

out by the personnels. By means of discussions in these committees the workers establish their unity of action. Extension of the strike to ever larger masses, the only tactics appropriate to wrench concessions from capital, is fundamentally opposed to the Trade Union tactics to restrict the fight and to put an end to it as soon as possible. Such wild strikes in the present times are the only real class fights of the workers against capital. Here they assert their freedom, themselves choosing

and directing their actions, not directed by other powers for other interests.

That determines the importance of such class contests for the future. When the wild strikes take on ever larger extension they find the entire physical power of the State against them. So they assume a revolutionary character. When capitalism turns into an organised world government—though as yet only in the form of two contending powers, threatening mankind with entire devastation—the fight for freedom of the

working class takes the form of a fight against State Power. Its strikes assume the character of big political strikes, sometimes universal strikes. Then the strike-committees need acquire general social and political functions, and assume the character of workers' councils. Revolutionary fight for dominance over society is at the same time a fight for mastery over and in the shops. Then the workers' councils, as the organs of fight, grow into organs of production at the same time.

Where We Stand

WE OPPOSE

The Tory Party—Nationalist-U.A.P. takes the name of "Liberal," but is still the old Conservative-Tory Party basically favoring "free enterprise" capital, and supporting the Conservatives of Britain and the "free enterprise" capitalism of U.S.A. In practice there is little difference between the Conservative "Liberal" and the Labor parties.

WE OPPOSE

The real Liberal Party in the guise of a Labor Party.

The Labor Party is now a Liberal-capitalist party.

Real Liberalism to-day [the Labor Party in particular] is throwing out a smoke screen of democratic aspirations to gain the support of wage-workers to its own particular brand of support for Australian industrial capital and for a system of State Capitalism as a support for Australian capitalism generally—a more or less benevolent overall regimentation that is paving the way to Industrial Feudalism.

This enables Tory Menzies to take the role of a liberator and offer a "come-back to a broad measure of freedom," the old basis of free enterprise capitalism. The Australian scene is but a miniature of the world-wide struggle of rival forms of capitalism. The two main contenders being U.S.A. and Russia, with Britain, New Zealand and Australia—the remnants of the once mighty British capitalist Empire—caught midway between this struggle for world power, and attempting to form a hybrid of both systems as National Socialism.

WE DO NOT SUPPORT

The plethora of reformers who more or less ably and pertinently expose and criticise the trend towards totalitarian national socialism.

Reform can no more remove the ultimate consequences of a competitive, exploitative capitalist system, than a lovely woman can for ever forestall the inevitable old age that will ravage her beautiful complexion, no matter what artificial aids and beautifying devices she employs to mask the age-ridden haggardness beneath.

These reformers see through the smoke screen of the Conservatives to their practice as but another facet of the same policy as National Socialism, i.e., the practice is very similar, and the goal of national supremacy is the same.

But in spite of this more or less clear and critical evaluation of the two major parties of capitalism, the reformers lose themselves in a spate of idealist aspirations incapable of practice, because they

in the main, give full support to the private ownership of property base upon which present policies are formed.

The reformers strain at gnats of effects, yet swallow camels of cause. They oppose effects, yet uphold the cause of those effects.

Some abhor war, yet do nothing to impede war. They pose as being loyal to the capitalist nation and ultimately, even though they oppose war in peace time, once the nation is engaged in war they mostly rush to enlist and give active and full support to combat or the auxiliary service of the Red Cross, the providing of social amenities and gift parcels of comforts for the Services, and chaplains to keep up the morale of the combatants, without which overall support the war effort would tend to weaken and perhaps peter out. Thus they actively SUPPORT WAR. They never try to come to an understanding of the material basic cause of war as arising from economic competition for supplies of raw materials and the selling of manufactured products in the world market.

The reformers mostly see the trickery in finance capitalism—but willfully will not see the money-trick in wages and the fundamental use of money of being but a means of exchange of the STOLEN PRODUCTS resulting from the exploitation of wage-labor; often because they are of the parasitical middle class dependent for their present livelihood upon the capitalist class they serve in multifarious ways.

The reformers see no wrong in primitive youthful capitalism, but find great fault in that capitalism cannot stay young, but grows up to an ugly old age. Their reforms, like beautifying cosmetics, only apply to the surface of things—their reforms can have no fundamental effects, even though they might delay temporarily the full effects of the capitalist system—they cannot stop the ravages of time and age, but, like the beauty of an old woman, supported by all the beautifying aids and techniques, must still eventually collapse and show the terrible ravages and poisonous effects of age and decay.

Liberal reform is but an attempt to delay the inevitable consequences of an exploiting system which is now seen in the world struggle for power and "security," and at home in constant industrial unrest.

THE "CRISIS" IN DEMOCRACY

Is but the age old struggle of rival exploitative systems and the oppositional struggle of the exploited.

Reformers, however, in the main, still uphold and support the property base of such exploitation.

WE SUPPORT

The possibility that this thousands of years old system of exploitation of productive labor can be changed to one of COMMON CO-OPERATION for the use and benefit of ALL.

WE AVER

Only by a Social Revolution—by sweeping away the ownership of property base upon which it rests, and whereby it is supported, can emancipation come to the working class and peace and plenty be the lot of all people.

NOTHING short of the Abolition of the Wage System and the taking over and holding in COMMON USE the Means of Production can suffice.

We therefore SUPPORT any move of self-help—self-reliance, of the working class towards that END.

AS TO THE SOCIALIST PARTY

We have long sought for the reason of the immobilisation of the Socialist Party after their initial attempt in contesting Melbourne Ports Federal seat in the House of Representatives about 1934—why they mostly rationalised the impulses implied by their revolutionary Object and Principles to comparative inaction as a small propaganda group, and caused opponents to allege that they ran away from the task they had set their hands and minds to.

Why is it that the S.P. of A. has now no drive left to become a Political Party? It would seem they are unduly suspicious of any individual member who emerges out of the ruck. One is always wiser after the event, of course. But when two at least of their members in the persons of J. Coull and W. Galvin (now Minister for Water Supply in the Cain State Labor Government of Victoria) showed keenness and ambitions for political limelight it would seem looking back that a concerted effort to use these individuals could have been made along with a concerted effort to improve their economic education and class consciousness. As it was these men were left in isolation, Coull to become the darling fellow-traveller of the Communists, who utilised his fiery class consciousness and soap-boxing abilities to the full, and pandered to his vanity so long as he veered nearer to their party line; Galvin to become a careerist, first in Bendigo municipal politics, and later as a Labor M.P.

That the S.P. of A. has become immobilised to be merely a critical, judicial committee considering the social scene in Australia is a veritable tragedy considering their Object and Principles. They have isolated themselves in suspicious

WHERE WE STAND

of all and every one who would depart from their present practice.

Is it that they recoil from the task growing every day more enormous due to the overwhelming effects of the changing system? The overwhelming trends of the forces of capitalism to mobilise the working class to its capitalistic purpose in which members of the Australian Labor Party who have the idea that the political way—the vote—and parliamentary action—is the only way to working class emancipation, become ready tools and their organisation the Labor Party and the trade unions become instruments to implement and carry out the trends to totalitarian State capitalism.

That this is so can be seen by the practice of the A.C.T.U. executive in always sacrificing the trade union revolt (against capitalist encroachment) to the needs of the Labor Government administration of capitalism. An extreme case is reported of an official of the Boilermakers' Union who even moved a motion that the trade union movement outlaw all strikes for the next three years in order to give full support to the Labor Government's policy. The incursions of Catholic Action are always to sacrifice the workers' struggle as unionists and steer it into full support of the political Labor Party.

The Socialist Party insistence that: "The emancipation of the working class will not come by industrial action, but only by gaining control of the machinery of government, through the vote, for the purpose of abolishing capitalism and establishing socialism" (see *Socialist Standard* leading article, p. 4, Jan., 1947), is too rejectionist of the admittance by one of its members (S. Willis) that industrial action and political action are necessary both to the other.

The TASK in the present state of ignorant apathy of the working class, probably seems so enormous—especially in their refusal to try and use elements not up to their own high standard of understanding—that many of the socialists seem content to be what Prof. Morvah calls "period and comma Marxists."

There are, however, some with a record of practice in the trade union movement, such as Stan Willis (Boilermakers), who gave an address on "Trade Unions To-day" to the Socialist Party of Australia on April 8, who can express a good case which recognises the intertwining of both industrial and revolutionary political action, but still fail to recognise that the odd class conscious unionist is so fed up with both Labor Party and Communist Party intrigue and double-dealing that he feels impotent and lost, in view of the almost universal opinion of both these parties, plus the Socialist Party's condemnation of non-use of using the vote for the emancipation of the workers.

Willis made a very earnest plea that in opposition to the Communists as a party unionists do not lose sight of the FACT that the present lock-out-strike struggle is a real struggle of the workers against the employers, and also against the incursion of the State on the side of the employers. Willis stated that the industrial action of the majority of the Communists in the present retail trades disputes was correct, and that the action of A.L.P. to help defeat the strike in order to destroy Communist Party prestige was treachery and reaction against the working class.

The Labor Party is one result of the viewpoint that the vote is the ONLY way for working class emancipation. A more realistic understanding of I.W.W. practice and Objective of BUILDING a New Order as the OPPOSITE to Capitalism—as the revolutionary OPPONENT to capitalist ownership and control with the aim of locking out the capitalist class, whilst also providing a better weapon to wage the everyday struggle—less unions—and MORE UNIONISM—would have saved the workers from the disaster that has overtaken the Australian Labor Movement and shackled the trade unions, as well as Political Labor, to capitalism, as part of the repressive framework of the system.

WE REJECT

Therefore we reject the assertion that: "The emancipation of the working class will not come by industrial action, but only by gaining control of the machinery of government, through the vote, for the purpose of capitalism and establishing socialism." We ACCEPT and assert Thesis IV of the Dutch Marxists in place thereof. (See page two.)

WE SUPPORT

THE I.W.W. STAND ON COMMUNISM

(Editorial reprinted from the *Industrial Worker*, 8/2/47)

"Where We Stand on Communism"

"The position of the I.W.W. toward the communists appears to confuse many. Some say we are communistic. Some say we break solidarity with our class to condemn the communists. So once again we try to make the situation clear.

"The confusion largely springs from the twofold origin of the communist movement. It considers itself a development of Marxism, and no matter how it has twisted and distorted this Marxism, its original source is in the old Marxist movement. On the other hand, communism as the world has known it for a generation, is an outcome of the experience of the Russian Revolution of 1917. These two aspects of its origin have chiefly determined its nature.

"With the Marxist strain in communism we, as union men, whether we be Marxists or not, have no occasion to quarrel. The whole character of modern social thinking, and especially of historic perspective and analysis, has been shaped by the studies and conclusions of Karl Marx—even of those who specialise in quarrelling with Marxism. Those unions that have done the most for labor have always been leavened with a large measure of this Marxian thought—that the struggle between classes is an honorable and historically dynamic fact, not to be hidden or denied; that the worker is essentially exploited as a producer and his battle for that reason essentially is in the sphere of production; that the social order is impermanent and destined to become a world run by workers and not by a parasitic class. This type of thinking makes for good unionism, and we have no quarrel with it, nor do we see how any unionist, no matter what his general philosophy of life may be, need quarrel with such essentials of the Marxian viewpoint.

"If such thinking fully characterized the communist movement, neither we, nor any body of unionists, would have much occasion to quarrel with them,

whether we agreed with them or not. Proof of that is that sundry groups, such as the various socialist movements, profess this teaching, and have been able for many generations to get along amiably with unions and all other labor groups.

"The difference between communism as an actual social movement, and this Marxism that it pretends to continue, is perhaps best explained by the Marxian historic analysis itself. Essentially the Marxian view of history is this: Man's institutions, economic and political, do not change very readily; they continue even when his social environment is changing, whether because of new inventions in a country, or because of the continuous process of historic change throughout the world that surrounds that particular area. Eventually a point of such extreme disequilibrium is reached between the old institutions or traditional ways of social, economic and political life, and the material environment to which they must be in proximate adjustment, that a critical change in institutional life occurs, known as a social revolution. Since the historic functions of this social revolution is to establish a new equilibrium between environment and institutions, the amount and direction of social change in such a social revolution is determined by the preceding lack of balance or adjustment—in short, by the circumstances out of which that revolution grew. Net result tends thus to be close to the minimum departure from tradition, habits, folk ways and institutional life in general that will remove the disturbances arising from the previous lack of balance.

"The communist movement that we have known for a generation proceeded not out of the writings of Marx, but out of the experience of the Russian revolution of 1917. This revolution grew out of the lack of adjustment that had developed between the old Tsarist regime and the modern world of giant industry, lords of finance, and modern imperialism. The lack of balance put the skids under Tsarism after three years of the strain of World War I. The folk ways and traditions and habits out of which it had to build were those of Tsarism, for the few months between March and November were far too short to change the habits and traditions of millions of people. Thus the communist movement is essentially the improvement and alteration upon Tsarism necessary to make the persistence of life in the modern world possible. If that is understood, the communist movement can be understood, both in Russia and in the world-wide antics of those who wish to project the social system of Russia over the rest of the world.

"The Soviet regime is an improvement over Tsarism—and that is about all that can be said for it. It did, for the time, and perhaps for some time to come, solve the practical historic problem that faced Russia, short though it may fall of the ideals of freedom and justice of those who originally built the Marxian and Revolutionary movement in Russia under the shadow of the Tsar. It is an able regime, whether you view it somewhat cynically as a more powerful despotism more effective in stifling disagreement than ever the Tsar could, or in terms of converting a crumbling national State into a militarily powerful national State, or whether in the more human terms of vastly improved literacy and industry, or a rising standard of living, risen above Tsarism no matter

how deplorable it may be.

"Those whose social enthusiasm and vision of the future is derived from what has been done in Russia benightedly wish to apply this program of modifying Tsarism to the necessary task of altering the social life of America and other countries with similar conditions and folk ways. It is about as helpful as the kind offer of an ox-cart wheel to the motorist who has a flat tyre. But it is unkindly and as obnoxious as all the pattern of Tsarism of which it is after all, but a modification.

"The future for us is one built upon the folk ways and traditions of demo-

cratic procedure, civil liberties, the right of free speech, and above all the ever-growing sense of unionism and solidarity. We of the west must mix our cake out of the ingredients at hand—and they are not the ingredients of Moscow—and the result cannot be, even should we wish it, the Russian outcome. We and the labor movement generally, whether they realise it or not, are impelled to conflict with the communist movement, because by its fundamental nature it is a despotic and cruel effort to lead the development of western history into utterly impossible paths. In that same circumstance can be found the reasons

why it succeeds best in those areas where the material circumstances are most akin to those that generated it in Russia in 1917.

"With the workers of Russia, as with our fellow workers here and in all lands, we are united by the concept of working class solidarity. We have every reason to wish them well, and to do whatever we can to prevent their masters and our masters from leading us to bomb each other and shoot holes in each other. But between the paths on which we must move ahead, and the course in which the communists would lead us, there is no common ground."

Timely Comment

BRITAIN'S BUDGET

Raises the price of cigarettes to two-pence each, and tobacco to about 3/4 an ounce. A Liberal commentator says Mr. Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, "displayed an appreciation of the present situation worthy of an enlightened capitalist." To safeguard living capitalism the death duties have gone in the direction of the elimination of family inheritances. The budget is another triumph of the London School of Economics. The British Labor Government is an active servant for capital.

FORTY-HOUR WEEK

During the 40-hour week case before the Arbitration Court it was stated by employers that it was cheaper to extend the factory and plant than to pay overtime rates for labor.

This, however, is relative. Where industry costs are standardised on the customary working day overhead costs are reckoned on that time basis. Most overtime work is pure buncce to the employer because the greater percentage of overhead costs are NOT included in the costs of production outside the customary working hours.

Again, where do the employers get the wherewithal to extend factory and plant in the case where it is cheaper to extend than to pay overtime rates? Out of the surplus extracted by the day workers, of course. So they plan only to hire for the customary working hours during which workers are fresh and efficient and do not get overtired as they do when working excess overtime hours.

The workers DEMAND a shorter working day. Whilst capitalism and the wages system continues the employers will have to adapt themselves and their processes to that FACT.

That they CAN do so and still exploit wage labor for a profit is PROOF that the workers can expect no real measure of relief under a wage system.

A policy of drift gets no organization anywhere. EFFORT, struggle; the attempting of the impossible, however, calls on plus reserves of endurance and initiative that DOES take an organization along.

Shrewd capitalists BELIEVE IN DIRECT ACTION—they call it realistic. It is time Labor learnt to be also realistic.

MY KINGDOM FOR A TON OF COAL

King Henry, in one of Shakespeare's plays, cries: "My Kingdom for a horse!"

Mr. Bevin says if he had exports of coal at his disposal his influence in Eu-

rope would be increased tenfold. So, the House of Commons decided to cut down the period of military conscripted service to 12 months, recognising that men in industry count for more than men in uniform. One cynic said "Britain is now in a mood to cease crying for the moon until she gets a longer ladder."

After the nationalisation of the coal mines in Britain on January 1 this year, the Daily Express, London, on Jan. 7, reported a case of one of the "people" who reputedly now "own the mines" of England, and who, because "he had no coal at home," helped himself, to some, with the result that he was had up in court for stealing "coal worth 1/6 belonging to the National Coal Board." The magistrate, binding him over, said: "The coal was now the property of the King, and stealing it was a serious offence."

POWER OF THE PRESS

Working Class Power must be organized both industrially and politically to WREST THE POWER OF DICTATORSHIP OUT OF THE HANDS OF CAPITALISM and Destroy It.

The power of the press to distort, to influence workers against workers, must be curbed in the workers' struggle for emancipation. This can be done to some degree by those working in the newspaper industry. The press is produced by workers, and is in the hands of the workers if they can be educated to a consciousness of class solidarity.

MELBOURNE NEWSPAPER STRIKE

Mechanical operatives (members of Vic. Printers' Operatives' Union) employed on Melbourne daily newspapers came out on strike on April 15 in a dispute over the non-payment of the 7/- increase on the basic wage. The newspaper proprietors interpret a clause in the agreement (made prior to the Court's judgment of the 7/- increase) that they need not pay this increase. The union has demanded that it be paid. In view of the fact that the 7/- increase in the basic wage has already been swallowed up by the continued lowering of purchasing power of the Australian £1, members of the V.P.O.U. have been doubly bilked. The strike was decided upon unofficially by the operatives on the daily press.

The Press Barons are quite prepared to lose thousands of pounds of paid advertisements rather than grant a few hundred pounds due to employees. Many issues were of only four pages, including Saturday's (usually 32 pages).

LIEUT.-GOV. INDICTS SOCIAL THIEVES

An indictment that CAN apply to the Federal Labor Government AND the employers of Australia was uttered by Sir Edmund Herring (ex-armed services, now Lieut.-Governor and Supreme Court Judge of Victoria) when he opened the annual State Conference of the Fathers' Association of Sailors, Soldiers and Airmen (April 15). He stated:

"It is all wrong that certain factions of the community should hold the entire population to ransom. . . . Everyone in the community could help to suppress dishonesty and suspicion."

The workers are mostly working under awards granted by the Arbitration Court or other tribunals. The purchasing power of wages when those awards were made was so much.

Since then by Currency Trickery and the Finance Policy of the Labor Governments that Purchasing Power has been HALVED. In effect, the workers HAVE BEEN ROBBED of more than half their real wage. . . . Moreover, the Arbitration Court granted a Basic Wage as the MINIMUM WAGE to be paid—the Labor Government deliberately forced the employers to DEDUCT a weekly sum from that wage, and the minimum wage paid over was less. What is less than a minimum? Answer: One of the causes of industrial unrest.

The employers, in spite of extraordinary lush profits, have backed up the Labor Government to the hilt in this robbery, and they and their press have directed the suspicion of the community upon the wage-workers! The victims have been doubly assailed.

The employers seek to depress the Australian standard of living to an all-time low in order to get a low-wage standard with which to compete with overseas industry. Any losses they incur in the struggle may be made good—even into a profit—by taxation rebates through averaging good and "bad" years of profit. It is ALL LOSS, however, to wage-workers.

The Employing Class and their sycophantic supporters take up the attitude of a footpad who, on robbing his victim, leaves him with a few coppers in his pocket, and on being accused of robbery by the victim is highly and "morally" indignant. The footpad says: "Have I not left you with your immediate current expenses? Be sensible, and go quietly and earn some more, and I will treat you as well in the future."

We, however, still intend to holler STOP THIEF! Even under the capi-