

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

An Organ of Industrial Unionism

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The Industrial Union Propaganda League

The X-Ray on Recent Conferences

MANIFESTO TO THE WORKERS OF AUSTRALIA.

Fellow-Workers:

Craft Unionism in Australia to-day presents a pitiful spectacle. Having failed to maintain the workers' standard of living during the war years, a period comparatively favourable for winning economic concessions, its utter collapse was to be expected when faced with the economic offensive which present conditions enable the employers to take. That Unionism as a fighting arm of the proletariat is at present in a state of complete breakdown nobody acquainted with its recent numerous compromises, defeats and reverses will deny. It is a fact that the Unions still exist, numerically as strong as ever, each bent on pursuing its own course, irrespective of the needs and requirements of the industrial movement as a whole, hoping against hope that it may somehow or other persuade the Arbitration Court of the "reasonableness" of its demands even though that of the only players, but for all practical purposes, the so-called organised Labor movement at the present moment lies prostrate at the feet of the Employing class.

The judges of the Arbitration Tribunals are not slow in taking advantage of this helplessness. Their readiness to study the "requirements of industry"—in other words, the maintenance of profits at the level of the war period—and their refusal to listen to any appeal for the amelioration of the workers' conditions, are not so much evidence of the true function of the institutions over which they preside as their arrogance and contempt for the workers when making their oracular pronouncements.

Far from exhorting a spirit of rebellion, this studied incoherence would appear to make craft union officialdom even more servile in its attitude. Whenever a spontaneous revolt occurs amongst the rank and file, frantic appeals are made by these officials for the observance of awards, and dismal pictures are drawn of the results which may follow in the trail of this or that functionary's displeasure. In periods of industrial activity, when a rise in wages must necessarily follow reduced competition in the labor market, these gentry point to the Arbitration Court as an institution specially ordained to improve the workers' standard of life, while as a matter of fact it acts as a drag, by the utterance of awards and agreements, on the upper trend of wages due to economic conditions temporarily favorable. On the other hand, when these conditions have changed, when unemployment is rife, and the employers open the attack, taking advantage of Labor's strange faith in Arbitration Courts, Craft Unionism through its officials raises a host of objections to any suggestion of concerted action, and allows the Unions to be defeated one by one in their reaction. Thus are the workers perpetually engaged between the upper mill and other millstones of the cowardly and vacillating policy of Craft Union leadership in times of economic pressure, and its utter inability to advance to the attack, even when circumstances are most favorable.

Now does the mere adoption of the O.B.U. Preamble by the A.W.U. and other organizations mean that a more militant spirit is manifesting itself so far as the officials of these Unions are concerned; much less does it show that the conversion of these organi-

zations into Unions organized along the lines of industry is seriously contemplated. On the contrary, recent developments in the Labor movement in Australia, and notably in the Melbourne and Brisbane Conferences, clearly show the shallowness and insincerity of those new converts to the principles of Industrial Unionism. The files of the Capitalist Press, as well as the so-called Labor Press of Australia, for the past ten years testify to the rabid and relentless hatred with which Industrial Union propagandists have been pursued by these self-same gentry, who now expect us to believe in their misadvised conversion. The adoption of the O.B.U. Preamble was merely an attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the militant element in the industrial movement by appearing to subscribe to revolutionary principles, while in reality determined to pursue the same old path—a path whose tortuous course is already strewn with milestones marking the lurches and betrayals of the working class of Australia.

It was recently remarked by the President of the Third International that the fate of the Capitalist regime depends on the attitude of the industrially organized workers and the success or otherwise of the influence exercised by their reactionary leaders. Nowhere can the truth of this dictum be better perceived than in Australia, and nowhere is there more need for a movement which shall exclusively devote its attention to the infusing of a new spirit of aggressiveness and militancy into the existing organizations, as well as actively participating in the work of transforming them into Industrial Unions.

The Industrial Union Propaganda League is being formed with this aim, and would direct the attention of all militant workers to the Programme of Action—published in this issue of "Direct Action"—recently adopted by the 1st Congress of the Red Trade Union International at Moscow, if for no other purpose than to contrast it with the emasculated policy of the recent A.U. Australian Trade Union Conference. No class-conscious worker will have any doubt that victory in his struggles against the coming onslaughts of the Capitalist class, as well as his ultimate emancipation, depends upon the success with which this programme, enshrined at Moscow by representatives of the world's proletariat, is translated into reality.

Fellow Unionists of Australia: The Industrial Union Propaganda League calls upon you to rally to the fight.

For further information apply to Tom Glynn, Hon. Secretary, Industrial Union Propaganda League, 101, St. James' Buildings, Sydney. (See.) TOM GLYNN.

(On behalf the Committee.)

SLOWING DOWN.

Now, Mr. "Marxist Scholar," when you read the above heading keep your fountain-pen in your pocket. For the present we know you are prepared to prove in less than six columns of print that slowing down "won't cure unemployment," won't "abolish Capitalism," and won't do any of the other hundred-and-ones things which you would like us to claim for it, but which we won't want to please you. For the present we merely content ourselves with remarking that it is a mighty good antidote to speeding up. Don't you think so? Try it.

Some months ago a Conference of the Unions in New South Wales was called together in the Sydney Trades Hall for the purpose of organizing "Industrial Groups" to meet the employers' attack on wages. The stated purpose of the Conference was to "get together" such Unions as were closely allied in any particular industry, so that any action decided upon might be of a concerted nature. The Conference assembled with a great flourish of trumpets, passed resolutions in galore, elected a State "Council of Action," expended a good deal of hot air, and if the boss is ever bluffed with words he had certainly reason to be uneasy. In addition to the expenditure of hot air, there was also, it is to be supposed, a considerable lay out in hard cash for delegates' expenses, but this might be said to be the only "advantage" which the Unions concerned got out of the business. Their officials had each added on to their already huge "screws." The "Industrial Group" scheme, which in the opinion of the Editors was "just as good" as Industrial Unionism, appears to have vanished utterly into the limbo of things forgotten.

Analysing the best of the elaborate make-believe of the "militant" officials of the New South Wales Unions came the Melbourne A.U. Australian Trade Union Conference, called together by the Secretary of the Australian Labor Party for the purpose of getting a "mandate" from the industrial movement. The "mandate" was forthcoming in the course, after the usual bombast and oratorical stunts of the assembled delegates, 99½ per cent of whom were either actual or budding politicians. Industrial Unionism was endorsed, and the O.B.U. preamble was adopted as the new principles which were to guide the working class movement. This, as a matter of fact, it was earnestly meant, instead of being a "mandate" for the Labor Party, would be its death-warrant, for what the making and having of the means of production by revolutionary action has to do with the petty bourgeois reform of the Labor Party, none of these present, either then or since, has condescended to explain. The Conference, however, fulfilled its real purpose, in so far as it served to momentarily restore the waning confidence of the workers in human politicians long since discredited, and in the reactionary Union bureaucracy, whose "sympathy" for the O.B.U. idea is translated into thousands of pounds expended on conferences, wordy resolutions, and nothing more.

Scarcely had the delegates to the Melbourne Conference finished enjoying their holiday at the workers' expense than another Conference was called in Sydney, this time to be called "The Organized Workers' Group" of New South Wales, to "consider" the doings of the Conference just concluded at Melbourne. Messrs. Willis and Garden were the chief promoters of this far-out. With two such stalwart industrialists, now, it was thought, something practical and tangible will be achieved for Industrial Unionism. But, alas for human hopes—and human frailty. The Conference resolved itself into a discussion, not on the methods to be followed in organizing the workers along the lines outlined in the O.B.U. preamble, but on the best means of selecting candidates from the various political Labor, Socialist and Communist parties for election to Parliament!

This Conference, too, served its real purpose. It was a whip held over the then forthcoming Conference of the Labor Party

of Brisbane by Willis and other members expelled from the Party in 1917. "Take us back into the fold," they said in effect, "or we shall organize a Labor-cum-Socialist-cum-Communist Party to emancipate—ourselves." The threat was serious. The prodigals have returned; the "fatted calf" has been killed; a thousand pounds has been voted to Willis and his "Council of Action" for their "propaganda" activities, and the most regrettable part of the whole proceeding is that men who call themselves Communists have allowed themselves to be used to further the ambitions of political adventurers of this kind.

In the meantime the Labor-Socialist-Communist Party, alias "The Organized Workers' Group" has disappeared, like its predecessor, "The Industrial Group," into Jack Garden's museum of freakish curiosities. The state-play of the Brisbane Conference itself is of no recent occurrence for it to require any X-Ray penetration. "The way was now clear," said one delegate, "for complete identity of interests and unity of purpose between industrialists and Parliamentarians," and so on. Seeing the "unity of interests and purpose" the O.B.U. preamble was unceremoniously flung out of the Conference doors. "To deal with it," remarked Theodore, "would make Conference look more ridiculous." The best way would be to treat it with contempt and send it back from whence it came."

So much for the hopes of those who believed that the Labor politicians and the Trade Union hierarchy of Australia were serious about Industrial Unionism.

There may be in the Trades Halls of Sydney and Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth a few officials who are genuinely desirous of seeing the present Craft organizations superseded by organization on more up-to-date lines, but it is no exaggeration to say that they could be counted on the fingers of both hands. When it is remembered that organization along industrial lines would mean the complete disintegration of most of the existing Craft Unions, perhaps it is too much to expect that Craft Union officialdom should be willing to commit job suicide.

It is obvious, therefore, that any movement making for Industrial Unionism in Australia must be an unofficial movement, that is to say, it must be a movement initiated and consummated by the rank and file. The Industrial Union Propaganda League aims to lead the way in this fight against the power of reaction, and not the least dangerous of these reactionaries are those who may now be styled the conference type of Industrial Unionists, men who, when the lime-light is switched on, are prepared to give lip service to Industrial Unionism so much per diem, but who secretly, and when they dare, usually place obstacles in the way of any movement which threatens the existing system of organization.

On every job committees should be in existence, whose duty it shall be to handle every grievance arising, irrespective of what section of the workers may be affected, and despite any antagonism or interference by Union officialdom. Where a strike of any section is imminent, every effort should be made to make it a job strike and not the strike of one Union. Better an strike at all than the sectional scabbery now of everyday occurrence. Cries of "discipline" will be raised by the officials, but these cries

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DIRECT ACTION

ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL UNION
PROPAGANDA LEAGUE OF
AUSTRALIA.

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Is It Reformist?

In an article entitled "Extremism and Opportunism," a writer in a recent issue of the "Bulletin Communiste" (Paris) comments on some proposals of the V.K.P.D. (the United Communist Party of Germany), which would seem to indicate that "Revolutionary Parliamentarism" has a wider significance than is thought by those who believe that it merely means the utilisation of the Parliamentary machine for propaganda purposes.

"The V.K.P.D.," says the writer, "has inaugurated a program, which is to be submitted to the Party Congress at Jena, concerning the financial situation in Germany. After having criticised the taxing proposals of the German Cabinet, the program formulates demands based on the immediate interests of the working class population of Germany. In opposition to the taxation proposals of the bourgeois-Socialist government, they propose a program of taxation striking at the great fortunes acquired during the war, and requiring that the State should participate in all capitalist enterprises, whether commercial, industrial or agricultural, in a proportion not less than 51 per cent. of their value. The scheme also recommends the strengthening of workers' control in production."

Commenting on these proposals, the writer remarks, inter alia:—

"Rid of the errors of the Left, committed during and after the March movement, the V.K.P.D. is now endeavouring to follow the line prescribed by the Third International, but it risks being drawn into the opposite of the program above-mentioned. In the struggles of March it was separated from the masses by the sterile radicalism of its appeals and its unfortunate tactics. Now it runs the risk of losing sight of the capital principles of Marxism, being too eager to seek contact with the great masses."

On the meagre material available, it might be premature to comment adversely on this new departure on the part of the Communist Party of Germany; but it is a development that will no doubt be watched with interest by members of the Communist Party of all lands, especially by those whose views on "Revolutionary Parliamentarism" are not so wide as to embrace the idea of taxing the boss out of business.

RECENT CONFERENCES—Continued from Page 1 should be ignored. Discipline is a thing good or bad in itself, and must be judged by its relation to other things. In every dispute of recent times between the rank and file and their officials, it will be found that the former were right from the working class point of view. "Direct Action" therefore, will not allow itself to be dragged into the fatuous chorus about discipline in this connection. Where the question of the adoption of the spirit, form and tactics of Industrial Union Propaganda League has merited the condemnation of all shades of "official" thought in the working class movement, condemnation which has found ready echo in the columns of the Capitalist press. This should be its best recommendation to the rank and file of wage workers, who have faith in their class, and whose past experience justifies their suspicions of would-be disciplinarians and self-appointed saviours.

The Red Trade Union International

PROGRAMME OF ACTION ADOPTED AT THE RECENT WORLD CONGRESS OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS AT MOSCOW.

(Translated from the "Bulletin Communiste" by Tom Glynn).

The sharp crisis which rages in the economy of the entire world, the catastrophic decline in wholesale prices, the over-production of commodities (which, in fact, coincides with a scarcity), the aggressive policy of the bourgeoisie towards the working class, the determination to reduce wages and to lower the workers' standard of living; on the one side, the irritation of the masses which necessarily follows, and, on the other, the impotency of the old unions and their methods—all these facts place new tasks before the revolutionary unions of every country. New methods are necessary in conformity with the period of capitalist disintegration; the workers must adopt an aggressive economic policy in order to repel the capitalist offensive, fortify their old positions, and pass to the attack.

The direct action of the revolutionary masses and their organisations constitute the basis of union tactics. All victories of the workers are in direct relation to the revolutionary pressure and direct action of the masses. Under the term "direct action" must be understood all sorts of direct pressure exercised by the workers on the employing class and the State, such as the boycott, the strike, street demonstrations, occupation of factories, strenuous opposition to the conveyance of goods to or from scab enterprises, and other revolutionary acts calculated to unite the working class in its struggle for communism. The task of Revolutionary Unions therefore, in making direct action a means of preparation and education of the working masses with a view to the struggle for the Social Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Recent years of the class struggle have shown only too strong evidence of all the weaknesses of craft unionism. The simultaneous adhesion of workers in one industry to several unions weakens them in their struggles. We must pass from purely sectional organisation to organisation by industry, and this must be the starting point for the battle in the field of working class organisation. The fusion of similar unions must be advocated by all local and regional conferences, and the question should be raised directly in all unions.

Every factory and workshop ought to be the bastion, the fortress, of the revolution. The old form of bond between unionists and their unions should be replaced by the creation of workshop and factory committees. These should be elected by all the workers in an enterprise, irrespective of the unions they belong to, and whatever be the political conviction of the workers. The task of the supporters of the Red Trade Union International is to win over the workers into taking part in the election of their representatives on such committees. Attempts to have revolutionists alone elected on job committees have a tendency to prejudice the sympathy masses. These attempts must be categorically condemned. Revolutionists should form propaganda groups and endeavor to influence by these groups the action of ordinary members, committees, and general meetings.

One of the first tasks that must be proposed to the workers is the maintenance, at the expense of the employers, of the workers dismissed from an industry. In no case should it be tolerated that the workers should be thrown into the street without the establishment in which they were employed further troubling itself about them. The employer should support the unemployed belonging to his establishment, and it is around this pivot that the out-of-work, as well as the actual workers in the industry, must be organised. At the same time it must be explained that the question of unemployment cannot be solved within the framework of capitalism, and that the only solution for unemployment is the social revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

A struggle should also be made against the closing down of industries, and the workers should hold an enquiry into the causes in each case, as the closing of enterprises is often the means of getting rid of revolutionary elements. Special committees of control should be created relating to raw material, fuel, orders, materials necessary to production, and the financial resources deposited in the banks. These committees should give special attention to the question of the financial relations between the industry in question and other enterprises, and the abolition of commercial secrecy submitted to the workers as a practical task.

One of the means by which the struggle against the closing down of industry, which has for its object the reduction of wages and the aggravation of the conditions of labor, may be carried on is by the occupation of the factories and the continuance of production in spite of the employer. Where an actual scarcity of commodities exists, it is particularly important to prevent every stoppage of production. Conformably to local conditions, the general conditions of production, the political situation, and the intensity of the social struggle, the seizure of the industries should also be accompanied with other methods of action against capital. The management of an enterprise should be put into the hands of the factory or workshop committee and of representatives specially selected by the Union.

The economic struggle must be carried on with increased wages and amelioration of the conditions of labor as a watchword. The attempts to restore pre-war conditions ought to be fought in the most decisive and revolutionary manner. The exhaustion experienced by the working class during the war should now find its compensation under the form of higher wages and better conditions. The excesses of the capitalists on the question of foreign competition should be given no consideration. Revolutionary Unions must not approach the question of wages and conditions from the point of view of competition between the profiteers of the different nations, but from the point of view of the protection of living labor-power.

In case of the capitalist attack on wages coinciding with an economic crisis in the country, the Revolutionary Unions should not permit a successive reduction of wages in each industry, and must not allow themselves to be beaten in separate detachments. It is essential from the beginning to draw into the struggle the workers employed in public utilities—mining, railways, electricians, gas-workers, etc. In order that the struggle against the capitalist offensive may strike at the vital nerves of the economic organisation. Here all forms of resistance are necessary, and conform to the aim in view, from the partial and intermittent strike to the general strike extending to some great industry on a national plan.

The Unions should take in hand as a practical task the preparation and organisation of international action through the industries. The stoppage of transport or coal-mining on an international scale is a potent weapon in the struggle against the reactionary attacks of the world's bourgeoisie. The Unions must follow world events with attention, in order to choose the most propitious moment for their economic offensive. They should never forget for a single moment that striking on an international scale is possible by the creation of revolutionary class unions, unions which must have nothing in common with the yellow International of Amsterdam.

The faith in the absolute value of contracts, propagated by the opportunists of all countries, must be met by the most bitter and decided resistance by Revolutionary Unions. The contract is merely an armistice. Employers break contracts every time the possibility presents itself. A religious respect for contracts exists only to the extent to which bourgeois ideology has penetrated the minds of Labor leaders. Revolutionary Unions, while not renouncing contracts, should remember their relative value, and should boldly face the question of breaking these contracts every time it is advantageous for the working class.

The struggle of workers' organisations against the individual and collective employer ought to adapt itself to local and national conditions. All the experiences of the working class struggle for liberation should be utilised. Thus, every important strike ought not only to be well organised, but the workers, from its beginning, should create special machinery for the struggle against strike-breakers, and in order to protect themselves from the provocative attacks of the reactionary organisations of all shades supported by the bourgeois State.

The Fascist in Italy, similar organisations in Germany, the organisation of "civil leagues" formed from ex-officers and ex-army men in France and England—all these organisations have for their object the disorganisation and defeat of all working class action, a defeat which not only finds expression in the simple replacement of the strikers, but in the sheer overthrow of their organisations and in the massacre of the leaders of the working class movement. In these conditions the organisation of special bands of strikers, of special detachments for working class defence, is a question of life or death for the workers.

The fighting organisations thus created should not limit themselves to the struggle against the strike-breakers and the organisations of the employer, but should charge themselves with the stoppage of all material destined for the factories and workshops on strike, and should resist the transfer of orders to other countries. The transport unions are called upon to play an important role in this respect; it devolves upon them to stop the transport of material, and this is impossible of realisation without the unanimous aid of all those in a given region.

The coming economic struggle of the working class should be concentrated on the question of control of production, and should not wait upon some substitute for control invented by the government or the ruling class. Revolutionary Unionism must resolutely wage war against the swindle put forward in the name of socialism by the leaders of the old unions with the approval of the bourgeoisie. All the verbiage of these gentlemen concerning peaceable socialisation has for its aim to lead the workers away from revolutionary action and from the Social Revolution.

In order to distract the workers' attention from their immediate task, and to awaken in them petty bourgeois desires, they place before them the idea of participation in profits, that is to say, restitution to the workers of a meagre part of the surplus value created by them. This should receive severe and implacable criticism. "No participation in the profits, but destruction of Capitalist profit," such is the watchword of Revolutionary Unionism.

The Revolutionary Unions that fight for the amelioration of the conditions of labor, for the raising of the standard of life of the masses, for the establishment of workers' control, must remember that all these problems cannot be solved within the framework of capitalist society. Whilst wringing concessions step by step from the ruling class, they should also place clearly before the working masses the fact that it is alone by the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, that the social problem can be solved. No partial strikes or conflicts should be allowed to pass by without leaving traces of this in the view. The Revolutionary Unions must generate these conflicts in constantly impressing upon the mentality of the ordinary worker the necessity and inevitability of the Social Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

IT IS UP TO YOU.

We intend to make "D.A." a weekly soon. How soon depends on YOU. Send along your sub. or a donation to the Press Fund.

A SHAVISM.

"What is the matter with the Poor is Poverty. What is the matter with the Rich is Uselessness."

The Organisation of Workers' Committees

(We publish the following article by J. R. Campbell from the Glasgow "Worker," official organ of the National Workers' Committees in Great Britain. There is a striking similarity of the industrial and political movements of the working class between Great Britain and Australia, and most of what is said here in the Trade Union movement in Great Britain applies with equal force to this country. We have taken the liberty of emphasising that portion of the article which we specially commend to the serious consideration of our Communist "critics.")

It is now a commonplace of Labor propaganda that we are living in one of the most critical periods in the history of the working class. For better or for worse the conditions of the workers for a very long time to come are going to be determined by the issue of the present struggle. The struggle is not entirely unexpected, though it has been entirely unprepared for. For a long time past the active Trade Unionists have been warning their fellows of the impending struggle, and iterating and reiterating the need for preparation. Their warnings have fallen upon deaf ears. The mass of the workers, as usual, were interested in almost everything excepting their social welfare. They were content to let the extremist preachers to his heart's content while they slouched past in an attitude of blasphemous amusement. The result is that the leaders and the bulk of the rank and file of British Trade Unionism have been found asleep at their posts. They have been completely surprised at the mass attack of the employers. To-day they have not the faintest idea of what to do except to await the march of events with a feeling of mingled bewilderment and hopelessness. Meanwhile the attack at one sector of the front has passed beyond a mere attack on wages, and has become an attack on Trade Unionism itself. The employers in the Glasgow docks are fighting for the right to employ scab labor, even if there are thousands of Trade Unionists at the docks who previous to the strike were getting little or no work. This incident points to the logical development of the struggle. First the attack is made on the standard of life built up by Trade Unionism. Then the attack is made on the institution itself. That is the situation which we are rapidly reaching to-day. The employers are not merely prepared to strangle the further growth of Trade Unionism, but they are prepared to shatter those protective organisations which the workers possess and leave them helpless before the great employers' federations and combines. Faced with a situation like this our old methods of organisation built up in periods of social peace become dangerous and foolish. The old objectives for which we have struggled become largely irrelevant, while our most precious catchwords become like phrases quoted from a document of a forgotten age. In these circumstances the most disastrous thing that could happen to the Labor movement would be the failure to adapt itself to the new situation. It is either change or decay as far as the union movement is concerned. What is therefore required is a thorough overhauling of the union movement. The ruthless scrapping of all forms of structure and leadership which hinder the working class exerting its full strength in the struggle.

The Defects and the Remedies.

If we accept that standard of judgment, then we will have no difficulty in seeing through the defects of present day industrial organisation. The machinery of unionism is machinery which creates division amongst the workers instead of creating solidarity. It secures the domination of the members by the permanent officials instead of the permanent officials by the members. Its outlook is one which treats the capitalist system as a permanent thing in human affairs instead of something which has now outlived its usefulness and is therefore ripe for overthrow. It preaches class conciliation instead of class conflict, and fails to realise that power is the final arbiter in the struggle of the classes. All of those defects are removable given the necessary

will amongst the advanced men of the working class. And economic conditions are forcing that will to manifest itself. "Improve your organisation for the struggle or accept defeat and slavery" is the lesson being preached by the facts of our industrial life to-day. "Wee unto the vanquished."

In order to scrap the obsolete machinery of the movement and bring it thoroughly up to date a relentless war has to be waged upon the union movement against the forces of conservatism. The stick-in-the-mud attitude of conservatism is a tremendous barrier, and when it is allied with the interests of the Labor bureaucracy it is well nigh immovable. Only the most determined organisation within the movement of all the active industrial rebels will effect the reorganisation of unionism in time to save the workers from black disaster. Those active men in Trade Unionism may not see eye to eye on all the details of social philosophy (and only a stupid and intolerant petty bourgeoisie would postpone the reorganisation of Trade Unionism until they did). All that we can do is to get a measure of agreement in industrial policy around which those who are sincere Communists, Syndicalists, S.P.'ers, I.L.P.'ers, will probably be found to agree on most of the essentials of Trade Union reorganisation, however much they may disagree in a wider sphere, and if they are to act together it must be through a rank and file organisation wide enough to embrace them all. We are far from denying the necessity of a powerful Communist Party acting as the general staff of the working class movement. But we are insisting that the immediate struggle against the reactionary influence in Trade Unionism must be carried on by an organisation wide enough to embrace all industrial rebel elements. If the industrial movement is to be controlled by the party, then the industrial groups of the party must work within this wider organisation, and fight against any tendency to drift in a direction dangerous to Communism. The party industrial groups must not imagine, however, that the non-Communist industrial rebels or the mass of the Trade Unionists are going to concede the direction of the industrial movement to the party as a "right." The only way in which dictation of the party can be secured is by the party members displaying their ability to understand and handle situations, and to build up the moral authority of the party by showing the mass of the industrial workers that it is able to effectively lead them in a crisis. This cannot be done by manifesting a spirit of petty sectarianism to other industrial rebels, but in co-operating with them in the fight and endeavoring to secure the leadership by displaying the capacity for that leadership.

The Building of the Committees.

At its inception the Workers' Committee was purely a workshop organisation, and has functioned as such up till the Sheffield conference. While adhering to the necessity for unofficial workshop organisation, especially in industries where sectarianism is prevalent, it is also anxious to mobilise those scattered forces working through the union branches. It is therefore setting up union branch groups wherever there is a group of rebels who feel the necessity for the same.

The Local Workers' Committee is therefore a committee of representatives from workshop groups or a committee of union branch groups or a combination of both. It is not so much an organisation for general propaganda at the street corner as an organisation for special propaganda at the work rates or the branches. Wherever there is sufficient branch or workshop groups in an industry, then an industrial section is formed which will elect national officials, and will be allowed to work out a policy for dealing with its own particular industry so long as it does not run counter to the principles of the general organisation. The local committees are then grouped together in districts, divisions, and nationally.

One of the most important means whereby the propaganda of such an organisation can be carried on (in addition to workshop pro-

More Wild Lies

A strange rumour was current in Sydney lately to the effect that the Third International had instructed all its adherents, on pain of expulsion, to withdraw their membership from the organised unions, on the ground that they were "totally at variance with the principles and tactics of the Third International." Any movement tending towards industrial Unions as opposed to Craft Unions is specially singled out for condemnation, such movements being declared "bogus" and not "in the interests of the working class." The Communist Party in each country, so the story runs, fulfills every requirement in the working class movement, and hopes to accomplish the revolution on its own without the aid of the industrially organised workers. Personally, we believe the whole story to be another wild lie, though from recent developments it would appear that Communist circles in Sydney attach considerable importance to it.

Another incredible report comes from France, to the effect that, following the instructions of the Executive of the Communist Party in that country, the Syndicalist Revolutionary Committees had ceased all propaganda activity, it being declared that such activities are merely "organised competition with the Communist Party." Of course, there may be no foundation for this report.

From Spain comes another rumour, most likely false, to the effect that a million or so Syndicalists in that country take strong exception to their fellow workers, who died in the defence of the Republic, being labelled, being stigmatised as "boneheads" and "counter-revolutionists" by men who were learnedly discussing "tactics" in comfortable armchairs while the fight was on.

Italy, too, furnishes its wireless quota, and we are told on the worst of authority that the C.G.T. in that country has gone into liquidation. Its printing plants throughout Italy, says the lying liar, were all burnt, not by the Fascists, but by orders of the Executive of the Communist Party, who held that Communist papers could not be sold while such competition existed.

A very unauthentic message from America states that the "Industrial Worker," "Solidarity," "The Industrial Pioneer," and other I.W.W. publications have ceased to function by request of the Executive of the C.P. of America, until such time as the Party was strong enough to "intelligently direct" them. The latter has described Joe Hill, Frank Little, Wesley Everest and others as "counter-revolutionists" who knew nothing about "the principles of Marxism." Of course, the whole thing is a damned lie.

Still another canard comes from England, stating that the Executive of the Communist Party of Great Britain has discovered that the National Workers' Committee movement was "a rival political party," with the same objective as its own, declared it "bogus" and sent it orders to get out of business forthwith. On calling to England about this matter we received the following reply:—

"The report that the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain has sent me is without foundation."

In Sydney itself it was stated that, well—

Ring Down the Curtain.

paganda) is propaganda through the union branches. The propaganda work of the local committees will be tested not by the number of street corner meetings which they are able to hold, but in the number of local branches of unions that they are able to persuade to listen to their speakers. Local conferences of Trade Union branches can also be called where the delegates will have all the positions of the places before them so that they can report back to their branches. By those means interest can be stimulated and the organisation built up.

The putting forward of a constructive policy throughout the branches and workshops of any industry is facilitated by the national organisation of the Workers' Committee. Hitherto the rebel elements in many industries have worked in isolation from each other, often without a concerted policy. The Workers' Committee movement is desirous of bringing all the fighting elements together, industry by industry, union by union, in order that their strength shall be concentrated and a united effort put forward for revolutionising Trade Unionism.

"Back to Industrial Organisation"

Under the above heading, "R.W.E." contributes his quota as follows. Why "back" we don't know. Rather should we say "forward":—

"After some years of reaction and travail some of the brightest minds in the working class movement of Australia are once again turning their attention to the scientific organisation of the working class. All revolutionaries in the working class movement agree that the ultimate success of reconstructing an economic basis for a new and higher form of civilisation depends upon the organisation of the working class. Admittedly industrial organisation is not the complete solution of the labor problem. A properly industrially organized working class is the wage-earners' contribution to the new civilisation. We have learnt a few lessons during the last five years. We have been more tactful in many ways. We shall ultimately have to gain the confidence of the technicians, the managers, and all those who possess any specialised skill or knowledge in the running of industries. We shall have to appeal to those people through our industrial organisations. Show them that by our class organisation and self-discipline that the working class have the necessary power to ensure economic security to all useful people in society.

To all thinking people the social problem is: How can labor-power, human ingenuity, technical skill and executive ability be applied to the natural resources of the earth, so that food, clothing and shelter may be enjoyed in abundance by all? Also that all men should be free to choose the profession in which to develop their higher faculties. These are the ideas that have to be propagated on every job and in every workshop in Australia. The workers, irrespective of their craft, will have to organise on the lines that modern industry has already laid down for them. Industry is a social process. We wish to make it more social. The employers unconsciously help to organise industry for the day when it will become easier for the workers to take control. Coolly and calmly, the industrialists of Australia must be fitting themselves to take control of industries. The Labor movement of Australia is in a middle of reaction, of disorganization, of never-ending manifestos and Trade Union Conferences, which are really a confession of weakness. Under the Trade Unionism there is a revolutionary resolution to-day, cheer Moscow, and tomorrow go to the Arbitration Court or accept a reduction in wages.

The A.W.U., which is to be the O.B.U. of Australia, has absolutely no idea of industrial organisation or revolutionary idealism. As an immediate step we must at once boycott the Arbitration Court, and meet the masters at the most important round-table conferences, outside State interference. Working class representatives must say, "Gentlemen, Labor has come of age; we are here to claim our heritage, the ownership and management of industries for a social purpose." Arbitration Courts only make awards for those who are lucky enough to get a job. We want the movement to be most precious thing in the world—human labor. We must make up for the lost time that the working class of this country has been cheating the revolutions of other countries and not putting its own house in order. We must take every opportunity we get of showing firmly and methodically that the movement is made up of earnest men and women, who scorn and repudiate the system of wage slavery. We are human beings, not work beasts. No longer will we be treated as commodities. Therefore back to industrial organisation and translate our ideas into action.

THE ONLY WAY.

Only by class-conscious organisation can those who produce from their toil and sweat, out of their suffering and starvation, all the wealth of the world, be able to enjoy the fruits of their labor and build a new world of happiness and freedom. Only by class-conscious organisation can they cast from their shoulders the overwhelming dead-weight of profit. Only by class-conscious organisation and international solidarity can they escape the old captivity, strike of the old chains. The present is a time of bitter education, but his lesson is plain. Can the workers fall to profit by it?—Exchange.

Industrial Unionism and Political Action

We read and hear much about the necessity of Political Action to overthrow the capitalist state, but little about Industrial Organisation. "Industrial Organisation" is necessary, or "We agree that Industrial Organisation is a factor," etc. These phrases are said in a manner which conveys the idea that the matter is of little importance. The fact is that the matter is met with actual hostility. The truth is, the revolutionary movement is more concerned with what is called Political Action—a much misrepresented phrase, the cause of considerable confusion in the working class movement. Let us try to clear up this confusion.

Political Action for years past has been understood to mean sending members to Parliament to legislate Capitalism out of existence. This phrase has always been associated with constitutionalism, and is still regarded as such by the average worker. There has been no doubt about its meaning. The Socialist Parties advocated it, as the Labor Party is doing to-day. Daniel De Leon, the great opponent of the Chicago I.W.W., interpreted Political Action as a peaceful trial of strength per medium of the ballot box. (See "As to Politics," etc.) This is the meaning that is the real basis of that "peaceful trial of strength," and to-day many of the Socialists and some of the Socialist Parties repudiate the idea that a revolution can be accomplished by means of the ballot box. Those who have done so and admit their mistake are to be congratulated.

To-day Political Action is still being advocated as the means to overthrow Capitalism, but a new meaning is given to the term, meaning that it is the real basis of that peaceful trial of strength. It is any action directed to overthrow the capitalist system is Political Action. In fact, according to the modernised construction, it means anything from a general strike to an armed insurrection. Direct Action is Political Action.

Now can we see why so much confusion exists. The Parliamentary Labor Party is advocating Political Action, and the Revolutionists use the same word to convey a meaning that is the very reverse of that of the Parliamentarians. For a clear differentiation between reformism and revolution it would be well if the words, Political Action, were dropped, even if Marx did use the term to mean what is meant by the revolutionist when he uses it.

Now as to Industrial Unionism and the overthrow of Capitalism, and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the working class. Instead of Political Action I shall use the word Revolutionary Action.

The conditions for a successful revolution in highly industrialised developed countries and the establishment of the "Dictatorship of the Working Class" demand the organisation of the workers as a class in Industrial Unions.

Industrial Unionism will ultimately be the "structure of the new society." By organising industrially we are organising the army of production for the every day struggle, as well as to carry on production when Capitalism is overthrown. We must have an organisation to take the place of Capitalism, for without such an organisation we will have to let the failure to supply the economic wants of society will assist the success of a possible counter-revolution.

"The Dictatorship of the Proletariat" means the rule of the working class organised as the ruling class. When by organising the workers in Industrial Unions we are organising the future "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Industrial Unions will largely constitute the "Soviets" of Australia. Revolutionary Action without the Labor Unions of the workers of Australia is an empty meaningless phrase. It is as absurd as to think in terms of the Russian "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" without recognising the structure and role of the Soviets.

The Industrial Union Propaganda League, recognising that the sentiment for Industrial Unionism is strong in the present sectional unions (a sentiment due to the past activity of the I.W.W.), and that the reactionary officials either want to keep the present form of organisation or turn the One Big Union sentiment into channels best suited themselves) is attempting to organise the

J. B. King at Lithgow

Lithgow "Mercury" of November 9 contains the following report of a meeting addressed in that slave-ridden centre by J. B. King on the previous Saturday evening:—

CAPITALISM AND ECONOMIC CRISIS.

Messrs J. B. King and Tom Glynn, representing the Industrial Union Propaganda League of Australia, were in Lithgow over the week-end, and arrangements were made for them to address public meetings under the auspices of the State Coal Mine Branch of the League. Mr. King, who was introduced by Mr. Shilrow, addressed a meeting at the corner of Main and Bank Streets on Saturday night, the subject being "The Present Economic Crisis." The speaker said the human race had passed through many phases of development. Under a system of production, where changes are gradual, some institutions remain constant, or nearly so, for long periods. All institutions were based upon the mode of production and the distribution of wealth. The mode of production under our existing system was undergoing rapid changes. The capitalist system had been considered by society as being the best means of supplying the economic wants of the people. Capitalism had now reached a stage in its development when it could no longer supply the people as a whole with employment. When a system could no longer afford security to the people as a whole, it became incompatible with the interests of society, and must give way to a new system of organisation. The four potent factors which pointed infallibly to the immediate collapse of capitalism were: (1) The instability of the monetary system; under a system of private ownership; values must exchange for values. Money, like other commodities, possesses a value; and, like the value of other commodities, its value is determined by the amount of labor time embodied in it. During the recent war the gold reserves of the various countries involved were shipped principally to the United States, thus reducing the security of the monetary system. (2) Another powerful factor in reducing the value of money was the issuing of notes. The world's monetary system had been over-loaded with notes and bonds, and this was directly responsible for the increased cost of living. (3) The third factor making for the collapse of the system was the shrinkage of the international market. Since 1914, many countries, such as Russia, which were consuming a vast amount of surplus commodities, had been driven out of the market. Other countries, owing to stress of the war, were compelled to bring their own industries. That had been responsible for reducing the demands of the international market more than 50 per cent. The National consumption of Great Britain for the official year ended June, 1921, was 54 per cent. less than during the year ended June 30, 1914. Capitalism was a system based upon surplus values, and in order to keep the wheels of industry in motion it was positively essential to find a market for the surplus product of labor. This, of course, was no longer possible, and the employment of the working classes depended, in turn, upon the capitalist finding a market for his surplus wares. The fourth factor was the lack of ability on the part of the capitalist system to extend it. It had now actually reached a stage when it could be characterized as having over-developed. Statistics showed that the working class received only one-sixth of the product of its labor; the other five-sixths went to the capitalist class in the form of surplus values. In pre-war days a portion of the surplus products of labor were used in the further development

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A Name--Or a Fact?

Some people object to the term, "Dictatorship of the Proletariat." It is too harsh; it may alienate some of those we must have with us to win; it may be twisted into something else; it may be used by the powers that be to prove we are illegal and violent; it may be any of a thousand things, they say.

But why mine matters? The working class is going to take the industries and operate them in their own interest. The working class is going to dictate the terms on which anyone shall be permitted to use the industries or receive the benefits from them. Why not say what we mean? We are not counting a haphazard schoolgirl who must be spoken to in riddles. We are out for emancipation. The ownership and operation of the industries is a necessary means for that emancipation.

Suppose the ownership, operation and control of the industries is called by some more gentle name? The name of the thing will make no difference in the fact. The fact is that the capitalists must be cut off from their means of taking what the workers produce. Of course they and their henchmen will squeal, while the dictators will advise more diplomatic language. But the squealing will be the result of the separation of the exploiters from their source of unearned income. The name is nothing. The fact is everything.

The phrase, "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," may not be the best to express what will be done, but it has come to mean something definite. The preliminary conference of the revolutionary trade and industrial unions in Berlin last December adopted the term, "Demolition of the Working Class." The phrase is nothing. By the time we are ready to take over the industries in this country we may be using the term, "Boss the Job."

But regardless of the term used, the definite fact is that the working class of the United States has about reached the point where none but workers will direct the destinies of the people of the nation. Call their action what you will—"Industrial Worker."

THE PHILOSOPHICAL ARTHUR.

"The submarine is the defensive weapon of the weak, and it might be desirable to abolish submarines altogether." Thus Arthur 5-Belton, Britain's spokesman at the Washington Conference. It is, on the whole, a fairly good definition of British Imperialism. "Might is Right," says John Bull in Ireland, Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, and a host of other lesser known places where "the weak" have no right to exist. This statement of Belton's should sink home with those pacifists who fondly hope that the Washington Conference really desires Peace. To cheapen existing methods of subjecting the human race to still further exploitation by a handful of International pirates is its real object. Under Capitalism there is no respect for "the weak." Which is why the Boss treats your thump Union with contempt, B.B.

of capitalism; to-day, a further development of capitalism would under the system, mean a waste of capital, and would result in bringing about keen competition on the markets of the world. The trend of capitalism had always been to eliminate competition, and it was not likely that it would encourage further expansion.

The speaker concluded by declaring that the working classes must seriously consider the immediate need for re-constructing their organisations. The day of craft unionism had passed. They must now consider the needs of their class, and instruct their organisations along lines that run parallel with modern development. Workers must realise that the capitalist class was a disorganised class in industry. The technical knowledge and physical energy required to supply the economic wants of society were owned by the working class, but used by the capitalist class. Industrial unionism was a form of organisation best suited to protect the interests of the workers and to bring them and prepare them for carrying on the work after capitalism was overthrown.

On Sunday night Mr. Glynn addressed an open air meeting, and a branch of the organisation was also formed.

Aims and Methods of the Industrial Union Propaganda League

Name.
The name of the organisation shall be the Industrial Union Propaganda League of Australia.

Objective.
The objective of the League shall be the overthrow of the Capitalist system and the establishment of a Working Class Dictatorship, to protect the workers in their task of reconstructing society on the basis of the common ownership and control of the means of production.

Methods.
1. To work within and without, the existing trade union movement for the purpose of superseding the present sectional organisations by an organisation of the working class on industrial lines.

2. To form groups from actual members of the League, whose duty it shall be to utilize every opportunity arising in their respective Unions or on the job for furthering the propaganda of the League.

3. To co-operate with all other revolutionary bodies willing to assist in the propaganda of Industrial Unionism.

4. While actively taking part in the daily struggle for the economic needs of the working class, to unceasingly stress the necessity of the industrial movement co-ordinating all its activities for attaining the Objective of the League as the only means of emancipating the workers from economic and social servitude.

Membership.
Membership shall be open to all wage-earners who are financial members of existing Unions and who subscribe to the objects of the League.

(For further particulars as to the formation of branches, fees and dues, etc. apply to the Secretary.)

Latest Frame-up in U.S.A.

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, two Italian "Reds" in the United States, are the latest victims of American "Justice" as she is interpreted by the bloodhounds of Capitalism in the land of the Almighty Dollar. Found guilty in July last of the murder of the bagmaster and pay-roll guard of the Slater and Morrill Shoe Company, South Braintree, Massachusetts, they are now under sentence of death. The evidence against them is so suspicious, and their arrest, trial and sentence are so obviously the outcome of their activities as labor agitators, that not alone in the United States, but in England, France, Italy, and other European countries, forcible protests have been made by the organized workers against this fresh outrage on the militant proletariat of America.

The New York "Republic" and the New York "Nation" neither of them Labor publications, strongly condemn the jury's verdict. The fact that both accused "evaded the draft" during the war was labored by the prosecution, and the judge in his summing up made the usual Pockenshiffan appeal in such cases as the "loyalty" of the jury. The evidence of the "loyalty" was shown to be a farce, and their conviction and sentence appear to rest on the fact that they were both found in possession of revolvers at the time of their arrest. An expert from the company which manufactured the revolver found on Sacco testified that the bullets which caused death could not have been fired by this revolver. This evidence was corroborated by other expert evidence for the defence, but notwithstanding this the prosecution, as was to be expected, found no difficulty in procuring "expert" evidence to the contrary.

Labor organisations throughout the world are demanding a new trial for the convicted men, and "Direct Action" hereby suggests that it is up to the working class organisations of New South Wales to do their bit.

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