2. National Councils.
3. International Council.

All are leg-ironed by the same petty "aims" and "objects." Occasionally we find a nebulous phrase about "altering the competitive system to that of one based on co-operation," which might mean anything, as ardent advocates of profit-sharing lay claim to the same objective. As a means of lifting the working masses from their position of merchandise, Trade Unionism is absolutely impotent. It cannot act even as an effective brake in preventing conditions from becoming worse.

It is not a movement.

It is a drifting conglomeration, drifting backwards and forwards, but getting nowhere definitely. To sum up its shortcomings—(1) It keeps the workers divided on craft lines. (2) It is built on a false foundation. (3) It has no definite goal in view. (4) It can no longer improve the lot of the workers. (5) It stands for the maintenance of the labor-for-sale system.

The one thing it has partially accomplished is to bring numbers of workers together into separate bodies. It must now either develop or be replaced by an industrial organisation which will correspond to modern industrial conditions, and which will also fight and point the way to industrial freedom.

CHAPTER III.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

Among the many facts which the world-war is teaching the workers is one which, because of its deadly effects, stands out prominently from all others, and that fact is—the wiping out of the skilled worker, with the introduction of automatic machinery and cheaper labor. Despite the fact that 25,000,000 men have been taken from the industries to the trenches, their places have been quickly filled by special machines, rendering unnecessary the skill previously required. Women, men and boys and colored labor have rallied and centred around the new machinery. If some great catastrophe were to engulf the 25,000,000 fighters to-morrow it is doubtful if society, from a productive standpoint, would feel the slightest tremor.

A feature of the recent developments in production is the standardised product, involving also standard methods. Manual dexterity and rule-of-thumb or irregular methods are now found to hamper seriously the great industrial machine which the war has brought into being. Anything in the ordinary workers' sphere which calls for too much individual reflection or elaborate skill acts as a brake on celerity, and reduces the possible output. The whole industrial machine (it is desired) should move swiftly and smoothly, and each worker should fit in like teeth in a cog-wheel, entailing the minimum lubrication and the minimum of delay in replacing a tooth or cog. All measurable facts are reduced to measured standards in mechanical, chemical, agricultural or distributive industries. Schedules of time,

place, number and dimensions rule right throughout, and, as a result, we get the regular standardised product, while the ordinary range of actions of the general public, such as trains, trams, meals, theatres, etc., are worked out in exact times which the standard system imposes.

As an example, take the shipbuilding industry in England.

A ten to twenty thousand ton vessel, prior to the war, occupied about twelve months to build, the vessel being constructed and launched in the same shipyard. Contrast this work with the modern standardised method, which is somewhat as follows:—

(1). Only two sizes of vessels are now built—i.e., 10,000 and 20,000 tons. The making of the different parts, such as propellers, plates, engines, shafts, woodwork, glasswork, electrical work, boilers, etc.—are distributed throughout the country to over 400 firms. Each firm makes a specialty of one part.

(2). The various parts are rushed across country. They meet at "assembly yards."

Here the labor is so minutely divided that the men who rivet the fore part of one vessel will rivet the same part of every vessel coming to that yard. Each man has some special part of the vessel to work on. So minute does this subdivision become that one man may during the whole year rivet the similar score of plates of all vessels built in the yard.

Result—A vessel turned out in every yard every month.

Similar conditions are developing in nearly all the industries of the warring countries, food-canning, clothing, motor-building, engineering and woodwork particularly.

It is just this process which is shaking the trade unions to their very foundations. The demand for "skill" in the masses is vanishing, and now rests on a very

slender basis. The modern wage-earner is almost an automaton. Physical movements are numbered and carried out according to clock and schedule. Work transforms itself into a methodical drill, any departure from which is both unnecessary and unwelcome. The bulwark of trade unionism—the apprenticeship system—is being abandoned willy-nilly, the crafts are being undermined, and if the structure collapses without having to replace it a form of unionism that fits in with the above conditions, then we doom ourselves to an existence by comparison with which the ancient serfs will appear as heaven.

THE NECESSARY FORM OF ORGANISATION.

Although the actual fact of skilled craftsmanship is disappearing, the idea itself is very deep-rooted, and will only give way when, combined with the new conditions, a terrific propaganda and educative assault is made upon it. The growing impossibility of young men carving their way to-day into the ranks of the privileged class with their craft skill lighting the way—this, and a score of equally poetic ideas, must (however painful and disturbing the process be to the individual) be eradicated by educative effort. That such an effort will in all probability be met with opposition is to be expected, especially from the office-seeking opportunist. Yet many of the 1400 union officials look with favor on the movement towards **One Big Union**. They hesitate to act, or view the matter with indifference, because the mass of trade unionists are themselves indifferent. It is obvious that our message must go right to the bottom, making the rank and file comprehend clearly the urgent necessity and the real meaning of Industrial Unionism.

The older type of Labor leader (?), with his collective bargaining and arbitration and harmony ideas, is giving way to new minds, instructed in working class economics, gifted with a planetary outlook, and infused with the spirit of class revolt.

On the question of Arbitration, a complete pamphlet could be written, and, indeed, is being written. Suffice it to say here that it has proved itself a gigantic farce from the workers' point of view. The utter futility is freely admitted and well known in trade union circles. The secretary of the United Laborers' Union of Victoria expressed himself to an "Age" (Melbourne) reporter thus: "There is nothing to be gained by waiting for boards or courts, or for actions through political channels. We are able to get what we do get only if we are well enough organised to force it from the employers. . . We are disgusted with craft unions and dissatisfied with craft federations, as they are maintained for the purpose of going to the Arbitration Courts. They only serve to provide a number of officials with the pleasures of office."

Before placing before the reader any skeleton outline of **One Big Union**, it may be just as well to get distinctly in mind its **broad basis and purpose**. It is intended to be **one complete industrial fighting organisation, linked up internationally, to enable the workers by their industrial might to wring from employerdom any immediate advantages, and to train the workers to assume full control of industry, and operate them for the mutual benefit of the working community.**

Organised in such a body, the workers would present a solid front to the industrial owners; their strength would be unbeatable. The details of organisation will be shaped by the prevalent conditions of each country. It cannot be created and moulded according to certain dogmas, but by conditions which, varying in different countries, will naturally give rise to modifications in different parts of the world.

But industrial unionism, however much it may vary in details, has in all countries this broad basis—the **organisation of the workers along industrial lines, and according to the product created by the industrial group.** It would appear as if the unit of organisation most

suited to nearly all countries is the Industrial Local, which "embraces all the actual wage-workers in a given locality, welded together in trade or shop branches," as outlined by that brilliant American organiser, W. E. Trautmann, in his "One Great Union," the outline of which is as follows:—

1. Industrial Locals.
2. National Industrial Unions.
3. National Industrial Departments.
4. National One Big Union, internationally affiliated.

Irrespective of age, race, sex, nationality or craft, all wage-earners would be embraced by the One Big Union.

The National Industrial Union would comprise either a definite number of local unions or of all the locals of one industry in a given country.

An Industrial Department consists of all National Industrial Unions of a like nature.

Making use of the classification of W. E. Trautmann, we should have six Industrial Departments, as follows:

1. Department of Agriculture, Lands, Fisheries and Water Products.
2. Department of Mining.
3. Department of Transportation and Communication.
4. Department of Manufacture and General Production.
5. Department of Construction.
6. Department of Public Service.

Let it be clearly understood that the number of departments are not determined by mere guesswork. The basis, number and classification of departments should correspond with the process of production and distribution right from raw material until the finished products are in the hands of the consumer. This process briefly

consists of the following well-defined stages, which are not absolutely isolated, but rather merge into one another:—

1. Procuring of raw materials from land and sea.
2. Procuring of raw materials from underground.
3. Transportation of raw materials to centres of production.
4. Erection of buildings of all descriptions for both transportation and manufacture.
5. The process of manufacture.
6. General distribution and public conveniences.

In concluding this part a word of caution is tendered: The federation of craft unions as a substitute for industrial organisation must be fought and opposed, however much such opposition should be misunderstood. The craft form of organisation, with its narrow craft-consciousness, must be discarded. Federation will find favor with all, fighting the battles of the "boss," as every other scheme will which has as its object the granting of every possible demand short of the surrender of industry to the working community. Any scheme which will help to extend the life of the private ownership and profit system will meet with "sympathetic support" from employerdom, and from many in our own ranks, who would use the working class as a means to place and perpetuate themselves. The path leading to craft federation is a blind alley, and its acceptance a self-inflicted defeat. Its leaders and advocates have little to their credit in the past, and at the moment of writing appear to vie with each other in their attempts to botch and mangle and obliterate the revolutionary and proletarian tendencies of the rank and file. At best the federated craft form of organisation is but an instinctive and conservative reluctance to part with past traditions. Its maximum value was realised when separate skilled trades were brought together under one factory roof; the trade union, an organisation of one skilled group,

had to give way to the trades union or federation, an organisation of several related skilled groups. This was quite all right while skill was the dominant factor in wage-labor, but skill is singing its swan song; it is doomed by the standardised products, the automatic machine, and the more minute subdivision of work. Bearing these facts in mind, the throwing of one's energies into federating crafts, erroneously believing it to be industrial unionism, is just so much good effort wasted. The new conditions demand a new instrument, an entirely new form of organisation. Umbrellas are good protection against rain, but however much they be combined or linked up will provide scant protection from a twelve-inch gun.

But the colossal ignorance and apathy of the workers is the one obstruction which eclipses every other. Not until they are made to realise their contemptible merchandise status; not until they realise they are involved in a titanic struggle for the mastery of industry; not until they clearly comprehend that the whole of civilisation, with its armies and navies, its Governments and gaols, its churches and universities, are but the expression of his unpaid labors; not until then will there be any marked enthusiasm for revolutionary industrial organisation. Just in proportion to the spread of such knowledge will the constructive energy for industrial unionism be liberated.

Whether the new industrial organisation will be built up outside and apart from the trade union movement, or whether it will "build within the shell of the old," and ultimately supplant it, is a matter more for speculation than for positive assertion. The writer believes that the trades union movement is an evolving factor, and will speedily accept the principle of organisation by industries, will recognise frankly the class nature and purpose of our social structure, and will become a real live revolutionary movement, aiming at the abolition of Capitalism and fighting all the way and all the time for

the establishment of Industrial Democracy. Recent events in Sydney, N.S.W., strengthen this belief. An earnest attempt is there being made to transform completely the craft form of organisation, or, rather, to abolish it, and to replace it by a single organisation. It is rather early to speak of its success, but its delegates, representing about eighty unions, have already adopted the principle of organisation by industries, and in their accepted preamble have made a straight-out challenge to Capitalism, and their objective the full surrender of the life-sustaining industries to the working community. May it realise all the hopes of its promoters and of every intelligent industrial worker.

But, let it be repeated, the need of the hour consists of something more than merely a structure. A unified industrial organisation of wage-workers is sound just as far as the knowledge and intelligence of its rank and file are sound. Let the rank and file comprehend clearly—(1) That mankind is divided broadly into useful industrial workers and useless industrial owners; (2) that between them there is an irrepressible conflict; (3) that it is the duty of every worker to take an active and intelligent part in this conflict; (4) that it can end only by surrendering to the community that which the community mutually depend upon and collectively use—namely, the industries. This is the need of the hour. Such a knowledge leads to a definite want. The working man or woman possessed of such knowledge ceases to be a tame, dumb, wealth-producing automaton, satisfied with a miserly pittance and a mere fraction of his or her product. To such the full meaning of Industrial Democracy is readily grasped, while the message of industrial unionism as a means to the end will be realised and accepted promptly and intelligently.

The propagation of the broad principles of industrial unionism must be accomplished by a class awakening campaign. It should be remembered that industrial unionism is the latest product of revolutionary thought,

and that it has been evolved after centuries of bitter experience. Utopian dreamers, Government ownership advocates, political socialism, and, lastly, industrial organisation, plus any advantage the political arena might offer: these are the successive steps painfully climbed by laboring humanity. Each of us in our individual progress reproduces and repeats this process. We usually start with Bellamy, then on to Blatchford, afterwards wanting to capture Parliament and reconstruct society in terms of a political victory—(All in favor of Socialism say "Aye"—the "Ayes" have it). Lastly, we grasp the truth that no social structure collapses until a superior form of wealth production is ready to take its place; that if Industrial Democracy is to replace the present structure the working community must be trained and organised to own and run the industries as their collective concerns.

What, then, in face of these facts, is the use of throwing chunks of industrial unionism at the somnambulist mind of the average worker in industry? To be clearly conscious of a struggle must necessarily precede the methods to be used. The existence of a worldwide class conflict must be made plain before one can take an intelligent and active part in it. The whole problem of class education consists in the enlightenment of the workers on (1) the necessary conditions for industrial freedom, (2) how to realise them.

This is the real pressing need, and this is the real job confronting those among the workers who are already awake and class-conscious.

By leaflet and pamphlet and lecture and lesson, by publicity campaign and "shop-talks," by the use of the cinema and all the brain-awakening artifices of advertising by every and all possible means must the masses be roused, taught and trained, brought to realise theirs is a fight on for industrial supremacy, and organised and trained to win.

CLASSIFICATION OF DEPARTMENTS.

The Six Industrial Departments are subdivided into thirty Sub-Departments, as follows:—

I. — Department of Lands, Fisheries and Water Products.

- (a). General and Stock Farming.
- (b). Horticulture.
- (c). Forestry and Lumbering.
- (d). Fisheries and Water Products.

II.—Department of Mining.

- (a). Coal and Coke Mining.
- (b). Oil, Gas and By-products.
- (c). Metal Mining.
- (d). Salt, Sulphur, Mineral, Stone, Gems.

III.—Department of Transportation and Communication.

- (a). Long-distance Transportation on Land.
- (b). Marine Transportation.
- (c). Municipal Transportation.
- (d). Air Navigation.
- (e). Communication.

IV.—Department of Manufacture and General Production.

- (a). Glass and Pottery (Ceramic Goods).
- (b). Textile and Clothing.
- (c). Leather Goods and Substitutes.
- (b). Metal and Machinery.
- (e). Wood Articles.
- (f). Chemical Goods.
- (g). Food Manufacture.
- (h). Printing and Publishing.

V.—Department of Building and Construction.

- (a). Erection and Construction of Buildings.
- (b). Construction of Ships and Vessels.
- (c). Construction of Roads, Tunnels and Bridges.

VI.—Department of Civil Service and Public Conveniences.

- (a). Hospitals, Asylums, Sanitoriums.
- (b). Sanitary and Public Safety.
- (c). Education and Instruction.
- (d). Gas, Electricity and Water Supply.
- (e). Theatres and Amusements.
- (f). General Distribution.

CONCLUSION.

We have witnessed the rise of trade unionism; we know that its purpose was to protect independent little sections of workers, and to enable them to sell their skill for as good terms as possible.

We have seen such skill slowly disappearing before the onrush of the machine and the increasing subdivision of labor.

We have beheld the rise of the powerful trust, some with their tentacles spread over as many as a dozen industries. We watch emerge from the world-wide war a gigantic industrial structure **moving and operating by industries.**

We see the whole capitalist class of Australia pooling their interests into one organisation, and we are familiar with scores of trade strikes which failed because of the virtual organised scabbery of other independent trades.

The salutary effects on employerdom of the New South Wales Railway Strike in August, 1917, can be readily understood from an article on "New Unionism" ("Argus," Melbourne, 7/8/17). Referring to the organisation of Capital and employers, it proceeds:—"The idea is to follow upon Labor's example, and have a union of employers. This union will not be upon the lines of existing organisations, that embrace employers generally, but will be on the basis of trade groups. Under the proposal all the trades connected with one industry will be organised as a group. Each trade will form its association, each association will send delegates to a council, and the council will control the (industrial) group. It will be 'compulsory' on employers to join, if the Labor unions are to be successfully countered."

In other words, Capital is forestalling Labor.

The conclusion cannot be escaped. The trustification of industry and capital must be met and countered by the trustification of Labor in Industry.

To turn a deaf ear to the lessons of the past and present, and ignore the message of Industrial Unionism; to sluggishly cling to obsolete forms and methods which boomerang back on us, is but tantamount to holding out the glad hand to defeat and disaster. In the present evil hour we find ourselves in the whirlpool of an all-engulfing class conflict. To remain stationary is to be defeated.

We must advance.

Our hope is in the great future ahead of us. In building up the structure of One Big Union, we are working out those problems the solution of which will make the industries ours, as they rightfully are, and will enthrone working humanity as the real ruler of the universe.

Let our efforts be as wide-as human suffering; let our triumph be swift and lasting, but peaceful if possible.



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BOOKS TO READ.

- On Labor and Capital**, by Karl Marx. Discusses wages and how they are determined; and the general relationship of Labor to Capital. Price, 4d. posted.
- Value and Surplus Value**, by Karl Marx. Shows in simple language how Labor is exploited at the point of production in the workshop. Deals with Value, Prices, Wages, Rent, Interest and Profit. Price, 4d. posted.
- Scientific Socialism**, by F. Engels. The best scientific statement published on the subject. Traces the evolution of Capitalism from its inception on to the era of Trusts, Combines and State Capitalism. Price, 4d. posted.
- One Great Union**, by W. E. Trautmann. The great work on the subject. Price, 7d. posted.
- How One Big Union Works**, by A. Dodds. An example drawn from the meat industry in Queensland. Price, 4d. posted.
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- Theoretical System of Karl Marx**, by L. B. Boudin. The best up-to-date exposition of Marx's theories, answering critics. Price, 5/- posted.
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