

THREEPENCE.

"Slowly but surely it is coming to be realised in the Labour Movement that economic organisation is more than merely helpful to the attainment of better conditions; that it is not only a means, but the chief means, whereby progress can be made."—Tom Mann.

The Axe to the Root

Industrial Unionism
and—
Workingclass
Political Action.

By the Late JAMES CONNOLLY

(Shot by order of the authorities owing to participation
in the recent Irish Rising).



Published by arrangement with the Author by
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF VICTORIA,
283 Elizabeth Street, Melbourne.

1916

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and Jenkinson, Printers, Queen St., Melbourne

Socialist Party of Victoria

PRINCIPLES.

The Socialist Party of Victoria looks forward to the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, in which land and capital shall be managed by those who use them in the interests of the whole community, to the end that the product of labor shall belong to the producer.

OBJECTS.

The Socialist Party of Victoria seeks to show the people, and especially the workers, that this Co-operative Commonwealth is not only a beautiful ideal, but that it is practically possible and inevitably necessary. The Socialist Party of Victoria also seeks to show the workers that the present stage of industrial development compels the workers to organise in unions according to the industries in which they work, and the things they produce, or the services they render, instead of, as at present, organising only according to the crafts or branches of industry in which they are engaged and the tools which they use. By this means they will prepare themselves for the management of industry, and will concentrate their strength for the struggle with the Capitalist class, which can never cease till Socialism shall supersede Capitalism.

MEMBERSHIP.

Any person who accepts the principles of the Party may become a member, subject to the approval of the general meeting. Should the general meeting disapprove of any applicant for membership, any membership subscription paid by such person shall be refunded.

IN every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch. Karl Marx.

"Slowly but surely it is coming to be realised in the Labour Movement that economic organisation is more than merely helpful to the attainment of better conditions; that it is not only a means, but the chief means, whereby progress can be made."—Tom Mann.

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471
331.5
1708

SOCIALIST PARTY OF VICTORIA

✻ SOME ACTIVITIES. ✻

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The Axe to the Root.

By the Late JAMES CONNOLLY.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

It is now certain that one of the prominent leaders of the Sinn Fein rising in Ireland was James Connolly, Socialist and Industrial Unionist. There is much yet to be learned about the Sinn Fein rising, and workers in the Labor movement will be anxious to hear how far the new industrial movement of Ireland was represented in the rebellion. Judging by American sources, it was in it "up to the neck." However, until more is known about the remarkable upheaval, probably the less said the better.

Connolly was well known throughout the Socialist movement of the world. He not only touched the United Kingdom, but America, and, to some extent, Australia. When Tom Mann was in Melbourne, Connolly and Mann came into communication over their common endorsement of industrial unionism. He was a contributor

to the leading Socialist reviews, and an accepted authority upon industrial unionism and the modern Socialist movement. He had been a member of the Socialist Labor Party, but had seceded with others to the stronger Socialist Party of Debs and others. Connolly wrote "Erin's Hope," "Labor, Nationality, and Religion," and other pamphlets.

In 1910 Connolly left America for Ireland. Before leaving for America he had worked as a clerk at Liverpool. Back in Ireland, he at once got into active association with the Labor forces, and was regarded as the "brains" of the upheaval in Dublin connected with the epochal strike of the Transport Workers. A recent critic observed that, "while Larkin was an ignorant, bustling, voluble firebrand, Connolly is a quieter man, better educated and more intelligent, and, therefore, far more dangerous." When the war broke out Larkin went to the United States, Connolly remaining in Ireland, and, from the outset, opposing the war. At the time he expressed some sentiments in print about the war which readers in Australia marvelled at his being allowed to pen without arrest. But the real clue to what Connolly was after came with the publication in 1914 of "Labor in Irish History," a book that will always have its place in Irish history. A perusal of this volume at the present time throws illumination upon the Sinn Fein rising.

It seems to lay bare the foundations of that rising. The book is one of sixteen chapters, treating of such themes as—Jacobites and the Irish People, Peasant Rebellions, Grattan's Parliament, Capitalist Betrayal of the Irish Volunteers, the United Irishmen, the Emmett Conspiracy, and so on. A most significant chapter is that dealing with the first Irish Socialist, William Thompson, whom Connolly names "a forerunner of Marx."

The lamented death of Connolly, under the tragic circumstances familiar to all, has led the Socialist Party to issue a second edition of this notable pamphlet. In connection with the recent Irish rebellion, Connolly is said to have ranked as Commandant of the Irish Republic. For his part in the movement he was shot by order of the military authorities. In all probability, posterity will accord him the glory of martyrdom. At all events, he gave to the Irish Labor movement a new inspiration and a new meaning. His book referred to—"Labor in Irish History"—is likely to find a permanent place in the patriotic and social literature of Ireland. In a many-years-old pamphlet called "The New Evangel" Connolly thus interpretatively wrote:—"Ireland, as distinct from her people, is nothing to me; and the man who is bubbling over with love and enthusiasm for 'Ireland,' and yet can pass unmoved through our streets and witness all the wrong and suffering, the shame and

the degradation wrought upon the people of Ireland—aye, wrought by Irishmen upon Irish men and women, without burning to end it, is, in my opinion, a fraud and a liar in his heart, no matter how he loves that combination of chemical elements he is pleased to call 'Ireland.' ”

For the rest, we leave our note to the first edition to speak, and so make way for the great Socialist and Industrial Unionist himself, whose work we honor and whose death we mourn.

R. S. ROSS.

May, 1916.

EDITOR'S NOTE TO FIRST EDITION.

This pamphlet is published by special arrangement with Mr. James Connolly, the Editor of "The Harp," a contributor to the leading Socialist reviews, and an accepted authority upon Industrial Unionism and the modern Socialist movement. Mr. Connolly has written a brilliant booklet entitled "Socialism Made Easy," published by Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago. The booklet is in two sections, and the following chapters constitute the second section. They are timely and vital

chapters, and one ventures to ask for their serious and earnest consideration at the minds of leaders, as of students, in Laborism and Socialism. In justice to Mr. Connolly, it should perhaps be mentioned that the title and sub-headings of the present pamphlet are the Editor's. In writing to Tom Mann when he was in Melbourne, Mr. Connolly said: "I trust this effort of mine may be of aid to you in spreading the principles of Industrial Unionism, the most important fighting arm of the Labor movement." There can be no doubting the growing world-wide influence of the spirit and plan of Industrial Unionism. It is a fact as remarkable as it is portentous. Even in Australia the ideas and ideals of Industrial Unionism form to an increasing extent the inspiration of working-class activity. To be informed upon the subject is the need of the hour and of all. The Socialist Party is proud of adding Mr. Connolly's analytical polemic to its expositions of Industrial Unionism. For the rest, it may be chronicled that the cost of issuing the pamphlet is borne by a Socialist—one of that fine army of encouragers whose efforts have made the world's most emancipatory movement already conqueror. These build on eternal foundations.

R. S. ROSS (Editor "Socialist").
Melbourne, November, 1910.

The Claim of Socialism.

"I have looked at this claim by the light of history and my own conscience, and it seems to me so looked at to be a most just claim, and that resistance to it means nothing short of a denial of the hope of civilisation.

"This then is the claim :

"It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and be of itself pleasant to do ; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over wearisome nor over anxious.

"Turn the claim about as I may, think of it as long as I can, I cannot find that it is an exorbitant claim ; yet if society would or could admit it, the face of the world would be changed ; discontent and strife and dishonesty would be ended. To feel that we are doing work useful to others and pleasant to ourselves, and that such work and its due reward **COULD** not fail us ! What serious harm could happen to us then ? And the price to be paid for so making the world happy is revolution."

—William Morris.

The Axe to the Root.

BY THE LATE JAMES CONNOLLY.

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL ACTION OF LABOR.

"The great strike of the shop employes on the Canadian Pacific Railway has been declared off—lost. While the shopmen were fighting desperately to maintain their organisation and decent working conditions, the engineers, firemen, conductors, trainmen, etc., worked with scabs imported from the States and from Europe, and thus, by keeping trains moving, aided to break the strike. It is only one more illustration of what a vicious, not to say downright criminal, scheme craft autonomy actually is in practice.

"Here's another example: After four years of hard fighting from the Mississippi River to the Pacific coast, and from the Ohio River to the Gulf, the machinists have been compelled to abandon their strikes on the Santa Fe and the L. and N. railways. The engines and cars built and repaired in the railway shops by strike-breakers were hauled over the roads by members of the old brotherhoods without the

slightest objections. No wonder that onlookers become disgusted with such 'unionism.' Some union cards cover a multitude of sins."—MAX HAYES, in, "International Socialist Review."

Industrial Disunity.

At meetings throughout this country one frequently hears speakers laboring to arouse the workers to their duty, exclaiming:

"You unite industrially; why, then, do you divide politically? You unite against the bosses in strikes and lock-outs, and then you foolishly divide when you go to the ballot-box. Why not unite at the ballot-box as you unite in the workshop? Why not show the same unity on the political field as you do on the industrial battlefield?"

At first blush this looks to be an exceedingly apt and forcible form of appeal to our fellow-workers, but when examined more attentively it will be seen that, in view of the facts of our industrial warfare, this appeal is based upon a flagrant misstatement of facts. The real truth is that the workers do not unite industrially, but, on the contrary, are most hopelessly divided on the industrial field, and that their division and confusion on the political field are the direct result of their division and confusion on the industrial field. It would be easy to prove that even our most loyal trade unionists habitually play the game of the capitalist class on the industrial

field, just as surely as the Republican and Democratic workers do it on the political field. Let us examine the situation on the industrial field, and see if it justifies the claim that, economically, the workers are united, or if it justifies the contention I make that the division of the workers on the political field is but the reflex of the confused ideas derived from the practice of the workers in strikes and lockouts.

The Scab as Scapegoat.

Quite recently we had a great strike of the workers employed on the Subway and Elevated systems of street car service in New York. The men showed a splendid front against the power of the mammoth capitalist company headed by August Belmont, against which they were arrayed. Conductors, motormen, ticket-choppers, platform men, repairers, permanent way men, ticket-sellers—all went out together, and for a time paralysed the entire traffic on their respective system. The company, on the other hand, had the usual recourse to Jim Farley and his scabs, and sought to man the trains with those professional traitors to their class. The number of scabs was large, but small in proportion to the men on strike, yet the strike was broken. It was not the scabs, however, who turned the scale against the strikers in favor of the company. That service to capital was performed by good union men, with union cards in their pockets. These men were the engineers in the power-

houses which supplied the electric power to run the cars, and without whom all the scabs combined could not have run a single trip. A scab is a vile creature, but what shall we say of the men who helped the scab to commit his act of treason? The law says that an accessory before the fact is equally guilty of a crime with the actual criminal. What, then, are the trade unionists who supplied the power to scabs to help them break a strike? They were unconsciously being compelled, by their false system of organisation, to betray their struggling brothers. Was this unity on the industrial field? And is it any wonder that the men accustomed to so scab upon their fellow-workers in a labor struggle should also scab it upon their class in a political struggle? Is it not, rather, common sense to expect that the recognition of the necessity for concerted common action of all workers against the capitalist enemy on the industrial battle-ground must precede the realisation of the wisdom of common action as a class on the political battlefield? The men who are taught that it is all right to continue working for a capitalist against whom their shopmates of a different craft are on strike are not likely to see any harm in continuing to vote for a capitalist nominee at the polls, even when he is opposed by the candidate of a Labor organisation. Political scabbery is born of industrial scabbery; it is its legitimate offspring.

Unionist Scabbery.

Instances of this industrial disunion could be cited indefinitely. The Longshoremen of the Port of New York went out on strike. They at first succeeded in tying up the ships of the Shipping Trust, great as its wealth is, and in demonstrating the real power of labor when unhampered by contracts with capital. The Shipping Trust was taken by surprise, but quickly recovered, and, as usual, imported scabs from all over the country. Then was seen what the unity of the working-class on the industrial field amounts to under present conditions. As scab longshoremen unloaded the ship, union teamsters, with union buttons in their hats, received the goods from their hands, loaded them into their waggon, and drove merrily away.

As scab longshoremen loaded a ship, union men coaled it, and when the cargo was safely on board union marine engineers set up steam, and union seamen and firemen took it out of the dock on its voyage to its destination. Can men who are trained and taught to believe that such a course of conduct is right and proper be expected to realise the oneness of the interests of the working class as a whole against the capitalist class as a whole, and vote and act accordingly? In short, can their field of vision be so extensive that it can see the brotherhood of all men, and yet so restricted that it can see no harm in a bro-

ther labor organisation in their own industry being beaten to death by capital?

How to Fight.

Contrast this woeful picture of divided and disorganised "unionism" in America with the following account from the New York "Sun" of the manner in which the Socialist unionists of Scandinavia stand together in a fight against the common enemy, irrespective of "craft interests" or "craft contracts":—

"A short sojourn in Scandinavia, particularly in Copenhagen and the southern part of Sweden, gives one an object lesson in Socialism. In some way or other, the Socialists have managed to capture all the trade unions in these parts, and between them have caused a reign of terror for everybody who is unfortunate enough to own a business of any sort. Heaven help him if he fires one of his helps or tries to assert himself in any way. He is immediately declared in 'blockade.'

"This Socialist term means practically the same as a boycott. If the offending business man happens to be a retail merchant, all workmen are warned off his premises. The drivers for the wholesale houses refuse to deliver goods at his store; the truckmen refuse to cart anything to or from his place, and so on; in fact, he is a doomed man unless he comes to terms with the union. It is worth mentioning that boycotting bulletins, and also the names

and addresses of those who are bold enough to help the man out, are published in leaded type in all the Socialistic newspapers. A law to prevent the publication of such boycotting announcements was proposed in the Swedish Riksdag this year, but was defeated.

"If the boycotted person be a wholesale dealer, the proceedings are much the same, or, rather, they are reversed. The retailers are threatened with the loss of the workmen's trade unless they cease dealing with such a firm; the truckmen refuse to haul for it. It has even happened that the scavengers have refused to remove the refuse from the premises. More often, however, the cans are 'accidentally' dropped on the stairs. These scavengers belong to the cities' own forces, as a rule, and receive pensions after a certain length of service, but they have all sworn allegiance to the Socialistic cause.

"In reading the foregoing it is well to remember that practically all the working men of such cities—that is, practically all Sweden and Denmark—are union men—i.e., Socialists, and are, therefore, able to carry out their threats."

How Not to Fight.

Here we have a practical illustration of the power of Socialism when it rests upon an economic organisation, and the effectiveness and far-reaching activity of unionism when it is inspired by the

Socialist ideal. Now, as an equally valuable object lesson in American unionism, an object lesson in how not to do it, let us picture a typical state of affairs in the machine industry. The moulders' contract with the boss expires, and they go out on strike. In a machine shop the moulder occupies a position intermediate between the pattern-maker and the machinist, or, as they are called in Ireland, the engineers. When the moulders go out, the boss, who has had all his plans laid for months beforehand, brings in a staff of scabs and installs them in the places of the striking workers. Then the tragi-comedy begins. The union pattern-maker makes his patterns and hands them over to the scab moulder; the scab moulder casts his moulds, and when they are done the union machinist takes them from him and placidly finishes the job. Then, having finished their day's work, they go to their union meetings and vote donations of a few hundred dollars to help the strikers to defeat the boss, after they had worked all day to help the boss to defeat the strikers. Thus they exemplify the solidarity of labor. When the moulders are beaten, the machinists and the pattern-makers, and the blacksmiths, and the electricians, and the engineers, and all the rest take their turn of going up against the boss in separate bodies to be licked. As each is taking its medicine, its fellows of other crafts in the same shop sympathise with it in the name of the solidarity of labor, and

continue to work in the service of the capitalist, against whom the strike is directed, in the name of the sacred contract of the craft union.

When the coal miners of Pennsylvania had their famous strike in 1902, the railroad brotherhoods hauled in scabs to take their places, and when the scabs had mined coal the same railroad men hauled out this scab-mined coal.

Division on Both Fields.

Need I go on to prove the point that industrial division and discord is the order of the day amongst the workers, and that this disunion and confusion on the economic field cannot fail to perpetrate itself upon the political field? Those orators who reproach the workers with being divided on the political field, although united on the industrial, are simply misstating facts. The workers are divided on both, and as political parties are the reflex of economic conditions, it follows that industrial union, once established, will create the political unity of the working class. I feel that we cannot too strongly insist upon this point. Political division is born of industrial division; political scabbery is born of industrial craft scabbery; political weakness keeps even step with industrial weakness. It is an axiom enforced by all the experience of the ages that they who rule industrially will rule politically, and, therefore, they who are divided industrially will remain impotent politically.

The failure of Mr. Gompers to unite politically the forces of the American Federation of Labor was the inevitable outcome of his own policy of division on the industrial battleground; he reversed the natural process by trying to unite men on craft lines, whilst he opposed every effort, as in the case of the Brewers, to unite them on industrial lines. The natural lines of thought and action lead from the direct to the indirect, from the simple to the complex, from the immediate to the ultimate. Mr. Gompers ignored this natural line of development, and preached the separation into craft organisations, with separate craft interests, of the workers, and then expected them to heed his call to unity on the less direct and immediate battleground of politics. He failed, as even the Socialists would fail if they remained equally blind to the natural law of our evolution into class consciousness. That natural law leads us, as individuals, to unite in our craft, as crafts to unite in our industry, as industries in our class, and the finished expression of that evolution is, we believe, the appearance of our class upon the political battleground with all the economic power behind it to enforce its mandates. Until that day dawns our political parties of the working class are but propagandist agencies, John the Baptists of the New Redemption, but when that day dawns our political party will be armed with all the might of our class.

will be revolutionary in fact as well as in thought.

Land League Methods.

To Irish men and women especially, I should not need to labor this point. The historic example of their Land League bequeaths to us a precious legacy of wisdom, both practical and revolutionary, outlining our proper course of action. During Land League days in Ireland, when a tenant was evicted from a farm, not only his fellow-tenants but practically the whole country united to help him in his fight. When the evicted farm was rented by another tenant, a land-grabber or "scab," every person in the countryside shunned him as a leper, and, still better, fought him as a traitor. Nor did they make the mistake of fighting the traitor and yet working for his employer, the landlord. No; they included both in the one common hostility.

At the command of the Land League, every servant and laborer quit the service of the landlord. In Ireland, it is well to remember, in order to appreciate this act of the laborers, that the landlords were usually better paymasters and more generous employers than the tenant farmers. The laborers, therefore, might reasonably have argued that the fight of the tenant farmers was none of their business. But they indulged in no such blindly selfish hair-splitting. When the landlord had

declared war on the tenant by evicting him, the laborers responded by war upon the landlord. Servant boy and servant girl at once quit his service, the carman refused to drive him, the cook to cook for him, his linen remained unwashed, his harvest un-reaped, his cows unmilked, his house and fields deserted. The grocer and the butcher, the physician and the school-master, were alike hostile to him; if the children of the land-grabber (scab) entered school all other children rose and left; if the land-grabber or his landlord attended Mass everyone else at Mass walked out in a body. They found it hard to get anyone to serve them or feed them in health, to attend them in sickness, or to bury those dear to them in death. It was this relentless and implacable war upon the land-owning class and traitors among the tenant class which gave the word "boycott" to the English language, through its enforcement against an Irish land-owner, Captain Boycott. It was often horrible, it was always ugly in appearance to the superficial observer, but it was marvellously effective. It put courage and hope and manhood into a class long reckoned as the most enslaved in Europe. It broke the back of the personal despotism of the Irish landlord, and so crippled his social and economic power that Irish landed estates, from being a favorite form of investment for the financial interests, sank to such a position that even the

most reckless moneylender would, for a time, scarce accept a mortgage upon them. That it failed of attaining real economic freedom for the Irish people was due, not to any defect in its method of fighting, but rather to the fact that economic questions are not susceptible of being settled within the restricted radius of any one small nation, but are acted upon by influences world-wide in their character.

The Lesson of Ireland.

But how great a lesson for the American worker is to be found in this record of a class struggle in Ireland! The American worker was never yet so low in the social and political scale as the Irish tenant. Yet the Irish tenant rose, and by sheer force of his unity on the economic field shattered the power of his master, whilst the American worker, remaining divided upon the economic field, sinks day by day lower towards serfdom. The Irish tenant had to contend against the overwhelming power of a foreign empire backing up the economic power of a native tyranny, yet he conquered, whilst the American worker, able to become the political sovereign of the country, remains the sport of the political factions of his masters and the slave of their social power.

The Irish tenant, uniting on the economic field, felt his strength, and, carrying the fight into politics, simply swept into oblivion every individual or

party that refused to serve his class interests; but the American toilers remain divided on the economic field, and hence are divided and impotent upon the political, zealous servants of every interest but their own.

Need I point the moral more? Everyone who has the interests of the working class at heart, everyone who wishes to see the Socialist Party command the allegiance of the political hosts of labor, should strive to realise industrial union as the solid foundation upon which alone the political unity of the workers can be built up and directed towards a revolutionary end. To this end, all those who work for industrial unionism are truly co-operating, even when they least care for political activities.



CHAPTER II.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIALISM.

"There is not a Socialist in the world to-day who can indicate with any degree of clearness how we can bring about the co-operative commonwealth except along the lines suggested by industrial organisation of the workers.

"Political institutions are not adapted to the administration of industry. Only industrial organisations are adapted to the administration of a co-operative commonwealth that we are working for. Only the industrial form of organisation offers us even a theoretical constructive Socialist programme. There is no constructive Socialism except in the industrial field."

Framework of the Future:

The above extract from the speech of a delegate to the National Convention of the Socialist Party, Delegate Stirton, Editor of the "Wage Slave," of Hancock, Michigan, so well embodies my ideas upon this matter that I have thought well to take it as a text for an article in explanation of the structural form of Socialist Society. In a previous chapter I have analysed the weakness of the craft or trade union form of organisation alike as a weapon

of defence against the capitalist class in the everyday conflicts on the economic field, and as a generator of class consciousness or the political field, and pointed out the greater effectiveness for both purposes of an industrial form of organisation. In the present article I desire to show how they who are engaged in building up industrial organisations for the practical purposes of to-day are, at the same time, preparing the framework of the society of the future. It is the realisation of that fact that, indeed, marks the emergence of Socialism as a revolutionary force from the critical to the positive stage. Time was when Socialists, if asked how society would be organised under Socialism, replied invariably, and airily, that such things would be left to the future to decide. The fact was that they had not considered the matter, but the development of the Trust and Organised Capital in general, making imperative the Industrial Organisations of Labor on similar lines, has provided us with an answer at once more complete to ourselves and more satisfying to our questioners.

Political Institutions Obsolete.

Now to analyse briefly the logical consequences of the position embodied in the above quotation.

“Political institutions are not adapted to the administration of industry.”

Here is a statement that no Socialist with a clear knowledge of the essentials of his doctrine can dispute. The political institutions of to-day are simply the coercive forces of capitalist society; they have grown up out of, and are based upon, territorial divisions of power in the hands of the ruling class in past ages, and were carried over into capitalist society to suit the needs of the class when that class overthrew the dominion of its predecessors. The delegation of the function of government into the hands of representatives elected from certain districts, States, or territories represents no real natural division suited to the requirements of modern society, but is a survival from a time when territorial influences were more potent in the world than industrial influences, and, for that reason, is totally unsuited to the needs of the new social order, which must be based upon industry. The Socialist thinker, when he paints the structural form of the new social order, does not imagine an industrial system directed or ruled by a body of men or women elected from an indiscriminate mass of residents within given districts, said residents working at a heterogeneous collection of trades and industries. To give the ruling, controlling, and directing of industry into the hands of such a body would be too utterly foolish. What the Socialist does realise is that, under a Social-Democratic form of society, the administration of affairs will

be in the hands of representatives of the various industries of the nation; that the workers in the shops and factories will organise themselves into unions, each union comprising all the workers at a given industry; that said union will democratically control the workshop life of its own industry, electing all foremen, etc., and regulating the routine of labor in that industry in subordination to the needs of society in general, to the needs of its allied trades, and to the department of industry to which it belongs; that representatives elected from these various departments of industry will meet and form the industrial administration or national government of the country. In short, Social-Democracy, as its name implies, is the application to industry, or to the social life of the nation, of the fundamental principles of democracy. Such application will necessarily have to begin in the workshop, and proceed logically and consecutively upward through all the grades of industrial organisation until it reaches the culminating point of national executive power and direction. In other words, Social-Democracy must proceed from the bottom upward, whereas capitalist political society is organised from above downward; Social-Democracy will be administered by a committee of experts elected from the industries and professions of the land; capitalist society is governed by representatives elected from districts,

and is based upon territorial division. The local and national governing, or, rather, administrative, bodies of Socialism will approach every question with impartial minds, armed with the fullest expert knowledge born of experience; the governing bodies of capitalist society have to call in an expensive professional expert to instruct them on every technical question, and know that the impartiality of said expert varies with, and depends upon, the size of his fee.

Supremacy of Industrial Idea.

It will be seen that this conception of Socialism destroys at one blow all the fears of a bureaucratic State, ruling and ordering the lives of every individual from above, and thus gives assurance that the social order of the future will be an extension of the freedom of the individual, and not a suppression of it. In short, it blends the fullest democratic control with the most absolute expert supervision, something unthinkable of any society built upon the political state. To focus the idea properly in your mind, you have but to realise how industry to-day transcends all limitations of territory, and leaps across rivers, mountains, and continents; then you can understand how impossible it would be to apply to such far-reaching, intricate enterprises the principle of democratic control by the workers through the medium of political territorial divisions.

Under Socialism, States, territories, or provinces will exist only as geographical expressions, and have no existence as sources of governmental power, though they may be seats of administrative bodies.

A Constructive Commonwealth.

Now, having grasped the idea that the administrative force of the Socialist Republic of the future will function through unions industrially organised, that the principle of democratic control will operate through the workers correctly organised in such Industrial Unions, and that the political, territorial State of capitalist society will have no place or function under Socialism, you will at once grasp the full truth embodied in the words of this member of the Socialist Party whom I have just quoted, that "only the industrial form of organisation offers us even a theoretical constructive Socialist programme."

To some minds, constructive Socialism is embodied in the work of our representatives on the various public bodies to which they have been elected. The various measures against the evils of capitalist property brought forward by or as a result of the agitation of Socialist representatives on legislative bodies are figured as being of the nature of constructive Socialism. As we have shown, the political State of capitalism has no place under Socialism, therefore measures which aim to

place industries in the hands of or under the control of such a political State are in no sense steps towards that ideal; they are but useful measures to restrict the greed of capitalism and to familiarise the workers with the conception of common ownership. This latter is, indeed, their chief function. But the enrolment of the workers in unions patterned closely after the structure of modern industries, and following the organic lines of industrial development, is, par excellence, the swiftest, safest, and most peaceful form of constructive work the Socialist can engage in. It prepares within the framework of capitalist society the working forms of the Socialist Republic, and thus, while increasing the resisting power of the worker against present encroachments of the capitalist class, it familiarises him with the idea that the union he is helping to build up is destined to supplant that class in the control of the industry in which he is employed.

Emancipatory Unionism.

The power of this idea to transform the dry detail work of trade union organisation into the constructive work of revolutionary Socialism, and thus to make of the unimaginative trade unionist a potent factor in the launching of a new system of society, cannot be overestimated. It invests the sordid details of the daily incidents of the class struggle with a new and beautiful meaning, and presents them in their

true light as skirmishes between the two opposing armies of light and darkness. In the light of this principle of Industrial Unionism, every fresh shop or factory organised under its banner is a fort wrenched from the control of the capitalist class and manned with the soldiers of the Revolution, to be held by them for the workers. On the day that the political and economic forces of labor finally break with capitalist society, and proclaim the Workers' Republic, these shops and factories, so manned by Industrial Unionists, will be taken charge of by the workers there employed, and force and effectiveness thus given to that proclamation. Then, and thus, the new society will spring into existence, ready equipped to perform all the useful functions of its predecessor.



CHAPTER III.

THE FUTURE OF LABOR.

In choosing for the subject of this chapter such a title as "The Future of Labor," I am aware that I run the risk of arousing expectations that I shall not be able to satisfy. The future of labor is a subject with which is bound up the future of civilisation, and, therefore, a comprehensive treatment of the subject might be interpreted as demanding an analysis of all the forces and factors which will influence humanity in the future, and also their resultant effect.

Needless to say, my theme is a less ambitious one. I propose simply to deal with the problem of labor in the immediate future, with the marshalling of labor for the great conflict that confronts us, and with a consideration of the steps to be taken in order that the work of aiding the transition from Industrial Slavery to Industrial Freedom might be, as far as possible, freed from all encumbering and needless obstacles and expense of time, energy, and money.

Bondage to Freedom.

But, first, and as an aid to a proper understanding of my position, let me place briefly before you my reading of the history of the past struggles of

mankind against social ~~subjection~~, my reading of the mental development undergone by each revolting class in the different stages of their struggle, from the first period of their bondage to the first dawn of their freedom. As I view it, such struggles had three well-marked mental stages, corresponding to the inception, development, and decay of the oppressing powers, and as I intend to attempt to apply this theory to the position of labor as a subject class to-day, I hope you will honor me by at least giving me your earnest attention to this conception, and aid by your discussion in determining at which of these periods or stages the working class, the subject class of to-day, has arrived. My reading, then, briefly, is this: That, in the first period of bondage, the eyes of the subject class are always turned towards the past, and all its efforts in revolt are directed to the end of destroying the social system, in order that it might march backward and re-establish the social order of ancient times—"the good old days." That the goodness of those days was largely hypothetical seldom enters the imagination of men on whose limbs the fetters of oppression still sit awkwardly.

In the second period, the subject class tends more and more to lose sight and recollection of any pre-existent state of society, to believe that the social order in which it finds itself always did exist, and to bend all its

energies to obtaining such ameliorations of its lot within existent society as will make that lot more bearable. At this stage of society the subject class, as far as its own aspirations are concerned, may be reckoned as a conservative force.

In the third period, the subject class becomes revolutionary, reck's little of the past for inspiration, but, building itself upon the achievements of the present, confidently addresses itself to the conquest of the future. It does so because the development of the framework of society has revealed to it its relative importance, revealed to it the fact that within its grasp has grown, unconsciously to itself, a power which, if intelligently applied, is sufficient to overcome and master society at large.

The Peasant Revolts.

As a classic illustration of this conception of the history of the mental development of the revolt against social oppression, we might glance at the many peasant revolts recorded in European history. As we are now aware, common ownership of land was at one time the basis of society all over the world. Our fathers not only owned their land in common, but in many ways practised a common ownership of the things produced. In short, tribal communism was, at one time, the universally existent order. In such a state of society there existed a degree of freedom that no succeeding order

has been able to parallel, and that none will be able to until the individualistic order of to-day gives way to the Industrial Commonwealth, the Workers' Republic, of the future. How that ancient order broke up it is no part of my task to tell. What I do wish to draw your attention to is that, for hundreds of, for a thousand, years after the break-up of that tribal communism, and the reduction to serfdom of the descendants of the formerly free tribesmen, all the efforts of the revolting serfs were directed to a destruction of the new order of things and to a rehabilitation of the old. Take, as an example, the various peasant wars of Germany, the Jacquerie of France, or the revolt of Wat Tyler and John Ball in England as being the best known; examine their rude literature in such fragments as have been preserved, study their speeches as they have been recorded, even by their enemies, read the translations of their songs, and in all of them you will find a passionate harking back to the past, a morbid idealising of the status of their fathers, and a continued exhortation to the suffering people to destroy the present, in order that, in some vague and undefined manner, they might reconstitute the old.

Coming of Capitalism. *

The defeat of the peasantry left the stage clear for the emergence of the bourgeoisie as the most important subject class, and for the development of that second period of which I have

spoken. Did it develop? Well, in every account we read of the conflicts between the nobility and the burghers in their guilds and cities, we find that the aggressive part was always taken by the former, and that, wherever a revolt took place, the revolting guild merchants and artisans justified their act by an appeal to the past privileges which had been abrogated, and the restoration of which formed the basis of their claims, and their only desire if successful in revolt. One of the most curious illustrations of this mental condition is to be found in the "History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic," by Motley, in which that painstaking historian tells how the Netherlands, in their revolt against the Spanish Emperor, continued for a generation to base their claims upon the political status of the provinces under a former Emperor, made war upon the Empire with troops levied in the name of the Emperor, and led by officers whose commissions were made out by the rebel provinces in the name of the sovereign they were fighting against. This mental condition lasted in England until the great Civil War, which ended by leaving Charles I. without a head, and the bourgeoisie, incarnated in Cromwell, firmly fixed in the saddle; in France, it lasted till the Revolution. In both countries it was abandoned, not because of any a priori reasoning upon its absurdity, nor because some great thinker had evolved a better scheme, but because the

growth of the industrial system had made the capitalist class realise that they could at any moment stop the flow of its life-blood, so to speak, and, from so realising, it was but a short mental evolution to frame a theory of political action which proclaimed that the capitalist class was the nation, and all its enemies the enemies of the nation at large. The last period of that social evolution had been reached, the last mental stage of the transition from feudal ownership to capitalist property.

Fatal Errors.

Now, let me apply this reading of history to the development of the working class under capitalism, and find out what lesson it teaches us of value in our present struggle. Passing by the growth of the working class under nascent capitalism, as it belongs more to the period I have just dealt with than to the present subject, and taking up working-class history from the point marked by the introduction of machinery to supplant hand labor—a perfectly correct standpoint for all practical purposes—we find, in the then attitude of the workers, an exemplification of the historical fidelity of our conception. Suffering from the miseries attendant upon machine labor, the displacement of those supplanted, and the scandalous overworking of those retained, the workers rioted and rebelled in a mad effort to abolish machinery and restore the era of hand labor. In a word, they strove to revert to past conditions, and

their most popular orators and leaders were they who pictured in most glowing terms the conditions prevalent in the days of their fathers.

They were thus on the same mental plane as those mediæval peasants who, in their revolt, were fired by the hope of restoring the primitive commune. And, just as in the previously cited case, the inevitable failure of this attempt to reconstruct the past was followed in another generation by movements which accepted the social order of their day as permanent, and looked upon their social status as wage-slaves as fixed and immutable in the eternal order of things. To this category belongs the trade union movement in all its history. As the struggles of the serfs and burghers in the Middle Ages were directed to no higher aim than the establishing of better relations between these struggling classes and their feudal overlords, as during those ages the division of society into ruling classes of king, lords, and church, resting upon a basis of the serfdom of the producers, was accepted by all, in spite of the perpetual recurrences of civil wars between the various classes, so, in capitalist society, the trade unionists, despite strikes, lockouts, and black lists, accepted the employing class as part and parcel of a system which was to last through all eternity.

The All-Important Issues.

The rise of Industrial Unionism is the first sign that that—the second stage of

the mental evolution of our class—is rapidly passing away. And the fact that it had its inception amongst men actually engaged in the work of trade union organisation, and found its inspiration in a recognition of the necessities born of the struggles of the workers, and not in the theories of any political party—this fact is the most cheering sign of the legitimacy of its birth, and the most hopeful augury of its future. For we must not forget that it is not the theorists who make history; it is history in its evolution that makes the theorists. And the roots of history are to be found in the workshops, fields, and factories. It has been remarked that Belgium was the cockpit of Europe because within its boundaries have been fought out many of the battles between the old dynasties; in like manner, we can say that the workshop is the cockpit of civilisation, because in the workshop have been, and will be, fought out those battles between the new and the old methods of production, the issues of which change the face and the history of the world.

Revolutionary Capitalism.

I have said that the capitalist class became a revolutionary class when it realised that it held control of the economic heart of the nation. I may add, when the working class is in the same position, it will also, as a class, become revolutionary, it will also give effective political expression to its economic strength. The capitalist class grew

into a political party when it looked around and found itself in control of the things needed for the life of the individual and the State, when it saw that the ships carrying the commerce of the nation were its own, when it saw that the internal traffic of the nation was in the hands of its agents, when it saw that the feeding, clothing, and sheltering of the ruling class depended upon the activities of the subject class, when it saw itself applied to furnish finance to equip the armies and fleets of the kings and nobles—in short, when the capitalist class found that all the arteries of commerce, all the agencies of production, all the mainsprings of life, in fact, passed through their hands, as blood flows through the human heart—then, and only then, did capital raise the banner of political revolt, and from a class battling for concessions became a class leading its forces to the mastery of society at large.

The Echo—Not the Reality.

This leads me to the last axiom of which I wish you to grasp the significance. It is this, that the fight for the conquest of the political State is not the battle; it is only the echo of the battle. The real battle is the battle being fought out every day for the power to control industry, and the gauge of the progress of that battle is not to be found in the number of voters making a cross beneath the symbol of a political party, but in the number of these workers who enrol themselves in an indus-

trial organisation with the definite purpose of making themselves masters of the industrial equipment of society in general.

That battle will have its political echo, that industrial organisation will have its political expression. If we accept the definition of working-class political action as that which brings the workers as a class into direct conflict with the possessing class AS A CLASS, and keeps them there, then we must realise that NOTHING CAN DO THAT SO READILY AS ACTION AT THE BALLOT BOX. Such action strips the working-class movement of all traces of such sectionalism as may, and indeed must, cling to strikes and lockouts, and emphasises the class character of the Labor Movement. IT IS, THEREFORE, ABSOLUTELY INDISPENSABLE FOR THE EFFICIENT TRAINING OF THE WORKING CLASS ALONG CORRECT LINES THAT ACTION AT THE BALLOT BOX SHOULD ACCOMPANY ACTION IN THE WORKSHOP.

Unionism and Socialism.

I am convinced that this will be the ultimate formation of the fighting hosts of Labor. The workers will be industrially organised on the economic field, and until that organisation is perfected, whilst the resultant feeling of class-consciousness is permeating the minds of the workers, the Socialist Party will

carry on an independent campaign of education and attack upon the political field, and, as a consequence, will remain the sole representative of the Socialist idea in politics. But, as industrial organisation grows, feels its strength, and develops the revolutionary instincts of its members, there will grow also the desire for a closer union and identification of the two wings of the army of Labor. Any attempt prematurely to force this identification would only defeat its own purpose, and be fraught with danger alike to the economic and the political wing. Yet it is certain that such attempts will be of continual recurrence, and multiply in proportion to the dissatisfaction felt at the waste of energy involved in the division of forces. Statesmanship of the highest kind will be required to see that this union shall take place only under the proper conditions and at the proper moment for effective action. Two things must be kept in mind—viz., that a Socialist Political Party not emanating from the ranks of organised Labor is, as Karl Marx phrased it, simply a Socialist sect, ineffective for the final revolutionary act, but that, also, the attempt of craft organised unions to create political unity before they have laid the foundation of industrial unity in their own, the economic, field would be an instance of putting the cart before the horse. But when that foundation of industrial union is finally secured, then nothing can prevent the

union of the economic and political forces of Labor. I look forward to the time when every economic organisation will have its Political Committee, just as it has its Organisation Committee or its Strike Committee, and when it will be counted to be as great a crime, as much an act of scabbery, to act against the former as against any of the latter. When that time comes we will be able to count our effective vote before troubling the official ballot box, simply by counting our membership in the allied organisations; we will be able to estimate our capacity for the revolutionary act of Social Transformation simply by taking stock of the number of industries we control and their importance relative to the whole social system, and when we find that we control the strategic industries in society, then society must bend to our will—or break. In our organisations we will have Woman Suffrage, whether governments like it or not; we will also have, in our own organisations, a pure and uncorrupted ballot, and if the official ballot of capitalist society does not purify itself of its own accord, its corruption can only serve to blind the eyes of our enemies, and not to hide our strength from ourselves.

Forged by, of, and for the Worker.

Compare the political action of such a body with that of any party we know. Political parties are composed of men and women who meet together to formulate a policy and programme to

vote upon. They set up a political ticket in the hope of getting people, most of whom they do not know, to vote for them, and when that vote is at last cast, it is cast by men whom they have not organised, do not know, and cannot rely upon to use in their own defence. We have proven that such a body can make propaganda, and good propaganda, for Socialist principles, but it can never function as the weapon of an industrially organised working class. To it, such a party will always be an outside body, a body not under its direct control, but the political weapon of the Industrially Organised Working Class will be a weapon of its own forging, and wielded by its own hand. I believe it to be incumbent upon organised Labor to meet the capitalist class upon every field where it can operate to our disadvantage. Therefore, I favor direct attacks upon the control of governmental powers through the ballot box, but I wish to see these attacks supported by the economic organisation. In short, I believe that there is no function performed by a separate political party that the economic organisation cannot help it perform much better and with greater safety to working-class interests. Let us be clear as to the function of Industrial Unionism. That function is to build up an Industrial Republic inside the shell of the political State, in order that, when that Industrial Republic is fully organised, it may

crack the shell of the political State and step into its place in the scheme of the universe. But in the process of up-building, during the period of maturing, the mechanism of the political State can be utilised to assist in the formation of the embryo Industrial Republic. Or, to change the analogy, we might liken the position of the Industrial Republic, in its formative period towards political society, to the position of the younger generation towards the generation passing away. The younger accepts the achievements of the old, but gradually acquires strength to usurp its functions until the new generation is able to abandon the paternal household and erect its own. While doing so, it utilises to the fullest all the privileges of its position. So the Industrial Unionist will function in a double capacity in capitalist society. In his position as a citizen in a given geographical area, he will use his political voting power in attacks upon the political system of capitalism, and in his position as a member of the Industrial Union he will help in creating the economic power which, in the fulness of time, will overthrow that political system, and replace it by the Industrial Republic.

Historical Experiences.

My contentions along these lines do not imply, by any means, that I regard immediate action at the ballot box by the economic organisation as essential, although I may regard it as advisable.

As I have already indicated, the proletarian revolution will, in that respect, most likely follow the lines of the capitalist revolutions in the past.

In Cromwellian England, in Colonial America, in Revolutionary France, the real political battle did not begin until after the bourgeoisie, the capitalist class, had become the dominant class in the nation. Then they sought to conquer political power, in order to allow their economic power to function freely. It was no mere coincidence, but a circumstance born of the very nature of things, woven, so to speak, in the warp and woof of fate, that in all the three countries the signal for the revolution was given by the ruling class touching the bourgeoisie in the one part that was calculated to arouse them as a class, and at the same time demonstrate their strength. That one sensitive part was their finance, their ownership of the sinews of war. In England it was over the question of taxes, of ship money, that Hampden first raised the standard of revolt, whose last blow was struck at Whitehall, when the King's head rolled in the gutter. In America it was over the question of taxes, and again the capitalist class were united, until a new nation was born to give them power. In France, it was the failure of the King to raise taxes that led to the convocation of the States-General, which assembly first revealed to the French capitalists their power as a class, and set their feet upon the revo-

lutionary path. In all three countries the political rebellion was but the expression of the will of a class already in possession of economic power. This is in conformity with the law of human evolution, that the new system can never overthrow the old until it itself is fully matured and able to assume all the useful functions of the thing it is to dethrone.

First Things First.

In the light of such facts, and judging by such reasoning, we need not exercise our souls over the question of the date of the appearance of the Industrial Organisations of Labor upon the electoral field. Whether we believe, as I believe, that the electoral field offers it opportunities it would be criminal to ignore, or believe, as some do, that electoral action on the part of the economic organisations is at present premature, one thing can be agreed upon, if we accept the outline of history I have just sketched—viz., that it is necessary to remember that, at the present stage of development, all actions of our class at the ballot box are in the nature of mere preliminary skirmishes, or educational campaigns, and that the conquest of political power by the working class waits upon the conquest of economic power, and must function through the economic organisation.

Hence, reader, if you belong to the working class, your duty is clear. Your union must be perfected until it embraces everyone who toils in the service

of your employer, or as a unit in your industry. The fact that your employers find it necessary to secure the services of any individual worker is, or ought to be, that individual's highest and best title to be a member of your union. If the boss needs him, you need him more. You need the open union and the closed shop if you ever intend to control the means and conditions of life. And, as the champion of your class upon the political field, as the ever-active propagandist of the idea of the Working Class as the representative and embodiment of the social principle of the future, you need the Socialist Party. The Future of Labor is bound up with the harmonious development of those twin expressions of the forces of progress; the Freedom of Labor will be born of their happily consummated union.

To the Stranger.

The Socialist Party of Victoria was founded in Melbourne in 1905 as the Social Questions Committee, and later given its present name. It stands for the Socialisation of Ownership and the Abolition of Wage Slavery. These things accomplished, the emancipation of the working-class will be fact instead of ideal.

The Socialist Party is affiliated with the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels.

The Party is "revolutionary" in the sense that it seeks a New Economic Order and the

destruction of Capitalism. It is Capitalism which holds the workers in bondage.

The Party advocates Industrial Unionism, or the organising of the working-class in harmony with industrial development rather than by crafts or trades, and with the goal of Working-Class Supremacy upon the basis of the Class Struggle.

If you are ready to hear more about these things the opportunity is at hand.

The Socialist Party owns and issues the "Socialist." You can purchase it.

The Socialist Party holds meetings every Sunday night at the Guild Hall. You can attend them.

The Socialist Party runs propaganda meetings on week nights and Sunday afternoons. You can be in the crowd at them.

The Socialist Party conducts a Sunday School at its hall every Sunday afternoon, under an efficient corps of teachers, whose speciality is child culture, and who comprehend the message of science for childhood.

The Socialist Party has a library and literature depot, and sells the world's best printed matter in the arena of sociology.

The Party has paid officers, but its procedure is essentially Democratic. Monthly general meetings are held, and an executive committee meets once a week at least.

The membership is one shilling monthly for gentlemen, and sixpence for ladies.

If you are interested, you can gain any further information at the Party's hall.

If you would be a factor in promoting thought, in educational activity, in winning better conditions, we shall be glad of your co-operation.

TEN COMMANDMENTS OF SOCIALISM

(Taught in Socialist Sunday School.)

1. Love your schoolfellows, who will be your fellow-workmen in life.

2. Love learning, which is the food of the mind; be as grateful to your teacher as to your parents.

3. Make every day holy by good and useful deeds and kindly actions.

4. Honour good men, be courteous to all men, bow down to none.

5. Do not hate or speak evil of any one; do not be revengeful, but stand up for your rights, and resist oppression.

6. Do not be cowardly, be a friend to the weak, and love justice.

7. Remember that all the good things of the earth are produced by labour; whoever enjoys them without working for them is stealing the bread of the workers.

8. Observe and think in order to discover the truth; do not believe what is contrary to reason, and never deceive yourself or others.

9. Do not think that he who loves his own country must hate or despise other nations, or wish for war, which is a remnant of barbarism.

10. Look forward to the day when all men will be free citizens of one fatherland, and live together as brothers in peace and righteousness.

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