

# THE INDUSTRIAL SYNDICALIST

with an Introduction by Geoff Brown



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# Introduction

by Geoff Brown

The history of syndicalism in Britain is inextricably linked with the activities of Tom Mann in the years just before the first world war. Tom Mann (1856-1941) is an outstanding figure in British labour history. In the 1880s he had been closely associated with the early development of the Social Democratic Federation; in 1889 he came to national prominence as one of the leading figures in the London dock strike of that year. If his career in the labour movement had ended at that point he would have been sure of some recognition as a founding father of the trade union movement. But Mann's contribution did not end there. In the 1890s he became the first general secretary of the Independent Labour Party; he was a member of the Royal Commission on Labour; he played a leading part in the establishment of the Workers' Union; and also dabbled in non-socialist radical reform movements, like the National Democratic League for which he acted as organiser in 1900-1901.<sup>1</sup> Around this time, attracted by the progress of the industrial conciliation and arbitration schemes being enacted, he left Britain for what was to be an eight year stay in New Zealand and Australia. But, as the accounts in his memoirs and his earlier book *From Single Tax to Syndicalism* make clear he was quickly disabused as to the benefits accruing to the working class from compulsory arbitration, conciliation schemes and lack of effective trade union organisation. Basing himself in Melbourne Mann turned increasingly to his old concerns of trade union organisation and social democratic agitation, most notably in the Victorian Socialist Party whose paper *The Socialist* he edited. The two strands of work went hand in hand. At the end of 1904 in fact he seems to have argued

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that trade union work was being neglected, and said that "I maintain that highly organised Trade Unions are now, and will be in the future, vitally necessary for attaining and maintaining the standard of efficiency and well-being . . . The Unions are still more effective than any other machinery the workers possess."<sup>2</sup> But a reading of his long pamphlet of 1905, *Socialism*, leaves no real doubt that trade union work was merely a second, albeit indispensable, string to the main thrust of political action:

"The battle of the working-class against Capitalist exploitation is necessarily a political battle. The working-class cannot carry on its economic battles or develop its economic organisation without political rights. It cannot effect the passing of the means of production into the ownership of the community without acquiring political power.

"To shape this battle of the working-class into a conscious and united effort, and to show it its naturally necessary end is the object of the Social-Democratic Party."<sup>3</sup>

In September 1908 Mann was engaged by the Miners' Association of Broken Hill as an organiser. The biggest of the mining companies had announced that when a two year agreement expired at the end of 1908 it would introduce wage cuts. Mann put in two months very successful organising work, which contributed to helping the union to feel strong enough to put in a set of counter-demands. On January 1, 1909 the lock-out began. The dispute was taken to the Arbitration Court — with the unions seeking and getting an injunction to stop the Broken Hill Proprietary Company from closing its mines. The Arbitration Court, having ruled in favour of the unions, had felt obliged to add that there was little chance of enforcing the injunction. The mines did, in fact, close. In the three months while all this was happening police were used extensively (with the agreement of the South Australian Lib-Lab coalition) to enable "free labourers" to keep the smelting works at

Port Pirie open. It was only a matter of time before the workers both at Broken Hill and Port Pirie were forced back to work on the employers' terms — but when this time came the companies had decided not to re-open the mines. Ian Turner has summed up the Broken Hill dispute in the following terms:

"For the unions, it was a major battle and a total defeat. The mine-owners had clearly been the aggressors, but the forces of the state were aligned with them and against the miners, while arbitration, the instrument which labour had created to ameliorate its conditions and secure its strength, was found to operate as a bludgeon against the unions when they aggressed but to be ineffective against the employers when they were the offenders."<sup>4</sup>

Mann drew many of the same conclusions. Broken Hill was the "Damascus Road" in his progression to Industrial Unionism. He wrote later that: "During the latter part of 1909, I devoted special attention to industrial unionism. As a result of the Broken Hill experiences. I realised more clearly the need for perfecting industrial organisation. It was plain to me that economic organisation was indispensable for the achievement of economic freedom. The policy of the various Labour Parties gave no promise in this direction, nor did the superadding of political activities to the extant type of trade unionism seem any more hopeful."<sup>5</sup> Mann embodied his conclusions in a pamphlet *The Way to Win: Industrial Unionism*; and he began to act on his conclusions by convening a conference of trade unionists at Adelaide to discuss the subject. In a leaflet written in July 1909 to publicise the conference Mann stated that one of the declarations that the conference ought to make would be phrased on the following lines:

"that the present system of sectional trades unionism is incapable of combatting effectively the capitalist system under which the civilized world is now suffering, and such

modifications and alterations should be made in the existing unions as will admit of a genuine federation of all organisations, with power to act unitedly for industrial purposes."

Mann left Australia at the end of 1909, and returned to Britain, via South Africa, in May, 1910. In his statement to a press representative on his arrival he said that he had no other plans than that he was going "to advocate especially that kind of unionism known as industrial unionism. He attached far greater importance to industrial organisation at the present time than to political action; the weakness of the existing union movement was extremely pitiable, because of its sectional character."<sup>6</sup> Mann said more or less the same sort of thing (though at greater length) at the series of meetings organised to welcome him back to Britain. At one of these meetings, organised by the Social Democratic Party in London on May 23, Mann was showered with compliments by the leaders of British social democracy. Hyndman referred to Mann in glowing terms, saying that "we have had no more intelligent, active, vigorous and capable exponent of Socialism than Tom Mann." Ben Tillet, the secretary of the London Dockers' Union and Mann's longtime close friend, followed with a eulogistic speech about Mann's work for the dockers in Britain and Australia. Harry Quelch, the editor of *Justice*, gave the last speech before Mann rose to speak. Quelch said that Mann's work in Australia, as substantial as it was, "was a nothing compared to the work he could do here . . . On the scene of self-satisfaction which we had now reached Tom Mann came as a disturbing element — and we wanted someone to wake us up." Mann began his hour long speech by returning Hyndman's compliment. He acknowledged that twenty-six years previously it was from Hyndman that he had received his "economic education" This education — an understanding of the economic interpretation of history, of the class war, and

"of the fact that the very existence of the capitalist class rested on surplus value" — was, in Mann's opinion, precisely what many of the leaders of the British trade union movement lacked. In the critique of the trade union movement which followed, Mann placed the sectionalism of the trade unions at the centre of his argument. The hope lay in unification. Political power, he felt, "could best be obtained where the men had first been organised industrially." Though he was careful to add that "nothing that he had said or done went to show that he wanted to destroy or disrupt the existing unions — he only wanted to improve them." But, having paid so much attention to the need for industrial organisation, he ended by throwing a palm in the direction of political work. "Loud cheers," said the report in *Justice*, "greeted his declaration that he was joining the Social-Democratic Party."<sup>7</sup>

Mann's membership of the Social Democratic Party coincided almost exactly with the period during which he edited the eleven monthly issues of the *Industrial Syndicalist*. Mann's relationship with the leadership of the S.D.P. was an uneasy one. He did prove to be a "disturbing element" inside the S.D.P. — though not in the way that Harry Quelch had hoped. To give just one example of the sort of thing that Mann said in his numerous speeches to branches of the S.D.P. and other organisations it is only necessary to look at what he said at a public meeting convened by the Blackburn Branch of the party on July 26, 1910. The local leader of the S.D.P. opened the meeting by declaring that the S.D.P.'s intention was the abolition of wage slavery and that it was proposing to field three candidates at the next municipal elections. Mann, who was well received, more or less scorned this sort of approach. He began by saying that it seemed that the workers in Blackburn had not had "a glorious time industrially" over the previous few years. The Blackburn weavers were on the verge of signing a five year agreement with the

employers. Mann is reported to have said that "of all the funny things he had seen he thought this was the funniest. What was the object of a union? To enable it to exercise an influence with a view to resisting the encroachments of the employing class, and here and there to gain some modicum of advantage as a result of improved methods of production, always trying to raise the standard of conditions . . . If a union was worth its salt, it would never enter into an agreement of that sort." Only effective industrial organisation could, he felt, bring advantages to the working class. The increasing number of labour and socialist members of parliament had done "exceedingly little." He continued: "Many had during recent years become so thoroughly absorbed in parliamentary work that they had given no attention whatever to the industrial side. They had come to consider that trade unionism had served its day and was now a negligible quantity." Mann thought this attitude was entirely wrong. Industrial organisation was far more important than political work. He went even further in his implied critique of the S.D.P. (who even at the height of the successful strike wave were arguing that "Striking is of little use unless it is backed up by straight political action.") by suggesting that significant change through parliament could only be brought about when it was preceded by thorough-going industrial organisation.<sup>8</sup>

Mann's numerous speeches of this kind in the period after his return to Britain soon led to complaints about him being voiced in the journal of internal affairs of the party. As early as August 1910 the S.D.P. hierarchy was saying that, although it was glad to have Mann back in the party, it felt obliged to make it clear that "we cannot altogether associate ourselves with views to which Tom Mann has given expression on some occasions. Such views have been taken in some quarters as supporting a small section known as 'Industrial Unionists', whose propaganda has been mainly concerned in an attack

upon the trade unions, and upon political action in the interests of the working classes upon Independent Socialist lines which is particularly the work of the S.D.P." <sup>9</sup> Mann's case had been discussed at an Executive Committee on July 24, when it was decided that Mann should send a statement of his position for publication in *Justice*.<sup>10</sup> But Mann's clarification of his position only delayed his eventual departure from the S.D.P. He resigned shortly after the national conference in 1911. Mann wrote to H.W. Lee, the S.D.P. secretary:

"Dear Sir and Comrade — I hereby tender my resignation as a member of the S.D.P. I do so, partly because of the endorsement by the recent Conference of the official attitude of the Party on the subject of war, but more so because, since my return to this country, I find myself not in agreement with the important matter of Parliamentary action. My experiences have driven me more and more into the non-Parliamentary position; and this I find is most unwelcome to most members of the Party. After the most careful reflection I am driven to the belief that the real reason why the trade unionist movement of this country is in such a deplorable state of inefficiency is to be found in the fictitious importance which the workers have been encouraged to attach to Parliamentary action. . . . I am driven to the belief . . . that economic liberty will never be realised by such means. So I declare in favour of Direct Industrial Organisation, not as a means but as *the* means whereby the workers can ultimately overthrow the capitalist system and become the actual controllers of their industrial and social destiny . . ."<sup>11</sup>

By this time, however, and in fact for some time before then Tom Mann did not need the Social Democratic Party or *Justice* to provide him with a platform either for his speeches or his writings — he had his own organisation, the Industrial Syndicalist Education League, and his own journal, the *Industrial Syndicalist*. To trace

these developments it is necessary to return to May 10, 1910, the day on which Mann arrived in Britain after his eight year absence. Amongst the group of people who met him at Victoria Docks in London was the journalist, translator and leading member of the London SDP, Guy Bowman. Bowman had shortly before been the manager of the S.D.P.'s Twentieth Century Press. He seems to have specialised in the study of developments in Continental socialism. Earlier in 1910 his translation of Gustave Hervé's anti-militarist classic *Leur Patrie* appeared as *My Country Right or Wrong*. In the introduction to this Bowman had suggested the formation in England of an anti-patriotic paper similar to Hervé's *La Guerre Sociale*. He decided at the time that the formation of such a paper would not be very fruitful unless it was connected with a working class movement, since the people who were involved in pacifist propaganda at the time were "chiefly bourgeois". The growth of the industrial unionist movement gave Bowman his chance to combine the two strands, and knowing that Mann had become an industrial unionist of sorts and that he was proposing to return to England, he sought and got Mann's aid. Virtually the first words Mann said to Bowman at Victoria docks were: "Let's go and see the men of Direct Action", by whom, Bowman added in an account of the meeting published subsequently, Mann meant the leaders of the Confédération Générale du Travail in Paris.<sup>12</sup> On May 30, 1910 Mann and Bowman arrived in Paris where they contacted many of the leaders of the CGT through Mann's old associate (from the days of International Federation of Ship, Dock, and River Workers in the mid-1890s) Charles Marck, who was treasurer of the CGT. Mann spoke at several meetings (with Bowman translating) during his short stay in Paris; and made lasting contacts with the editorial staffs of the two most important internationalist-minded of the revolutionary syndicalist papers, the *Bulletin International du Mouvement Syndicaliste*,

and Pierre Monatte and Alfred Rosmer's *La Vie Ouvrière*.<sup>13</sup> Mann and Bowman were greatly impressed by the French revolutionary syndicalists, and were strengthened in their decision to work inside the existing trade unions. Within weeks of their return from Paris, Bowman (as publisher) and Mann (as editor) issued, in July 1910, the first issue of the *Industrial Syndicalist*. A further issue was published every month for the following ten months. Writing in 1913 Mann claimed that "These publications had a wide circulation and an immense influence."<sup>14</sup> They continue to hold a considerable interest.

Particular issues stand out. The issue of August 1910 on the transport workers includes the letter issued over Ben Tillett's name (but with Tom Mann's considerable encouragement) calling for the formation of what quickly became the National Transport Workers' Federation.<sup>15</sup> The October 1910 number contains Mann's record of his first personal contact with the American IWW leader, Big Bill Haywood, who in many respects was his American counterpart.<sup>16</sup> In the "Symposium on Syndicalism", which appeared in the November 1910, Mann's vivid description of the disturbances at Tonypandy during the Cambrian Combine dispute can be found.<sup>17</sup> "Working Class Socialism" by E.J.B. Allen, one of the pioneers of industrial unionism in Britain (with whom Mann had earlier exchanged copies of his Australian pamphlet *The Way to Win* for Allen's own *Revolutionary Unionism*),<sup>18</sup> is also in this number, as well as the pungent essay by the South Wales syndicalist, W.F. Hay, "The Miners' Hope", which so "impressed" Mr. Asquith during the 1912 coal strike. (Asquith was handed various syndicalist pamphlets "compiled under the authority of Mr. Tom Mann, which gravely impressed Mr. Asquith with the dangerous possibilities of the movement of which the strike was to some extent an expression. More particularly was Mr. Asquith impressed by an essay, "The Miners' Hope", written by W.F. Hay . . . "<sup>19</sup>)

Hay, who made an extremely important contribution to the education work of the Plebs League and the Central Labour College in South Wales, wrote a further impressive article "*Miners' Wake Up!*" with Noah Ablett, the Maerdy checkweighman and leading author of *The Miners' Next Step*, in the issue of February 1911.<sup>20</sup> The December 1910 issue is valuable for its long report of the founding conference of Mann's Industrial Syndicalist Education League; and the January 1911 issue has the verbatim report of the debate, between Mann and his fellow member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers Frank Rose, to which the young Harry Pollitt was taken by his father. "How Tom strode about that stage! How he hammered home the points of his policy! 'That's how I want to be,' I whispered to my father, and I walked home on air."<sup>21</sup>

The four or so years before the first world war were, in Britain, simultaneously a period of exceptional industrial unrest and a period of massive expansion of trade union membership. In 1909 total trade union membership stood at around 2½ millions: by 1914 it was over 4 millions. The biggest gains were made amongst "unskilled" workers, with the Workers' Union in particular rising from relative obscurity to a position of major significance among the country's major unions.<sup>22</sup> In the ten years 1900-1909 the average annual total of days lost due to stoppages (disregarding the exceptional year of 1908 when these amounted to 10,790,000) was somewhere between 2½ and 3 million. In each of the years 1910, 1911, 1913 and 1914 there were around 10 million days lost due to stoppages. In 1912 the figure was nearly 41 million.<sup>23</sup> In the "Labour Unrest" period there were, to give just a few outstanding examples, nation wide strikes amongst dockers, seamen, and railway workers in 1911; a national strike of mineworkers in 1912 (which explains the exceptionally high "days lost" figure for that year); in 1913 there was the "Black Country Strike" (which

contributed significantly to the growth of the Workers' Union) of less-skilled workers in the metal working industries.<sup>24</sup>

But perhaps these figures don't adequately communicate the sense of crisis that many people in Edwardian Britain felt they were going through. A leading journalist, Philip Gibbs, recalled the labour unrest in the following words:

"Underneath our gay social life with its pleasure and pageantry and sport — the Boat Race, the Epsom races, Henley, Ascot, Cowes, cricket at Lord's, the massed mobs at professional football matches, tennis tournaments, music and mirth at the White City — to all of which I went, not for fun, but as an observer and recorder of contemporary life with critical but not hostile eyes — there were signs and sudden outbreaks of ugly conflict . . . The Welsh miners rioted at Tonypandy. I saw them marching down the Rhondda Valley. I saw baton charges not pleasant to see . . . There was a general strike in Liverpool to which I was sent. It was as near to a revolution as anything I had seen in England. It started with a strike of the transport workers, and spread to other unions who declared sympathetic strikes. For many weeks — nearly three months — nothing moved in Liverpool. The dockers did not handle any cargoes. The railway porters came out. The tramway-men were idle. Even the road sweepers declined to work. Some troops were sent into the city to maintain order but increased disorder because they were stoned by the strikers and were not allowed to fire in self-defence. They had to retreat under showers of kidney stones with which the mob armed themselves. The situation was alarming and not without brutality among the strikers, whose passions were aroused."<sup>25</sup>

The Government's chief conciliator, Sir George Askwith, described the situation in Hull during the same strike in equally dramatic fashion. He records that when he arrived in Hull in the summer of 1911 he "heard a town council-

lor remark that he had been in Paris during the Commune and had never seen anything like this . . . he had not known there were such people in Hull — women with hair streaming and half nude, reeling through the streets, smashing and destroying.”<sup>26</sup> The services of Askwith and his staff of conciliators and arbitrators were called for with great frequency during the strike wave. Askwith became particularly pessimistic about the coal strike in 1912. Askwith, apparently, told the leader of the opposition, Bonar Law, in March 1912 that it was not possible for the Government to offer protection to all who wanted to work. Askwith is quoted as having said that “There are only 80,000 troops available for the purpose, and the Territorials cannot be trusted.” The reporter of Askwith’s remarks, Austen Chamberlain, added that “Sir George had gone on to say that he had the gloomiest reports about the transport and dock labourers. If they were severely pinched by the cessation of work they would take to looting.” After recounting a story that a wholesale armourer had sold 100 revolvers in two days to worried gentlemen, Chamberlain commented:

“It is strange to have such experiences in England. We are living in a new world, and the past gives us little guidance for the present. More works are being closed down every day. More trains are being taken off the railways. The whole machinery of national life is slowly stopping . . .”<sup>27</sup>

Things seemed to get progressively worse. Many people shared the view put forward by the extremely well-informed Askwith in a speech at the Cavendish Club in Bristol in November 1913. He said:

“That the present unrest will cease I do not believe for a moment; it will increase, and probably increase with greater force. Within a comparatively short time there may be movements in this country coming to a head of which recent events have been a small foreshadowing.”<sup>28</sup>

The fact that more formal shape was given to the ad hoc expressions of industrial solidarity with the formation in 1914 of the Triple Alliance, by which the miners, the railwaymen, and the transport workers threatened concerted strike action, seemed only to give more weight to Askwith’s prophecy. The declaration of the Scottish coal-owners in July 1914 that they would be forced to reduce wages looked as if it would have been the issue over which there would be joint action by the Triple Alliance unions in the autumn of 1914. Ernest Bevin was not alone when in 1920, recalling the pre-war years, he stated that:

“It was a period which, if the war had not broken out, would have, I believe, seen one of the greatest industrial revolts the world would ever had seen.”<sup>29</sup>

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Tom Mann was at, or near, the centre of many of the episodes of the labour unrest. He was at Tonypany during the Cambrian Combine Strike in 1910; he was the chairman of the strike committee in Liverpool during the transport strike of 1911;<sup>30</sup> he was often to be found amongst the miners in the various coalfields before, during, and after the 1912 strike; in 1913 he was stumping the Black Country during the “prairie fire” of strikes for a minimum wage of 23 shillings a week.<sup>31</sup> But Mann’s presence at the “trouble spots” constituted only a fraction of his activities in these years. During this time he also found time to visit France, Ireland, Scandinavia, the United States and South Africa — as well as speaking in hundreds of the industrial centres, big and small, all over Britain. He even spent several weeks in Strangeways Gaol in Manchester. He also did spells of organising work for Tillet’s Dockers’ Union, and for Havelock Wilson’s National Sailors’ and Firemen’s Union. He spoke at countless meetings under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party, the Independent Labour Party, a host of

local socialist bodies and trade union organisations, as well as for his own avowedly propagandist organisation, the Industrial Syndicalist Education League which he formed in November 1910. Mann was indefatigable and seemingly ubiquitous, and his oratory and his writings were powerful and effective. Many contemporary observers noted these characteristics. The author of one of the many books on syndicalism published before the first world war observed that:

"Tom Mann is by nature exactly suited for doing propaganda among unskilled workers. To understand his influence – and Tom Mann is Syndicalism in England – it is necessary to hear him speak. He has two voices – a loud take-it-or-leave-it voice, which he mainly uses, and a low, smooth voice, in which he delivers satirical passages descriptive of the respectable trade union official and the mistakenly conciliatory tactician. He is full of energy, and runs about the platform."<sup>32</sup>

Two other writers noted that Mann was "a superb speaker with an electrifying manner." Of his activities in 1910 they stated that Mann did "an enormous amount of propaganda work throughout the country on behalf of Syndicalism and the desirability of the bringing into being of general federations of Labour bodies. Indeed, much of the progress which has been made by the various unions now forming the Transport Workers' Federation was due to the efforts of Mr. Mann, whose utterances also, it must be confessed, played a considerable part in certain districts and trades in fomenting class prejudice, more particularly amongst miners in disturbed areas." Writing about the strikes of 1911 they again noted Mann's role. Mann, they claimed, was "conspicuous in driving home the lessons of the strike of the summer . . . He is a violent, but a vivid and effective speaker; and he secured a very large accession indeed to the ranks of the Unions for which he was working."<sup>33</sup>

Mann had a simple message to convey. Basically, he repeatedly called for a fighting, aggres-

sive trade unionism, advocating the use of sympathy strikes and other solidarity actions. As a longer term objective he called for a re-organisation of the trade union structure through the formation of industrial unions by, in the first instance, the federation of existing trade unions. He differentiated his version of "industrial unionism" from that of the industrial unionists in the organisations originating from the Socialist Labour Party by his insistence that the only possible policy was to work inside the existing unions and that it was useless to attempt to establish new, doctrinally pure unions. Not surprisingly Mann and his comrades came in for a great deal of criticism from the true industrial unionists. Even before Mann arrived back in Britain in May 1910 after his eight and a half year stay in Australia and New Zealand the industrial unionist paper in Britain, the Edinburgh based *Socialist*, had printed an exposure by the Industrial Workers of the World clubs in Australia of Mann's false industrial unionism.<sup>34</sup> The SLP industrial unionists kept up the criticism but Mann always seems to have taken it in good part.<sup>35</sup> One of Mann's most virulent critics, the Durham miner George Harvey, later claimed that "Syndicalism or Tom Mannism, was Federation of Trade Unions on anti-political lines, whereas Industrial Unionism was organisation on Industrial Departmental lines, being political as well as industrial, having definite aims and methods"<sup>36</sup> In saying that, he was right; but Harvey's own organisation soon had to admit that the pure industrial unionists had not been at all successful. In October 1913 *The Socialist* recorded that the SLP's industrial organisation, the Industrial Workers of Great Britain, had "failed to attract to our organisation even the workers who believed in Industrial Unionism." Mann's persistent propaganda, on the other hand, seems to have paid off, supported as it was by the realisation of his message in the actual practice of the successful strike wave. Mann's work for changes in the trade union structure made headway too

— two concrete achievements with which Mann's agitation was not unconnected were the formation of the National Transport Workers' Federation in 1910 and the formation of the National Union of Railwaymen in 1912.

G.D.H. Cole, a knowledgeable contemporary observer if ever there was one, noted that the most remarkable feature of English trade unionism before the first world war was the absence of organised propaganda, and he acknowledged that "More work has been done in this direction by Mr. Tom Mann alone than by the whole of organised labour."<sup>37</sup> But Cole, while acknowledging that Mann was at the time "the most striking personality in the Trade Union world," asserted that:

"Tom Mann did not in any sense cause the strikes or the unrest: he contributed a great deal to the direction they took and to the guiding of the 'unrest' into definite and constructive channels, but he cannot be said to have caused it. He utilised an existing state of affairs with an eye to a wider future as well as to the present. His career is therefore interesting rather as an account of the enduring results the movement is likely to bring forth, than as the historical explanation of its origin. Tom Mann's success came no doubt largely from his personal qualities, his gift of oratory, and his strong personality and vivid enthusiasm; but it came much more from the fact that he chose the right moment for his reappearance. The time was ripe, and it was his fortune and privilege to be the spark to set the train alight."<sup>38</sup>

If, then, Tom Mann only articulated and channelled the unrest, what caused it? There were, not surprisingly, many attempts to explain the cause of the strike wave. A whole host of reasons was put forward by worried social commentators and politicians. Some of the reasons put forward are more worthy of serious attention than others. One of the most informed explanations was suggested by Sir George Askwith in a

memorandum to the Cabinet in September 1911. Here he suggested that the chief causes were probably the rise in the cost of living, and the failure of wages to keep pace with rising prices; the conspicuous display of luxury by the rich, which he felt to be most marked in their growing use of motor cars; and the improvements in national communications.<sup>39</sup> A very interesting enquiry into the causes of the unrest was set in train by a group of Unionist MPs in the autumn of 1911. The group of MPs, including L.S. Amery, W. Joynson-Hicks, and A.D. Steel-Maitland, commissioned a panel of experts to deliver to them in conference at Oxford a series of Papers on Unrest Among the Working Classes. The introduction to the published papers reads, significantly: "The harassed member of Parliament who sincerely desires to understand the Unrest which became so acute in the Labour World during last summer finds two difficulties at the outset." The first was the great mass of literature on the subject; the second was the sheer number of differing explanations and solutions. To cut through the confusion the MPs decided to take up a suggestion that "the central cause of Unrest was poverty". They therefore commissioned papers on the wages aspect of poverty, the public health aspects of poverty, the housing aspects of poverty, on trade unionists' attitudes to poverty, and on the housekeeping aspects of poverty. Many of the papers showed an awareness of the by then substantial scientific literature on poverty, using the concepts and measures of poverty which Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree and others had developed.<sup>40</sup> The author of the paper on the wages aspect of poverty urged his listeners to think back to previous periods of labour unrest, including those of 1871-72 and 1889-91. In each case, he asserted, "this was accompanied by the same factor, namely, an increase in the cost of living, while wages remained unchanged, or rose more slowly. In other words, each of these 'unrests' came after either an actual fall

of the standard of comfort, or after the arrestment of an advance which had been in progress. I suggest, therefore, that here we have the main cause of the labour unrest of today."<sup>41</sup>

It must be said right away that the anonymous author of that opinion put forward a eminently more realistic explanation of the labour unrest than did many other commentators. Some of those whose letters filled the correspondence columns of *The Times* blamed it all on the exceptionally hot weather of the summer of 1911; others like Lord Robert Cecil in a speech in Parliament in March 1912, laid the blame far too squarely on the activities of syndicalist "agitators"; at least one other observer interpreted the labour unrest as part of "a systematic attack on society";<sup>42</sup> and a Conservative writer attempted a Bergsonian interpretation with his stress on "the illogical, instinctive gathering of force of the revolt of the governed."<sup>43</sup> But, as hard-headed as the "poverty as the cause of unrest" explanation seems to be, it is quite clear that poverty, although it may often be a necessary cause of unrest, is by no means always a sufficient one. There is, in short, no certainty that economic deprivation leads necessarily to radicalisation. On the other hand there is much truth in C.F.G. Masterman's statement of 1909 that "Socialism amongst the working peoples propagates and triumphs in times of plenty, withers up and vanishes in times of depression. This is exactly the reverse of the accepted belief, which thought that the poor are stung into Socialism by suffering, as poets are stung into poetry by wrong."<sup>44</sup>

Henry Pelling, in a thorough analysis of the economic causes of the Labour Unrest, has commented that although Askwith and others were right when they said that wages were failing to keep up with rising prices, "There is some doubt, however, whether considerations of this character are more likely to stimulate labour unrest than, for instance, attempts to cut wages in a time of declining price-levels."<sup>45</sup> It certainly

seems that the exceptionally large number of days lost through stoppages in 1908 bears out Pelling's point that attempts to cut wages were often the cause of industrial disputes. 1908 was a year of slump, and according to E.H. Phelps Brown, "like other slumps it had prompted demands for wage cuts that were resisted obstinately."<sup>46</sup> Pelling goes on to argue that the pattern of the trade cycle was probably a much more significant factor in producing a much more significant factor in producing the economic preconditions for the strike wave. The years 1911-1914 were years of good trade and markedly low unemployment. The unemployment percentages for 1911, 1912, 1913, and 1914 were 3.0, 3.2, 2.1, and 3.3 respectively, and in this respect are comparable to spells of low unemployment (which were also periods of considerable trade union militancy) in the years 1888-91 and 1896-1901. "Men," Pelling concludes, "could more readily defy their employers when the supply of potential blacklegs was at its lowest."<sup>47</sup>

Ideas and class feelings — consciousness, in short — had a part to play too. Lloyd George sensed this and, in a debate in the House of Commons on 8 May 1912, had some interesting things to say on the causes of the "labour troubles:

"First of all, of course, is the question of wages. Secondly, and I am not sure that it is almost as large a cause for unrest, there is the feeling that the conditions of life are not worthy of the dignity of men who are clamouring for improvement. And, thirdly, there is the feeling that they are not treated, under certain conditions, as if they were men possessing a mind of their own, but as if they were purely the creatures of the particular management and were to take their orders without question or complaint on their part, especially if it were presented collectively to the management, when it would not be accepted or considered. Those are the sort of things which produce this labour unrest."

Indeed, Sir George Askwith himself in an analysis of the strikes of 1910 made some observations which also tend to move some of the emphasis away from low wages as the chief cause of strikes. "Curiously," he wrote, "questions of wages involved only 20 per cent of the workpeople directly affected by these disputes."<sup>48</sup> Many of the strikes in the period had struggles for union recognition or resistance to managerial control at or near their centre. A considerable number of strikes were rank and file revolts against agreements signed by the trade union leaders with employers; and Askwith observed also that the strikes of 1910 (except those in Lancashire and Cheshire) had one thing in common, they all "were largely due to the action of young men."

Many of those young men had new ideas in their heads — the ideas, by no means always explicitly realised, of syndicalism and industrial unionism.<sup>49</sup> They knew the efficacy of the syndicalist practice even if they were not fully versed in the theory. The ideas of the syndicalists were being sown in fertile soil. The power of example was also important. The success of the strikes clearly led to greater confidence in collective and militant action among previously acquiescent groups of workers. "The masses of the workers in Great Britain," wrote one hostile observer, "are not Socialists nor are they Syndicalists. But they are being converted to the methods of Socialism and Syndicalism by the proof that in following those methods they are able to win great concessions."<sup>50</sup> Others, who observed the labour movement from the inside, also felt that there was something in this. Sam Smith, who had been a student at Ruskin College in 1910-11, having been asked in May 1912 by R.H.Tawney "what was the cause of social unrest", said that it was "largely a matter of example." Tawney was given a similar opinion by a Northumberland miner, who said that people had begun to see that society was flexible, that things could be changed.<sup>51</sup>

The working class world did not just spontaneously erupt. Economic deprivation, as important and as real as it was for the working class before the first world war, was by no means the sole cause of the labour unrest. As E.P.Thompson reminded us some years ago, "Nothing in history happens spontaneously, nothing worthwhile is achieved without expense of intellect and spirit."<sup>52</sup> Tom Mann expended his intellect and his spirit — in his speeches, in his articles, and in his pamphlets. Seemingly tireless, he agitated, educated, and organised. There is a sense in which *it can be said* that Tom Mann helped to cause the strikes and the unrest. It seems appropriate here to end by quoting the record of one other of Tawney's conversations. In April 1912 Tawney discussed the causes of the labour unrest with the economist A.E. Harte. Harte opened with the "economist" attribution of it to the rate at which prices had risen since the end of the Boer War. Tawney countered this by reminding him that prices had been rising for long before that without it causing a huge strike wave. "Yes," rejoined Harte, "but profits have gone up enormously without wages rising, and the workers have begun to find it out. Then there has been the influence of Tom Mann. His personality can hold a crowd of 5,000 labourers and make them act as one."<sup>53</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

1. See on the National Democratic League, F. Bealey and H. Pelling *Labour and Politics 1900-1906* (London 1958) pp.51-52, and for Mann's part in it see Tom Mann *Why I Joined the National Democratic League* (London 1901). On Mann's career in general see *Tom Mann's Memoirs* (first published London 1923, reprinted with useful introduction by Ken Coates, London 1967); his earlier autobiographical book *From Single Tax to Syndicalism* (Walthamstow 1913). There is the first volume of a projected three volume biography by Dona Torr. *Tom Mann and his times*, Vol. 1, 1856-1890 (London

- 1956). Further sections of her work have been written up and published as pamphlets in the *Our History* series, nos. 26-27 and 38. The most recent short assessment (and possibly the best) is Richard Hyman's introduction to the 1972 reprint of Mann's 1886 pamphlet *What a Compulsory 8-Hour Working Day Means to the Workers*.
2. Tom Mann "Is Trade Unionism Played Out?" in *The Tocsin* December 8, 1904, reprinted in R.N. Ebbels ed. *The Australian Labour Movement 1850-1907* (Melbourne 1965) pp.178-179.
  3. Tom Mann *Socialism* (Melbourne 1905), quoted in R.N. Ebbels, op.cit., pp.181-182. See also Ian Turner *Industrial Labour and Politics: the dynamics of the labour movement in Eastern Australia 1900-1921* (Canberra/Cambridge 1965) pp.56-57.
  4. Ian Turner *Industrial Labour and Politics* p.42. Mann's own account of the dispute is in *Tom Mann's Memoirs*, pp.185-192.
  5. *Tom Mann's Memoirs*, p.193.
  6. *The Times* May 11, 1910. An account of Mann's return can be found in *Justice* May 14, 1910.
  7. *Justice* May 28, 1910.
  8. *Blackburn Times*, July 30, 1910. The quotation in parenthesis is from *Justice* May 27, 1911.
  9. *S.D.P. News*, August 1910.
  10. This appeared in *Justice* September 10, 1910.
  11. *Justice* May 11, 1911.
  12. See Guy Bowman's introduction to Tom Mann *From Single Tax to Syndicalism* (Walthamstow 1913). On Bowman see also Charles Watney and James A. Little *Industrial Warfare* (London 1912) p.34. Bowman's career after his association with Mann was over is not clear. The last references I have found to him in the labour movement press are in the *Labour Leader* in January and March 1915 when he advertised still calling himself the general secretary of the Industrial Syndicalist Education League, for speaking engagements: see the issues of January 7, 28, and March 18.
  13. See *Tom Mann's Memoirs* p.203. *From Single Tax to Syndicalism* p.64. A report of one of Mann's speeches in Paris appeared in *Bulletin International du Mouvement Syndicaliste* 5 June 1910. On some of the on-going contacts that were developed between the English and French syndicalists see Christian Gras *Alfred Rosmer et le mouvement révolutionnaire international* (Paris 1971).
  14. Tom Mann *From Single Tax to Syndicalism* p.65.
  15. See *Tom Mann's Memoirs*, p.207. A report of the founding meeting of the NTWF, at which Mann was present, can be found in *East End News and London Shipping Chronicle* September 27, 1910.
  16. See Haywood's putative autobiography, *Bill Haywood's Book* (London 1929) pp. 235-36

- for Haywood's retrospective views of Mann's campaign. The two men were later to disagree seriously in the "boring from within"/dual unionism controversy in the international syndicalist movement.
17. See on the dispute R.Page Arnot *South Wales Miners* (London 1967).
  18. *Tom Mann's Memoirs*, p.195.
  19. Charles Watney and James A. Little *Industrial Warfare* (London 1912) p.136.
  20. On the background to, and authorship of, *The Miners' Next Step* see E.D. Lewis *The Rhondda Valleys* (London 1959) p. 179, Ness Edwards *History of the South Wales Miners' Federation* Vol.1, pp.67-70; and the excellent introduction to the 1973 reprint of *The Miners' Next Step*, by R. Merfyn Jones. Hay's educational work is detailed in *Rhondda Socialist* e.g. Oct. 26 and Nov 9, 1912 and *South Wales Worker* Sept 27, 1913.
  21. Harry Pollitt *Serving My Time* (London 1940) p.130.
  22. See H.A. Clegg *General Union in a Changing Society* (Oxford 1964), pp. 63-65, and R. Hyman *The Workers' Union* (Oxford 1971).
  23. H. Pelling "The Labour Unrest, 1911-1914" in *Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain* (London 1968).
  24. The best account so far of the "Labour Unrest" is E.H. Phelps Brown *The Growth of British Industrial Relations* (London 1965 edn) chapter VI. See also the relevant sections in the extremely valuable study by Walter Kendall *The Revolutionary Movement in Britain 1900-1920* (London 1969).
  25. Philip Gibbs *The Pageant of the Years* (London 1946) p. 125.
  26. Lord Askwith *Industrial Problems and Disputes* (London 1920) p. 150.
  27. Letter of 12 March, 1912 in Sir Austen Chamberlain *Politics from Inside: An Epistolary Chronicle 1906-1914* (London 1936) pp.443-444.
  28. Lord Askwith *Industrial Problems and Disputes*, p. 349.
  29. Bevin speaking at the Shaw Inquiry 1920, quoted in W.G. Runciman *Relative Deprivation and Social Justice* (Harmondsworth 1972 edn) p. 67.
  30. See on the Liverpool strike H.R. Hikins "The Liverpool General Transport Strike 1911" in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 1961, pp.169-195.
  31. See *Daily Herald*, March, June and July 1913 passim.
  32. Arthur D. Lewis *Syndicalism and the General Strike* (London 1912), p. 199.
  33. Charles Watney and James A. Little *Industrial Warfare: the aims and claims of capital and labour* (London 1912) pp. 34, 77-78, and 85 respectively.

34. See *The Socialist* April 1910.
35. See the amusing account of Mann's reaction to an SLP "exposure" of Mann, in Bonar Thompson *Hyde Park Orator* (London 1934) p.89.
36. George Harvey *Industrial Unionism and the Mining Industry* (Pelaw-on-Tyne 1917) p. 184. Part VII of Harvey's book, "Syndicalism and Industrial Unionism", is full of criticisms of Mann and of syndicalism. For details on Harvey see David Douglass *Pit Life in County Durham* (History Workshop Pamphlet no.6 Oxford 1972) pp. 86-92. A good account of the difference between syndicalism and industrial unionism can be found in B. Pribicevic *The Shop Stewards' Movement and Workers' Control* (Oxford 1959).
37. G.D.H. Cole *The World of Labour* (London 1920 imp.) p. 246.
38. G.D.H. Cole *The World of Labour* p. 40.
39. H. Pelling "The Labour Unrest, 1911-1914" p. 147. It has been estimated that there was a rise in the cost of living of about 10 per cent between 1908 and 1913. Working class hostility to the use of motor cars by the rich is mentioned on several occasions in the extremely interesting book by Stephen Reynolds and Bob and Tom Woolley *Seems So! A Working Class View of Politics* (London 1913 edn.).
40. See Michael E. Rose *The Relief of Poverty, 1832-1914* (London 1972) esp. pp. 27-33
41. "The Wages Aspect of Poverty", in *Papers on Unrest Among the Working Classes* (London 1911). p.13.
42. See *The Tyranny of Trade Unions* by One Who Resents It (London 1912) p. 94.
43. Fabian Ware *The Worker and His Country* (London 1912) p. viii.
44. C.F.G. Masterman *The Condition of England* (London 1909) pp. 150-151, quoted in W.G. Runciman *Relative Deprivation and Social Justice* (Harmondsworth 1972 edn) p. 25.
45. Henry Pelling, "The Labour Unrest, 1911-1914" p. 150.
46. E.H. Phelps Brown *The Growth of British Industrial Relations*, p. 311.
47. Henry Pelling "The Labour Unrest, 1911-1914", p. 150. See also K.G.J.C. Knowles *Strikes* (Oxford 1952) esp. p. 148. It is interesting to note the remarks made by the shop stewards' leader J.T. Murphy at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in 1922: "In England we have had a powerful shop stewards' movement. But it can and only does exist in given objective conditions. These necessary conditions at the moment in England do not exist. How can you build factory organisations when you have 1,750,000 workers walking the streets? You cannot build factory organisation in empty and depleted workshops while you have a great reservoir or unemployed workers." - quoted in Ken Coates and Anthony Topham (ed.) *Industrial*

- Democracy in Great Britain*, (p. 134, Spokesman Books 1973).
48. Lord Askwith *Industrial Problems and Disputes*, p.134.
49. Rowland Kenney, "The Brains behind the Labour Revolt" in *The English Review*, March 1912 referred to the ever growing number of trade unionists who were seeking education "so that they will be more competent to deal with the problem of raising the workers to the position of the controlling class in society." My reference to "young men" is only a rhetorical flourish - to give just one example of the role of women in the strike wave, note Askwith's remarks on the origins of the Black Country strike. "The strike commenced with the small beginning of some girls at Dudley saying that they could not live any longer on the wages paid to them. Just as years ago the London match-girls had started the London dock-strike, so these girls lit the torch which fired the Midlands. The men followed suit in factory after factory." *Industrial Problems and Disputes*, p. 252.
50. *The Tyranny of Trade Unions* by One Who Resents It, p. 94.
51. R.H. Tawney's *Commonplace Book*, eds, J.M. Winter and D.M. Joslin (Cambridge 1972) p.10.
52. E.P. Thompson, "Homage to Tom Maquire" in *Essays in Labour History* (London 1967 edn. p. 314).
53. R.H. Tawney's *Commonplace Book*, p.4.

### A Note on Page Numbering

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# The Industrial Monthly Syndicalist

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## Prepare for Action

By TOM MANN.



### **he Great World Movement.**

In the twentieth century it is no longer possible for members of any political or religious party whatever to deny that there is, on foot, a great world Movement aiming definitely and determinedly at the economic emancipation of the workers.

Even those, who, for obvious reasons, regard this as the greatest evil, have come to realise the futility of attempting to combat this Movement by burying their heads in the sand and pretending to themselves that its influence is merely local and transitory.

There is no need for us to slur over our real weaknesses — weaknesses which, by the way, our opponents have without exception failed to note.

Chief among our faults is our remarkable gullibility. We have been singularly ready to take the word for the deed—and take it with a degree of gratitude and enthusiasm that has gladdened the hearts of the capitalists. We have frequently allowed ourselves to be hypnotised by the flattering assurance that we are reasonable men (and not Revolutionary fanatics) into a quite unreasonable acceptance of the difficulties suggested by the Masters. Moreover our numbers are considerable, and for that reason we have amongst us all sorts and conditions of men. Faint hearts there are; indolent and selfish members there must be amongst so many. But an honest enemy of the Cause would be compelled to admit that not Cowardice but Courage, not indolence and sloth but well directed energy, based upon the principle of Common action for the Common good, is coming to be the predominant characteristic of the Workers of all nations.

The present situation is unique in the history of the World. Never before has there been so extensive a Movement, which, surmounting the barrier of nationality, is consciously striving forward to the next stage in the Evolution of Mankind, where Competition will have to give way to Co-operation as surely as primitive Society had to give way to civilisation.

It is said that history repeats itself and it is quite true that, from time immemorial, the slave-class, which is our class, has arisen against the master class. Many sops have been thrown to the

snarling Demos. The earliest on record were "bread and circuses." The latest are profit-sharing and Old Age Pensions. But never before have the masters been face to face with a literate and coherent democracy.

To attain this state of collective fighting efficiency is our immediate object.

### **Our Experiences.**

I, myself, have had the privilege of sharing in the efforts to extend working class solidarity, cheerfully abandoning myself to the great work of educative agitation, and assisting others in the stupendous work of industrial and political organisation of the toiling millions who, while called the working class, constitute ninety per cent. of the total population. I have seen and rejoiced in the steady progress we have made and are making towards Socialism. Not the least significant fact is the assemblage (upon such occasion as the Ferrer murder protest) of vast, sincere crowds who are out for Socialism and nothing but Socialism. At the last May-day celebration in London, when it was estimated that no less than 40,000 were gathered together in Hyde Park, the capitalist press was disappointed in being unable to report a single instance of drunkenness or disorderly conduct. The capitalists are more afraid of these silent, earnest multitudes than of the old-time rioters. For they suggest the possibility of organisation—and organisation is the one thing that the capitalist

dreads, more even than the Ballot box . . . .

Most of us have all along been ready and willing to take our share of work in any direction making for the advance of our ideal, viz., the Abolition of Poverty by the Abolition of CapitalISM (not, as some of our intelligent critics say, by the Abolition of Capital). And in this spirit we have contributed our quota in building up the Trade Union Movement. We have belonged to, and helped in, the Co-operative Movements. We have assisted in political and municipal campaigns. We have tried unceasingly to influence educational authorities and administrative departments, always aiming to achieve the ideal and raise the standard of life as we proceed.

As a result there have been elected hundreds of members of Parliaments and thousands of municipal councillors more or less imbued with the Socialist spirit who are serving in that capacity. We have indirectly inspired an incalculable number of enthusiastic democrats whose ultimate ideals and present objects are almost identical with our own, but who honestly believe that those objects will be attained most readily by adherence to one or other of the capitalist-opportunist political parties. Liberal-Radicalism in particular can claim a large following of this kind—and it caters for its public by hysterical and utterly spurious denunciation of the House of Lords. But the Whig wire-pullers are playing with fire when they preach

the immorality of hereditary Landlordism.

For that very considerable section of their adherents who have taken them seriously will, when they find they have been fooled, gradually perceive that the same arguments can be applied to hereditary Capitalism and allay themselves with the only party whose uncompromising hostility to both abuses cannot be doubted.

Lastly, we have been the means of inducing additional scores of thousands to join the industrial organisations. And we are richer, by far, in experiences than we were twenty years ago.

That I am a common soldier in the People's Army is my only warrant for addressing my comrades in the Cause as to the particular stage of development at which we have now arrived, and as to the nature of activities called for on our part.

Our experiences enable us to draw certain conclusions as to the relative merits of the various methods employed.

### **Parliamentarism and Trade-Unionism.**

Those who have been in close touch with the Movement know that in recent years dissatisfaction has been expressed in various quarters at the results so far achieved by our Parliamentarians.

Certainly nothing very striking in the way of constructive work could reasonably be expected from the minorities of Socialists and Labour men hitherto elected. But the most moderate and

fair minded are compelled to declare that, not in one country but in all, a proportion of those comrades who, prior to being returned, were unquestionably revolutionary, are no longer so after a few years in Parliament. They are revolutionary neither in their attitude towards existing Society nor in respect of present day institutions. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that many seem to have constituted themselves apologists for existing Society, showing a degree of studied respect for bourgeois conditions, and a toleration of bourgeois methods, that destroys the probability of their doing any real work of a revolutionary character.

I shall not here attempt to juggle with the quibble of "Revolution or Evolution,"—or to meet the contention of some of those under consideration that it is not Revolution that is wanted. "You cannot change the world and yet not change the world." *Revolution is the means of, not the alternative to, Evolution.* I simply state that a working class Movement that is not revolutionary in character is not of the slightest use to the working class.

The Trade Union Movement has beyond question, been of great service to the workers. With its rejuvenescence in 1825 it became, for the time, the means whereby agitation and education were carried on. Results speedily followed, in particular in the all important matter of reducing working hours. The Class War was waged and for a period the battles were conducted by

the Unions with an admirable abandon that brought off many victories. It was in the nature of things that periods of relative flatness and inertia should ensue, during which the fighting spirit disappeared and the encroachments of the capitalist class grew apace. The workers succeeded in obtaining political recognition with the right to vote; but, beyond that, nothing that they actually did, or tried to do through Parliaments or through the Unions, could be said to have constituted any considerable advance.

Now the most notable development of the latter half of the nineteenth century is the prodigious increase in the wealth-producing capacity of the people all of which, above the actual subsistence wage of the workers, was taken, as it is to-day, by the Capitalist Class; and it must be admitted that Trade Unionism, up-to-date, has shown itself unable to reduce the universal exploitation save, in a few exceptional instances, by a very meagre percentage.

### **Direct Action.**

But spasmodic outbursts of renewed Unionist activity appeared from time to time and gave a measure of hope to the workers. As, for instance, in the year 1889, when the Gas Workers of London resolved to obtain an Eight Hour Day in place of the twelve hours then in vogue. Failing to get any promise of assistance from Parliament, the workers resolved to resort to Direct action. They organised an effective Union, showed

great courage, and, in a remarkably short time, achieved their object. That the organisation was sectional in character, and not properly linked up on the basis of Industrial Unionism, is seen in the fact that one of the biggest of the London Gas Companies was able to defy the Union and continues to this day on the twelve hour plan.

On the other hand the fight spread to the provinces, and the working time was reduced by one third and a higher actual wage was obtained for the eight hour day than had previously been paid for the full twelve hours.

A few months later in the same year there took place the Great Dock Strike of London which involved the whole of the Port workers. Much healthy activity was shown at this time and the far reaching effects of the psychological wave at that period were very considerable.

### **The Curse of Sectional Unionism.**

But looking back, as one of those connected with the numerous struggles that arose at that time, it would seem that this system, as it stands, considered as an instrument by which the Class War is to be scientifically conducted, is a very "lame dog" indeed. There are innumerable pettifogging sectional interests and very little that is soul inspiring.

That the numbers are somewhat greater than formerly is true. There are about two and a quarter millions out of an eligible industrial and agricultural

population of not less than twelve millions.

But this enormous disparity between organised and unorganised is *not* the cause of the present day impotency of the Movement.

That weakness is to be found simply, if not solely, in the sectional character of the eleven hundred Unions of the United Kingdom — in the complete absence of the true spirit of working class solidarity and, therefore, in the inability of the Unionists to utilise the machinery at their disposal for scientifically conducting the Class War. That is to say for obtaining anything worth getting towards mitigating the poverty of the workers.

The prodigal dissipation of energy is at once the characteristic and the curse of the Movement. From this follows inevitably an increasing lack of confidence — and despair of ever being able to achieve anything substantial.

Thus there is a revulsion towards Parliamentary "action" in the excitement of which we are able, for the moment, to merge our own incompetency, with innumerable other incompetents, in the general hogwash of "Parliamentarianism."

Sectional Unionism is our curse. The ability to act trade by trade, occupation by occupation, each independent of the other, may have been of some service a couple of generations ago. But it is no use now! Let us see!

Miners are organised in a given district. Engine drivers at the hauling engines

are organised. Miners have trouble with the Masters. They strike. They ask the Engine drivers to help them by refusing to lower blacklegs into the mines, or to haul any stuff whatever that is detrimental to the Miners' interests. The Engine drivers take a vote of their members. They decide it is not their quarrel—why should they risk good jobs? A big majority against the miners decides the latter's fate.

This actually happened to the Gold Miners on the Rand in the Transvaal. They used all the money they could get, and in a few months were at the mercy of the capitalists. Who had beaten them? Not the blacklegs! Beyond any question, the Engine drivers. A little while afterwards the gratitude of the capitalists to the Engine drivers was expressed by a substantial increase in wages.

Now this case of the Johannesburg Miners is typical of present day Unionism. It would be quite wrong to suppose that it was the intention of the Engine drivers to help the capitalists or to interfere with the well-being of their friends. But they had their own Trade Union.

They "attended to their own affairs and let others look after theirs, etc., etc."

And in this way the capitalists score everywhere and every time—solely by the lack of Unionist solidarity.

It is not wise to name instances too pointedly, as this merely tends to open wounds that are better left to heal. Here is another typical case—also at the Mines, but this time in Australia.

The Miners had good cause for quar-

rel, as the Masters were forcing a reduction. The latter asked for special police, not because there was the slightest disorder, but because, apparently, they thought it would strengthen their case to have mounted police "patrolling"—which is another name for irritating. These police were carefully conveyed a distance of fourteen hundred miles over the railways of three states by enginemmen, guards, linesmen, etc., each of whom belonged to his particular trade union. The supplies for these policemen, with their horses and carbines, swords, revolvers, and baggage, were all handled by Union men. And here is the astounding paradox! These same Union men were subscribing given sums per week to help the Broken Hill miners to carry on the fight *While Actually Engaged in Entrenching and Supplying the Enemy*.

But this is so common an occurrence that there is no need to go to Australia for instances.

### **"Scabs to Order."**

The Shipping Federation systematically supplies British workmen as "scabs to order" in this or any other country. It is no use objecting that these miserable wretches ought not to be called British Workmen. The facts are too palpable. And these blacklegs, with all their necessary food, liquor, bedding, etc., etc., are shipped and conveyed over hundreds of miles by rail and road, as well as water, by other Union men. The drivers of locomotives, conveying them in batches of a hundred to the

port, carry their Union card. The Engineers on the boat belong either to the Marine Engineers' Union or the Amalgamated Engineers. The carman, carrying foodstuffs for the scabs, is a member of his Union. The carpenters who make to order the fittings to house them, are Unionists.

It is these Union men, and not the capitalists, who beat the other Unionists trying to resist reduction or obtain increases. And so it must continue until we can organise by Industries and not merely by Trades. Until we can unify the Industrial Movement into one compact fighting force.

Comrades, we have got to face the fact that Sectional Unionism is played out.

### **Industrial Unionism the Necessary Outcome of Capitalist Organisation.**

The growth of Capitalist industry has compelled this class to organise perfectly. In the case of the large Trusts a decision given at a Board meeting often affects hundreds of thousands of workmen. The Masters' organisations cover all connected with the Industry. In the case of the Engineering and Shipbuilding Industry the action of the Masters is aimed to cover, and succeeds in covering, the whole of those workers in the establishments owned by them, no matter how many trades there may be. It is the entire Shipbuilding Industry they are after, and so they take care to act concertedly over the whole—and

this covers some twenty different trades, organised into some twenty-four different Unions. These twenty-four Unions have never been able to take combined action against the capitalists. Hence this weakness!

The unit of organised efficiency must be the whole of the workers connected with an Industry, no matter how many trades there may be. For fighting purposes the Boiler Makers, Moulders, Fitters, Turners, Copper-smiths, Blacksmiths, Patternmakers, Drillers, Strikers, Machinists, Handymen and Labourers, no matter what the occupation—even the clerical staff and drawing office—must combine, and, for fighting purposes, act as one man.

This is the meaning of Industrial Unionism!

It is not in Britain only that this urgency for Industrial solidarity exists. It is in every country alike.

In 1905 there was held a Convention in Chicago, U.S.A., to consider the faultiness and inefficiency of the Trade Union Movement in that country. The outcome of that convention was the formation of a new organisation known as the "Industrial Workers of the World"—the essence of which is the organisation of all workers on the basis of working class solidarity irrespective of occupation. It declared that the old method of organising to protect the interests of those connected with a particular craft or trade is essentially mischievous, and harmful to working class interests as a whole. It creates

and perpetuates divisions, instead of making for the unity of the working class. They therefore held that organisation on the lines of the "American Federation of Labour" was essentially reactionary, maintaining craft and sectional bias amongst the workers. Worse still, that the Unions of the A. F. of L. were not aiming at the overthrow of Capitalism, but were compromising with capitalists and merely seeking, at best, to patch up the increasing holes made by that system. The Conveners stated in a circular that their object was to be able to take united action and present a solid front to the enemy—as was being done in some of the European countries.

### **The Worker's Own.**

Whether or not the decision to ignore the existing Unions and to build up an entirely new organisation on scientific lines is the best method of procedure for the workers of America—is a matter for the Americans themselves to decide. But whilst entirely endorsing all main principles laid down by the I.W.W. and knowing well the shortcomings of the British Trade Unions, I do not believe that it is the best way for us to achieve industrial solidarity. I have given close attention to the arguments submitted by those who adopt this view, and I consider them insufficient. I know it will be a formidable task to get the existing Unions to unite whole-heartedly and share courageously in the Class War. But I believe that it can be

done. And I am confident that the proposed alternative would be even more formidable and less likely to succeed. I hold that such entire reconstruction would result in years of bickering ; entailing all the present sectionalism, and probably adding thereto by drawing large bodies into an even more reactionary position than they occupy now. In Australia, where the situation is precisely the same on a smaller scale as that which prevails in Britain, I associated my efforts with those who strongly defended Industrial Unionism—but not with those who attacked the existing Unions, seeking to establish a new force. Moreover I am entirely satisfied that the right course to pursue here in Britain is not to show hostility to the existing Unionist Movement, but rather to make clear what it ought to be—the real class-conscious fighting machinery for the overthrow of Capitalism and the realisation of Socialism. The engines of war to fight the workers' battles to overthrow the Capitalist class, and to raise the general standard of life while so doing—must be of the workers' own making. The Unions are the workers' own ; and with a clearer conception of the use to which they should be put, and the determination and ability scientifically to unite and use them, locally, nationally, and Internationally they can and will, speedily become a stupendous power, affording the necessary fulcrum upon which to rest our lever for removing the obstacles that bar our progress.

## French Syndicalism.

I am confirmed in this, having just had the opportunity to visit Paris where I got in touch with the C.G.T. (*i.e.*, Confédération Générale du Travail—the General Confederation of Labour).

For ten years past the French Trade Unionists have been busily occupied in re-organising the Unionist Movement—and they have developed more than those of any other country.

There are 700,000 Unionists in France; and a large majority of these are covered by the C.G.T. They possess the fighting instinct. They are genuinely revolutionary. They, too, seek to secure better conditions en route, always giving attention to the reduction of working hours. And they are bent on an international propaganda for the overthrow of the Capitalist system.

Their plan is to organise first in the syndicates or Unions; then, for each Industry a federation of syndicates is formed; then, over all these Industrial federations is the General Confederation. It is the latter body that issues the Union cards to the Federations of Industry, and these again to the Unions. The subscription card contains spaces for each month's subscriptions to the Trade or Industrial Federation and to the Trades Councils—so that harmonious relations are secured and common methods followed.

They have eliminated the antagonisms and sectional craft interests, and they

prove by their behaviour, that they dare fight, and know how to fight. They declare themselves revolutionary. They favour resorting, when advisable, to the General Strike. But while working for the Revolution they do not neglect to do all possible to secure general betterment.

They are, for the most part, anti-patriotic and anti-militarist, *e.g.*, they declare that the workers have no country, and are not prepared to fight in the interests of a bureaucracy; but most distinctly *are* prepared to fight for the overthrow of Capitalism in France and elsewhere. They are “non” not “anti” Parliamentary. They issue a weekly paper called “The Voice of the People,” a bi-monthly called “The Life of the Worker” and “La Guerre Sociale,” a weekly, edited by Gustave Hervé. This latter voices in all particulars the ideals and methods of the C.G.T.

## A Policy to Adopt.

Now, without urging a close imitation of the French or any other method I strongly believe that, on the average, the French policy is one that will suit us best; for whilst the temperament of the French is undoubtedly different from that of the British, their interests are exactly as ours, and their enemy is also as ours—the Capitalist system.

Of course, in some measure we are working on similar lines in this country. We have a number of Trades Union Federations, and we have the General Federation to which many of these belong. But we have no solidarity. Nor

have we at present, the Socialist conception in the Unions to help these on to the right lines. And yet I hold that they are wrong who suppose that we have not genuine, class-conscious proletarians in the Unionist movement. I am quite sure that there are many thousands who understand the Class War, and wish to take their rightful share in the fighting; but as yet they can find no satisfactory outlet. Sooner or later these leading turbulent spirits will find a method—and it would be wise on the part of those occupying responsible positions to endeavour to make it easy for such re-organisations as may be necessary, so that those who are determined to fight may not be compelled to find other agencies.

Personally, I would very much prefer to see the existing machinery made equal to the whole work than be driven to the conclusion that new agencies must be brought into existence.

The only existing organisation in this country, which is, as it were, marked out



to undertake this all-important task, is *The General Federation of Trade Unions* of which Mr. Appleton is the able Sec-

retary, and there is no reason why it should not become the responsible, re-constructive agency, and supervise, control, and direct the entire Unionist Movement.

Their badge, which is shown opposite, is the best emblem of solidarity that could be found. It reproduces the spirit of the fable of *Æsop*. Let the General Federation put the meaning of its badge into practice, let them act upon it, and they will have achieved a task of enormous advantage to the workers.

### What is Called for ?

But what will have to be the essential conditions for the success of such a movement ?

*That it will be avowedly and clearly Revolutionary in aim and method.*

Revolutionary in aim, because it will be out for the abolition of the wages system and for securing to the workers the full fruits of their labour, thereby seeking to change the system of Society from Capitalist to Socialist.

Revolutionary in method, because it will refuse to enter into any long agreements with the masters, whether with legal or State backing, or merely voluntarily; and because it will seize every chance of fighting for the general betterment—gaining ground and never losing any.

Does this mean that we should become anti-political? Certainly not.

Let the politicians do as much as they can, and the chances are that, once there is an economic fighting force in the

country, ready to back them up by action, they will actually be able to do what now would be hopeless for them to attempt to do.

The workers should realise that it is the men who manipulate the tools and machinery who are the possessors of the necessary power to achieve something tangible ; and they will succeed just in proportion as they agree to apply concerted action.

The curse of Capitalism consists in this—that a handful of capitalists can compel hundreds of thousands of workers to work in such manner and for such wages as please the capitalists. But this again is solely because of the inability of the workers to agree upon a common plan of action. The hour the workers agree and act they become all-powerful. We can settle the capitalists' strike-breaking power once for all. We shall have no need to plead with Parliamentarians to be good enough to reduce hours—as the workers have been doing for fully twenty years without result. We shall be able to do this ourselves—and there will be no power on earth to stop us so long as we do not fall foul of economic principles. One condition only is essential to this—concerted action on the part of the workers. Police and Cabinet alike become powerless to enforce the dictates of the bureaucracy when the workers are united.

I should like here to offer my hearty congratulations to comrades who have done pioneer work in this country in propagating the principles

of Industrial Unionism. As a fact, others long ago were aiming at the same idea. Without dwelling on the Owenite attempt at a Unionist Federation there were thousands of Unionists and Socialists seriously discussing, some dozen years ago, the possibility of uniting, for real fighting purposes, all the Industrial organisations. The best men of that time wished, in essence, all that is now covered by the term "Industrial Unionism." But when their efforts resulted in the present General Federation it was evident that the soul had gone and not much remained. Still, I repeat, the existing Federation has now its chance, if it has the spirit, the will, and the vim, to take the responsibility.

I know that many will at once declare that mere federation will be of little value. I am quite sure that mere federation of the kind we are accustomed to will not be worth bothering about. The unifying of the Unions must be, as regards their industrial and economic functions, equal to a real amalgamation. That is, it must ensure unanimity amongst all in an industry. There must be no loose affiliation, each one running off on its own policy. There must be a pooling of interests.

"Ah," some will say, "that means a pooling of funds—and how can it be expected that Unions having £7 or £8 a member will pool with other Unions having only as many shillings?"

I admit at once that it could not be expected. It certainly would not be required. The Unions with relatively

large funds hold them chiefly for Friendly Society Benefits, *e.g.*, the Engineers, providing old age pensions, sick benefit, death provision, etc. These funds are, and must remain, entirely the property of the Unions whose members have subscribed to them.

What is asked now is the pooling of the economic or industrial fighting fund only. Where these are not already separated, an alteration of methods of account keeping will be necessary, so that the quota subscribed purely for economic purposes may be thus used. Then we shall get rid of the unnecessary talk about "threepenny unions." As a fact, most of those who pay high subscriptions pay quite as little in proportion for genuine economic purposes as do those whose subscription is nominally lower.

But before we get details let us be content to deal with main principles.

### **"Workers of the World, Unite."**

In a sense we have come to the parting of the ways. It will no longer be possible for us to continue as we are to-day—that is to say, as we were eighty years ago. We must not go out to meet a Maxim with a blunderbuss! We may not use in 1910 the same weapon that we used against the Masters in 1829! Can we think that the Masters have sat still all these years while the membership of the Unions has been growing?

We know that they have not. We know, from the records of recent strikes,

that the complexities of modern industry have effectually aided the organisation of the Masters to defeat us. We have fought, and wasted our substance, in the acquisition of trifling concessions that have made comparatively little difference in our lives, and no difference whatever in our complete subjection to the Master class. And while we are hesitating the Trust is growing about us. To-day the small manufacturer is doomed. Every year the big men are getting fewer and bigger. That means that every year the organisation of the Masters is automatically simplified against us.

But Unionism is not played out! Rather is Unionism in its infancy! We are only just beginning to get a glimpse of the meaning of the word! Our present organisations, excellent as they may be in many respects, are but feeble affairs compared to the organisation we could achieve if we set our minds to it.

"Unite" was Marx's advice long ago, but we have never thoroughly acted upon it.

Now is the time to do it, and we will do it right here in England. We will lead them a devil of a dance, and show whether or not there is life and courage in the workers of the British Isles.

Now, Comrades of the General Federation, the Engineers' and Shipbuilders' Federations, and members of every Union throughout the land, it is up to us to adapt ourselves to the changed order of things.

Those who are asleep had better wake up or they'll be kicked out of the way. Those who say it can't be done are hereby invited to stand out of the way and look on while it is being done.

**"Workers of the World Unite.**

**You have a World to Win.**

**You have Nothing to Lose but your Chains."**

A Man had several sons who were such quarrelsome boys that they could never agree with each other.

So he called them together and had a Bundle of Sticks brought.

"Now, Boys," said their father, "take this Bundle and let me see which of you can break it."

One after the other tried his hardest ; but the Sticks were so closely bound together that they would not break. Then the Father untied the Bundle and gave one single Stick to each boy, telling him to break it.

"Oh, that is quite Easy, father," said they.

"You see, my boys," said the father, "you are like the Bundle of Sticks. While you keep together and agree, none can hurt you. When you fall apart anyone may do you Harm."

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# The Industrial Syndicalist

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THE NEED FOR A FEDERATION  
OF ALL THE WORKERS IN

## The Transport Industry

By TOM MANN.

### THE OUTLOOK.

SOME pessimists there are who tell us that the conditions of life are absolutely worse than in former years ; that the periods of unemployment are longer than they used to be ; that the power of the capitalist class is increasing every year, and that the outlook for the Workers is increasingly gloomy.

These Job's comforters point to the hopes that were raised in earlier days when the Labour movement was much younger ; when champions of the working class declared that in a few years deep and far-reaching changes for the better would take place ; and they ask, "what has come of it all ?" What have

we gained as the result of the effort put forth? Is it not still a hand-to-mouth existence; and is not the capitalist class growing richer every month at the expense of the toilers?

It must be admitted that this is largely true; but it need not be admitted that this is the end of all things. The Workers need not and ought not to give up the struggle in despair because that struggle is lasting a longer time than some honest and earnest men thought would be the case.

For my part I am cheerfully optimistic as regards the outlook for Labour. I know that the capitalist class still dominates Society in the most impudent and arrogant fashion; I know that *The Robbery of the Poor by the Rich* is greater to-day than ever, in spite of all that has been done by Labour men and Socialists; and yet I hold that the outlook is full of glorious promise for the "Molers and Toilers," for every section of the Workers; and that our past experiences, temporarily disappointing though they have been, have nevertheless qualified us to fight the great fight more effectively.

Further, I maintain that we are rapidly gaining in clearness of vision, and are coming to realise the full meaning of "economic determinism."

We are learning how to circumvent the capitalist system and develop our fighting forces which we know better how to use than ever before.

But to ensure this it is necessary that we should know exactly where our present weakness lies, and know also how to remedy the same. We must have no foolish pretence that progress is being made when existing facts do not warrant such a conclusion.

### **The Dockers.**

I propose to state briefly the case for the Transport Workers, or the men engaged in the carrying trades by sea and land, but more especially the Dock, Wharf and Port Workers.

No other country in the world has such a large percentage of men connected with the carrying trade as Great Britain; and this for two reasons. First, because Britain does fully one-half of the carrying trade on the oceans of the world; and second, because our export trade is larger than that of any similar-sized population. The British ports are not on one side of the country only, but all round the islands and easily accessible at that. Hence we have an economic advantage over most other countries.

I was brought into close contact with the men in the carrying trades when, as

a Social Democrat in the years 1885-8, I did my share of propaganda work among these men, but it was not until the London Dock Strike of 1889 that I became really intimate with the conditions under which they worked and lived. And when I once grasped the full meaning of "casual" labour as experienced by scores of thousands of men in the Port of London, it gave me a revolutionary stimulus to strive with renewed vigour to do all that could be done to abolish such a system.

As the result of that strike of 1889, and the numerous struggles in the Port of London that followed immediately thereon, many changes for the better took place.

### **Twenty Years After.**

Now that 21 years have elapsed since the strike, it is necessary to take stock of the situation and see whether the advantages obtained at that time have been maintained or lost.

As regards London it must be admitted that, whilst the number of permanent men has been slightly added to, and the wage is a little higher than prior to the '89 strike—the minimum being 6d. per hour instead of 5d.—nevertheless as regards the conditions of employment, the make-up of the gangs, the

persistent rush, corresponding to the "speed and feed" movement in engineering shops, and the taking-on of men and payment of them for as little as two hours, instead of a minimum of four hours as fixed by the conditions of settlement of the strike, in all these important matters, the conditions of the *pre*-strike days obtain at present.

One of the greatest advantages to port workers that followed upon the settlement of the great strike was the proper make-up of the gangs. There was always a tendency to work short-handed on the part of the contractors and shipowners, and frequently six men had to do the work that eight men ought to have been doing. This shorthandedness not only reduced the total wages that went to the men, but was also a danger to life and limb.

### **New Methods.**

Since the '89 period many changes have taken place in the method of unloading vessels. In the discharge of grain in bulk, for instance, which prior to '89 in all the London docks except Millwall was done by hand; since that time the suction elevator, or else the cup elevator, have been in general use, which has added enormously to the unemployed. A very moderate statement is that two

men out of every three formerly employed in the discharge of grain are now dispensed with, *i.e.* thrown into the ranks of the unemployed. The system now resorted to is to have as few handlings of cargo as possible, and as little storage as possible. Thus at the Victoria Docks there are two flour mills. The grain is hauled in at one side of the mill from the vessel or lighter, and it goes through all the necessary processes almost without the aid of man. It is then lowered as flour from the other side of the mill into the barge ready for delivery; and every time an improved method of handling is resorted to, it means more profit for the Capitalists and more starvation for the Workmen.

In the discharge of bags of flour from a ship's hold, formerly there would be nine men in a gang in the hold, four men on each side of the boat and one man to hook on the sling. Now the pace is set so keenly that there are only three men on each side, that is, seven men instead of nine, to do the same work. This is when working under the crane. When working under the winch, less powerful than the crane, formerly they had six men in a gang, now only four, but there is the same amount of work to be done.

Again, in the discharge of American flour, twelve bags were formerly considered as much as could be handled in one sett, *i.e.* to be hoisted in one sling. Now, through improvements in the construction of the cranes, twenty bags are hoisted in one sling—fewer men, less wages, more unemployed, and larger profits for the Capitalists. To sum up, on the average there are twenty thousand employed each day in the Port of London; but there are quite 40,000 more left out. It does not mean that 20,000 get regular work. It means that it is shared in an uneven way between the 60,000, only the permanent men getting regular employment.

It should not be necessary to urge that these conditions should be altered without delay.

### **Ah, but How?**

Then comes the question 'who is to alter them?' And to that there is only one reply: The men themselves must do it. Ah, but How? There is only one way: *viz.* by proper Industrial Organisation.

Now it is necessary to ask if the workers are properly organised.

And here one is compelled to admit that organisation is very far from being efficient.

The Dockers Union, with headquarters in London, has a membership in London and provinces of 14,000; and in the Bristol Channel ports many of the men are receiving 25 per cent. better conditions than before they were organised. But improved methods of doing the work are constantly being employed, resulting in more profits and less wages, and this is universally operative.

In the country generally, there are some twenty different Unions connected with the Transport or carrying Trades.

The Dockers Union, with headquarters at Liverpool, has also about 14,000 members, but as yet there is no real working arrangement between these two, or between these and either of the other Unions in the Transport Industry. The effects of this sectional unionism can be seen by what has just happened in the Welsh ports.

### **The Evils of Sectional Unionism.**

The Trimmers and Tippers in these, the chief coal exporting centres, (*i.e.*, the men who tip the trucks of coal into the vessels, and the men who "trim" the coal when in the vessel to ensure proper loading), desired to have a Saturday half-holiday, leaving work at 1 o'clock. The workmen belonged to four different Unions; two with head-

quarters in London, another with headquarters in Cardiff, and another with headquarters in Swansea.

The men at Port Talbot took the initiative in this matter; they were members of the Dockers Union of London. As a result, a Conference was held of the officials of the four Unions in the district, *i.e.*, in addition to the Union named, there were also the Coal Trimmers Union of Cardiff, Penarth and Barry, the National Amalgamated Labourers Union (Swansea), and the Amalgated Society of Railway Servants, to which Union a number of the Tippers belonged.

I propose giving a few details in connection with this matter, because it serves well to illustrate the impossibility of effective action with the multiplicity of Unions, working each independent of the other; and in doing so I have one object only, and that is to bring to a head what I am sure is the desire of all the better men in each of these Unions, *viz.*, the unifying of these respective organisations so that they shall become powerful for good, instead of being powerless as they are at present.

The ports where the men desired to get the Saturday half-holiday were Cardiff, Barry, Penarth, Swansea, Port Talbot and Newport.

Now to show the complexity of the situation :

In Cardiff, the Trimmers belong to the Coal Trimmers Union, but the Tippers belong to the A.S.R.S. In Newport, the Trimmers and Tippers belong to the Dockers Union. In Barry, the Trimmers belong to the C.T.U., but the Tippers belong to the A.S.R.S. In Port Talbot, the Trimmers and Tippers belong to the Dockers Union. In Penarth, the Trimmers belong to the C.T.U., but the Tippers belong to the A.S.R.S. In Swansea, the Trimmers and Tippers belong to the N.A.U.

Several Conferences were held between the delegates of these respective Unions, and it was agreed that notices should be given in as a preliminary to action to obtain the Saturday half-holiday. Then it transpired that one of the Unions was not prepared to give in notices. Another Conference was held and then it was found that another of the Unions was not prepared to take any action beyond informing the Ship-owners and Brokers they would like to have the half-holiday; by which time the owners on their side, knowing perfectly well the sectional nature of the men's organisations, rode the high horse and declared that such a claim as that

put forth for Coal Trimmers and Tippers to finish the week on Saturdays at 1 o'clock could not be entertained. If vessels needed coals the men must work till 5 o'clock, and if it was a case of getting the boat out by next tide, they must work till 8 o'clock on a Saturday; and so the matter is supposed to be settled.

This has just happened, the Owners had no reason to advance other than that the corresponding men in the North of England, at Hull, Shields, etc., worked these hours, and, therefore, they must continue so to work in Bristol Channel ports.

### **Unified Action is :: :: Absolutely Imperative.**

Now the Saturday half-day has been established over 40 years in many occupations, and there is no reason why men connected with coal loading should not have this condition as well as others. Ships are loaded now in half the time they were a few years ago, and there is no reason why Saturday afternoon should be worked any more than Sunday, and if the vessels could be loaded in half the time they now take, from the owners' standpoint there would never arrive a time when what the men ask for could be granted.

Any one can see exactly why the men are compelled to submit to the dictation of the "bosses." It is owing entirely to the numerous Unions and their inability to work together.

To allow this sectionalism to continue any longer, will be a scandal to all concerned.

Not only for some of the ports, but for all the men in all the ports, a common policy must obtain, and the man who deliberately encourages sectional Unions any longer can only be looked upon as being indifferent to the general well-being, and, therefore, an enemy of the workers.

### **Prospects for Speedy Action**

It is not necessary to dwell at greater length upon the necessity for unity. It is self-evident to every thoughtful person, and I, for one, am exceedingly pleased to learn that the Executive of the Dockers Union at their last meeting in London, a fortnight ago, authorised the following circular to be sent to each of the Unions connected with the Transport Industry.

#### **PROPOSAL *re* THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRANSPORT WORKERS.**

Dear Sir and Brother,

The conditions of port workers in the United Kingdom, in common with all other

workers, leave very much to be desired; whilst it is true that in some ports sections of the men have obtained and still maintain better conditions than formerly prevailed, it is well known that the conditions generally prevailing are most unsatisfactory.

In common with others, we of the Dockers Union desire to do all that is possible to bring about changes for the better; and we are glad to know that other Unions are wishful to be at the work also.

Having had a lengthy experience, we know full well that before any change, any real change, can be made, a far better understanding must exist between the various Unions in the Transport trades.

We are of opinion that there is urgent need for a genuine federation of all Unions connected with the carrying trades, and that this should be attempted without delay. The Executive of the Dockers Union, therefore, respectfully make this overture to each of the other Unions in the Transport Industry, and ask:

(1) Will your organisation take part in a Conference having in view the unifying of the Transport Workers' organisations in a genuine Federation, for the purpose of taking such action as may be necessary for improving the standard of the workers in the Transport Industry, and to enable us to ally ourselves with all other industrial organisations for fighting purposes?

(2) If you agree with the desirability of such action, will you please reply to this as early as possible, and make what suggestions you can as to the method of convening such Conference, and suggesting where it should be held?

Yours sincerely,

BEN TILLET.

If this effort should result in a real uniting of the various organisations, it may prove to be epoch-making in its results.

The following organisations have received the above invitation :

- Carmens Trade Union, London.  
Secretary—Councillor S. March,  
9 Upper North Street, Poplar, E.
- Coal Trimmers Union,  
Secretary—S. Fisher,  
39 Mount Stuart Square, Cardiff.
- National Union of Dock Labourers,  
Secretary—J. Sexton,  
46 Hanover Street, Liverpool.
- Gasworkers and General Labourers Union,  
Secretary—W. Thorne, M.P.,  
172 Pentonville Road, London.
- National Amalgamated Union of Labour,  
Secretary—J. N. Bell, J.P.,  
4 Higham Place, Newcastle.
- Labour Protection League,  
Secretary—A. Harris,  
96 Neptune Street, Rotherhithe.
- Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants  
Secretary— Thomas, M.P.,  
72 Acton St., Grays Inn Rd., W.C.
- National Sailors and Firemen's Union,  
Secretary—Ed. Cathery,  
Maritime Hall, W.I. Dock, E.
- Amalgamated Stevedores,  
Secretary—J. Anderson,  
Maritime Hall, Poplar, E.
- Amalgamated Watermen and Lightermen,  
Secretary—H. Gosling, L.C.C.,  
29 Trinity Sq., Tower Hill, E.C.

- General Amalgamated Labourers Union.  
Secretary—J. Twomey,  
1 St. David's Place, Swansea.
- British Labour Amalgamation,  
Secretary—Tom Fox,  
5 Repton Street, Manchester.
- Engine Drivers and Crane Drivers,  
Secretary—Geo. Grisley,  
Barking Road, Canning Town, E.
- National Union of Ships' Stewards, Cooks,  
Butchers, and Bakers,  
Secretary—Frank Pearce,  
6 Spekeland Buildings,  
22 Canning Place, Liverpool.

I do not think there can be any room for doubt but that, if the dozen men whose names are given as Secretaries of the Unions enumerated, were to put their heads together and show, for the Federation, that amount of enlightened zeal that each has already displayed when fighting for his particular Union, there would soon be vast changes in the condition of the Transport Workers.

### **Sailors and Firemen.**

In this connection it is fitting to direct attention to the special organising campaign now being conducted by the Sailors and Firemen's Union. Every one will wish them the best of success,

but it is not possible for them to be really successful without the genuine co-operation and backing of the Port Workers; or, putting aside that consideration, if the energetic agitation that Mr. Havelock Wilson and his colleagues are conducting should result in upsetting the trade of one or several of the principal Ports, we cannot hope for solidarity unless steps have been taken to ensure it.

That the position of the Sailors and Firemen demands urgent attention none will dispute. The humiliating conditions imposed by the Shipping Federation are well known. Not only do they arrogate to themselves the right to sign on men on terms that suit their special interests, but they insist also on a medical examination of a kind fit for animals. In Antwerp *they literally brand each man* on the wrist with a rubber stamp, as evidence that he is theirs, a brand with the initials of this Ship-owners' Federation, now become a Slave-owners' Federation. It must be realised that they are only await an opportunity to introduce their enlightened and highly civilised methods here.

It is surely high time we learned how to organise as a class, and develop the courage to fight as a class.

## **Shipping Federation :: Powerless in one week!**

At a recent meeting of the London Trades Council I opened a discussion on Industrial Unionism, and a delegate, criticising my position, said the reason of Transport Workers not being more powerful was not because of Sectional Unionism, as I had said, but "because of the large numbers of unemployed ever available at the service of Shipowners, Dock Directors, etc." I reply by saying that, great as is the number of unemployed, if concerted action were possible with the whole of the Port Workers, even supposing the other Trades rendered no assistance, the Shipping Federation would be powerless in one week.

Moreover, a good 25 per cent. of the work directly connected with the Transport Industry requires specially trained men, and united action with all Seagoing men, including, of course, the Engineers, would render powerless a hundred Shipping Federations.

## **Working Class All Powerful! ::**

Good Trade Unionists and Socialists do not give themselves the opportunity of realising the all-powerful character of Working Class Solidarity. It is

absolutely *all-powerful*. The power of the Capitalists to lock out men from the means of life has very marked limitations; given actual Working Class Solidarity the *locking-out would be done by the workers*, and *the Locking-up too if need be*.

I am not disposed to quarrel with any who fail to take my view of the situation, and I am not in the least disposed to say this or that one will sell the movement; I think I can make adequate philosophic allowance for environments; but I claim the right to express an opinion and to draw conclusions, and to be guided by a knowledge of events as to what is lacking in the Labour and Socialist Movement in this country, and I can see quite plainly that much of the virility that characterised the Movement fourteen or fifteen years ago is absent at the present time. There is an air of terrible fearsomeness come over many of the old-time fighters; there is a disposition on all hands to talk of the barbarous methods of the Strike; as though anything was ever worse since the world began than the dying by inches, every week until death takes them, of thousands of the ill-fed in London! Under barbarism, nothing so vile, so foreign to refined feeling, so utterly hateful, ever existed; and what is more,

under barbarism when anything approximating to such a condition of things shewed itself, the more primitive barbarians exhibited a healthy spirit of revolt, and made short work of the oppressors.

### **A Spineless Multitude.**

As we now have the situation, one section has such an absurd respect for Parliamentary methods of procedure, with all the smug conventinoality that this carries with it; and another section is so tied up with regard to legal and constitutional methods, even as applied to the efforts of the Unions, that the workers are becoming a supine and spineless multitude, never daring to give themselves the glorious experience of a genuine battle with the workers enemies. But this stage cannot be permanent; we are not so utterly hypnotised by the artful plutocracy but that we shall ere long become truly class—conscious and bold enough to dare to do a little fighting in our own day, and not pass it all on to our children.

### **The Hand of Fellowship.**

In London there is now a *Port of London Authority* administering the Docks, etc., which has taken the place of the various Dock Companies. They

employ many men, but not by any means all in the Port ; but a sensible step has been taken by the men who have formed a Council of their own, composed of each of the Unions, and these have already classified the men into over forty occupations. It is intended to approach the Port Authority in organised fashion; and those responsible have wisely decided first to conduct an organising campaign among all sections and so fill up some of the ugly gaps that at present exist. This is an excellent step, and as some of the Union and non-Union men of the Port may read these lines, I desire to say a few words to the non-members.

I have no time to spend in blaming these men. I extend the hand of fellowship and offer words of encouragement and brotherly welcome to come into the Union again. By Unionism alone is there any real hope for any material improvement. We have tasted of the fruits of Unionism in the past and they have been distinctly good, but we have never yet been really organised under normal conditions. The Union is the workers machine to achieve great and good work. The Union stands between the worker and a "boss" to guard the worker against arrogance and insult. The Union is the place for fellow

workers to fraternise; the real educational institution where information should be forthcoming about the World's Movements of Workers, all struggling for economic emancipation.

The Union is conducive to good-fellowship. It should and will explain the "Class War" and the stages of progress made in that war. It lifts the Worker out of the mere routine of working for bread, and tends to brighten and broaden his views of life. Comrades, get into the Union according to your occupation. Don't receive advantages for which other men fight without doing a share yourself. Join and attend well, and do a share of work, and get others to join, and get and keep your eyes on the goal, the true goal of working class emancipation, the wiping out of the capitalist system of Society and the ushering in of a worthier and happier time. Line up then inside the Unions; whatever is wrong we can put right, far better inside than outside. Don't forget in all the blackness of despair that may have been your lot through being out-of-work, through ill health or what not, that there are men and brothers who love you and are willing and anxious to work with you and for you, and therefore wish to help in raising the standard of life shared by your wife

and children ; and you will find a real pleasure in being identified with your comrades striving after the same ideal.

Time was when the Dockers of Hull could give an excellent account of themselves, and I believe ere long we shall find Hull well organised once more and taking its rightful position in the great class struggle.

### **The Next Step :: Towards Triumph.**

During the past month I have addressed many meetings, and at each of them I have advocated Industrial Unionism. At most of them I have taken a vote as to whether the audience agrees therewith, and in every instance practically all present have voted in the affirmative.

Those who have not read a sufficiently exhaustive explanation of Industrial Unionism should get last month's "Industrial Syndicalist"; we had a large number printed, and they have all gone out to Secretaries and newsagents. Those able and willing to help might do worse than getting supplies of the present and the remaining copies of the last one and sell or give them as may be convenient.

Industrial Unionism is in the ascendancy and no power can stop it. It is the next step in advance, making ultimate triumph possible. In last issue I expressed the hope that the General Federation of Trades Unions would see the wisdom of taking up the

work of unifying the Unionist Movement. I still hope so, though no sign was given by them at their recent Conference at Swansea that they had any conception of what is wrong with the Movement to-day. This, however, will right itself in good time, and that good time must not be a long time.

### **Our Comrades abroad Set the Pace. :: :: ::**

In Germany, they have been organising for years and trying to unite all the carrying trade organisations in one national body; they have now just succeeded in it and they number 140,000. What an example to us in this country with all our port workers and sea-going men.

Our French comrades are travelling rapidly, I much wish we had space for a few notes on their activities. A little later on we hope to be able to do so.

Italian Syndicalists too, in various parts of Italy, are making splendid progress, and in some respects are setting the pace in economic organisation.

In America, also, the Industrial Unionists are exhibiting splendid vigour, accomplishing great things by their method. Comrade Eugene Debs is an ardent advocate of Industrial Unionism and holds it to be vitally essential that economic organisation should receive the fullest attention; by its aid, political action may be made valuable; without it, no real advance is possible.

The *International Transport Workers Federation* has its head-quarters in Berlin.

But what we stand in most urgent need of here in Britain, is a *National Federation of all the Transport Workers organisations* including, of course, the Sailors and Firemen, and on the lines of the German Federation.

This national body, when formed, will of course federate with *The International*.

Unfortunately, there is a tendency, for some people, to become so eminently respectable as to lose all fighting virility; there can however, be no salvation without fighting; therefore, the order is: *Prepare to Fight, and Fight.*

I earnestly appeal to all fellow Unionists to lose no time in doing whatever is possible to bring about so desirable a consummation.

Meanwhile comrades of Britain, let us put our own house in order, and bring about a

### **National Federation of Transport Workers.**

NOTE.—Each number of this series of pamphlets deals with a separate subject which is of permanent interest to the workers and will, therefore, remain on sale after the month of publication.

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# **The Industrial Monthly Syndicalist**

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## **FORGING the WEAPON** By TOM MANN.

### **THE STRONG RIGHT ARM OF LABOUR.**

**S**LOWLY 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.

The present day degradation of so large a percentage of the workers is directly due to their economic enslavement; and it is economic freedom that is demanded.

Now Parliamentary action is at all times useful, in proportion as it makes for economic emancipation of the workers. But Socialists and Labour men in Parliament can only do effective work

there in proportion to the intelligence and economic organisation of the rank and file.

True, a thoroughgoing, fearless, revolutionary group in the House of Commons might succeed in being a nuisance to the plutocratic members, even though there were no industrial organisation at all. But there is no possibility of achieving economic freedom, nor even of taking any steps towards that end, unless the workers themselves are conscious that what they suffer from, as a class, is economic subjugation and consequent exploitation by the capitalists.

Moreover, unless the workers themselves protest against this subjugation and exploitation, and themselves form organisations for the specific purpose of persistently fighting the enemy until freedom shall be won—then all else is as nothing. The strong right arm of the Labour Movement is direct economic organisation. This alone makes possible concerted action, whereby the workers may be enabled to decide the conditions under which production shall be carried on.

### **The Aim.**

But it must be made clear that neither industrial organisation, nor Parliamentary action, nor both combined, can achieve the emancipation of the workers unless such emancipation is definitely aimed at.

Unionism that aims only at securing peace between employers and men is not only of no value in the fight for free-

dom, but is actually a serious hindrance and a menace to the interests of the workers.

Political and industrial action direct must at all times be inspired by revolutionary principles. That is, the aim must ever be to change from capitalism to Socialism as speedily as possible. Anything less than this means continued domination by the capitalist class.

Let me quote from a previous issue of the *Industrial Syndicalist*, where it is stated :—

*That it will be avowedly and clearly Revolutionary in aim and method.*

Revolutionary in aim, because it will be out for the abolition of the wages system and for securing to the workers the full fruits of their labour, thereby seeking to change the system of Society from Capitalist to Socialist.

Revolutionary in method, because it will refuse to enter into any long agreements with the masters, whether with legal or State backing, or merely voluntarily ; and because it will seize every chance of fighting for the general betterment—gaining ground and never losing any.

### **The Basis of : Future Activity.**

Let us imagine that we are now proceeding to organise as Industrial Syndicalists.

In previous issues I have endeavoured to make clear that energy is being wasted because of the sectional character of the

unions. In order to fight we must have working-class solidarity. The present system of one union for each trade, or, worse still, a number of unions in one trade never acting together and frequently fighting each other, is an excellent plan to ensure the continued ascendancy of the capitalist class.

The struggles of the future will have to be fought scientifically. The relationship of union to union for Syndicalist purposes must be equal to an amalgamation of all unions in any one industry. Without this the capitalists are certain to win—and only fools would think of fighting them when we know that they are organised by whole industries and not, as we are at present, by small ineffectual sections.

Industrial Syndicalism, therefore, and not sectional trade unionism, must be the basis of all future industrial activity for fighting purposes.

In an industry there may be fifty trades. For each trade there may be one or more unions, each designated a "trade union" because it consists of the men connected with that trade. When, for the purpose of waging the Class War, these unions coalesce into one compact organisation for the whole industry, this union of unions is properly termed an "Industrial Union." As the title implies, the workers of all trades and occupations connected with the industry are represented, including, of course, the labourers.

It is this union of unions, inspired with the revolutionary spirit of Syndi-

calism, that will do the fighting of the future.

### **By Class or Craft, Which?**

Now we desire to know the lines upon which to proceed; also what is involved, and whether, amongst other things, we commit ourselves to any serious departure from present trade union methods.

It is necessary, then, to point out that a very serious responsibility will rest upon us as Industrial Syndicalists in respect of the attitude of skilled artisans to semi-skilled workers and labourers.

Immediately the unions in an industry weld themselves together, they must forthwith proceed to organise all grades of workers in that industry. The handyman and labourer must be treated as of equal importance to the highly skilled, seeing that he too is a factor in production. The exclusiveness of some of the existing unions must be got rid of. Henceforth we must proceed to organise on class lines, and not by trade or craft.

The reason that many men are graded as semi-skilled or unskilled is because the capitalist system will not admit of all engaging in skilled work—no matter what amount of skill men may possess. There must be no lowering of the standard of the skilled, but there must be a raising of the standard of the lower paid man. The position of the latter must be made worthy of a man; and as he serves Society, not in the manner he desires, but in the manner Society com-

pels him, he must in future be counted as a man and a brother. The skilled men must throw off that silly notion of superiority that still characterises a number of them.

All necessary classification by occupation will be properly attended to. But that unionism whose object is to maintain a special preserve for the privileged few, must disappear. For it is incompatible with the rights of workmen generally, and is a menace to industrial solidarity, without which there can be no advance.

### **Bridging the Gulf.**

By way of illustration, let us take an industry — without naming one. Speaking in round numbers, there are, in the total industry, 500,000 men, one half of whom are classed as "skilled." These are partly organised in forty-five different unions, with an aggregate membership of 150,000, leaving 100,000 not organised.

Of the other 250,000 only 50,000 are organised, although there are ten different unions. There are thus 300,000 unorganised out of a total of 500,000. And the 200,000 organised are in fifty-five distinct organisations, between which there has never been concerted action.

Our task now is to get each of these unions, of all grades, united for industrial purposes into one Federation. It will then be the duty of each Industrial Federation to organise all the non-union men of all grades, and to classify

them in the best manner compatible with the Industrialist conception of fair play. In this manner will be bridged the gulf between skilled and unskilled by raising the standard of men now in the lowest grade.

### **No More Agreements.**

Another important matter we must be clear upon is that it is entirely wrong for the Unionists to enter into agreements with the Masters. The object of the unions is to wage the Class War and to take every opportunity of scoring against the enemy. It must be remembered that the capitalists are always carrying on the war. Scarce a month passes but some new machine or method is introduced which enables the capitalist to reduce his wages bill by throwing surplus workers into the street. And this goes on continually and quite irrespective of agreements.

The Cotton industry is a case in point. The workers, on the advice of the union officials, have just entered into an agreement not to put in any claim for an alteration of wages for a period of five years. And when a demand for a change is made, and the change is brought about, no other change may be attempted until two years' notice has been given.

Now any observer knows that the Cotton industry has passed through a period of depression. But the cycle has now worked round, so that experts confidently predict considerable activity. Now, a good trade period usually lasts

for four or five years. This means that the capitalists will now have the chance of roping in all the extra profit consequent upon brisk trade. And the workers, men and women alike, are tied down to make absolutely no claim whatever, no matter what warranty is given.

If the standard prevailing throughout the Cotton trades were one to be proud of, there might be some reason to advance in favour of this tying of hands. But the contrary is the case. In this trade there are as many assistant spinners, called "piecers," as there are spinners. Now the "piecers" are usually men over twenty years of age; and when it is remembered that they receive an average of about eighteen shillings a week for full time, one wonders what they would receive if there were no unions. Could their wage be lower? What prospect is there of any change for the better under these five years' agreements not to ask for any? Moreover, what advantage can it be to the workers to give two years notice of any desired change?

What always happens is this. The capitalists, being so politely and considerately warned beforehand, are able to stock goods in such quantities that by the time the notice of the operatives expires they can defy them to do their worst.

Such methods as these are encouraged only by those who have no conception of the Class War, or of what should be the attitude of the workers to the capitalist class. What chance is there of

solving the Social Problem on such lines? Absolutely none! These tactics even play into the hands of the capitalists and make it a perfectly easy matter for them to take the increasing profits produced by the very toilers who are members of the organisations.

Of course the capitalist press will always speak highly of the "sensible and praiseworthy efforts" of those who favour compromise with the masters. Why shouldn't they? For if the workers were to take a more courageous line, it might mean diminished dividends.

### **The Syndicalist Spirit.**

The three days stoppage from work on the part of the North Eastern Railwaymen, in spite of the fact that they were covered by an agreement (also for five years), gave a comforting indication that the Syndicalist spirit is already appearing, and entitles one to hope that it will, under suitable conditions, assert itself. Of course the capitalist press and the politicians declared that the men had no real grievance—but this obvious tarradiddle would not mislead a school-boy. The men had, and still have, a dozen real grievances—not on the North Eastern line alone, but on the other railways also.

No doubt the Company has done well (for itself) by monetarily rewarding the clerks and others who refused to make common cause with their mates. But it will take more than the North Eastern, or any other company who are prepared

to shell out, to break up the ranks of the Transport Workers when once we have started a policy of Industrial Syndicalism.

What a shaking it gave the company when only a partial, sectional stoppage took place! What, then, will the companies be able to do when once industrial solidarity is an accomplished fact?

But as yet it is not a fact—very far from it. We ought not, therefore, to have these little spasmodic affairs, playing into the hands of the “peace at any price” party. If we are to fight, let it be a real fight over the whole system, Shipping and Railways as well.

### **A Dirty Business.**

I wonder what those foremen think of themselves who were taken from the various departments at Messrs. Harland and Wolff's at Southampton a fortnight ago and made to play a particularly disgusting part in a particularly disgusting deception. The facts are as follows:

The crew of the White Star Liner “Adriatic” refused to sign on unless they were paid the money due to them for the extra work they had performed on the homeward voyage. The firm refused to pay; and, in spite of the boasted strength of the Shipping Federation, failed to get a crew at Southampton. Accordingly, foremen, draftsmen and others were paraded before the Board of Trade officer as members of the crew to be signed on.

The same day I was in Sheffield, and I saw there Shipping Federation agents

picking up out-of-work Sheffielders to go in the “Adriatic” *as competent seamen*. Altogether a dirty piece of business.

When the next boat came in it was found that the crew had a similar grievance. But the company concluded they had better not try the blackleg “seamen from Sheffield.” They therefore promptly paid the claims of the crew for precisely the same work as that for which they had refused payment to the men of the “Adriatic.”

What short work would be made of all such matters if only men were properly organised!

Now, it is a disgrace to the country that any man should have to work at sea for less than £6 per month. As a fact, there are thousands who get less than £4—a pretty state of affairs for men who run the shipping of England, the profits on which are fully equal to those of any established business concern in the world. This minimum of £6 will be secured as soon as the Transport Workers Federation is in real working order.

### **Industrial Unionism in America :: :: ::**

The Americans are to the fore, alike in their advocacy of Industrial Unionism, and in its practical application. Those who are connected with the “Industrial Workers of the World” have fought and won many battles with a success that is surprising in view of the general condition of industrial organisation in that country.

The most important of these was at the industrial centre called "McKees Rocks," where the solidarity of all employes enabled them to win a substantial victory over the proprietors—who were none other than the notorious United States Steel Trust.

But it appears that in the States there are considerable areas and enormous numbers of men entirely outside any organisation. This, perhaps, calls for other methods than those likely to be serviceable here. But none can disagree with the following excerpt from the I.W.W. Preamble :

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary cease work whenever a strike or lockout is

on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Knowing, therefore, that such an organization is absolutely necessary for our emancipation we unite under the following constitution.

Every reader will know of the magnificent record of Eugene V. Debs who has done such effective work as a Socialist and Unionist and who has, on two occasions, stood as the Socialist candidate for the Presidency of the U.S.A.

From the first, Comrade Debs has been identified with the advocacy of Industrial Unionism in the States ; and, valuing his opinion on account of his experience, I wrote him a month ago, asking him to favour me with details of his present attitude on this subject. The following extracts from his letter

will be read with interest as coming from one of the most capable propagandists in the world.

Touching the matter of industrial unionism to which you refer, we have had, as you are aware, some peculiar and distressing experiences on this side. But we are



EUGENE V. DEBS.

not in the least discouraged, nor any less ardent in our advocacy of the principles of industrial unionism, while we have profited somewhat, I trust, by that experience.

By even mail I am sending you a few booklets in which you will find my views upon the essentials set forth pretty fully, if

## INDUSTRIAL SYNDICALISM

WHAT IT IS, and WHAT IT ISN'T.

There is no man in the Trade Unionist movement worth any consideration but agrees that *sectional unionism* is a serious cause of weakness and unionist inefficiency.

It is known and admitted that it would be a great advantage if we could unite the various Unions on a common basis, retaining all that is good, but getting rid of all that is faulty in the trade unionist movement.

This is exactly what Industrial Syndicalism (also called "Industrial Unionism") or **Organisation by Industries**, instead of mere **Organisation by Trades**, will do.

Union by Industries is what is really aimed at by all who have tried to federate the kindred trades; whether in the Metal Trades, Building Trades or what not.

Industrial Syndicalism is not an influence that will break up the existing Unions, but a power that will unite them. It is not a force seeking to destroy what our fathers did; on the contrary, it aims at making the existing movement a real fighting agency capable of scientifically conducting a Class War.

The word "Syndicalism" has a peculiar appropriateness. It is, primarily, a French word, used by them to describe the Unionist movement, and so should serve to remind us that we must combine with our native ability for organisation, something of the fine revolutionary spirit of our French comrades.

For further information, read

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**List of Persons willing to speak as advocates of Industrial Syndicalism  
in their respective districts.**

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GATESHEAD-ON-TYNE..	<b>NED SCOTT</b> ... ..	Railway Servants ... ..	3, Fenwick Terrace.
SUNDERLAND ... ..	<b>WILLIAM KEY</b> ... ..	Government Contractor ... ..	Walworth Street.
MIDDLESBORO ... ..	<b>Cr. J. B. DAVIES</b> ... ..	Dockers Union ... ..	97, Commercial Street
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# LIST of LECTURES

By TOM MANN.

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- 2.—Industrial Unionism: Its Meaning and its Necessity.
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Trade Unions, Trades Councils, Socialist Bodies, and others desirous of Lectures should write direct to TOM MANN, 23, Engadine Street, Southfields, London, S.W.

not as clearly as I would wish to present them. In answer to your direct inquiry I have to say that I too am opposed, like yourself, to undertaking to destroy the old unions. Such a policy can be fruitful only of mischief to Industrial Unionism, as we have reason to know on this side.

It should be distinctly understood that Industrial Unionism has come as the most intelligent and effective expression of labour unionism, that its purpose is to build and not to destroy, to help and not to hinder, thus inspiring the confidence of the workers, whether organized or unorganized, and recruiting its ranks from the most intelligent and experienced in every department of industrial activity.

The taunts and sneers of the "pure and simple" leaders who have nothing to lose but their jobs, and whose leadership depends upon their keeping the workers segregated in craft unions, may well be ignored, instead of allowing ourselves to be goaded into attacking them, thereby giving warrant to these leaders in charging us, which they are only too eager to do, with seeking to destroy their unions.

It is far wiser, as our experience has demonstrated, to devote our time, means and energy to advocating the principles of industrial unionism, building up our organization and vitalising our propaganda by an appeal to the intelligence and integrity of the workers, bearing with them patiently and perseveringly, while at the same time aiding and encouraging them in all their struggles for better conditions, than to waste time in denouncing, or seeking to destroy, these reactionary old unions and their leaders.

Industrial unionism, as organized and applied, to find favour with the workers, must give proof of its sympathy with them in all their struggles, rejoice with them when they win, and when they lose cheer them up and point the way to victory.

It matters not what union it is that happens to be engaged in a fight with the master class, or what its attitude may be toward industrial unionism, the invariable policy of the industrial union should be to **back up** the contestants and help them win **their struggle** by all the means at its **command**. This policy will do more, infinitely **more to inspire** the faith of the workers in **industrial unionism** and draw them to its **standard than any possible amount of de-**  
**struction or attempted destruction of the**  
**old unions.**

**Nor do I believe in organizing dual unions in any case where an old union substantially holds the field.** Where an old union is disintegrating it is of course different. Here there is need of organization, or rather reorganization, and hence a legitimate field for industrial unionism.

Industrial evolution has made industrial unionism possible and revolutionary education and agitation must now make it inevitable. To this end we should bore from within and without, the industrial unionists within the old unions working together in perfect harmony with the industrial unionists upon the outside engaged in laying the foundation and erecting the superstructure of the new revolutionary economic organization, the embryonic industrial democracy

The difficulties we have encountered on this side since organizing the Industrial

Workers have largely been overcome and I believe the time is near at hand when all industrial unionists will work together to build up the needed organization, and when industrial unionism will receive such impetus as will force it to the front irresistibly in response to the crying need of the enslaved and despoiled workers in their struggle for emancipation.

The economic organization of the working class is as essential to the revolutionary movement as the sun is to light and the workers are coming more and more to realise it, and the triumph of industrial unionism over craft unionism is but a question of time, and this can be materially shortened if we but deal wisely and sanely with the situation.

Believe me, in the bonds of industrial unionism and socialism,

Your comrade and fellow-worker,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

July, 1910.

This letter well serves to show the situation in the U.S.A. And the opinion of one who is deserving to be held in universal esteem by Socialists and Unionists, should be instructive to us on this side of the Atlantic.

### **Organisation Outlined.**

Having contrived to confer with many genuine trades unionists, whose heads and hearts are right as regards the Cause of the Workers, I venture to submit the following as a proposed method of organisation, from the local union or branch of a larger union!

In every district of workers

- (1) The Local Union or Branch of a National Union.
- (2) Organised relationship between each such Union (or branch of Union) and every other Union in kindred trades in the same district. For example, it would be necessary for all Building Trade Unions or Branches to unite in a District Federation.
- (3) Each local Union, or Society, or Branch of any Union, to connect with the Trades Council of the district, whose work would be primarily for educational and general purposes other than fighting.
- (4) Each District Industrial Federation to be connected with the National Federation of the same industry, and these District Federations to become the authoritative bodies deciding upon the fighting policy in the district.
- (5) Each National Industrial Federation to be connected with the National General Federation of Trades and Industries.
- (6) Each National Industrial Federation to federate with the International Industrial Federation. For example, all Engineering and Shipbuilding organisations to form a National Federation; each National Federation then to be connected with similar National Federations in all countries.

The final step in this plan would be for each National General Federation of Trades and Industries to have relationship with the corresponding General Federations of all other countries.

It will be understood that these proposals are submitted primarily to assist in clearing the course for action, and to help those who are already in the field as propagandists of Industrial Syndicalism.

It is too early at present to go beyond the educational stage, as only a small minority have been reached in any definite fashion. Premature action might retard the actual formation of the fighting forces we desire to see.

### The Way to Help.

The best way to ensure success is as follows :—

Those who are willing to advance a knowledge of Industrial Syndicalism can begin in the Branch of the Union of which they themselves are members. Seek an opportunity to submit a resolution upon the subject. Let the form be simple, *e.g.* :—

“That in the opinion of this Branch the time has arrived when definite steps should be taken to unify the industrial movement on the basis of Industrial Syndicalism.”

In many branches this will be defeated the first time it is discussed. But that will not discourage the capable

propagandist, who will note the voting and keep an account thereof for future use.

If defeated, seek an opportunity to raise the subject again on as early a date as may be convenient. You will be quite sure on the first occasion to find some sympathisers, of whose names you would do well to make a note.

Then go to other Branches of your Society, if there are any within distance, and get the subject raised there.

When the resolution is passed get the news sent on to the next highest body in connection with the Union, District Committee, Executive or Council. If the Branch sends a delegate to the Trades Council, take steps to get the delegate instructed to introduce the subject there in the name of the Society. If your Union is connected with a local or District Federation, put the resolution before them also. If you take part in general Socialist propaganda you will not fail to deal properly with the industrial phase of the Movement.

By such methods we can very soon develop a considerable volume of favourable opinion. Propagandists should always be armed with literature; and for this, the *Industrial Syndicalist* should be helpful.

### **An Educational League.**

Whilst guarding against the formation of anything in the nature of a brand new organisation (that being neither desired nor desirable), we must have

that cohesion of sympathisers that will enable us to get into ready touch with each other.

Accordingly, in the absence of any more practical proposal, I now ask that those who are willing to be identified with an "Industrial Syndicalist Educational League" will be good enough to inform me by post.

As there need be no expense attached to this, no fee need be paid. Membership of the League would involve declared endorsement of the principles of Industrial Syndicalism, and an expressed desire to advance the same as opportunity should occur.

Will friends therefore please address a few lines to me at the Dockers office, 425, Mile End Road, London, E.

Give name and address, and state (1) if able to address meetings, (2) if the publication of name would be damaging, (3) which Union if any.

It is, of course, desirable that both sexes should share in this work.

### **Forging the Weapon.**

In the middle of this number will be found the names of some propagandists who are willing to visit Unions or address meetings. It is these helpers (with others coming along rapidly) who are now engaged in "forging the weapon."

In Manchester definite action is already being taken by members of the Building Trades. Members of the Amalgamated Engineers have formed a

Committee for the express purpose of advocating the principles and sharing in an active campaign. The Boiler Makers are similarly alert, and there is not the slightest doubt but that we shall have a big movement afoot in a very short time.

Where local Committees are formed they will become responsible for the propaganda in their district, and will be free to pursue their own methods. But we ought all to keep in touch with a National Centre.

Where there are a few friends ready to form a Committee it will be wise to let us know in London; and ways and means shall be found of keeping such committees in touch with the National Centre.

It must too often be insisted that we are not in antagonism to any existing organisation, whether Socialist or Trade Unionist. Indeed we wish them all well. We are out for the special purpose of strengthening the industrial forces and inspiring them with what we believe to be the right spirit. For the present we appeal directly to the Trade Unionists. We yield to none in the honesty and earnestness of our work for the Unionist Movement. But we demand an ideal that shall be worth the achieving, viz., the economic, social, and political freedom of the workers.

In a few months it will probably be found necessary to have a Conference. This will depend upon the number of Committees formed throughout the country and the number of adherents in each district. This Movement will prove to be the life giving influence to

that vast mass of plastic opinion that is not definitely centred upon any systematic plan of action.

Comrades, now is the time for us to attain something, to build up the people's army, to train the army to fight, and to engage actually in real struggle with the powers that be.

The fact that human suffering prevails, and need not prevail is our chief incentive. The present vicious and degrading order must be swept away, and we are going to take a hand in the sweeping.

What could be more glorious than the campaign we are now entering upon? By this method of organisation and education we put life and health and sympathy and hope into the most sordid of human lives. There are none too poor for us to deal with, none so tired but we will work for, none so wretched but our brotherly sympathy shall be theirs for the asking. With a faith in humanity that can move mountains, with a determination to succeed that nothing can turn aside, we set out on our march with the true ring of Internationalism,

**The World  
For the World's Workers.**

# Conference

## on

# Industrial Syndicalism



In order that the propagation of Industrial Syndicalist, or Industrial Unionist principles may be effectively carried on, it has been decided to hold a Conference in London, on Friday, the 25th of November.

There will be no rigid formality observed as regards the admission of delegates, beyond getting a reasonable assurance that those who seek admission have been deputed to act on behalf of a group or number of persons who believe in Industrial Syndicalism, or Industrial Unionism and are anxious for its advancement.

Delegates must defray their own expenses, or get them defrayed by those who send them.

Amongst the subjects for discussion will be :

“The best means to systematically spread Industrial Unionism.”

“The necessity for a Weekly Paper.”

“Our attitude *re* Parliamentary Action.”

Further details in next issue ; meanwhile we urge the desirability of metropolitan and provincial comrades preparing to send delegates ; and it will be helpful if an early intimation is given, so that we may know approximately the number of delegates that will be present, and secure a suitable hall.

The following letter and resolution will be read with interest, and we hereby tender our thanks to the M. and S.B.T.F. for their encouraging action.

MANCHESTER AND SALFORD BUILDING  
TRADES' FEDERATION.

E. DONOHOE,

37, Ramsey Street,

Moston, Manchester,

TOM MANN. Sept. 3rd, 1910.

DEAR COMRADE,

The above body discussed Industrial Unionism at its last meeting, it finally being resolved to forward to you the following resolution:—

"That this body welcomes the new method of organisation under Industrial Unionism, as the most practicable reform best calculated to bring back to the Trade Union Movement of this country those principles and purposes which are the cause of our existence. Combination, in all its senses, is required to bring about efficiency, and effectiveness, in our belated fight against capital.

"We further pledge ourselves to promote Industrial Unionism in every manner possible."

I have further to say all our delegates will fall into line if they can be of any use to you and the cause.

Best wishes for success.

Yours faithfully,

E. DONOHOE.

Following upon the effort described in the *Industrial Syndicalist* for August, a Conference of delegates from Unions in the Transport Industry is to be held on Thursday and Friday, the 22nd and 23rd September; it will take place in the rooms of the London Society of Compositors, St. Bride Street, E.C., for the purpose of endeavouring to unify the existing organisations by amalgamation or federation. We trust the effort will be entirely successful.

It is also interesting to record that a Committee of members of the Amalgamated Engineers has been formed in Manchester, the declared object of which is the complete amalgamation of all unions catering for the Workers in the Engineering Trades. The secretary is W. M. Dowd, 98, Jackson Street, Stretford. This Committee, now called the "Amalgamation League," was formed out of the "Municipal Representation Committee," which undertakes the duty of attending to the Fair Wages Clause, etc., and of

which J. D. Lawrence, of 28, Graham Road, Pendleton, Manchester, is Secretary.

These are healthy signs of the time, clearly showing that the day of sectionalism is drawing to a close.

NOTE.—Each number of this series of pamphlets deals with a separate subject which is of permanent interest to the workers and will, therefore, remain on sale after the month of publication.

No. 4 of the *Industrial Syndicalist* will deal with

## **The Reduction of Working Hours**

Whether you work by the piece, or work by the day

**Reducing the Hours Increases the Pay**

The 8-hour Day: get ready for the fray in 1912.

Printed by THE FERRISTONE PRESS, LTD. (T.U.), Tottenham Lane, Hornsey, London, N., and Published by GUY BOWMAN, at 4, Maude Terrace, Walthamstow.

# **The Industrial MONTHLY Syndicalist**

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## **All Hail, Industrial Solidarity!**

**BRAVO! BRAVO! COMRADES  
OF FRANCE!**

By the announcement in No. 3 of the "Industrial Syndicalist," readers would be expecting No. 4 to deal chiefly with the Reduction of Working Hours; the same was written and sent to press, but when the French Industrial struggle assumed such proportions it was decided to reserve the matter for another occasion. In the meantime, it is necessary to say that for various reasons there is no subject of equal importance to that of Reducing the Hours of Working.

Whilst the unemployed exist in the numbers they now do, the workers

are seriously handicapped in every attempt at betterment; but even if this were not so, it is, and must ever be, our task to help those who are lowest in the social scale, and none can be so low as the workless. Upon those of us who fully realise this, rests the responsibility of taking the necessary action. That they may be fed and clothed, we must reduce the hours of labour generally, and get them into the ranks of the workers. And by the very means whereby we make it possible to absorb the unemployed, we also obtain the power to do many other things; chief amongst them must be the raising of the wage standard for the "unskilled" of whom I will say something further on.

### **Syndicalism all Round.**

In two short weeks we have experienced the Transport Workers' fight in Berlin, the Revolution in Portugal, and the Industrial revolt in France.

It is Friday, the 14th of October, 1910, the fourth day of the Railway Strike in France.

The Strikers are Masters of the Situation—Paris in Darkness through the Great Strike—Candles in Demand—Deserted Stations—Four Railways Affected—The Northern, the Western, the Paris-Lyons-Mediterranean, and the Paris Metropolitan.

Such are the headlines in to-day's London papers, with several pages occupied by descriptive reports and illustrations.

Nothing approaching this has been experienced since 1871. It is, indeed, a magnificent lesson in working-class solidarity the French comrades are teaching. Some papers sillily declare that it is an "unpopular strike," and that yesterday afternoon the strike cloud showed distinct signs of lifting. But not one fact is given in support of this, which shows the absurdity of the London press, which is trying to manufacture encouragement for the reactionaries.

The completeness of the work; the calmness with which the electricians and masons decided to leave work as soon as that step became necessary in order to help the railwaymen; the unconcern with which the threats of the ex-Socialist, Premier Briand, were received; the utter inability on the part of the military to frighten the Strikers, to run trains, or to in any way change the situation beyond posing for photographers, thus giving a stimulus to the sale of capitalist papers—all these things are lessons to capitalists and the public, writ so large that many will begin to learn that the workers, after all, are really of some little importance in the world.

Whatever the results, the lesson given can never be lost; the world

over, the workers will profit by this splendid example of courage and solidarity on the part of our French comrades. There are now millions who will realise how much nearer the Social Revolution is than they could have thought even a week ago.

When the same clearness of policy and the same agreement upon the objective will be characterising the workers of Europe as a whole, the Social Revolution will be at hand. But that hour is not yet. We in England have a long way to go before we can reach general agreement upon the objective, or before we can demonstrate our solidarity; but no one doubts whether we are travelling in that direction or not. That, at any rate, is settled.

### **Who are the Public?**

As is customary, the English papers are against the French strike, because it interferes with the "convenience of the Public." The Public, one is told, ought to be, and must be, considered.

Well, who are the Public? Does not the Public consist of 85 per cent. of the workers, and the balance of those who live upon the workers? Therefore, every properly-conducted struggle of the whole of the workers, or a section thereof, is truly in the real interests of the Public itself.

The sniggering of the capitalist press, which habitually speaks of men

on strike in contemptuous terms, as though they were a troublesome, selfish and insignificant lot of animals whom it would be well to destroy in the interests of the PUBLIC, tells plainly what a strong feeling of brotherly love prevails in the hearts and minds of the capitalist class and their Governmental agencies.

Hitherto, owing to the sectional arrangements and temporary interests, working-class solidarity has not been possible, and we have witnessed a hundred times over, struggles between one section of the workers and the capitalist class, with the vast majority of the other workers looking on in the most indifferent fashion; we have even seen them siding with the employing class in a most nonchalant manner, thereby helping to defeat those of their own class who were struggling with the capitalist opponent.

The chief difference between British and French workmen is this: the French have instinctively and rationally a keener appreciation of class solidarity. So far as this is the result of educational effort, it is primarily due to the persistent propaganda of the General Confederation of Labour. The sturdiness of their industrial battles is based upon the open and persistent declaration of the CLASS WAR. They know and declare that they can achieve nothing by relying upon conciliatory

methods, or in any way compromising with the capitalist class.

They believe in political action, but have little confidence in Parliamentary action. They rely upon extending the principle and fullest recognition of industrial solidarity, and the result is they have developed a power to achieve altogether beyond what is possible with the compromising methods resorted to in Britain of late years.

### **Direct Action in Germany.**

What a scare it gave the Berlin police and the Prussian authorities. The orderly German resorting to "direct action" and scoring better in two days by so doing than in ten years by peaceful methods. And immediately they took action and showed they were not afraid, either of the brutal police or of the traitorous blacklegs, the capitalists, who had beforehand refused any better conditions, came forward with offers of increased wages, etc. By defying the minions of the law, and showing revolutionary courage and capacity, the law-abiding Teutons have shown their determination and readiness for Direct Action as occasion requires.

### **Advance in Portugal.**

The overthrow of the monarchy in Portugal, carried out so effectively that the whole affair was over in one

week, has been a nasty knock to the law and order gentry; the régime that was is no more, and ex-king Manuel is a private citizen of the world. The result, of course, is not in any genuine sense a *social* revolution, but it is an effective set-back to the reactionaries; and whilst it facilitates the more complete grip of the plutocracy, it remains in accord with revolutionary progress leading to the final goal of economic freedom.

### **Tied-down Slaves of England.**

It is singular that the industrial revolt in France comes immediately upon the close of the Cotton Operatives' dispute in this country.

There is nothing for the workers to feel proud of in the settlement of this matter. The Cotton Operatives' cause of the trouble was "picking flats," but that has not yet been settled, and it is apparently to be settled by the employers. The fuss, and push, and splosh that entered into the conducting of the negotiations; the innumerable conferences, all to result in no change, would make a cat laugh if only it could look on long enough; and all this comes through the workers giving up the control of their own affairs in their unions.

This inviting of Board of Trade, or any other Government officials, to

come and take charge of the negotiations is the maddest thing in modern development.

What may have happened to the men's officers that it should be necessary for them to stand back and leave negotiations to Government officials?

There is in Britain a healthy sentiment against the idea of Compulsory Arbitration, like that which obtains in New Zealand and Australia, but it is very little better to have Board of Trade officials increasingly roaming round, ever anxious to secure peace, sweet peace, at any price to the workers. The worker cannot secure what good sense demands unless he can show fight. The wily employing class knows this, and to be able to say they will leave the matter in the hands of a public official, as though that were not the same thing as keeping it in their own hands, suits them exactly.

No Board of Trade official dare do anything to advance the interests of the men. The Board of Trade is a Government Department. The Government is in essence, and in detail, the machine of the Plutocracy, through which, and by which, they keep the workers in subjection.

For any man to imagine that a Governmental Department may be seeking to do anything that will facilitate the overthrow of the ruling

class is to declare himself a fool; and the converse of this is that Governmental Departments are extending their sphere of influence even to the obtaining a controlling power over the workmen's own organisations in the interest of the capitalist class. To "tie the workers down," that is their work. Tie them down by assisting the capitalists to get them pledged to five year agreements; and to renew these agreements often enough so that it shall ever be an offence against the compact, or conference decision, or the law direct, for the worker to take any action to overthrow the parasitic class.

How healthy, and glorious, and stimulating, and inspiring is this action of the French Railway Workers and their comrades who are backing them, in comparison to our "tied-down" slaves!

### **Transport Workers Waking Up.**

But the trade unionists of Britain are waking up, and the two resolutions, carried at the Trades Union Congress at Sheffield last month, are important indications. Comrade Ben Tillet moved a resolution aiming at national solidarity, which was carried; and later a definite resolution in favour of organisation by industry on the basis of Amalgamation or Federation, moved by our comrade Tom Ring, of the Sheffield

Cabinet Makers, was carried by 1,175 to 256. This was no snatch vote either, for the subject had been brought well before the delegates, and we must conclude that this vote represents the feeling of the Congress with regard to the matter.

As an evidence of growth in the same direction, it is pleasing to know that the Conference of Transport Workers, with a view to uniting all interests in the carrying trades, held in London last month, was entirely successful.

Every delegate present from the 14 societies represented, declared amalgamation to be desirable, but as to bring that off would have taken too long, the best plan would be to federate. This the delegates were unanimous upon, and instructed the provisional secretary to convene the next Conference on the 10th and 11th November. To this all the 31 societies connected with the carrying industry have been invited.

Ald. Harry Gosling, L.C.C., who presided over the Conference, declared that he entirely concurred in the object aimed at, and he and his fellow-delegate of the London Watermen and Lightermen pledged themselves to do their utmost for its realisation.

Will Thorne, M.P., representing that portion of the Gasworkers which is connected with transport, was even

more emphatic in urging speedy action in the interests of all unions.

Cr. J. N. Bell, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Chas. Duncan, M.P., and H. J. Havelock Wilson all urged the necessity for action.

It was interesting to note the effect of the speeches of the Seamen's delegates, as some had thought that they were anxious to insist upon a wild-cat scheme in favour of "bull and rush," but they made it clear that, whilst they held it vitally necessary that a fight should take place as early as possible, they were satisfied it would have to be by the united action of all in the Transport Industry, and they were prepared to continue their organising campaign, and to make common cause with other unions for determined action at a suitable date.

I was present at the Conference as one of the delegates of the Dockers' Union, and it was very encouraging to me to find Cr. Jim Sexton, J.P., and Joe Cotter, of the Ships' Stewards, and Ben Tillett, of the London Dockers, all declaring for common action.

But the most stimulating and encouraging feature of the Conference was the speech of the delegate from the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, who declared that their organisation had decided to take action in connection with all other Transport Workers, that they

were favourable to federation, and altogether were for an advanced policy.

Mr. Connor, president of the Longshoremen's Association of America, told of the good results they had achieved by federating the sectional societies, obtaining very substantial improvements in wages and conditions, and they were ready for international relations.

### **Attend to the Commissariat.**

It requires little comment to show the enormous power such a Federation will possess when the spirit of solidarity is genuinely prevalent.

Should the day arrive when all in the Transport Industry of the United Kingdom are determined upon courageous action, and should the necessity arise for them to declare for action, then will be witnessed a struggle so far-reaching that every country on earth would be affected.

The shipping and railways, the trams and cabs, taxis and motor buses, motor cars and char à bancs, all being included in the Transport Industry, a stoppage on all these would simply be all-powerful to enforce anything the workers desired; in three days the whole of the activities of Britain could be tied up as no other force could do it; and we are definitely laying ourselves out to bring

this about unless redress be obtained speedily by other means.

Of course, the knowing ones who write for the well-being of the workers in the capitalist press, tell their readers that the workers, in their ignorance, will hurt themselves so much more than they will their opponents; that anything in the nature of a general strike will defeat itself. We suggest that they should continue to say this to the capitalists in whose interest they write; it may prove comforting to them until the shock comes. The period of suspense will be shorter than if they told the capitalists anything more truthful.

But the workers must attend to the commissariat. and that we shall do.

We must scientifically prepare for a week or so cessation from the ordinary grind in the interest of the capitalist class, and it is not absolutely necessary that we should concern ourselves to specially inform that class of our movements and intentions.

### **W. D. Haywood on the "Unskilled" in America.**

It has been a cause of extreme pleasure to me during the past week to meet comrade W. D. Haywood, of America.

Like thousands of others, I watched the progress of the trial with

keen interest when Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone, of the Western Federation of Miners, were before the United States Courts; and when it looked—as at one time it certainly did—that they would be hanged, the intensity of feeling



TOM MANN AND WILLIAM HAYWOOD.

among the comrades in Australia was great, and the relief proportionate on their release.

Of course, we knew that our comrades believed in Industrial Union-

ism, that comrade Haywood had presided at the first Convention in 1905 in Chicago, when the I.W.W. was formed; but it has added enormously to my appreciation of William Haywood to have had the opportunity of interchanging opinion at length and sharing with him in propagandist activity.

It was very interesting and informing to learn from him in detail of the many struggles of the Western Federation of Miners to enforce the laws which dealt with industrial conditions. In No. 3 of the "Industrial Syndicalist" I dealt with the unskilled workman as follows (see page 5):—

The reason that many men are graded as semi-skilled or unskilled is because the capitalist system will not admit of all engaging in skilled work—no matter what the amount of skill men may possess. There must be no lowering of the standard of the skilled, but there must be a raising of the standard of the lower-paid man. The position of the latter must be made worthy of a man; and as he serves Society, not in the manner he desires, but in the manner Society compels him, he must in future be counted as a man and a brother. The skilled men must throw off that silly notion

of superiority that still characterises a number of them.

Wm. Haywood states that although the W.F.M. have had many fights for wages, they have never had one directly on behalf of the skilled men who received the highest money, but always on behalf of the lowest paid to raise them to the standard of the highest. He declares this has worked exceedingly well for all concerned, and as a result all those working about the mine get a minimum wage of three dollars a day, the labourer just as much as the skilled man.

Although some miners may get three and a-half or four dollars, their standard is three dollars, and all the labourers get the same wage as the result of the efforts of the Federation.

This is splendid testimony to their good sense and to their faith in the principle of brotherhood.

The Federation has used its influence to get laws passed favourable to the conditions of the miners, but in nearly every instance they had also to use the power of their industrial organisation to enforce the laws, frequently striking in order to do this.

I have asked comrade Haywood to write a few paragraphs dealing specifically with Industrial Unionism, and so he wrote as follows:—

Industrial Unionism is the merging of Labour forces into

one gigantic organisation, wherein the workers will become citizens of the industry in which they are employed, rather than subjects of the State in which they reside.

Industrial Unionism will unite the workers of all parts of the world, no matter what the race, creed or colour.

In operation, it is the fulfilment of the Socialist programme.

Primarily the purpose of Industrial Unionism is to amalgamate the overwhelming power of Labour that it may take and hold the machinery they now operate and which they and none other have produced, and manage the same themselves in their own interest.

A fight well fought, though lost, is infinitely better than compromising with an enemy.

No contracts, no agreements, no compacts; these are unholy alliances, and must be damned as treason when entered into with the capitalist class.

Comrade Haywood is exceedingly keen upon the industrial and political phases of development, and believes we are very near to very great changes. He is delighted to find that Industrial Syndicalism is taking hold in this country, and at all the

meetings he addresses, he keeps this subject to the fore.

Comrade Haywood leaves this country in a few weeks, and expects to have an extended lecture tour through the United States. He is also intending to publish a book in which he will deal with the Industrialist Movement of America, including the account of the kidnapping, trial, and acquittal of himself and his comrades of the Western Federation of Miners.

### **A Call to Arms.**

The first work of the skilled workers, even in their own interest, ought to be, to force the bringing about of a substantial raise of the wage standard of the unskilled, and by this means they will have destroyed the strongest weapon of the employers.

The wages received by millions of men in this country does not exceed 30s. a week, but there is an enormous number who do not get £1 a week; there are scores of thousands of labourers receiving not more than 16s. a week, and many less than that. We must encourage these men to demand a decent wage, and we must help them to get it. Less than 30s. a week cannot be considered a decent wage for a labourer, even as things are, and we of the Syndicalist move-

ment must help them to get it. This must be a minimum demand, and we must organise forthwith to obtain it.

We must let the labourer know that, although hitherto he has been shut out from a chance in life, he has been compelled, by the force of circumstances, to accept about two-thirds or one-half only of that received by the skilled man; that state of affairs is to disappear with the advent of Industrial Syndicalism.

There is no greater anomaly in our Industrial System than this we are confronted with, and which passes by, year in and year out, as part of the established order of the Universe. Skilled workers, in many instances doing but little work, receive from two to seven or eight pounds a week, whilst the labourer, having the same responsibilities as regards family and citizenship, is compelled to accept one-third of it or less.

This must not be. We must not preach social equality and utterly fail to practise it, and for those receiving the higher pay to try and satisfy the demands of the lower-paid man for better conditions by telling him it will all be put right under Socialism is on a par with the parson pretending to assuage the sufferings of the poverty-stricken by saying "it will be better in the next world." It must be put right in *this* world, and we must see to it *now*.

All men in the United Kingdom who are in receipt of less than thirty shillings a week should recognise in these words a call to arms; first, of course, to organise; then, to unite with all others and prepare for a fight; for an eight hours day and a minimum of five shillings a day.

Don't worry over any tales the capitalists will trot out about it being impossible to pay such rates; we know it will be impossible until the workmen make it possible.

A man who isn't worth sevenpence half-penny an hour ought to give up and go to heaven, but not until he has tried with his mates to obtain tolerable conditions.

### **Apprenticeship to Disappear.**

I am fully alive to the fact that many of the old-time unionists who put on "side" as skilled men are utterly indifferent to the welfare of the labourers; or they might perhaps desire them to get an extra couple of shillings, but they certainly do not want them to come anywhere near their standard.

Now, every well-informed and fair-minded mechanic will admit that the apprenticeship system is rapidly disappearing. The last twenty years have witnessed such inroads upon it that at the present time eighty per cent. of the men in all occupations are classed and treated as unskilled. This is the chief

reason why the total number of organised workers is only one-fifth of the total number of male workers. With the advance of mechanical and chemical processes, the proportion of men classed as skilled becomes smaller year by year.

If I were a "piecer" in a Lancashire cotton mill, receiving, as many piecers do, less than a pound for a full week's work, and being, as many are, anything from twenty to thirty years of age, and with no better prospect of making headway than that of the average "piecer" to-day, I should want to know why the "piecers" must rest content with such a kid's wage as eighteen or twenty shillings a week?

I should not be disposed to take the view that the spinner with whom I worked received any too much when taking his fifty shillings a week or thereabouts, but being a member of the same union as the spinner I should try and exhaust all methods to get that union to take action in order to raise the "piecer's" rate up to thirty shillings a week; not at the expense of the spinner, but at the firm's.

If there were no possibility of using the union to raise the standard, I should encourage my workmates to take such other action as might be necessary to get it raised.

The low-wage men ought to revolt against the slavish conditions at

present imposed upon them, but they must remember that action must be taken by *themselves*, and as soon as they show courage and capacity to fight for something better, help will be forthcoming.

Someone must dare to declare that our present-day form of trade unionism is incapable of meeting the requirements of the workers.

The question now is: Is it a fair thing to tolerate a system of unionism which encourages such a shameful inequality as that which obtains?

The reply to that is: Abolish the present system of apprenticeship and insist that every boy shall have the chance of selecting and learning such industry as shall lift him from the position of an untrained person, and when he works in such capacity as Society may require him let him receive what a man ought to receive to maintain himself and his family, and not be condemned, as an unskilled worker, to do the least interesting and heaviest work for *half the pay* of other men little or no better than himself; fair play demands that each should receive approximately the same.

I am told I shall earn the hatred of many by such advocacy as this. I do not know, and I do not care. But I am deeply convinced that the right course to pursue is the one indicated, and I am further convinced that such principles and methods are

calculated to lift the depressing clouds that have hung so long over the lives of millions. We can go a long way towards wiping out poverty if we go to work on a definite plan, and without waiting for, but work for, the Social Revolution.

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## Conference on Industrial Syndicalism.

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In the last issue of the "Industrial Syndicalist" it was announced that the Conference on Industrial Syndicalism would be held in London on November 25.

The Lancashire comrades have given evidence of their strong desire, not only to have the Conference in Manchester, but of a determination to make it a great success, and so the Conference will be held on the afternoon and evening of **Saturday, November 26th, 1910**, at the **Coal Exchange, Market Place, Manchester.**

All Trades Councils and Trade Societies within a radius of twenty miles will be cordially invited to send delegates. Of course, groups of "Industrialists" will also be entitled to send delegates, and, as

stated in the previous issue, there will be no rigid formality observed as regards the admission of delegates beyond getting a reasonable assurance that those who seek admission have been deputed to act on behalf of a group or number of persons who believe in Industrial Syndicalism or Industrial Unionism, and are anxious for its enhancement.

The reason for the Conference to be called at 3 o'clock is in order to give residents in and around Manchester a chance to attend without losing time. But delegates are invited from any part of the country; they must, of course, cover their own expenses or get them covered by those whom they represent.

The conveners of the Conference are :

HARRY GREEN, A.S.E.,  
ALEC GRAHAM, A.S.E.,  
ALFRED 'A. PURCELL  
(Building Trades),  
ARTHUR STEWART,  
Garden Village,  
Levenshulme,  
Manchester,

to whom communications must be addressed.

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Printed by T.C.P., Ltd. (T.U. & 48 hrs.), 37A, Clerkenwell Green, E.C., and Published by Guy Bowman, at 4, Maude Terrace, Walthamstow.

# The Industrial MONTHLY Syndicalist

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Vol. I., No. 5. ONE PENNY. Nov., 1910.

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## Symposium on Syndicalism.

By ACTIVE WORKERS.

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EDITORIAL NOTES by TOM MANN.

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### Hurrah ! Gallant Little Wales.

It so happened that I was due for a meeting in Tonypany, Rhondda Valley, on Sunday the 6th inst. Arriving there on the 5th, I learned of the result of the mass meetings held earlier in the day, and of the arrival of police from other districts. I had the advantage of several conferences with the most influential men and was thus able to gauge the situation.

The one thing that stood out more glaringly than all the others combined, was the absence of that thorough solidarity which, working

in clockwork fashion, can alone ensure success.

Already the miners—over 11,000 in number—were out, after having given notice in accordance with conference decision, and the full vote of the members in the South Wales coalfield. This was unanimously acted upon, but here comes

### **The Damaging Item.**

The hauling engine men, who haul the coals to the pit shaft, belonged, not to the Miners' Federation, but to a separate union known as *the Hauling Engine Men's Stokers' and Craftsmen's Union*, and the winding engine men, those who drive the engines that wind the coal up the shafts, lower and raise the men, etc., belong to still another union. Each of these unions having entered into undertakings with the management, prevented them making common cause with the miners.

The miners had ceased work some five days before the Sunday, and during the interval had met the representatives of the two engine-men's unions in order to secure their co-operation, and with whom, by the way, they had long before entered into what was considered a working understanding. But the engine-men stated they had separate agreements, had not given notice, and could not, therefore, take action by

making common cause without incurring legal liabilities.

Anyway, here was the evil : out of a total of 12,000 men, including officials, over 11,000 belonged to and acted loyally as members of the Miners' Federation ; but directly, and solely because of the isolated action of the two small unions named, complete isolation of the mines was impossible ; it, therefore, became necessary that all who worked at the mines, under the Cambrian Combine, should know from the miners themselves that their co-operation was desired ; therefore, picketing became necessary, and in accordance with decision, not less than 8,000 men were on picket on Monday the 7th, at the three groups of mines belonging to the combine.

It had been resolved at public meeting, by solemn vote, that on the men's side everything should be perfectly peaceful. I put that matter to the vote on the Sunday night in the Tonypandy Town Hall, and it was unanimously agreed to.

### **With the Pickets.**

I was with the pickets early next morning, and can vouch that they behaved in accordance with the vote. I witnessed the only departure therefrom near the Cambrian Mines, at 6.30 a.m. ; this was when two engine-men were slinking past some houses in High Street, near to where the men

were processioning, and some of the miners' wives standing at their doors, called out to these men who were making towards the pit. The pickets, who were near by, commenced to speak to the men in a perfectly peaceful fashion, simply saying they "hoped they would not start work but that they would join the general body"; a number had by this time gathered round, perhaps 60 to 70 persons, when two mounted police, near to whom I had been for some time, swerved towards the bunch of people and knocked down two of the women. There was not the slightest necessity for this, and naturally it was resented by the men who saw it, and they shouted at the police to clear out, and booed a little; a stone was thrown that hit no one, and a little empty milk-tin hit a foot constable; but instantly several of us exerted our influence, and, in spite of the provocation, all was quiet in a few minutes, and the men marched along singing choruses.

On the Tuesday, the police successfully became the aggressors, often enough, and vicious enough, to cause a considerable retaliation on the men's side, who foolishly played into the hands of the reactionaries by demanding more police and military.

I am writing this on Tuesday, the 15th inst., at the time a Conference of delegates is being held from all

the disaffected collieries in South Wales at Pontypridd.

We heartily congratulate our Welsh comrades on this step, and upon their pluck and solidarity in this struggle.

We admire and congratulate

THIS PHOTOGRAPH COULD NOT  
BE REPRODUCED FROM THE  
ORIGINAL

CHARLIE STANTON for his determined stand in the Aberdare district; and we rejoice to know that there is a strong movement already shaping, with Pontypridd as the centre, for pushing ahead at

once with Syndicalist principles throughout the Welsh coalfield.

The workers are not entirely void of genuine fighting grit, and, with a little more experience, we shall avoid the unnecessary, and centre on the capitalists' citadel.

Last month we had special reason to feel proud of the French; this month it is the Welsh we admire.

### Our Contributors.

As announced in No. 4, this issue of the *Industrial Syndicalist* should be of especial interest to our readers. The treatment of the subject of Industrial Unionism by the three comrades whose contributions are here given, is exceptionally informing, and correctly sets forth the principles now in the ascendancy in this country, and which I verily believe are likely to prevail very soon.

Many know comrade E. J. B. Allen personally, and a larger number of those who have read his pamphlet on *Revolutionary Unionism*, issued nearly two years ago, will turn with interest to his article in this issue. A copy of this pamphlet reached me whilst in Australia, at Broken Hill, and as I had just issued a pamphlet called *The Way to Win*, also dealing with the same subject, we exchanged quantities for propagandist work. Anyone who carefully reads this article, all too short as it is, cannot fail to realise the

fundamental and numerous tactical, differentiating characteristics of industrial unionism, when contrasted with that which is given from the more orthodox propagandist platform.

Miners generally, but more particularly those in the Coalfields of South Wales, should be specially interested in the article by Com. W. F. Hay. It would be impossible to exaggerate the urgency for the Miners of South Wales, of whom our comrade is one, for dealing with the basis of organisation, the spirit that shall actuate that organisation, and the objective of the same.

Had space permitted we should very gladly have printed contributions from Comrade A. A. Purcell, of Manchester, and others.

There are scores of men and women ready to enter the field with their pens, as there are hundreds already active with their voices advocating Syndicalism.

The need for a weekly paper which is to afford an opportunity to disseminate the principles and policy of the real Revolutionary propaganda, making for our emancipation, is being felt every day more intensely.

We are looking forward with keen interest to the Conference to be held in Manchester on the 26th inst., and to the Public Debate in the Grand Theatre, Manchester, on the evening of November 27th.

# The Need for Education in the Trade Unions.

By T. J. RING.

The most urgent need at this stage of the trade union movement is education, and this education must be revolutionary in its fundamentals. There is a growing demand among the rank and file of the unions for it. Some unions have recognised this growing sentiment, and have made education an important part of their work. But there is still a great deal to be done in this direction. It is the lack of an educational movement among the members of the unions that has caused them to have no more enthusiasm about the principles and methods of organisation than they have about a funeral.

Now, if this attitude is to be changed with a view to bringing about a better system of organisation we must at once form EDUCATIONAL LEAGUES in every industrial centre, for the purpose of sending speakers into every trade union branch to explain the principles of INDUSTRIAL SYNDICALISM.

The next and most important step is to publish a weekly paper to propagate our principles. The paper would help to educate those outsiders to see the benefits of unionism

—the power of which we are only beginning to realise—and it would keep those who are inside informed of all the phases of the movement, and thus prevent them from being led down to defeat when in conflict with the employing class.

Another important question is that of a shorter working day, and if taken up with enthusiasm, it would be certain to arouse the interest of the workers. This is one of the methods by which the workers would immediately benefit. I do not share the view that unemployment can be entirely abolished under Capitalism, but unemployment can be greatly reduced by a shorter working day. A general reduction of hours would mean an increase in the number of workers required for production, and thereby reduce the "unemployed army" in the ever-increasing competitive labour market. For example: the number of workers engaged in the furnishing trades is about 20,000. They work an average of 52 hours a week. Now, by reducing these hours to 48 per week, it would mean employment for about 1,666 men extra. This question of shorter hours is a concrete one, and cannot fail to appeal to the working class.

Workers of all trades and crafts! Unite, organise by industries, and become strong, so as to present a solid front to the employing class,

with whom you have nothing in common. Unite for the redemption of labour from the injustice of low wages, long hours and bad conditions inflicted by Capitalism.

## Working-Class Socialism.

By E. J. B. ALLEN.

Industrial Unionism is working-class Socialism; it is the only logical form of working-class organisation able to cope with the conditions that have been inaugurated by the great development of machinery, and the minute subdivision and simplification of industry attendant thereto. The Industrial Unionist seeks to unite all the workers of an industry into one union, and so establish a complete co-operation of all the industrial organisations, with the object of not only obtaining the best results in the daily wage-wars, but also to effect their emancipation from the system of wage-slavery.

The union movement is the only one capable of uniting the workers as a class on the grounds of their economic interests. The real interests of the workers are the full proceeds of their labour, their productive energy; and this necessarily

means the taking into possession of the mines, railways, factories, and mills, by those who operate them.

We have seen that Labour legislation is of little use without an adequate organisation to see that the reform regulations are properly enforced. We have seen, further, that an adequate organisation can enforce reforms, whether on the Statute Book or not.

Many working-class representatives have been elected to public bodies, and after some time have passed "to the other side of the barricade"; the industrial union is the only safeguard against wholesale treachery that the workers can have. It is the bulwark alike against a State bureaucracy or a military despotism.

### **A State within a State.**

The industrial union organisation, when completed, will be the embryo of a working-class republic. Our national unions, local unions, and other bodies will be the administrative machinery of an Industrial Commonwealth. We claim that no 670 men, elected to Parliament from various geographical areas, can possibly have the requisite technical knowledge to properly direct the productive and distributive capacities of the nation. The men and women who actually work in the various industries should be the persons best capable of organising them.

The French postal strike of last year, the strike of our own North-Eastern railwaymen, and the recent strike of the French railway workers, show the immense possibilities of working-class solidarity and organisation, and have been some of the finest methods of propaganda.

We shall unite all the workers in any one industry, and unite all industries. We will build a "State within a State," a workers' democracy in opposition to the capitalists' oligarchy.

The existing unions must be united, strengthened and enlightened as to the real purpose that a labour union should be formed for; to teach their members to think every time they enter the yard, mill, or mine: "This is the place where my fellow-workmen and I are robbed; this is the place that we keep going; this is the place that *we* ought to own and control."

The union movement, by making the individual worker conscious of the power that his class can wield, creates the desire for power within his mind. He begins to despise his condition of a wage-slave who is bought and sold at a certain market price, like coal, pig-iron, or a bale of shoddy. The revolutionary worker longs for room to develop his creative faculties, to exercise the social power that he is entitled to, for a greater freedom in every way; and

the industrial union shows him the way to realise these thoughts; and by its voluntary discipline, necessary for the conducting of strikes and boycotts, and by forcing on him his responsibilities by levies for the support of other workers who are engaged in actual combat, gives him that sense of moral responsibility to his fellows that fits him for the task of controlling society.

### **Let us think and Act as a Class.**

The industrial union is destined to become the most powerful instrument in the class struggle by showing the working class how to hold in check the rapacity of their masters and the tyrannies of the State by direct pressure of their collective economic strength; which power reaches its highest expression in the complete paralysis of the whole of the normal functions of capitalist society by means of the general strike. The use of the general strike must be amplified and extended, embracing a larger and larger number of workers in the actual combat; evolving that unity of action and sameness of inspiration which will make them *think and act as a class*, for the direct and forcible expropriation of the capitalists.

Here, on the field of the class struggle, in the places where we are robbed, before the solid fact of our common exploitation, differences

of political theories and speculative philosophies vanish into thin air.

Our employer robs us, other employers rob their workers; as such, we are all in the same position. Therefore, let us unite!

Industrial Unionism will unite all workers against all exploiters; we shall fight all parasites, even to those clothed in the sanctity of a State uniform.

### **Hurrah for the Class War!**

The reform legislation of our masters does not deceive us; they will do anything and everything except cease to live upon their robbery of the workers. The State, their instrument, which is to inaugurate the various reforms, is invariably in the last instance used as a final rampart to protect their interests. State ownership, with the capitalist in control, is as big a foe as the private exploiter, and often more powerful.

We have heard of sweating in the Army Clothing Stores, in the Arsenals and Dockyards, and the Post Office; so much for the State as employer.

We have had Taff Vale decisions and Osborne judgments from their Law Courts; so much for the State as an administrator of justice.

The Army has been used against strikers at Featherstone, Mold and Belfast; so much for impartiality in these cases.

During the strike at Hull and Grimsby, gunboats were there to

show how the Navy is to be used when capitalist interests are threatened; and the police and local courts are always used to uphold Law and Order and maintain inviolate the "right" of the men of property to fleece us without an effective protest being made; therefore, War to the exploiters and their State-controlled forces. *Hurrah for the Class War!*

To the devil with the lying reformist cry of Peace! Peace! when there can be no peace, whether it comes from the capitalists or from those in the bosom of the working class. Our rulers obtained what they possess by the exercise of force in its various forms, from slaughter to starvation, and they retain possession by the same means. Direct Action is the only way for the workers to achieve their emancipation, and the industrial union will be the training ground for the exercise of direct action. There can be no peace whilst we are robbed. The industrial union movement seeks to rally all the exploited into its ranks in order to bring to a speedy termination a social system that robs the worker of all that is essential for his liberty and well-being and gives him nothing in return. The industrial union movement itself is a declaration of the Social War—the war that shall cease only with our emancipation.

For we, too, love peace, but not the peace of slavery!

# The Miner's Hope.

BY

W. F. HAY.

It must seem strange to an on-looker, especially if he be a student of Industrial Unionism, to find the organisation most nearly approaching his ideal confessing its present impotence. The SOUTH WALES MINERS' FEDERATION, as a Trade Union, comprises within its ranks all men working in and about a colliery, with but few exceptions. And these few exceptions are now closely affiliated. Further, it is linked up with England and Scotland to form the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, which, with its policy of joint defensive action in Rule 20, is the high-water mark of Trade Unionism in England to-day.

Yet the S.W.M.F. is impotent!

The seething mass of discontent, the defections from the Federation, the attempts to form petty little sectional unions, the charges of treason against our leaders, all go to prove irrefutably its present impotence. We need go no further back than the last agreement to find the cause.

## Five Years Penal Servitude.

Never before had the Federation been so strong, so determined, so hopeful. Reforms and improve-

ments long overdue were confidently anticipated. Our leaders' promises, the prosperous condition of trade, and prospects of Rule 20 as a last resort, all combined to give us confidence. And yet we failed! Failed even to maintain our previous position. In several important particulars we are worse off than before. Faced with a serious rise in the cost of living, we have to endure a more tyrannical oppression and exploitation than ever before. Verily our sentence was severe! Five years' penal servitude! with a prospect of worse to come. What had we done, or neglected to do, to deserve such punishment? What was our crime?

It was a sin of omission; we were unprepared to fight! We had relied on Conciliation and Arbitration to effect a settlement, had allowed our leaders to assume that there was a point where, after discussion, fair play could be found for both masters and men; that such a point once found, the masters' sense of justice would impel them to concede what was fair. We were roughly disillusioned. The masters, outfought by argument, took refuge in force. "How strong," in effect, they cried, "How strong are you to fight? You may have all the logic of the position, but the best and final answer is force. Can you fight?" Sadly and reluctantly we were compelled to admit we could not. Our leaders, one and

all, assured us that a sectional fight in South Wales was foredoomed to failure. A half-hearted application for Rule 20 by our leaders was refused, and we had to face defeat and disheartenment.

### **What is the Remedy?**

We must prepare for action! While we shall still find possibly that Conciliation has its uses for us, just as diplomacy has for a nation, yet behind that diplomacy there must be force!—force strongly organised, conscious of its mission and its strength—force so applied and driven home by constantly increasing pressure that the masters will have to give to force what they deny to justice. We must organise in such a way that, no matter how few men are involved at first, if a principle is at stake, we must make the area of the struggle rapidly larger and larger, until such vast interests are involved as to compel a settlement in our favour.

As an example. Let us consider the method advocated by our leaders in regard to "abnormal places." A man failing to get a living at tonnage rates, owing to the exceptional difficulties encountered, and having failed to get from the management such allowance as would compensate him, is instructed by his committee to go "on stop." The man receives strike pay from the lodge, and stops

out until either the employers give way or he, growing tired of being idle, takes his tools and goes upon the road. In the first case he is usually a marked man, and the employers take the first opportunity to get rid of him. In the second case men are constantly being sent to the place in dispute. If they are fresh starters they leave when warned that the place is in dispute; if they are men already working in the pit, they refuse to work it, and are frequently "stopped" work altogether for so doing. In either case the employer has the last word.

Consider, in connection with this problem, the method now being adopted by the employers in settling price lists on new seams. If the men immediately concerned refuse to accept ridiculous terms, the employers lock out not only the few men refusing, but the whole employed at the colliery. Thus they endeavour, by making the fight spread over a larger area, to breed dissension among the men.

We must learn from our opponents, and devise a new policy based on theirs.

### **New Methods.**

Such policy must inevitably be a fighting one. Our fighting policy must take its stand upon the principle, that only when strongly enough organised to *obtain* improve-

ments can we be strong enough to *retain* them when gained. We must see to it that such alterations are effected in our methods, that if it be only *one* man concerned who has suffered an injustice, when his case has been endorsed constitutionally, automatically the whole strength of the organisation will be behind him to effect a prompt and just settlement. Suppose that, working in an abnormal place, he is refused adequate allowance. His case, taken to the District Meeting, is endorsed, and sanction obtained from the E.C. for action to be taken. His employer is notified, that unless his case is settled in seven days, the whole of the collieries under his control will be stopped; that at the end of a further seven days, if the dispute is not settled, the whole of the district will be called out; and that failure at the end of a further seven days will result in the whole of the Federation being out. Such a policy would inevitably bring disruption into the employers' ranks, especially if we embody with this policy the principle of demanding concessions on behalf of all the men brought into the fight at each stage. As thus, an employer fails to settle the original dispute in seven days, his colliery is consequently "on stop." But now he is faced with demands covering the whole of the men, which he must concede before work will be

resumed. He is subjected to this increasing pressure from the men, and is sure to be subjected to pressure from the other employers in the District, who, seeing themselves faced with a general stoppage and a demand for concessions to cover the whole of their men, will undoubtedly be tempted to use efforts to secure a settlement before the trouble spreads from the original colliery. This policy of automatically increasing pressure and increasing demands would give to our side greater cohesion, since every man brought into the fight would have something to gain by it. Further, if we can link up this policy with the M.F.G.B., in place of Rule 20, we shall have created a power which will at least equal our master's. And it is not difficult to imagine the time when this or a similar policy, having been justified by its results to the Miners, will be adopted by other industries; and a further step forward will be taken toward making the General Strike a possibility instead of a vague dream.

### **New Men Needed.**

Such new methods will need new men! We shall need men who are equipped by a study of economics and history to appreciate in all their bearings the problems with which they are confronted. For this purpose an educational system must be

evolved by the Federation to disseminate the necessary education to our young men, an education which will enable them to understand the intricacies of the market, the cost of production, and the method of exploitation under which we suffer. And we must have such men in large and ever-increasing numbers. From them will inevitably be drawn the leaders and critics of the future. The time for "going on the road," to starve for weeks and months at a stretch, is past. It belongs to the bow-and-arrow stage of Trade Unionism. Our methods and tactics must be based on Science. We have to meet an enemy who can purchase some of the best and brightest intellects in the country—and we have undoubtedly in our ranks men who only need the necessary training to rival them successfully—men who would be leaders in the true sense of the term, leading from the front and not from behind; leaders who, while democratic, must be men with initiative, and prepared to take decisive action in times of crises. In this connection we shall probably have to revise

### **Our Conception of Democracy.**

Our leaders must be elected by a ballot of the membership by direct vote, elected for a definite period with definite instructions, *and they must prove their competency by being*

*successful.* Once again we may learn from our masters. When appointing a Manager or Managing Director to a colliery, the shareholders do not interfere with him at every stage of his work. Instead, they show him that his predecessors obtained a dividend of, say, eight per cent. They instruct him to get ten per cent. if he wishes to retain his job. Exactly how he gets it is no concern of theirs. They act on the principle of giving a man a job and expecting results. If the results are satisfactory, well and good; if they are bad, no amount of excuses will suffice. He has to go. They may admire his character, his eloquence, his piety or his good breeding, but unless he gets the desired result, he has to go. Our democracy must be expressed in determining the object to be fought for, who shall lead in the fight, and what is a reasonable period to expect victory. For the rest, no General can consult with his troops when going into battle with the enemy. To discuss with them his intended strategy, would probably be to inform the enemy. So with us; let us determine on a definite issue—say, the abnormal places question or a minimum wage. Let us see to it that our organisation is perfect, and our loyalty and discipline unquestioned. If we are told to stop, to work full or short, to decrease production or expedite it, let us give

obedience. But if at the end of a set time, victory has not been won, then, however old in service our leaders may be, however great our attachment personally, we are sorry, but they have failed, and they must go! We can afford no more lasting failures, even in high places. The only test of competency in this connection is success.

### Let us Close up the Ranks

And prepare for that great day when our work of organisation, having been accomplished, both nationally and internationally, we shall have created the only power which can stop war, abolish poverty and white slavery, and bring in the day of universal brotherhood. To this great task, in which the peculiar conditions of our industry force us to play a leading part, let us enter with zest and zeal, conscious that in this mission we fulfil the national aspiration: *Cymry y blain!*

Parliamentary action is secondary in importance to industrial action; it is industrial action alone that makes political action effective; but, with or without Parliamentary action, industrial solidarity will ensure economic freedom, and therefore the abolition of capitalism and all its accompanying poverty and misery.

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# The Industrial MONTHLY Syndicalist

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A

## Manchester Message

TO THE

### Workers of Britain.

It is a common saying that—"What Manchester says to-day, England says to-morrow."

Well, Manchester has spoken, and her message to the workers of Britain is that the time is now ripe for the industrial organisation of all workers on the basis of class, and not craft.

And Manchester being the headquarters of a great many unions, numbering nearly three-quarters of a million of organised workers, her message will carry weight with the other workers of England. Already, our comrades in Newcastle and in

South Wales are preparing for further conferences similar to that held at Manchester, the proceedings of which were entirely successful. Sufficient diversity of opinion prevailed on details, as will be seen in the following pages, but there was unanimity upon the principle of unifying the Industrial Movement.

All thanks to our comrades who worked so well to bring about this Conference, and had the satisfaction to find some 200 delegates attending it. The list of these, and the bodies they represented, will be found hereafter; it was compiled from the replies to the invitations, and in the cases where the delegates' names were omitted it is due to the Secretary of that particular Union or Council not having sent it.

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# First Conference on Industrial Syndicalism

HELD AT THE

COAL EXCHANGE, MANCHESTER,

On November 26th, 1910.

## I.—LIST OF DELEGATES AND BODIES REPRESENTED.

Societies represented.	Names of Delegates.
------------------------	---------------------

### I.—WITHIN MANCHESTER DISTRICT.

#### A.—Unions.

#### Building Trades

Manchester and Sal-	} E. DONOHUE.
ford Building Trades	
Federation ... ..	W. MUTTER.

#### Bleachers'

(Dyers', and Finishers'	} W. MUTTER.
Op. Union), Har-	
purhey ... ..	

#### Boilermakers—

Manchester No. 2 Bch.	} G. F. REED.
Gorton ... ..	
	J. PICKUP.
	C. E. WITHERS.
	J. RAWLINSON.

#### Braziers'

and Sheet Metal Work-	} R. H. GEDDES.
ers' Society, Man-	
chester ... ..	F. MASON.

#### Brassworkers'

and Metal Mechanics'	} J. JONES.
National Society, Man-	
chester ... ..	F. W. HARRISON.

#### Bricklayers

Op. Society, Man-	} T. SCHOLES.
chester ... ..	
Manchester Order of...	R. COPPOCK.
	— CROSBY.

Societies represented.	Names of Delegates.
<b>British Labour</b> Amal., Manchester No. 1 Branch ...	J. GRIFFITHS.
<b>Cabinet Makers—</b> Newton Heath... ..	F. PALFREYMAN. W. Warburton.
<b>Carpenters' &amp; Joiners'</b> A.S., Manchester 6th Branch... ..	H. PORTMAN.
Manchester No. 4 ...	—
Manchester and District Managing Committee ...	F. F. HEWTON. F. W. WOLFENDEN.
<b>Carters'</b> Assoc., United ...	J. DEWHURST. — HARRISON. J. LEMMON.
<b>Clerks'</b> N.U., Manchester ...	W. JOHNSTON. F. WROE.
<b>Co-operative Employees'</b> A.U., C.W.S. Branch	J. BAINE.
<b>Engineers (A.S.E.)—</b> Manchester 9th Branch	H. BROWNJOHN. J. C. CRAVEN. J. H. THOBURN.
Gorton 5th Branch ...	J. J. HUYTON. J. GORMAN.
Salford 3rd Branch ...	T. BILLSBOROUGH. J. CUNLIFFE.
Manchester E. Branch	D. HEAPEY. T. SHELDON.
Salford 4th Branch ...	H. WORMLEIGHTON. G. PEET.
Gorton 4th Branch ...	R. KEARSLEY. J. D. LAWRENCE.
Manchester 5th Branch	C. H. HYDE. W. HUTCHINSON.
Openshaw 2nd Branch	F. FARGHER.
Manchester 7th Branch	J. OWEN.
Gorton East Branch ...	F. F. GANLEY. W. PIKE.
<b>French Polishers'</b> A.U. ... ..	G. ASHCROFT G. VANSTONE.
<b>Furnishing Trades</b> Federated Committee...	S. PRINCE. R. T. GALTREY.
<b>Gasworkers'</b> and Gen. Labourers' U., Gaythorn ...	— HARRISON. — SHANLEY.
<b>General Workers,</b> Manchester ... ..	E. K. TAYLOR.

Societies represented.	Names of Delegates.
<b>Glassworkers,</b> Amal. Soc. of Decorative ... ..	— HARRISON. — RICHARDSON.
<b>Heating Engineers,</b> Manchester Branch ...	— FRANK.
<b>India-rubber—</b> Workers' A.S., Ardwick J Branch ... ..	G. GORE, J. ANDERSON.
<b>Leather Workers'</b> A.S., Manchester ...	J. W. HOLLAND. J. E. N. HOLMES.
<b>Life Assurance Agents'</b> N.U. ... ..	J. H. BLAKE. P. M. RULEMAN.
<b>Loco Engineers'</b> and Firemen's Assoc. Soc., Openshaw ...	G. E. WILLERTON. A. MASON.
<b>Lithographic Printers'</b> A.S. ... ..	A. E. G. WILLIAM. W. DUNLOP.
<b>Machine Workers'</b> Assoc., United, No. 6...	J. MEWTON.
<b>Miners—</b> Kersley, Clifton, Pendleton and Pendlebury Miners' Association	T. HUGHES. J. HUGHES.
<b>Painters—</b> H. and S. Painters' and Decorators' N.A.S., Manchester District Committee ... ..	FRANK LOWE H. JONES.
Manchester No. 1 Branch	H. SHAW. J. G. HOWARTH.
No. 1 Old Branch ...	B. HYDE. J. KELLY.
No. 3 Branch ... ..	C. HOGG. E. BARKER.
Cheetham Hill Branch	H. PIPER.
<b>Patternmakers'</b> U.A. ... ..	J. MILLS. J. CROMPTON.
Openshaw ... ..	— BLEASDALE.
<b>Plasterers,</b> Operative ... ..	A. DELLER. C. CLARKE.
<b>Plumbers'</b> U. Op., Manchester No. 2 Lodge ...	G. HARRIS. A. BILLINGTON.
<b>Railway Servants</b> (A.S.R.S.)— Greenfield ... ..	S. BRIERLEY.
Manchester Conference	R. BEBBINGTON. A. WHITEHEAD.

Societies represented.	Names of Delegates.
Longsight ... ..	E. DAVIES.
Newton Heath No. 1	A. F. TAYLOR.
Branch ... ..	A. LAW.
<b>Railway W.</b>	A. T. LEONARD.
and C. Makers' A.S.,	S. WALMSLEY.
Openshaw No. 3 Br.	E. PEARSON.
G.U., Liverpool Rd.	C. BEAMAND.
Branch ... ..	H. RODGERS.
G.U., Central Branch	J. A. BLAND.
<b>Roller Makers,</b>	H. ANSLOW.
(Operative) Soc., No. 2	R. BRIERLEY.
<b>Shirt and Jacket</b>	G. HALL.
Workers' Union ...	A. HALPIN.
<b>Shop Assistants—</b>	J. ALLEN.
(National Union of)	T. WILKINSON.
W. and C., Gorton	A. GREEN.
Manchester Central ...	D. N. FULLERTON.
Longsight and Ardwick	F. CONNOR.
<b>Stove Grate Workers,</b>	G. FRANCIS.
Nat. Union of... ..	R. S. CLEGG.
<b>Street Masons'</b>	W. WATSON.
and Paviers' Union ...	G. FEARNLEY.
<b>Tailors'</b>	G. BROUGHTON.
(A.S.), Manchester ...	W. AGNEW.
<b>Telephone Employ's,</b>	H. HIND.
Nat. Soc. ... ..	A. HYDE.
<b>Tile, Mosaic</b>	— CLOUGH.
and Balence Fixers'	J. E. KIRKBRIGHT.
Union ... ..	F. HIRST.
<b>Tramway and Vehicle</b>	
<b>Workers</b>	
A. Assoc., Manchester	DIXON.
No. 6 Branch ... ..	KEELEY.
A. Assoc., Salford No. 1	T. NEOFSEY.
Branch ... ..	G. DUDLEY.
A. Assoc., Salford No.	H. MILLS.
3 Branch ... ..	T. SAVAGE.
A. Assoc., Manchester	A. QUINLAN.
No. 2 Branch ... ..	R. PARKER.
<b>Typographical Society</b>	Coun. S. DELVES.
Manchester ... ..	
<b>Upholsterers'</b>	R. CLIFTON.
A.U., Manchester No.	
2 Branch ... ..	
<b>Woodcutting Machin-</b>	
<b>ists'—</b>	
A.S., Manchester No.	A. STEVENSON.
1 Branch ... ..	W. KEITH.

Societies represented.	Names of Delegates.
Salford ... ..	J. E. WINN.
<b>Wiredrawers'</b>	L. WELLINGS.
A.S., Manchester ...	F. WALKER.

### B.—Trades Councils.

Accrington and District	E. J. CAVE.
Ashton - u - Lyne, Dukin-	S. VERNON.
field and District ...	E. J. CURTIS.
Burnley ... ..	A. HARROP.
Glossop, Hadfield and	J. WHEATCROFT.
District... ..	G. SAVILLE.
Gorton ... ..	R. LUNDY.
Manchester and Salford	D. MACHIN.
New Mills and District...	W. HARGREAVES.
Runcorn ... ..	J. TAYLOR.
Radcliffe ... ..	E. PLATT.
Stalybridge ... ..	S. V. BAILEY.
Stockport ... ..	T. W. PIMLOTT.
Warrington ... ..	T. PLUMB.

### C.—Other Bodies.

<b>Oldham</b>	J. LYLE.
Industrialist League ...	J. MORTON.
<b>Manchester</b>	
Socialist Labour Party	

## II.—OUTSIDE MANCHESTER DISTRICT.

### A.—Unions,

<b>Engineers,</b>	H. ENTWISTLE.
Derby ... ..	G. OLIVER.
<b>Machine Workers</b>	
(United)	R. G. ANTELL.
Derby ... ..	W. PICKERING.
<b>Railway Servants,</b>	J. W. SCOTHERN.
Heeley, nr. Sheffield ...	JOE COTTER.
<b>Ships' Stewards'</b>	A. T. ARNOLD.
C.B. and B., N.U.,	
Liverpool ... ..	

Societies represented.	Names of Delegates.
<b>Stonemasons,</b> Liverpool ... ..	F. BOWERS.
<b>Painters,</b> H. S. Painters & Decorators, Walthamstow ... ..	A. WEBB.
<b>Rhondda Miners,</b> Group No. 38 ... ..	NOAH ABLETT.
<b>Transport Workers</b> and General Union, Ireland... ..	JIM LARKIN.

### B.—Trades Councils.

Blackpool... ..	—
Brighton and District ...	W. G. KERRY.
Derby ... ..	W. SALISBURY.
Walthamstow ... ..	L. NOZENCROFT.
Wearside (County Durham) and Tow Law District... ..	A. G. TUFTON.
	T. WILSON COATES.

### C.—Other Bodies.

<b>Liverpool</b> Revolutionary Industrialists ... ..	J. DICK.
<b>Liverpool</b> International Club ... ..	PETER LARKIN.
<b>Birmingham</b> Industrial Workers of the World ... ..	FRANK PEARCE.
<b>Huddersfield</b> Socialist Party ... ..	L. PORTET.
<b>Sheffield</b> Industrialist Group ... ..	G. H. HILL.
<b>London</b> Industrialist League ... ..	FRED SHAW.
	W. F. FIELDING.
	L. BOYNE.
	M. W. BECKESS.

There were also present :

**Albert A. Purcell** (*Chairman*).

**Harry Green.**

**Tom Mann.**

**Guy Bowman.**

**Arthur Stewart** (*Convener*).

## II.—THE CONFERENCE.

**Report by Manchester Press Agency,  
19, Cannon Street, Manchester.**

The proceedings opened at 3 p.m., and the Convener announced that there were 198 delegates, representing between 70 and 80 Societies, Unions and Groups, 16 Trades Councils, and approximately 60,000 workers. A. Stewart read a telegram from Tom Ring (Sheffield) wishing the Conference every success. The following letter from Ben Tillett was also read :—

Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and  
General Workers' Union.

25th November, 1910.

Dear Tom and Comrades,—I shall not have the privilege of being present at your first meeting ; but I should have been proud to have taken a hand with you in the work of the revolutionary movement at the inception.

I take consolation in knowing that there will be plenty of work to be done in the future, and I now offer my sincerest wishes as well as services for the movement.

There is a real danger in the sectional character of present-day Trade Unionism ; the Dockers' Union is

strong because it embraces several allied industries, the latter fact making us realise the potentialities of a greater movement conducted on a National and International basis.

The very fact of the General Federation of Trades having to call together the affiliated societies to take into question the position of the Boilermakers, an organisation previously exclusive as well as being anti-labour-unionist, points a moral as well as indicates a weakness.

The fact also that employers are fighting for "collective bargaining" is an evidence that a legal tribute is being levied on the Trade organisations. When the fact of the Employers insisting on the brutal forms of Contract is considered, and the impotence of the allied Unions to fight these conditions is understood, there is every need for such a movement as you contemplate.

I want to say that I do not know of a single Union able to fight on the old lines of "funds and sectional combination"; even the very rich ones are seriously handicapped by the very amount of their wealth.

The fight of the past has really been economic, as is the fight of the future, with this difference—that such movements as you are now fostering will enlighten the best brains of the Trade Union and Labour movement,

and arouse convictions and intelligent interest, to the greater possibilities of Trade Unionism.

I shall be in Manchester to-morrow night, and shall be glad to meet some of the men who want to make the movement a success.

I wish good luck and all success to your initial meeting.

Yours sincerely for the Revolutionary Movement,

BEN TILLET.

The Secretary said that there were a great number of replies and messages from individuals which, in essence, wished success to the movement.

### III—CHAIRMAN'S OPENING REMARKS

**Albert A. Purcell** (FURNISHING TRADES, MANCHESTER) who was in the chair, outlined the course the Conference was to take; It gave him great pleasure, he said, to preside at a meeting which gave such good augury for the success of Industrial Unionism in this country. If the workers were going to make any strides in so far as closer co-operation was concerned, they had to get down to the rank and file of their class; for the time had arrived, if it did not arrive some time ago, when

something considerable needed to be done in industrial matters. Inside Trade Unions there was not merely a desire for something greater, but apparently it was felt that the



ALBERT A. PURCELL,

Formerly General Secretary to French Polishers.  
Now Organiser for Nat. Amal. Furnishing Trades  
Association; Trustee and Delegate to the Building  
Trades Federation.

something was required in a greater measure of enthusiasm. As a trade unionist, and one who knew much

about Trade Unionism, he submitted that their energies had contracted by depending so much upon political action. He looked upon Industrial Unionism as a movement which was far more important than the political Labour movement. The Industrial Workers themselves were the propelling force that would impel politics to what they desired them to be. This force was what was required to emancipate the workers, if they were to be emancipated at all. If the principles which many of them held dear with regard to the Class War meant anything at all, they meant that the workers were to emancipate themselves. This movement was of great importance to the rank and file. The thing needed to emancipate the workers as a class was not to federate, but to amalgamate, their movement to such an extent that whenever one worker was attacked—be he joiner, plasterer, labourer, shop-assistant, tiler, or even the man who, in future, would probably be called on to drive an airship—any attack upon any one worker would be the signal for the resentment of the whole of the workers throughout the industrial world.

#### IV.—TOM MANN'S ADDRESS.

##### **Skilled versus Unskilled.**

Comrades,—Equally with our chairman I am glad to see this

successful gathering. I know that acceptance of the invitation does not necessarily mean that the Societies, groups or Trades Councils represented, or even the delegates themselves, are entirely in accord with the objects specifically aimed at by this Conference. At the outset, I desire to submit this simple fact—that here, as organised men in the industrial movement, we are confronted with the humiliation that, after all these years of effort, we have less than 2,500,000 organised and 10,000,000 or more unorganised. It is not sufficient to say that men will not pay to funds or take trouble in organising. There is one clear, deciding factor—speaking in general terms—and it is, that it is the skilled men who are organised and the unskilled who are not. Nor, again, is it sufficient to say the latter will not or cannot pay threepence or sixpence a week to organise for improved conditions. We have to recognise that whilst the workers are organised by skill, profession or occupation, these present organisations encircle the particular occupations, and conserve the special interests of those at work therein against all other workers; and we have to recognise that this is the chief factor in accounting for the fact that the mass of the workers are not organised, and for the absence of working-class solidarity.

## **All to Work Together as a Class.**

It is a big order we are here for: nothing less than an endeavour to revolutionise the trade unions, to make Unionism, from a movement of two millions, mostly of skilled workers whose interests are regarded as different from the interests of the labourers who join with them in their industry, into a movement that will take in every worker. We are here to declare that we know full well that the time has arrived when organisation by mere trade cannot carry the working class any further. A recognition of that fact will make for real headway; not to cry out against the capitalist, but frankly to realise that the workers are the enemies to their own progress. Undoubtedly the time is now ripe for industrial action as distinct from trade action; by which is meant—irrespective of the many trades or occupations there may be in any given industry, irrespective as to whether the percentage of skilled men is large or small—the only sound method of working-class industrial organisation is that kind which takes in every worker, no matter whether he or she is graded as skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled. Every worker who contributes towards the production of an industry is to be laid hold of by effective

organisation; and then the whole to work together as a class, industry by industry, and not as separate trades, with a dividing line between skilled and unskilled.

### Lost Battles.

The reason why battles have been lost by the workers is because we have never had anything like mass action. We have spoken of having 90 per cent. of workmen organised and prepared to take action. In truth, it meant 90 per cent. of one-fifth, because there was only one-fifth skilled, and the other four-fifths were left. Among these four-fifths many possess skill equal to the purposes of skilled work; and these, having a different wage, have only been too anxious to have the chance of getting a better wage; and they are, therefore, amenable to the "bosses," and have, to get a better wage, replaced some of the skilled.

Skilled men have often raised the point that handy men compete with them. Now, we are here to consider the interests of the workers as a class, and to proceed to organise upon lines which will meet the requirements of the whole working class in this or any country; and to prepare us to take local, national, or international action, whenever

good sense assures us the time is ripe.

Take the lesson of the Rhondda Valley. You will remember how that unity on the part of the Miners' Federation became a fact. You are also aware that certain riots have taken place. The unity was not absolutely complete. Miners were eleven thousand strong, but there was a lot of sectional unionism, because the hauling enginemmen below, and the winding enginemmen above, belonged to different organisations having separate agreements with the owners. Because of sectional unionism the riots took place and could be prolonged, on account of the continuance of working of these, who were serving the capitalists under their agreements. I am not concerned with the riots, but I am concerned with the efficiency of our organisation. We are spending money and energy and years—aye, scores of years, declaiming against the capitalistic system, and I am conscious all the time that it is the workers themselves who produce the mischief.

Hereupon Tom Mann presented the resolution, which read as follows:—

### V.—THE RESOLUTION.

"That, whereas the sectionalism that characterises the trade union

movement of to-day is utterly incapable of effectively fighting the capitalist class and securing the economic freedom of the workers, this conference declares that the time is now ripe for the industrial organisation of all workers on the basis of class—not trade or craft—and that we hereby agree to form a Syndicalist Education League to propagate the principles of Syndicalism throughout the British Isles, with a view to merging all existing unions into one compact organisation for each industry, including all labourers of every industry in the same organisation as the skilled workers.”

**Tom Mann:** The terms of that resolution embody what we believe to be the right way. You may ask what “Syndicalism” means. I have heard a good deal of fun poked at that term. We must remember we are Europeans, and there are 400 millions of people in Europe. We want a universal term, which will be understood among them all, for our movement. Syndicalism is the French term for Unionism, and whenever this movement is being discussed among them this very term is used. We are in for a movement which is to be national and international; and from the hour when we come to an

interchange of opinion with other countries we shall be compelled by force of circumstances to speak and write of Syndicalism. It means the unifying of industrial forces on the lines described. It is the application of its principles which will clear out capitalism, and we wish to start by merging existing unions. We have no hostility or antagonism at all to unions—they have done good work; but the capitalist organisations have travelled much faster than the workers’. They have syndicated their forces. We are called upon to do the same on the basis of class, and not to act sectionally. This is the first of these conferences, which will have to be repeated in various representative industrial districts, culminating in a congress when the educational work has been advanced.

Discussion opened after Tom Mann had moved the resolution given above.

## VI.—THE DISCUSSION.

**A. Law** (RAILWAY SERVANTS, NEWTON HEATH NO. 1), A MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE- AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF RAILWAY SERVANTS: As one who has had much to do with agreements, I desire to say the time has come for the agreements to end.

Arising out of the movement which my Society had in 1907, I may say we started with 100,000 men under £1 per week. They are still there. Both sides under agreements must have fair terms. The railway men never agreed that these terms were fair, but they were forced into a settlement by Lloyd George. As railwaymen we have realised one point—that if the whole of the railway workers be not united we shall not win a battle. Another point is that, in the absence of complete unionism among the workers, we railwaymen help in smashing the strikes like that in South Wales, and helping the masters against the boilermakers, by the transit of knobsticks to the seat of trouble. I cannot pledge my Executive or my leaders; but I pledge my own word. Wherever I go, I shall do all in my power to spread industrial unionism.

**J. Gorman** (ENGINEERS, SALFORD No. 3) : We know that the organisations in existence have certain rules, and the practical way is to secure an alteration of the rules. If this movement is going to be merely some sort of attraction for delegates to conferences it will get no power. We should see that alterations in our rules are made, and should ascertain what alterations are necessary in the rules of the A.S.E., A.S.R.S., the

Pattern Makers, and others, and see that the alterations be made. We know what attempts have been made to amalgamate all sections in the engineering trade. What we want at this conference is a simple resolution showing what we should do.

**Noah Ablett** (RHONDDA MINERS, GROUP No. 38) : I take it that everybody has heard of what is happening in South Wales, and the spirit of industrial unionism displayed there. A main idea of this movement—one of its cardinal principles—is to be able to paralyse an industry. Now, sectional unionism is the cause of the riots in South Wales. I came here from South Wales to see what was being done here to-day. We are all hoping in the Rhondda to clear our ideas and get a clear faith. We don't want Lancashire to tell us, and the people in Scotland and elsewhere, what to do, but want a chance to form a definite policy and to test the form of the structure. There is a great spirit of enthusiasm in South Wales for another conference of the same kind. I belong to an organisation which differs fundamentally from most organisations. We open our membership books to all men working in the mines, and thus the South Wales Union is not a craft union. It is the superior enginemen

who stand outside the organisation. We have the idea that all workers engaged at the mines should be definitely organised. The mission of the workers is not to go in for increased wages for themselves, but to emancipate the whole of the working class.

**George Francis** (SHOP ASSISTANTS, LONGSIGHT AND ARDWICK): I represent one of the few industrial unions in England. We cater for all hands employed in the distributing trades. From the aristocratic shopwalker to the lower ranks, women and all, we are one organisation, and an injury to one is an injury to all. Yet there are a number of organisations in the distributing trades which are competing, in a way, with us. Therefore, some practical proposition should be made as to future lines of work. We ourselves have taken some preliminary steps on these lines. The Shop Assistants, the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees, the National Union of Clerks, and the Railway Clerks, have formed a Federation, and one of the terms of reference is the proposal of finding out ways and means whereby an amalgamation of these various societies could be most effectively used. I suggest that delegates should take this suggestion back to their branches—that, subject to the

branches' approval, a representation be made to the Executives to appoint bodies of men, who shall represent all the unions formed within a given industry, to find out the best method of bringing about an amalgamation, and to report how speedily it can be done. The great thing is to change the root idea that a man is a different kind of man if he works with his hands or with his brains. My own union never has agreements with employers.

**Frank Lowe** (PAINTERS, MANCHESTER DISTRICT COMMITTEE): I am in agreement with all Unions being drawn closer together. The sooner some organisation of this description is done the better for all classes of men inside Unionism. The way to work is not to go to Executives, but for members to insist upon alterations in rules to bring the different societies into one organisation. Executives are out of touch with ordinary workers. Trade Unionism of to-day is too much of the sick and burial society and distributor of relief benefits. It should be made a fighting force. Unions to-day are also too much concerned about the protection of their own industry. That should be moved away.

**J. D. Lawrence** (ENGINEERS, MANCHESTER No. 5) said he did not

believe in the General Strike idea. He quoted Mr. Mann's words: "We must scientifically prepare for a week or so's cessation from the ordinary grind in the interests of the capitalist class." They were, Mr. Lawrence proceeded, treated to an exposition of working-class solidarity in the recent French railway strike. He read an extract from the "Contemporary Review" showing that French railway stock did not fall but rise at that time; and that the strike week left French railway stock as steady as it was before.

**W. G. Kerry** (BRIGHTON TRADES COUNCIL) said it was too late, in his opinion, to start an educational league. They had adopted Industrial Unionism in the Rhondda Valley, and it was being followed out in other countries. They should proceed with Industrial Unionism. At the same time, they ought to examine closely whether it was proposed to form another bunch of leaders. Leaders had betrayed them again and again in the past. They would betray them again. They must see that they did not have too much leadership.

**T. Wilson Coates** (WEARDALE TRADES COUNCIL) said the time for this amalgamation was overdue. In the trade union world they had a set of officials deter-

mined to keep their seats. To look at Syndicalism from the educative point of view, they wanted the workers educated. The calico printers got from 12s. to 16s. per week, and up to two or three weeks ago no trade unions bothered their heads about them. There was one man 35 years with one firm, and he received the magnificent wage of 12s. per week. They had got to get to these men, who needed education. They had got to have their newspaper for them for a start.

One of the things they ought to work and fight for was to take out of the hands of the Executives and leaders the power they now have, and they could do it by getting among the members. The majority of trade unionists he talked to were dead-sick of the present rate of progress.

**Tom Mann** at this point replied to points raised in the discussion: I desire to reply to the point raised by Mr. Lawrence in quoting from my pamphlet. I stand by it. I do not endorse the reference he made to the French Railway Strike. The real error is in viewing France, or any other country, as being properly organised. It is not, although they have got ahead of us. When resorting to these strikes they knew precisely their own strength, and they con-

sidered it desirable, in the interests of the movement, that they should demonstrate it to themselves and comrades in the movement. That is the real cause of the dispute, and those that preceded it in France of a similar character. It is hardly fair play to refer to the Rhondda miners as Syndicalists. It is only a small percentage who are, and a couple of years ago they were not. Where hope comes in is in the fact that there is a percentage now. That is proof they are learning something. The time will come when a week's cessation or so will be a necessary method of fighting. Supposing it should turn out that the organisation is practically perfect without this cessation; all that is so much to the good, and no man wants a strike or stoppage. There has nothing been said here of an Anti-Parliamentary character. Let us each enjoy our own opinions of Parliamentary effort and its value. What Mr. Lawrence has quoted as to French railway stock was known far better by the C.G.T. than by the writer of the article in the "Contemporary Review." The main thing for us to look to is the absolute necessity for Industrial Unionism.

**A. G. Tufton** (WALTHAMSTOW TRADES COUNCIL) said Industrial Unionism meant the federation of

industries. In America a great struggle of the brewery workers had taken place. They had claimed the right to include coppersmiths, engineers and all men in the industry. That was what was meant by Syndicalism. They must be able to paralyse their industry. This principle would cut directly at existing trade unions. The alteration required would be such as would allow members of the A.S.E., working in breweries or cotton mills, to join the other associations in those industries. Such a method was not compatible with present-day trade unionism, and if the new form was to prevail the old must go out. The Unions would have to submit to be broken up and to be part of the industry they dealt with. Trade Unionists pinned their faith to political action, but it was ineffective. Take Liverpool as an illustration. There they found various sections of the community—Irishmen, Orangemen, and so on—and directly you touched these faiths Trade Unionism was thrown over by the organised workers. The recent bye-election at Walthamstow illustrated the way in which present Unions compromised in regard to politics. If Trade Unionism was going to do anything at all it must drop politics. Politics, like religion, was a matter for the persons themselves; and it was of no concern to the worker whether

other workers were Liberals or Conservatives. All that was necessary for workers was to understand the solidarity of their class.

**R. Coppock** (BRICKLAYERS, MANCHESTER) said the unskilled labourer in the building trade was not catered for. In regard to organisation on trade union lines for the general workers, if men joined them, the unions could be ruined practically through their out-of-work pay. They were discussing consolidation in the building trades, and Mr. Batchelor, their secretary, was ever exerting his abilities for it. They were to discuss if some method was not possible for the amalgamation of the Manchester Unity and the Operative Bricklayers. After they had got the barrier removed they were to get other organisations to come along with them. They were not going to get anything from the class dictating to them while as workers they had sectional unionism, bound by conciliation boards and arbitration courts. When they had a finer organisation, on the basis of class not craft, the workers would gain when they came into conflict. They must get to the pitch when they would strike without notice, deciding among themselves the method of attack, when they should strike and what they should strike for.

**Jim Larkin** (TRANSPORT WORKERS IRELAND) asked them to leave Ireland out of the resolution. They had made enough hash of their own affairs—they must not interfere with Ireland. He was one of the first men to organise on the basis of industrial unionism in this part of the world. "We got men to agree that there should be a betterment of conditions, and at 12 o'clock at night we struck work. We got what we wanted. In another dispute the political earwigs came over; a conciliation board was formed. I refused to be a party. The strike was settled. Mr. Mitchell, who came forward as our official head, did not tell us he was appointed a Government official. I opposed the clauses in the agreement. I set out and worked for 24 hours, and got the men. This clique, taking jobs from a capitalist Government, said, 'Look here, Jim, don't oppose.' Next day we had 1,300 men out on strike. These political earwigs are traitors to us. We beat the employers in two days; but it took us five long weeks to beat the people behind them. They went to Hamburg and they 'scabbed' everywhere." Proceeding, Jim Larkin said Dick Bell and Shackleton had gone, and he wished to God the others would go. They wanted in the workers' movement workers and fighters. He had "done" three months and 14 days, and he

would do another three years to get men to understand the position. His union was formed on the industrial basis, and took in all workers in the transport industry. The transport industry held the key, for they could stop the whole of the rest of the trades.

**Fred Shaw** (HUDDERSFIELD SOCIALIST PARTY) said he supported Industrial Unionism because of recent experience of strikes in his district. In one of these—in the Colne Valley—there was a Masters' Association, and when the workers in one particular mill were turned out the master of the mill sent wires to all the masters in the federation to send him two workers from each of the other mills. And the workers in these mills were members of the same union as the men locked out. The men had to go or be discharged. The men's union was not strong enough to bring all the men out together. Alongside of this there was a strong textile union in the district, and it remained in, scabbing on these men. The masters having organised in federations which practically dominated production in this branch of industry, the present methods of trade union organisation were out of date. The group he (Fred Shaw) represented had sent him to advise that trade union organisation should be brought up to date, so

that they could strike a blow for the workers.

**W. Salisbury** (DERBY TRADES COUNCIL), A MEMBER OF THE BOILERMAKERS' SOCIETY, declared that if any society needed Industrial Unionism to-day that society was the Boilermakers. (Hear, hear). He would make bold to state that if there had been some system of Industrial Syndicalism in England when the shipbuilding employers recently locked out the boilermakers the lock-out would not have lasted five minutes. (Hear, hear.) The Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee had taken a vote upon combined action with regard to the premium bonus system, and if combined action was necessary for the abolition of that system it was necessary for the abolition of every one of the evils from which the trade union movement was suffering to-day. (Hear, hear.) He would give an illustration from his own union. Suppose the Midland Company forced the premium bonus system on them, what was there to prevent the members of his (the speaker's) union at Crewe repairing engines for the L.N.W.R., so that that company should lend engines to the Midland?

**J. Morton** (SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY, MANCHESTER) opposed the

resolution. It was the correct method of organisation that was wanted, and the plan now proposed, this speaker held, did not provide it.

**C. E. Withers** (BOILERMAKERS, GORTON) announced that he came to the Conference with one object, and that was to take back to the men he represented some scheme whereby they could bring about the amalgamation of all trades and of all workers. (Hear, hear.) They wanted political principles out of the way. They must band together with one solid object—the benefit of all. (Hear, hear.) Trade unionism—its members and officials—were now ripe for amalgamation, pure and simple. They wanted it, and were clamouring for it. How were they to get it? Only the uniting of the workers would do the good they wanted. If amalgamation were carried out their officials would have to do that which they were paid for, not that which they took it upon themselves to think would suit the workers. The resolution before the Conference was a step in the right direction. They had their Trades and Labour Councils in every district now, but what good were they doing for the members of unions? They were fighting sectionally all over the place. The only means of achieving their ends was amalgamation.

**E. J. Cave** (ACCRINGTON AND DISTRICT TRADES COUNCIL), speaking as a member of the National Society of Dyers and Finishers, wanted to know who was to hold out a hand to the people mentioned by Tom Mann—the people with wages ranging anywhere between 12s. and 17s. a week, with a wife and three or four children to keep? (Hear, hear.) He asked them to vote in favour of Industrial Unionism if it would only help the people at the bottom of the social ladder, such as the poor calico printers working for a minimum of 12s. at 35 years of age, and a maximum of 17s.

**M. W. Beckess** (INDUSTRIALIST LEAGUE, LONDON) opposed the resolution. He said he wished to make it quite clear that he had been sent to the Conference to do his utmost to forward the cause of Industrial Unionism, but he was opposed to everything he knew about the method and organisation advocated at the present time. He was prepared to work for Industrial Unionism in the immediate future, but the machinery of the existing trade unions must go by the board. All that should be preserved of the present system was the trade union membership—the rank and file. The leaders were economically opposed to the rank and file, and it was utterly impossible to expect them (the

leaders) to commit economic suicide and get out of the way of the workers. They must form a real Industrial Union.

**G. H. Hill** (INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, BIRMINGHAM) contended that the organisation for Industrial Unionism was already in existence. There was the Industrialist League, which was internationally affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World. To form another organisation was illogical.

**E. Donohoe** (MANCHESTER AND SALFORD BUILDING TRADES FEDERATION) declared that Industrial Unionism was an intellectual movement if it was anything. The great point was—was the Conference convened for the purpose of making war upon any of the aspirations of the workers towards the economic solution of their difficulties? He held that it was not. They desired an increase of wages here and now, and by the selection of proper representatives in Parliament they might further help the industrial movement forward. (Hear, hear.) He had not the slightest idea of saying that any man who represented him in Parliament was not endeavouring to do his best. (Laughter.) They might laugh when their representative did not stand up and make an

ass of himself in Parliament. But why send him? They were themselves responsible. They must help their political representatives as far as possible, and they must bring along an organisation large enough to combat the employing class. It was this that he (the speaker) was aiming at. The present position in trade unionism was owing to the advance of commerce and the subdivision of labour. In the early days of the Joiners' Society a joiner used to do almost anything in the manipulation of wood, but sub-divisions had sprung up, and the workers had allowed themselves to get divided in their trade unions instead of grasping the position intelligently. Were they intelligent enough to grasp the main principle before them? It was a question of an ideal—a question of working for something that must come. He believed the time had come when they must have industrial organisation on the lines of Industrial Syndicalism. They must drop their prejudices, amalgamate one with the other, and aim for increase of wages now. The next generation would settle other questions.

**F. Bowers** (STONEMASONS, LIVERPOOL) said he felt that the time had come for something to be done to make trade unionism the force it was in their fathers' days. The spirit of pugnaciousness was

gone through political action, and it was necessary to get back to the methods of the strike, barbarous though they might be. They began to get lax when they put men into Parliament. He (the speaker) realised that the young men of the trade unions wanted the fighting spirit to carry them forward to the future. If this organisation was not formed he could predict for the Labour movement in England nothing but a fiasco and failure and a throw-back' after all the years of energy of their forefathers in the movement. And this was all through political action. They must carry to their organisations the ideals expressed that night, with no personal spite, but leaving their organisations to settle for themselves whether they would have a general strike or a general lock-out. They had to go forward or backward. Those who were trade unionists at heart must be in favour of Industrial Unionism and Syndicalism. He could tell them to-day that the stonemasons were willing to go along with the bricklayers. (Hear, hear.) They were being forced to do so by economic conditions.

**Harry Green** (ENGINEERS, MANCHESTER) said every trade union branch at which he had spoken had built up an industrial unionism of their own and then knocked

it down. It had never been advocated by those responsible for the present movement that Industrial Unionism should get rid of political action. They wanted to do more to rouse the trade unions out of the apathy they were in to-day, so that they would organise industrially, and eventually send more men to the House of Commons. This was what they were out for. The I.L.P. had not done all that they required it to do. The more active members of the trade unions had resolved to devote their attention to political action, and facts indicated that the unions, being neglected, were growing weaker and weaker. As soon as they began dabbling in the political side of the movement the eight hours day was lost sight of, and they were now further away from it than they were before. (Hear, hear.) No trade unionist would oppose Industrial Syndicalism as advocated by Tom Mann. They had begun to reason with themselves, and they had come to the conclusion that it was folly to send their armies into the industrial battle single-handed as they were to-day (Applause.)

**W. F. Fielding** (INDUSTRIALIST GROUP, SHEFFIELD) said the group of Industrialists he represented were prepared to work both inside and outside the trade union branches in support

of Industrial Unionism. His firm opinion was that the sectional trade unions and the sectional trade union leaders must go by the board. (Hear, hear.) The workers must organise as a class, and the aim of that organisation must be the abolition of the wage system. (Hear, hear.) He was in favour of political action if it was carried on on a class-conscious basis, with the abolition of wage-slavery as its method and aim. (Hear, hear.)

**E. Davies** (RAILWAY SERVANTS, LONGSIGHT) spoke of the better attendance at and the greater interest in the proceedings of trade union branches since the idea of Industrial Unionism had been introduced. The railway workers were sick of agreements, and they thought something should be done.

**Tom Mann** wound up the discussion. In the course of his remarks he said:—The question is how we are to proceed to achieve Industrial Syndicalism. It is an exceedingly difficult problem. Those who say, "We will have nothing to do with organisations that have not been on the clear-cut, class-conscious basis," will practically take up the position of saying, "We will have nothing to do with humanity." To ignore the unions does not commend itself to experienced men as a wise

method of procedure. (Hear, hear.) The unions came into existence by means of men who were partially class-conscious only, and they are composed now of men who are partly class-conscious only. But they are truly representative of the men, and can be moulded by the men into exactly what the men desire. (Hear, hear.) And I am for moulding all the organisations we are already identified with into one conglomerate for each industry, embracing the labourer, the handyman, and the men classed as skilled. We should not say we will have nothing to do with the old organisations until such time as we can build up the new. The ideas may be more or less indistinct, but the general desire already is for such unification as will enable us to fight effectively. (Hear, hear.) We can learn from America. The I.W.W. are changing the attitude they adopted towards the A.F. of L. in 1905. They are changing their attitude because the unions are becoming so thoroughly imbued with industrial unionist principles that they are throwing the A.F. of L. on to advanced lines. (Hear, hear.) And our comrades of France and Italy and Spain are doing the same. The wise way to proceed is for each of us in our respective organisations to do our fair share towards throwing them on to sound lines. We can do that in a very short time.

The resolution was put from the chair and carried amid loud applause, with two dissentients.

#### VII.—A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER.

The Conference considered the question of publishing a weekly periodical for the furtherance of the objects of the League.

**Tom Mann** said it would be necessary, to make the periodical pay, to have a circulation of from 15,000 to 20,000, and some money would have to be advanced.

**T. Wilson Coates** (WEARDALE TRADES COUNCIL) said it was true they had the "Clarion," which spent its time following the "Daily Mail," and the "Labour Leader," which spent its time following the "Daily News." They wanted a paper to support the British worker.

It was unanimously resolved to appoint a committee generally to go into the question of publishing a weekly journal, it being also understood that the newspaper would be a national journal, and that the delegates would bring the claims of such a periodical before their branches.

A Committee of 18 was appointed, and on Tom Mann's suggestion it was agreed that the Committee appointed should also act as a responsible provisional Committee for Man-

chester and District in connection with the general objects of the League.

#### VIII.—MANCHESTER SYNDICALIST EDUCATION LEAGUE.

##### *Committee:*

1. HARRY GREEN ... Engineers.
2. J. GORMAN... ... "
3. — FRANK ... ... Heating  
Engineers.
4. A. MASON ... ... Loco.  
Engineers.
5. FRANK LOWE ... Painters.
6. H. SHAW ... ... "
7. A. A. PURCELL ... French  
Polishers.
8. E. DONOHUE ... Building Trades.
9. G. HARRIS... ... Plumbers.
10. J. RAWLINSON ... Boilermakers.
11. A. LAW ... ... Railway  
Servants.
12. SAM BRIERLEY ... ... "
13. — BLEASDALE ... Patternmakers.
14. E. K. TAYLOR ... Gen. Workers.
15. — CLOUGH ... Telephone  
Employees.
16. J. LEMMON ... Carters.
17. C. CLARKE ... Plasterers.
18. F. MASON ... ... Braziers and  
Sheet Metal  
Workers.

##### *Secretary:*

A. STEWART,  
Garden Village, Levenshulme, Manchester.

#### IX.—PARLIAMENTARY ACTION.

The question of the League's political and Parliamentary action was then considered.

**Noah Ablett** (RHONDDA MINERS, GROUP No. 38) said that Industrial Unionism laid down as a cardinal principle that political ideas, being a super-structure arising out of the economic conditions of society, must lag behind the actual facts. In South Wales conditions were forcing trade unionists to believe that only revolutionary Socialism was possible. Could they, on the face of it, support and organise an industrial union—on a revolutionary basis—for the abolition of capitalism, and at the same time support a political party that did not go in for the abolition of capital?

**Tom Mann** said it would be wise to go to America for guidance in this matter. When the I.W.W. was started in 1905 definite action, industrial and political, was decided on. But, as the result of experience, they revised their preamble at the Chicago Convention of 1908. A resolution was then passed in the following terms: "That, to the end of promoting industrial unity and of securing necessary discipline within the organisation, the I.W.W. refuses all alliances, direct or indirect, with existing political parties, or anti-political sects, and disclaims responsibility for any individual opinion or act which may be at variance with the purposes herein expressed." This meant (Mr. Mann pointed out) that

they were neither pro nor anti-political, and that they took up an industrial position only.

**A. G. Tufton** (WALTHAMSTOW TRADES COUNCIL) moved a resolution adopting for the Syndicalist League the resolution quoted above.

**H. Entwistle** (ENGINEERS, DERBY) thought the resolution would be much too far-reaching in barring all alliances direct or indirect. He thought that an alliance with a political party working along with the industrial unions would be very useful.

**Tom Mann** said that if the resolution were adopted the League would be neither Labour Party nor S.D.P., Anarchist, or any other body that was "anti." Each would have the right to retain his own political views.

On a division the previous question was carried as against the resolution proposed by A. G. Tufton. The resolution was not, therefore, proceeded with.

#### X.—NEXT CONFERENCE.

It was left to the initiative of delegates to arrange as to further conferences in other parts of the country before the great Congress to be held in London in May, 1911.

Votes of thanks to Mr. Mann and to the Chairman concluded the proceedings of the Conference.

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**No. 6 (Dec.)—A MANCHESTER MESSAGE TO THE WORKERS OF ENGLAND**, gives a full report of the First Conference on Industrial Syndicalism, held at Manchester on November 26th, 1910.

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## INDUSTRIAL SYNDICALISM.

### WHAT IT IS, and WHAT IT ISN'T.

There is no man in the Trade Unionist movement worth any consideration but agrees that *sectional unionism* is a serious cause of weakness and unionist inefficiency.

It is known and admitted that it would be a great advantage if we could unite the various Unions on a common basis, retaining all that is good, but getting rid of all that is faulty in the Trade Unionist movement.

This is exactly what Industrial Syndicalism (also called "Industrial Unionism") or **Organisation by Industries**, instead of mere **Organisation by Trades**, will do.

Union by Industries is what is really aimed at by all who have tried to federate the kindred trades; whether in the Metal Trades, Building Trades or what not.

Industrial Syndicalism is not an influence that will break up the existing Unions, but a power that will unite them. It is not a force seeking to destroy what our fathers did; on the contrary, it aims at making the existing movement a real fighting agency capable of scientifically conducting a **Class War**, the aim of which is to **capture the industrial system**.

The French Proletariat have, three times in less than a century, committed the same mistake—in 1793, in 1848, and in 1871. Availing itself of the faults of the bourgeoisie, it swung itself in a magnificent rush towards the conquest of power, and seized it. But in each case, ignoring the economic mechanism, they had to entrust it to politicians who not only swanked them, but finally shot them down.

Industrial Syndicalism, therefore, aims at perfect organisation, so as to enable the workers to **manage the industrial system themselves**, once they have seized it.

The word "Syndicalism" should serve to remind us that we must combine with our native ability for organisation something of the fine revolutionary spirit of our French comrades.

# **List of Persons willing to speak as advocates of Industrial Syndicalism in their respective districts.**

Those wishing to have their names added to this list, kindly communicate with Guy Bowman, 4, Maude Terrace, Walthamstow, London, E

DISTRICT.	NAME.	TRADE UNION.	ADDRESS.
GATESHEAD-ON-TYNE	NED SCOTT ...	Railway Servants ...	3, Fenwick Terrace.
SUNDERLAND ...	WILLIAM KEY ...	Government Contractor	Walworth Street.
MIDDLESBORO ...	Cr. J. B. DAVIES ...	Dockers' Union ...	97, Commercial Street.
HUDDERSFIELD ...	E. J. B. ALLEN ...	Gasworkers ...	New Street, Honley.
SHEFFIELD ...	T. J. RING... ..	Cabinet Makers ...	138, Scotland Street.
OLDHAM... ..	"PIONEER" ...	Railway Servants ...	Carr Farm, Diggle.
MANCHESTER...	HARRY GREEN ...	Engineers... ..	122, Heald Pl., Rusholme.
Do. ...	A. A. PURCELL...	French Polishers ...	21, Ellera Road, Pendleton
Do. ...	F. W. SANDERSON ...	Lecturer ... ..	26, Boston Street.
LIVERPOOL ...	FRANK PEARCE ...	Ships' Stewards ...	6, Spekeland Buildings. 22, Canning Place.
Do. ...	PETER LARKIN..	Dockers ... ..	36, Gadsby Street.
Do. ...	F. BOWERS ...	Stonemasons ... ..	11, Ebvey Street.
Do. ...	S. H. MUSTON ...	Lecturer ... ..	266, Smithdown Lane.
NEWPORT (Mon.)	GEORGE JACKSON ...	Sailors and Firemen ...	31, Ruperra Street.
Do. ...	ALFRED COX ...	Dockers' Union ...	49, Raglan Street.
Do. ...	GEORGE COX ...	Do. do. ... ..	20, Lewis Street.
MARDY ...	NOAH ABLETT ...	South Wales Miners' Fed.	97, Griffith Street.
PORTH ...	W. F. HAY... ..	Do. do. ... ..	27, Upton Terrace.
YNYSHIR ...	GEORGE DOLLING ...	Do. do. ... ..	11, Upper Gynor Street.
CWMPARC ...	TOM EVANS ...	Do. do. ... ..	157, Parc Road.
CLYDACH VALE ...	W. H. MAINWARING...	Do. do. ... ..	3, Llwyncelyn Terrace.
PONTYPRIDD ...	JAMES RIGG ...	Brassfounders ...	20, Brookes Terrace, Tower Street.
PORT TALBOT...	Cr. JONAH CHARLES ...	Dockers' Union ...	20, Station Road.
LONDON ...	A. ELSBURY ...	Tailors ... ..	51, Jamaica Street, Stepney, E.
SOUTHAMPTON	R. W. STORRY ...	Ships' Stewards ...	8, Terminus Terrace.
Do. ...	THOMAS GARNETT ...	Moulders... ..	39, College Street.

SOUTH WALES

# THE BATTLE OF STEPNEY.

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# The Industrial Monthly Syndicalist

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## Debate

ON

## Industrial Unionism

**Verbatim Report by Manchester Press  
Agency, 19, Cannon Street, Manchester.**

**R**EADERS of the following pages are reminded that both disputants are Socialists and both Trade Unionists, each having had a lengthy membership in the Amalgamated Engineers. Further, both are in agreement that sectional Unionism is incapable of coping with the gigantic Industrial and Social Problem of the time.

The undersigned had addressed a meeting in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, and dealt with Industrial Unionism. At this meeting Mr. Frank Rose was present, and afterwards expressed his strong disagreement with the proposals I submitted, and the outcome was this Public Discussion.

Whether for good or ill, the subject of Industrial Unionism is commanding increased attention, and it is highly desirable that all Labour Men and Socialists be prepared to endorse or oppose it. It is to be hoped that the report of the debate will, in some measure, enable those who read it to arrive at a conclusion on the matter, or, at least, give a stimulus to further study of the subject, until conviction one way or the other is arrived at.

TOM MANN.

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#### SUBJECT:

*Is Economic Organisation on the lines of Industrial Unionism the wisest and best method of realising Socialism?*

AFFIRMATIVE: MR. TOM MANN.  
NEGATIVE: MR. FRANK ROSE.

#### CONDITIONS OF DEBATE:

*Each speaker opened with an address lasting half-hour: and afterwards made two replies of fifteen minutes each.*

#### CHAIRMAN'S REMARKS.

Mr. J. R. CLYNES, M.P., the Chairman, explained the rules of the debate, and announced the subject. His own remarks, he said, would be few. He did not know in what way Mr. Mann might prove that the way he outlined was the best to realise Socialism. Many of them there knew this, that, short of the realisation of Socialism, there were many things immediately wanted by wage earners in this country because of present-day ineffectiveness in industrial organisation. They need only look at the present trouble in the shipbuilding trade and the experience they had had in the cotton trade a short time ago. In the cotton trade the masters formed

one body, they had one common interest, the whole of the different departments of the industry, from the masters' point of view, were represented through one agency. On the other hand the operatives had many separate organisations, only one of these organisations having a hand in the negotiations at the meetings with the masters. In the shipbuilding and boilermakers' troubles, as they could see, every interest in regard to those trades represented on the employers' side found their fullest expression in the united stand made by the employers, and only that week had the interests of the workmen, after nine weeks, found federated action. The time was really coming when workers should act together at the beginning of a dispute, and not after it had been in progress for some time.

It would be improper for him to enter into a speech on the large issues of the present debate. He was glad to meet Tom Mann again, and had the greatest pleasure in asking him to begin this debate.

## THE DEBATE.

### MR. MANN'S OPENING.

It so happens that Mr. Rose and myself are in agreement upon many of the more important points in connection with the Social problem. And it would be difficult, one might think,

for two men who are so much in agreement to find a sufficient cause of serious dispute. Yet no doubt it may be found that we do differ very considerably, and I am glad to have the opportunity of presenting the views I am identified with before an audience of this character. (Hear, hear.) Again we have had the pleasure of knowing each other for very many years. We have belonged to the same trade society for many years. And the remarkable thing is that we have each observed, apparently beyond the ordinary, the innumerable evils arising from sectional unionism. I do not know of any one who has more effectively, and I think correctly, criticised—severely criticised—sectional unionism and its terrible results than my friend who is my opponent for the evening, Mr. Rose. (Hear, hear.) He has done this over a period of years, and you all know, I believe, that he takes pleasure in pointing out the weaknesses in connection with the trades union movement. And then of course he proceeds to draw other conclusions and make other proposals. I have found equal satisfaction in endeavouring to make as clear as I have been able, the very many evils arising from sectional unionism and the disastrous consequences to the workers. I do not know quite what Mr. Rose would say with regard to the inception and development of the unions so far. For my own part I not only make allowances for the con-

ditions that obtained on the formation of the unions that began, some a dozen, some 20, 30, 40, or 50 and more years ago, but I recognise that our fathers in the early days did wisely in forming the unions when they formed them, and that they formed them no doubt as well as was possible under the then conditions. No doubt also—nay, it is outside the region of doubt—they used these unions to obtain improved conditions. And they did obtain improved conditions by the use of the unions. I am amongst those who believe that the early trades unionists—and I don't mean going back to the middle ages; I simply mean those that began after 1824, up to which period the law of Britain was against association by workmen—I say the unions that have been formed since that time have really been of great service. There is no shadow of doubt about that. Further, the men who were responsible for forming these unions—the men who built them up—were also largely, if not mainly, responsible for initiating and conducting educational agitations throughout the country in favour of a broader application of a similar principle to that which they had already applied successfully through their own organisations. I mean that the workmen who organised, and by means of unions, obtained reductions of working hours, and an increase in the purchasing power of wages, also were largely, if

not primarily, responsible for conducting the agitations over long periods of years, that resulted in the respective Factory Acts, Mines Regulations Acts, etc. So that, although the time came when Parliament was forced to apply those principles of regulation, the credit is due almost entirely to those men who had learned to appreciate the power of association, who formed the unions, and who, by means of unionism, materially improved their conditions. (Hear, hear.) The credit as I should say, belongs to the men who did the work and made it necessary for Parliament to endorse what they had done, rather than to the Parliament which most reluctantly endorsed that which these men brought about. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

I therefore take the view that we should be careful in drawing conclusions as to the value of the respective institutions available for our use. I frankly admit and declare that there is more than one method that can be pursued. I know full well that every intelligent citizen at all times endorses the wisdom and necessity of political action. Certainly I am not anti-political. Where there may be a difference found between what I shall have to advocate and what Mr. Rose will defend will be in the relative value of these institutions, the uses to which they can each be put, and the stage of development of the workers' move-

ment wherein the one or the other can be most effectively used.

There is no need to belabour the fact that we have sectional unionism to-day. Suffice it to say that there are less than 2½ million workers organised in the whole of the 1,100 unions in this country. There are some 10,000,000 or more not organised and classed as workers in this country, eligible for organisation. In the main those who are organised are those who are classed as skilled workers, and receive the pay of skilled men, which differs very considerably from the pay received by those who are not classed as skilled. The vast majority of those who are not organised are the unskilled, or so-called unskilled. They are receiving in some cases one-half, in some cases not more than one-third, and in some cases not a fourth of the amount received by their fellow-workers classed as skilled, in the same workshops, shipyards, and other institutions. (Hear, hear.) Never yet, in any country on the earth has the whole of the workers been able to organise industrially. Never yet have the workers generally in any one country really laid themselves out in any very serious fashion, until the last two or three years, to organise on the comprehensive and collective basis which it is my intention to defend here to-night as desirable and urgently necessary.

Mr. Rose and myself have some knowledge of, and I suppose we are likely to be in agreement upon, the facts as to the development of the capitalist system of society. It has developed so thoroughly, that the employing class, following on the line of evolutionary development, has passed from the stage of the individual employers bidding against each other; and to a large extent from the stage of limited liability companies, and gone on to the syndicates, many of which have been re-syndicated, and a number of which have been trustified, and some of them re-trustified. It has been a continuous development on perfectly natural, and, as I should say, from a commercial standpoint, a perfectly proper basis. The object of the employing class is not that of paving the way for the successful development of the working class. (Hear, hear.) The object of the employing class is that of controlling industry in such a fashion that they shall obtain ever-increasing returns from the results of the labour of the workers. (Hear, hear.) We are agreed upon that, and, the desire of the workers—the desire of Mr. Rose and myself, I suppose, in equal degree, is this—that such action shall be taken by the workers, that, in the shortest possible time consistent with good sense, and all-round efficiency, the workers shall become the responsible ones to entirely conduct industrial affairs; and in order that they

may do this, that they shall become the owners of the agencies of wealth-production, and therefore the owners of the factories, the mills, and the mines and the land, and all raw material, the owners of the machinery which they have themselves built, and the controllers of the industrial destiny of the peoples which they compose. (Applause.) We are all agreed upon this. The thing is how to travel there. (Hear, hear. )

It would be a waste of time to go into details concerning the evils of sectionalism, although they are so apparent. But it is presumably permissible just to give a reminder in case the mind of all may not have fairly seized upon the facts. In the Rhondda Valley, South Wales, there has been and still is, a very considerable industrial dispute involving 12,000 miners. You are aware probably, that it was initiated as the result of the dictatorial behaviour of the management of a mine called the Eli mine. A new seam was being opened and 70 men were at work there. The management decided to fix the rate of pay without conferring with the men, or the men's representatives. They declared that they would fix it and that it was for the workers to accept or reject as they pleased. As a result, the men are out, after having given the full legal notice. 11,000 odd were miners connected with the Miners' Federation. They desired to make

it complete. They desired the stoppage of those men entirely. Some may say that is not a desirable thing, but that is not to the point. The men desired to stop those mines completely, belonging to the Cambrian Combine. As miners and men about the mine they were in agreement because they belonged to the South Wales Miners' Federation. A decision was arrived at and acted upon loyally. But when the hour came for the complete stoppage there were two or more small sections existing apart from the members of the South Wales Miners' Federation—all engine-men below, along with stokers and others, in a separate union, and the winding engine-men above, who also had a separate union. Each of these unions had entered into separate agreements with the employers, and they were obliged by the agreements they had entered into not to take common action, and not to cease work **except** under certain special conditions. This meant that it was impossible to have completely effective action, and the direct outcome of that was the police being sent there, later the military—result, riots, trouble of a considerable character, the fight still on because of the incompleteness of the fight on the men's side, consequent upon sectional unionism. (Loud applause.)

Similar instances could be quoted a

thousand times over. Let it suffice that the men, I believe, are agreed that sectional unionism is faulty. We need not say we will kill the unions, or let them die of dry rot. My kind of man says, "Far from that, we still believe in the wisdom of industrial organisation." (Hear, hear.) We declare—and this is where the difference comes in, I understand, between what will be defended on the other side of the platform and this—we on this side believe in the wisdom of resorting to more perfect industrial organisation. We hold that it is possible so to turn to industrial organisation and make use of it in a sound and scientific fashion, that it will give to the workers that power that they desire but which they have never yet possessed. (Hear, hear.) We believe in the desirability of changing from organisation by mere trade—dropping that system and resorting to organisation by industries as the unit. Whilst the trade is the unit, the engineer, the painter, or any other mechanic, takes up the position of encircling himself and his fellows in the same class of industry with all kinds of advantages as against the rest of the world, and his fellow-workers. That was right and proper at one time of day. It is not right now when, with machine methods of production as we now have them, not one month passes over without further labour-saving inventions being introduced and applied extensively, dislodging many sections

of workers formerly classed as skilled but who afterwards are classed as something else, because there is no demand for the particular skill they are possessed of. Instead therefore of the unit being the trade in the future, we are defending this principle—that every worker engaged in an industry—take, if you will, the engineering and ship-building—every engineer of each class, irrespective of whether he is pattern-making, fitting, turning, shaping, slotting, or whether it is blacksmiths or whitesmiths or coppersmiths—whatsoever they may be—moulders included—(hear, hear)—boiler-makers included—helpers' included—(hear, hear)—handy men included, and every labourer included (loud applause)—everyone of these being important factors to production, we declare that the unionism that is called for now, to enable us to control the conditions we ought to seek to control, is a collective unionism that will embrace all in the industry. And the industry in the future must be the unit and not the trade. It does not mean that there will be any action tolerating or approving the pulling down of the skilled man's pay. But it does mean that, with the unifying of the unions in each industry, and the taking of common action embracing all labourers, the labourer shall receive the first and most important attention, because he is lowest in the social scale. (Loud applause.) And

we declare that the real object of the capitalist is to at all times be able to decide the conditions under which men shall manipulate the tools. It is by their power to tell the workers how long they shall work at the tools, and their power to decide how much the workers shall receive for using the tools, that they are enabled to remain the triumphant, dominating ruling class. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, those who can control the tools—that class that becomes dominant in deciding how the tools shall be controlled—is certain to be the all-powerful class, so long as more than one class exists. We are each of us after a state of society when there will be no classes. (Hear, hear.) That society will rest upon a basis of social equality. (Hear, hear.)

Now some have said, "Oh, yes, we know the deplorable results of sectional unionism, the money spent, the energy gone, the waste, the suffering called into existence, and not materially mitigated—nay, perhaps added to." And so they turn to Parliamentary action. "Parliament," they say, "is the national institution; Parliament is the all-powerful institution which the people may, if they will, become the masters and controllers of. Parliament therefore demands the attention of all citizens, and all adults ought to be citizens." (Hear, hear.) That being the view of some, I step in and

say, I believe that every citizen ought to have an equal right and exercise that right, in the control of all governing institutions. (Hear, hear.) But I cannot get rid of this important fact that Parliament was not brought into existence to enable the working classes to obtain ownership and mastery over the means of production. (Hear, hear.) Parliament was brought into existence by the ruling class—(hear, hear)—to enable that ruling class to have more effective means of dominating and subjugating the working class. (Applause.) In proportion as the people give attention to the return of men that they consider suitable to the realising of their interest, they may get their desires voiced there, but I do not believe that the history of this or any other country will warrant us in supposing that the workers have ever really obtained any direct tangible advantage as the result of effort put forth in Parliament, unless it has been the direct outcome of effort first put forth outside of Parliament. (Hear, hear.)

It does not follow that Parliamentary action may be very forceful for all that, but I am asking you to realise the difference between direct action and Parliamentary action. The workers, we will say, are intelligent enough to desire material changes in the conditions under which they manipulate the tools and machines,

and the conditions under which they go down into the mines and into the workshops, factories and mills. If they are organised, and in agreement—or to the extent to which they are organised and in agreement—they can, by direct action, as the result of the decision they arrive at, decide without any intermediary of any sort or kind, in favour of a change, and I am about to declare that if they are thoroughly organised—which I hold to be possible—they can bring about such changes as they desire by direct action without the inter-mediation of any other institution. (Applause.) Let us have as much parliamentarism as is really necessary, and whenever the parliamentary institution may be used with greater efficiency than any other institution I am for using it. (Hear, hear.) My argument here is that when you arrive at a certain decision as workers and want to get effect given to your desires by returning a sufficient number of men to Parliament to make the demand there, and for these men to watch their opportunities to fight the plutocracy in that House as we have it to-day, and as it exists in any other country—I say that action is so intricate, so terribly intricate, that it fails most shamefully and signally to give the workers any chance of realising any intelligent desire. (Applause.) And still I am not opposed to Parliamentary action. I am only saying—Use the easiest method, rely upon that kind of

organisation which will enable you to achieve your work in the shortest possible time and in the most efficient fashion. If I am told that when the workers are agreed upon any common line of policy, their overwhelming numbers will enable them to achieve through Parliament by easy stages of legislation, all that in reason they could desire, then I say I don't know of any country where that has happened. But I do know something of a number of countries where they have tried to do that and have failed even to the small extent to which their claims have been put forward in Parliament. I don't think I could do better than quote some of the younger countries. I have an apprehension that some of you are of opinion that the young countries in Australasia are models in this regard. You are aware of course that their franchise is broader than you have here. You are aware that the opportunities for voting for the persons they desire are somewhat freer and more numerous than those you have here. You are aware that they have made use of these opportunities, and in two of the States, and in the Federal Parliament as well, they have at the present time Labour Governments. And you may be of opinion that in consequence of wise legislation the standard of life is much higher there than here. I will not say the standard of life is not higher there than here, but wheresoever it is higher I tell you that the real cause is to be

traced to some sturdy souls who went out from this country from fifty to sixty years ago, more than to Parliament. (Hear, hear.) These men went out for various reasons, which I have not time or inclination to go into. Mechanics they were most of them, properly organised here. Some of them had been Chartists; many of them were unionists. Finding themselves in a country with a different economic environment entirely, consequent upon its newness, they sought opportunities and found them of applying their principles of comparatively short hours which they had desired to apply here, but in consequence of vested interests had not found an opportunity of so doing. It was these men that started the eight-hour day fifty-eight years ago in Australia. (Hear, hear.) It is these men who ought to be thanked for what has been done in all the Australasian States, including New Zealand. Not one of them has ever had a reduction of hours by legislation. There is no eight-hour day universal in any of them. Most of them have resorted either to Wages Boards or to Arbitration and Conciliation Acts.

I have had the opportunity over a period of over eight years of studying on the spot in each of these States the detailed working of these respective measures. And I am here to declare that no intelligent man—according to my conclusion as to what an intelligent man is—if he is familiar with the

working of these instruments of legislation, will be prepared to pin his faith for any successful development of the workers, or the realisation of the workers' ideals to any such machinery. (Hear, hear.) I know for an absolute certainty that the best men in each of those States, New Zealand included, are anxious to escape from the tyrannical behaviour of the industrial Arbitration Acts. I know that the standard of life is not much higher there than it is here, and I know that where the standard is relatively high it is where voluntary organisation is relatively sound, but neither there nor here, nor elsewhere, have workers yet resorted in any large degree to effective organisation of the industrial unionist type.

On the Continent of Europe, where languages are different, the term "Syndicalism" is in use for industrial unionism. This is simply due to the fact that the Latin word fills the bill. A union is a "syndicate"—and the unionist movement—the "ism"—is "Syndicalism." And Syndicalism, as the word is used, means a combining together, very largely on the lines I have described, to unify the whole of the industrial forces to work out their salvation with a minimum of parliamentary action through a plutocratic House, and with a maximum of direct organisation, using their power as workers industrially organised, to achieve their economic emancipation. (Loud applause.)

## MR. ROSE'S SPEECH.

MR. FRANK ROSE (first speech of 30 minutes):—Friends, I do not think my opponent can complain. Both you and I have given him a very patient hearing. On my part, I have listened to him not merely with patience, but with a peculiar interest. I have been waiting for him to tell us something about Industrial Unionism. Will you be surprised to know that the proposition we are discussing is Mr. Mann's own proposition in his own words? When the question was put to me what should be the subject I said I didn't care so long as I was opposing Industrial Unionism, and Mr. Mann phrased it; and I believe that not half of you know what it is now. Here it is: "Is economic organisation on the lines of Industrial Unionism the wisest and best method of realising Socialism?" Well, now, I say that there are many at least in this audience, who do not know what that means. I am going to tell you. Is Industrial Unionism any good? Mr. Mann says it is, and I say it is not. That is the proposition. Now, having elucidated that point, I find he has left me to explain everything else. The man who is discovered now in the position now occupied by me may say: "That is all very well, but what is Industrial Unionism?" because Mr. Mann has not told us. ("Yes, he has.") Well, you say that he has told you. A few weeks ago he informed us,

through a publication, that he met a gentleman named Haywood, and asked him to write a few paragraphs explaining the Industrial Unionist position as briefly as possible. And Mr. Haywood wrote as follows—and Mr. Mann did not repudiate a line that he had written:—"Industrial Unionism is the merging of the labour forces into one gigantic organisation wherein the workers will become the citizens of the industry in which they are employed rather than the subjects of the State in which they reside. Industrial Unionism will unite the workers of all parts of the world, no matter what the race, creed, or colour." ("That is right.") Well, now, take my position. I have got to be a citizen of the newspaper industry. It is, I find, bad enough to be a citizen of Manchester. What else does it mean? Industrial Unionism, it is said, will unite workers of all parts of the world regardless of race, creed or colour. While you are getting your breath allow me to remark, quite in parenthesis, that the population of the world is 1,500,000,000, about half of whom are industrial workers. Therefore, Industrial Unionism means forming a society with 750,000,000 of members! When we have got so far, naturally it will occur to you to inquire what we are going to do with this thing. When you have got over the preliminary formality of organising all the world, what are you going to do with it?

Now, see. I am calling Mr. Mann himself into the witness-box. This was not spoken in the heat of debate or discussion on a public platform; it is, I take it, written carefully, with consideration, and, after he had written it, Mr. Mann would get a proof, which he carefully corrected, and sent back for publication. Now listen:—"The knowing ones who write for the well-being of the workers in the Capitalistic Press, tell their readers that, in their ignorance, the workers will hurt themselves very much more than their opponents; that anything in the nature of a General Strike will defeat itself." I suggest that they should go on telling them that. "We must scientifically prepare for a week or so's cessation from the ordinary grind in the interests of the capitalist class." Do you note the suggestion? He says we must scientifically prepare for a cessation of a week *or so*. He evidently thinks that perhaps a week may not be long enough. I wonder if he thinks "a week or so" will be long enough? I do. I am disposed to think that in practice he will discover that three days or so will fill nearly all of us up. Industrial Unionism, then, is organisation for the purpose of a general strike. That is what it is for. If I have misrepresented a word Mr. Mann can correct me. Very well, now. Mr. Mann has been talking a good deal about politics. I have nothing to do with that to-night. My

business is to attempt to destroy these views of Industrial Unionism. You see what it means particularly, what lies behind? It is the organisation of all the workers of all the world. Let us examine here what the possibilities are. Mr. Mann gave you some figures of members of workers' organisations. I do not know where he got them from. He says there are two and a half millions in this country. There are not a million and three-quarters. He says there are eleven millions of industrial workers; there are fifteen millions, probably sixteen now. The last Census showed fifteen millions, leaving out all domestic servants who number probably two million more. I am not going into arithmetical puzzles. This is the fact. Even assuming that the nominal membership in trade unions is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  millions, if you analyse the figures their effective strength is some three quarters of a million less than that. ~~That is~~ **That is** their number on paper. The **A.S.E.** has 109,000 members on paper, but the effective strength of the **A.S.E.** for any strike purposes is not 80,000. There are 18,000 resident or travelling abroad. There are always, on the average for the last ten years, over 5,000 unemployed that cannot come out on strike because they have got no jobs. There are  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of sick, 3 per cent. who do not work at the trade. When you have added all up you have to make a deduction of 31 per cent. from the paper strength

to get at the effective strength. If you apply the same sort of analysis all round, you find the effective strength for strike purposes is not more than 1,750,000.

We will say—for it seems to me that the case against Industrial Unionism is so strong that we can, when talking of it afford to give away half a million—that there are 2,250,000 organised out of our 15,000,000 workers. What does that mean? It means one in seven of the industrial workers of this country are organised. When you take trade after trade, and analyse different industries to see the ratio of organised to unorganised, though some of them are quite promising, some of them are absolutely appalling. The only trade half-organised are the colliers. In that industry you have half the operatives organised. When you come to deal with the engineers (including the milling and the great shipbuilding trades) there are a million and a half of persons occupied, and only three hundred thousand of them are organised.

(“What about the Boilermakers?”)

I may just as well say something about the boilermakers, but I am not debating with a syndicate of men. Years ago it was stated that the boiler-makers had 97 per cent. organised. It may have been true thirty years

ago; it is true there are not half to-day. If you look at the Census returns you find there were 46,000 in 1901. There are more now. There are to-day 46,000 platers and riveters, 18,000 caulkers, and a score of other trades, lumped together, making about 130,000 men, and they have got about half of the eligible men gathered in their unions to-day, whether they know it or not. When you come to facts, that is how they stand. Then there are the clothing trades, standing at a million and a half of persons engaged, 1,100,000 of them women—dressmakers, milliners, shirtmakers—and there is just about one in thirty organised. We want to know something of how you are going to bring all in. You cannot leave these trades unorganised, and when you commence your Industrial Unionism that is to see the grouping of industries, you have got to carry that principle further. And my first point is that Industrial Unionism is absolutely impossible, and that, if it were possible, it would do no good. You are organising for the strike; and I am against the strike and against all the methods and all the efforts of organisation that lead up to it, and all the principles that depend upon the strike for their realisation. It is the wrong way. You men want no more strikes. But, even assuming that there were possibilities laying behind the strike at one time, what sort of strikes are gaining the field to-day? What sort

are the masters most afraid of? The little sectional strikes are the only sort that hurt them. Are they afraid of shutting down cotton mills? Have they not, instead, in the cotton strikes been the winners? Do you suppose if you drew out all the engineers and shipwrights in Britain that you would bend the shipowners an eighth of an inch from their purpose? ("Yes.") If you had all the people now organised in that industry, and all the men in every other industry organised, to educate up to the general strike—supposing you deal with all who are industrially organised, leaving out the wide, wide world and all the rest of it, but confining ourselves to this little mud spot—that is looking at it from the point of view of Great Britain, then the position is this, that you have one in seven. Now I want to know which end is Industrial Unionism going to start at? Are you going to organise the 13,000,000 who are unorganised, or are you going to re-organise the 2,000,000 and odd who are ineffectively organised? You have got to come in somewhere. Will you re-organise the 2,000,000 you have got, leaving the 13,000,000 of potential blacklegs to get them down? If you organise the 13,000,000 unorganised then you will have the whole 15,000,000 to re-organise when you have done that. Well, now, I have just this to say about that. How long has it taken you to imperfectly organise 2,000,000 out of 15,000,000?

The first reliable records of a trade union is that of Halifax's, in 1796, but there were trade unions many years before that. It is perfectly true to say that trade unionism has been an influence in our public life for 150 years. In that 150 years you have got two out of fifteen millions. To get the other millions at the same rate of travelling, and allowing for no increase of population, the organisation will take 1,150 years. I cannot spare the time. It seems such a considerable chunk out of any ordinary man's life. And I daresay, Mr. Mann, events will be going far faster than you; and will be waiting for you 1,150 years hence. I say, then, that industrial organisation on these lines is absolutely impossible. I say there is no justification for the assumption that you can make it possible. I am not inclined to waste my time. I see vast and important changes taking place. Our methods of production are changing rapidly and developing more acutely than ever. There is a certain tendency which neither Parliamentarians nor Industrial Unionists are taking enough note of. All this talk about difference of opinion between one craftsman and another is vanishing without Industrial Unionism. The craft-line is breaking down, the line that divides skilled from unskilled worker is worn so thin that it disappears altogether in some places. And the cause? It is the machine. When you have got

organisation of the mass you will not have acquired the strength you wish, for that strength will be gone, in many instances, never to survive again. I am not prepared to go back, after the years when men have been struggling on industrial lines, to build up some vast gigantic institution, the end of which is to be only this, to interpret the united will of the vast number, if not of all, the workers of the world, in a policy of "down tools." When you have educated the workers of the world, or of Great Britain, up to the point of a general strike, you have educated them up to such a point as not to be such fools as to have one. You will have got what you looked for—unity—they will be unionists then. What will they want to strike for? To strike against themselves?

My complaint against Industrial Unionism is this, that, consciously or unconsciously, it seeks to side-track the workers of this and every other country; and that its exponents today cannot tell us what they really mean, what their aim is. Mr. Mann tells us in print that the object of Industrial Unionism is the general strike. His Mr. Haywood tells us that a gigantic organisation is the first preliminary to include all the workers of all the world, regardless of creed, nationality, or colour. The thing is a fantastic absurdity. What are you going to do about China. But, to be going on with, stop in Great Britain.

I wish I could induce Industrial Unionists to remember the date—November 27th, 1910—the 20th century, A.D., not the 20th century B.C. That is the mistake some are making. The general strike—how old is it? Four thousand years at least.

That length of time ago a whole nation went on strike for a purely industrial grievance. Some were brick-makers—not only brick-makers, but there was a "premium bonus." They sent up their district delegates—read your book of Exodus: "Then the officers of the children of Israel came and cried unto Pharaoh, saying, wherefore dealest thou thus with thy servants? There is no straw given unto thy servants, and they say to us, make brick; and behold thy servants are beaten; but the fault is in thine own people."

**Pharaoh** was obdurate, and they **had to have** a central conference with **Moses and Aaron**, the general secretary and the chief organiser, and they **collectively bargained** over the strike. **In the background**, leading up to the strike, they **had frogs, lice**, among other things, and everybody got the itch. They **had to have** a general strike at the finish, when they had murdered off all the future fathers they could find. You see it is the same old tale. That is what they do now. They never got to the Promised

## List of Persons willing to speak in their re

Those wishing to have their names added to this list, kindly con

DISTRICT.	NAME.
GLASGOW ... ..	NIEL MACLEAN ..
GATESHEAD-ON-TYNE ...	NED SCOTT ... ..
SUNDERLAND ... ..	WILLIAM KEY... ..
MIDDLESBORO ... ..	Cr. J. B. DAVIES
HUDDERSFIELD ... ..	E. J. B. ALLEN ..
SHEFFIELD ... ..	T. J. RING ... ..
Do. ... ..	W. FIELDING ... ..
CHESTERFIELD ... ..	C. WATKINS ... ..
MANCHESTER ... ..	HARRY GREEN ..
Do. ... ..	A. A. PURCELL ..
Do. ... ..	F. W. SANDERSON ..
Do. ... ..	SAM BRIERLEY ..
LIVERPOOL ... ..	FRANK PEARCE ..
Do. ... ..	PETER LARKIN ...
Do. ... ..	F. BOWERS ... ..
Do. ... ..	S. H. MUSTON ...
NEWPORT (Mon) ... ..	GEORGE JACKSON ..
Do. ... ..	ALFRED COX ... ..
Do. ... ..	GEORGE COX ... ..
MARDY ... ..	NOAH ABLETT ... ..
SOUTH WALES	PORTH ... ..
	W. F. HAY ... ..
	YNYSHIR ... ..
	GEORGE DOLLING..
	CWMPARC ... ..
	TOM EVANS ... ..
SOUTH WALES	CLYDACH VALE ...
	W. H. MAINWARIE
SOUTH WALES	PONTYPRIDD ... ..
	JAMES RIGG ... ..
PORT TALBOT ... ..	Cr. JONAH CHARLES
LONDON ... ..	GUY BOWMAN... ..
Do. ... ..	A. G. TUFTON... ..
Do. ... ..	T. LLOYD ... ..
SOUTHAMPTON ... ..	THOMAS GARNET ...

## Advocates of Industrial Syndicalism in five districts.

as with GUY BOWMAN, 4, Maude Terrace, Walthamstow, London, E.

TRADE UNION.	ADDRESS.
Lecturer ... ..	14, Fairlie Park-drive, Partick
Railway Servants ... ..	3, Fenwick-terrace
Government Contractor ...	Walworth-street
Dockers' Union ... ..	97, Commercial-street
Gasworkers ... ..	New-street, Honley
Cabinet Makers ... ..	138, Scotland-street
Railway Servants ... ..	17, Pearson-place, Meersbrook
Do. do. ... ..	Fir Vale, Hephthorne-lane
Engineers ... ..	122, Heald-pl., Rusholme
Furnishing Trades ... ..	21, Ellera-y-road, Pendleton
Shop Assistants ... ..	26, Boston-street
Wholesale Newsagent ... ..	238, Hyde-road, Ardwick
Ships' Stewards ... ..	6, Spekeland-buildings, 22, Canning-place
Dockers ... ..	36 Gadsby-street
Shamrock ... ..	11, Ebvey-street
Lecturer ... ..	266, Smithdown-lane
Sailors and Firemen ... ..	31, Ruperra-street
Dockers' Union ... ..	49, Raglan-street
Do. do. ... ..	20, Lewis-street
South Wales Miners' Fed....	97, Griffith-street
Do. do. ... ..	27, Upton-terrace
Do. do. ... ..	11, Upper Gynor-street
Do. do. ... ..	157, Parc-road
Do. do. ... ..	3, Llwyncelyn-terrace
Brassfounders ... ..	20, Brookes-terrace, Tower-street
Dockers' Union ... ..	20, Station-road
Journalists ... ..	4 Maude-terrace, Walthamstow, E
Carpenters and Joiners ...	68, Springfield-road, Walthamstow, E
Do. do. ... ..	48, Barrington-road, Brixton, S.W
Moulders ... ..	37, College-street

Land. Every man jack of them died in the desert where they had nothing to eat but quails and congealed fog. The general strike is 4,000 years old, you see. (Laughter.)

What is all this talk about Syndicalism? I do not know what it means. It smells like a syndicate. If that is what it means I can assure Mr. Mann, after having had some, that we don't want any more Syndicates. If that is what Syndicalism means, it is four thousand years old. But if Syndicalism means a sort of linking up of different trades in a given industry, that is two thousand years old. The old Romans had a system quite as good as, if not better than, the one Mr. Mann has outlined. All Mr. Mann is asking you to do is to form another federation of trades. You have got two as beginnings. Is federation going to help you, if federation means only what existing federation means? Mr. Mann has spoken, or rather written in most flattering terms of the present federation, and has gone so far as to suggest that there is the chance of a lifetime for it, and particularly Mr. Appleton, the general secretary. If it is nothing more than that, is it worth while for men, presumably sane and professedly sincere, to tell us that this Industrial Unionism, as explained by Mr. Haywood, the High Priest of this orthodoxy, and having as its motive the general strike, as explained by Mr.

Mann, is going to do any good? Here is what Mr. Mann is to do. Industrial Unionism is said to mean the organisation of the workers of the world for the purposes of a general world-wide strike, and Mr. Mann is either to accept or repudiate that. If he accepts it he should defend it; if he repudiates it I take it he gives his case up. It is not because I have an opinion that has come suddenly to me that the strike, whether little or big, sectional or general, is the wrong way, that I oppose Mr. Mann. You cannot win any more strikes. The only strikes won are, in fact, little ones, of which 30 per cent. have been won since 1893. Have you won a big one? Not one involving 10,000 persons has been won in this country. ("Get about the organisation then.") I was trying it thirty years ago, giving the best of my life to it, and I could not do it on industrial lines. It is not organisation you want, my friends: it is will, knowledge, and the gripping of the fact that there is all the organisation you want, if you will only put your hands on it. (Applause.)

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### MR. MANN'S REPLY.

Mr. Rose commenced by belittling the figures I had given concerning the strength of the unionists and the number of toilers that are not unionists. I have not the slightest concern as to

whether there are 2 or  $2\frac{1}{4}$  or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  or less than 2 millions. I purposely put it at less than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions so as to cover it in general terms with the least chance of giving anyone reason to complain. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the numbers that are not organised but are toilers, I put that at figures that I thought would give the least cause to complain by some one saying, "But several of your millions are young persons whom you would not expect to organise." In any case, it makes no difference to what I am advancing. For no one can undertake to put the case with more earnestness or real concern as to evils arising from sectional unionism, and the paltry results accompanying the efforts to organise than I am prepared to allow for and to myself declare. I regret that there should have been such poor results, I believe I know the reason why. (Hear, hear.) I do not turn from the method of organisation as Mr. Rose does and declare we have tried it so long it is no good, and you had better get out of it. I don't do that. (Hear, hear.) No, I can understand the reasons; I can make allowances for the causes that operated to prevent our fathers a generation ago not being more successful than they were in endeavouring to amalgamate the sectional societies. I can make allowances for the conception of Robert Owen, who understood perfectly clearly the necessity for perfect industrial organisation and was

primarily responsible for bringing into existence what was termed a "Grand Federation of the World's Workers" or something like that, I can understand that he was a bit before his time. It is not difficult to understand that the workers had not travelled up to that pitch where they could realise the necessity for resorting to such definite detailed general organisation as that advocated by more far-seeing men than themselves.

Therefore, allowing for the difficulties of environment, and understanding the position of Mr. Rose, pointing as he does with scorn as it were at the existing unions, I say, "those of you who compose those unions, you have gained something from them. Undoubtedly you have." I have, too—nothing direct in the sense of receiving out-of-work pay, or anything of that kind. But in the years that I put in at the workshops I was not called on to work so long by several hours per day, and by many hours per week, as I should have been had not men before me done something in the matter of organisation, and fought the capitalists and reduced the working hours. (Hear, hear.) I was one of those unlucky children who had to start work early. I don't want your sympathy on this account. I mention it to show that I know these things by personal contact with the hardships. I had no reasonable chance at a day-school. I started work very early.

When 14 arrived, I was bundled into a tool-shop. It was mutually agreed there should be seven years put in as apprenticeship. Soon after I started, instead of working till 6 o'clock at night something happened that caused everybody to leave off at 5 o'clock. I did not understand it. I was not a unionist. At the same time I heard some such phrase as "The penalisation of overtime," and instead of working four or five nights a week, sometimes till 8, sometimes later than 8 at night, this "penalisation of overtime" resulted in everybody leaving off at 5 o'clock, making it necessary to extend the factory and give employment to 150 more men. That was when the nine hours came in, as the result of the agitation conducted by the men connected with the unionist movement. They knocked off those hours of work and stopped all systematic overtime, instead of as formerly, being told an hour before knocking-off time, that they would not leave off that night till 8 o'clock. As a result of unionist action it was 5 o'clock regularly. Classes were started, and we youngsters had a chance to attend evening classes. They have been of some advantage, and the important day came for being able to think.

When I reflect upon those who were the cause of the stoppage of overtime, and knocking off at 5 o'clock instead of 6 for the normal day, and

regularly at 1 o'clock instead of 3 on the Saturday, I realise that it was the trades unions that did this, and that these trade union men were the cause of the little bit of pleasure and education that came to me and all those who suffered as I did. I have seen, ever since then, that according to the effort put forth—that is, according to the comprehensiveness and solidity of the organisations—they have been able to achieve here and there enormous advantages for the workers—not enormous compared with what I desire for the solution of the social problem, but from the standpoint of raising the standard. And this is going on every week now. In this very city not one week passes over but some evil is checked and something gained as the result of men being organised. And what Frank Rose tells us in effect—the effect of his speech—is that your unions are played out. (Hear, hear.) Unionism is no good, he says, and he has nothing to say about Parliamentarism, nor does he take the trouble to give us anything else upon which we can undertake to organise for the good of the workers. (Loud applause.) Do not applaud too quickly. He may be reserving this. (Laughter.) No doubt he has this ready. I should imagine he has. He is coming along by and by with some definite systematic plan of action, and if he has I will give the kindest possible attention to it. I will think

it over with the utmost care, and if such rational faculties as I have are impressed thereby, even if it runs in the teeth of what I have advocated, I will say, "Frank, old man, these are clear ideas, I will act upon them." (Applause.)

I ask you to realise this. Mr. Rose says the strike is no good, and that it will never be any good. Industrial Unionism, he says, even if it should result in organisation of a world-wide character, would be no good, because it aims at the strike. Mr. Rose does not really believe that at all. On the contrary, he is too intelligent a man for that, and I would not allow myself to believe, if I had to walk off this platform now, that Mr. Rose does not know the ultimate object of Industrial Unionism. He is playing a bit of jiggery pokery when he tells us that. (Hear, hear.) He knows exactly that the Industrial Unionist does not necessarily want a strike, if the object can be achieved without it. (Hear, hear.) What then is the ultimate object? The complete supersession of the capitalist system and the establishment of Socialism—that is the object. (Hear, hear.)

I don't object to Mr. Rose quoting Mr. Wm. Haywood. Haywood is a man I admire, and Haywood speaks of the general strike being resorted to as often as may be necessary until we have that effective organisation that shall enable us to achieve the ideal.

**But how can he score against me and against any rational person by saying—"What will they organise, or what will they strike against, with Syndicalism organised. Will they strike against themselves?" He knows exactly that as soon as they are perfectly organised, Industrial Unionists will control machinery and own machinery, and can conduct industry on the co-operative basis in the interests of every member of the community.** (Loud applause.)

If it should be said, "Oh, but the unionists themselves do not say that," I reply "Yes, they do." In all their publications they say so. Here is one of the most recent I have received from New Zealand—a newspaper called "The Leader"—where they have had years of experience of the Arbitration Act. This is a Labour paper, coming from Auckland, dated September 23rd, 1910. The article is headed, "Away with the Arbitration Act." That is the title of the article. They also give an illustration—a cartoon—which the chairman can see, and I will be glad if he will look at the worker with a ring through his nose being pulled by the capitalist, as a subjugated wage slave, consenting quietly to be bound securely by the plutocracy—including the statesman, Sir Joseph Ward—by means of the Arbitration Act. It means that they have got him tied down by the Arbitration Act, which

refuses to allow him to work for the solution of the social problem, and though they will stipulate for him and his class a living wage, that living wage is not secure, either in Australia or New Zealand. If any of you should think it is, or rather, if Mr. Rose should take that position, I shall be prepared with the requisite evidence. But I want to give you what they say there as Industrial Unionists. There is an article on Industrial Unionism: "Away with the Arbitration Act"; and as Mr. Rose read one quotation I will read this, that fits in entirely with Wm. Haywood's principles, and fits entirely with what Industrial Unionism or Syndicalism advocates. I don't know the solution the paper entirely advocates, but they advocate the organisation of the workers on industrial union lines, and they declare—"Given such an organisation, there would be no strikes. The power latent behind the demand would ensure its being speedily granted." (Applause.) There is the reply. It is no such "fool thing" as "strike, strike, strike." It is to guard against the necessity of there having to be any strikes any more. It is to minimise these strikes. And when Mr. Rose tells us, as he has done, that the only strikes that are effective are those trumpery little sectional ones, why then he would lead us to suppose that if you have unionism at all, have it as ineffective as

possible, and if you strike, strike on the smallest possible scale! There is no rational man but knows that the real cause of the inability to win strikes is the absence of solidarity, and the real need of the worker now is solidarity and intellectual agreement. Gentlemen—given agreement upon the ideal and agreement upon the planning between to reach that ideal, and concerted action, and the world is for the workers any day of the week. (Hear, hear.) I need not spend time in dealing with the comparatively trivial points, as I consider them to have been, as to whether Industrial Unionism will be impossible. But one word with regard to Mr. Rose's treatment with scorn of Haywood's scheme for Industrial Unionism and the organisation of workers, irrespective of creed or colour. All who know America know that there is a big problem there of 14 millions or so of coloured people, and these, Industrial Unionists declare, ought to be organised as effectively as any other.

Finally, I have to thank Mr. Rose for telling us about strike action. He did not call it direct action, but I will call it that. You have old Moses and Aaron. He could not have given me a better case. Moses said to these men: "You find old Pharaoh won't let you go. Drop fooling about with your petition to Pharaoh. I will tell you what to do." What's that?" they said. "Resort to a general

strike on direct lines." "But we don't know how." "Then I will help you." "Will you organise us?" "I will do my best," said Moses. "I will cause Aaron my brother to do some of the clerical work. I will organise you for definite action, not fooling about parliamentarism. Leave the devils to take care of themselves; we will march to better times." And they went. I am sorry I can't finish; but I will do so the next time. (Laughter and loud applause.)

### MR. ROSE'S REPLY.

I want to dispose of one or two remarks made by Mr. Mann. He has suggested that I have been sneering at this man Haywood for suggesting—

Mr. Mann (interrupting): I did not say sneering.

Mr. Rose: (continuing): I thought you used the word.

Mr. Mann: I did not intend to.

Mr. Rose: Well, we will say it was not used then. That will suit my purpose. The position I have taken up is against the strike; and most people in Manchester know I have written against it a very great deal; and I have not come to the conclusions I have arrived at without reflection. Often and often I have advocated—and I am quite capable of again advocating here to-night—State

compulsory arbitration instead of the present haphazard and clumsy way of dealing with disputes. But, when it is suggested that it would not raise wages or better the conditions of the people, I quite agree. It would not. But I should not care whether it did or did not. I want the incubus of the strike off our shoulders. I want you not to have this thing always to be providing for; not to be saving up money in a fund and then squandering it in getting whacked. When I say 30 per cent. of the little strikes succeed it does not mean that I like them any better than the big ones. But, if you are going to have strikes that will be effective, the little ones hurt and annoy the employer. The big ones do not. In the case of the boiler-makers the thing that annoyed was the persistence with which certain sections of men threw the work out of gear and harmony. If the strike is going to be used it is best for little organisations to keep on striking—as soon as one lot comes back another lot goes out. I am disposed, however, from the first, to think that neither Mr. Mann nor his supporters have quite counted up their difficulties. I do not want to make them bigger. Does not Mr. Mann know perfectly well that the present tendency is not towards amalgamating? They only talk about it. It is a good thing to say to workers that they ought to be in one union. But as soon as it comes to putting it into

practice you have inside the unions not only a number of working men whom you can divide or sub-divide, but you have a certain caste; and trade unionism is a caste, not a class. Before you can clear the ground you will have to get a lethal chamber about as big as Albert Square, and shove in all the general secretaries and all sorts of officials and delegates. What you must do afterwards I do not know. Mr. Mann wants me to say more about Parliament. What have I to do with that? He says that it is an economic question; I say it is not. He has been talking about the wonderful things in the way of a good shortening of the hours of labour that have been effected. What has that to do with the position to-night? Industrial Unionism means what its high priests have said it means. Its method has been expressed by Mr. Mann himself. When you have got Industrial Unionism you are to move by the method of the general strike. Then I say that is the wrong way. It is not my business to try to set up a constructive alternative. That is not the position. I have come here to argue a particular question which Mr. Mann has phrased himself. Whatever we might say with regard to alternative methods lies outside the area we are trying to discuss to-night. He says economic organisation of all workers in the world, culminating in the general strike, is the best method of achieving Socialism. My complaint against it

is that it will take too long to organise to any sufficient extent to have a general strike. I dare say, if it were possible that all the workers in all the world struck at a given time, it would be a calamity, and somebody would be hurt. I am not at all sure it would be the capitalists. I have to be convinced about that. That is the fellow you never do hurt when you strike. You hit somebody else; you never hit the man you are fighting; he is too strongly entrenched. Look at the miners out on strike at Burnley, asking for certain conditions prevailing in surrounding pits. I am told on good authority that the owner says he will allow grass to grow in the coal yards before he will yield; not because he thinks the men are asking for something they ought not to have, but because he is going to show who is master. He has gone off on his yacht to Egypt, and left the men out. Whom is it hurting? No man in Manchester or elsewhere is going to twit me with want of sympathy with my class. What I have tried to hammer into you as far as possible is that it is no use to cackle about rights or wrongs. That never enters into the calculations of employers. It has no need to enter into yours. The question is: How are you going to redeem yourselves, and thus going to improve conditions in this time and more in time to come? Industrial Unionism has missed its mark. In your education are certain factors which are

more important than anything it attempts to deal with. I mentioned when I spoke last something about a new influence, a rapidly developing influence in production which has no similar, and an influence to which circumstances will make you attach importance. I could understand you neglecting it if it were some subtle thing that crept behind you and whispered its message. But it is nothing of that kind. It is at your bed-side every night, and while you sleep it drives a steel fist into your face; and tells you it will be there in the morning. And when you get up, true enough it is in the presence of this thing. And when you get to your work this omnipresent thing is grinning at you with all its steel teeth. Men call it "the machine." It is doing more rapidly than any Industrial Unionism will do all that is necessary to cut down the craft line; but not by raising the unskilled to the level of the skilled, but by continually degrading the skilled down to the unskilled. Industrial Unionism or Industrial Syndicalism, which is only a weak diluted wash-out at best, cannot help you when the method for "getting hold" is one for which you are already organised to a feather edge. Every man of you is perfectly organised, if you will only get hold of the organisation which exists; instead of letting some one else use the organisation of our country, the ballot, to make you fight

each other, as you will at the elections next Saturday, for things that do not matter.

### MR. MANN'S REJOINDER.

I express my surprise that Mr. Rose has not felt disposed to say something more definite concerning the value of Parliamentary action. I had expected that as in some of his writings which I have had the privilege and pleasure of reading, where he definitely states that he is in favour of certain action, there would have been a defence of Parliamentarism to an extent altogether different to that which has been the case. He says there is no reason why he should do this if he knocks down the case submitted to him. But we must draw our own conclusions as to why he does not submit something of a more definite and practical character to help the workers out of their difficulty. (Hear, hear.) He does give us something. He has said he is in favour of compulsory industrial arbitration. Well, I am here to say that this is a rotten failure. (Hear, hear.) I say the countries that have tried it most, like it least. I admit that it is still a common thing throughout the Commonwealth of Australia to resort to one or other form of arbitration on the part of a large percentage of the community, just as a year or two ago it was the practice of 95 per cent. prac-

tically of the toilers of New Zealand to resort to it also. I have given you an indication of developments in New Zealand. I can produce to you corresponding evidence of the workers of Australia. Here are papers only six weeks' old. They are breaking away from arbitration and from Wages Boards, and they are lining up on the basis of Industrial Unionism—a most significant thing. And why?

What is the good of Mr. Rose or anybody else, telling you that you should not hold to the strike? If he could take away the power of the employer to lock-out, there might be something in it. (Hear, hear.) But neither Mr. Rose nor any other person in the planet has undertaken that work. I have been as close in contact with the mechanism of government *re* industrial arbitration as any person on this earth. Quite recently—not very long ago—I was at a place called Broken Hill, in New South Wales. There was the Industrial Disputes Act of the State and there is a Federal Arbitration Act covering a dispute when it extends over the boundaries of more than one state. They resorted to this machinery. The workers said they were desirous of having the difficulty closed before there should be another stoppage. They did not want to stop. The Arbitration Act is there in order to prevent industrial disputes, but it could not stop the bosses from lock-

ing-out. And they did lock out in spite of the Act, because no Act has ever been framed that, under the capitalist system, is going to take away the right of the employer who refuses to keep his works open. (Applause.) None of the Arbitration Acts take away the power of the employer to lock-out, though they take away the power of the worker to strike.

Now, you just drop your existing unions, as Mr. Rose advises you, and what does any fair-minded man of industrial experience expect would happen? You know very well what would happen—that, low though your standard be now, inside of a week it would be lower still, and there might be a general lowering, because you would have no resisting power. It is only the value of the resisting power of the minority that is organised that keeps the rapacious capitalist in check even now, to the extent that he is checked. Although on the average it is only a subsistence wage that is received by the worker, there are degrees even there according to the resisting power exhibited by the courageous amongst the workers. I submit to you that the desirable course for you to pursue is not to give up your unions, but to perfect them. (Hear, hear.) For a man like Mr. Rose to take up the position of declaring that it has taken so many years to bring in two millions or thereabouts, and that it will take 1,100

years to organise the British Isles—he knows he is monkeying with serious things. (Hear, hear.) It is not real sense to make such a stupid statement, and I am bound to class it as stupidity. He knows that a change has taken place in the construction of society. (Hear, hear.) He knows that the development of capitalism has changed its whole character. I will not delay by describing those machine methods of production which are responsible for the changes in society. What changes can take place quickly you see in the case of Japan. After being for a thousand years or so under feudalism, in 40 years she jumped right over the space. (Loud applause.) And many parts of Russia, after being for many centuries under feudal conditions, whether known by that name or not, are now rapidly becoming manufacturing centres, and like western nations in their methods.

Therefore, I advise you to rely upon more perfect organisation and get control of the tools of production. I won't go finnickin' as to what the "priests" of Industrial Unionism have said. They have said that sectional unionism is faulty, and that the planning of each and all on the basis of perfect amalgamation is highly desirable, and that it is possible, providing the influential men in the movement will throw themselves into it. Twenty or thirty years ago they did not gener-

ally grasp the basis of class. They were all on the basis of caste, and the caste principle, unfortunately, still does obtain. I am asking you to remove the necessity for class organisation on the part of all workers—all men and all women equally—getting the labourers enrolled in the same organisations and proceeding *en masse* to take common action.

Why—can't anybody see what would happen in the case of the Burnley miners if only the Miners' Federation was a real federation that said, "An injury to one is an injury to all?" They would have done with the croakers in one day if they only put the machinery in motion. They have not done it because they are not fired with the right ideal. And why? Because there are many of us like unto those Israelites who, my opponent said, never reached the Promised land. Why, did they not reach it, after 40 years in the wilderness? Because they were pessimists of the Mr. Frank Rose type. (Laughter.) When there was a bit of a shortage and financial difficulty they sent a deputation to old Moses and Aaron and they said: "Why did you bring us out from the land of Egypt? Let us get back again or we shall all die in the wilderness." And Moses pretended that God was angry with them. Poor Moses! "He is angry with us," he said. I was there. (Laughter.) I don't see why you should doubt

that; I am old enough. (Laughter.) "Confound these rascals," he said, "they are incapable of fighting these Canaanites, and Jebusites, and Hittites and Amorites. We will wait until their sons grow up, with greater freedom—the freedom of the woods and bush—and able to fight, to get decent chests on them, and prepared to go for direct action. Then that generation will be prepared to make short work of the people they will meet on the other side of Jordan." And the report is that they did.

But I am not concerned whether they did or not. The lesson is there. It was these pessimists, you see. "Your machinery is no good," they say. You must put aside suicidal pessimists. Work like men to make the unionist movement a genuine thorough-going, revolutionary organisation to solve the social problem. (Hear, hear.) Do that, and there will be no more need for crying out, which only encourages the capitalist crowd. "But your unions are no good," it is said. It is a lie. They are good; and they will be better every week they live, if each one of us resolves that we will work to make them better. We will do every day of our lives what Frank Rose tells us cannot be done. It is going on now. He is wrong in saying there is no desire to amalgamate. We had evidence of that in this city yesterday—better evidence than he can show to the contrary. The

evidence came from a meeting of delegates from over 70 societies. They met, and unanimously declared in favour of the most perfect kind of amalgamation on Industrial Unionist lines. I put that to Mr. Frank Rose and tell him that if he has drawn the conclusion that there is no tendency towards amalgamation and towards perfecting of the unionists ranks on the lines I have laid down, he has failed to read the signs of the times.

I would be glad if he would cease to be a croaker and a pessimist, and that after his thirty and more years of experience of the union movement, he would not feel pique even though he may have been treated badly, as I believe he has been. I would like to see the day—and I hope it may be so—when he will be working amongst the rank and file. And I will work with him right gladly to encourage the labourers and encourage the skilled men to make common cause in genuine combination and work for the solution of the social problem with the least possible amount of friction. (Applause.)

My final remark is this. There is nothing in industrial arbitration for you to rely upon. The very best judgment ever given, was given when I was in Victoria, by the judge of the Federal Arbitration Court, Mr. Justice Higgins. And the way of going on in the Court is this. In

examining witnesses the lawyer puts it to the woman: "You are Mrs. Smith?"—"Yes." "Your husband so-and-so?"—"Yes." "Your income so much?"—"Yes." "You dress pretty well?"—"Yes." "Your boots new, can I ask you what you paid for them?"—"So much." "Your dress new?"—and other humiliation of that kind. The work is put in the hands of lawyers. It is they who deal with the workers' case, and you might as well do what you have done here—put it in the hands of Lloyd George. Every time you do that you are killing yourselves. Don't give it to any Board of Trade. Don't allow Board of Trade Officials to interfere with your unions. Don't allow the bosses to come and dictate. Let us get the croakers to see that by this perfect organisation we will be able to help the miners all right and to help the cotton men all right, when they have been fired with the spirit of real holy fervour to organise on the basis of class, and not simply on the basis of trade.

Those of you who have not read up the subject of Industrial Unionism or Syndicalism, do yourselves the justice of reading it up. I cannot go further. I shall have the pleasure of listening to the final speech here, but I declare that Industrial Unionism holds the field. There is nothing in arbitration. There is nothing in it worth giving attention to. The facts are here

(showing a newspaper)—a ton of them **showing** that arbitration is a serious **failure**. Rely upon your own organisations and your own methods. Resort to direct action and raise the standard of life in double quick time, and hasten towards the final solution of the social problem when poverty shall be banished for ever, and peace and plenty prevail over the land. (Loud applause.)

### MR. ROSE'S REJOINDER.

Friends, we have listened to a good deal of exhausting and impassioned oratory, but I am still waiting to hear **how** and why economic organisation on the lines of Industrial Unionism is or can be demonstrated to be the best method of achieving Socialism or anything else worth having. I am just going to deal with a point about industrial arbitration. I never expected and do not expect that Australian workmen should be satisfied with it. All I have to say is that the incubus of the strike is lifted away. They can turn their attention to something better—the organisation that they have got and that you have got. You, friends, are organised to a feather edge, so perfectly that at the elections half of you will be cutting each others' throats for something that does not matter. Your masters spend millions per year in organising you. Ninety-seven per cent. so organised

went to the poll at one by-election. Was that done without organisation? They have so organised you that some of you believe in things you know are not true. For instance, they have organised you to believe there is a difference between Liberalism and Toryism. Oh yes, you are perfectly organised. And the people who have organised you have spent so much in organising, you can safely leave all the industrial organisation to itself. They know you will clean cut up. Lord Rotherham said: "We must put a stop to sectional strikes. Our really large unions are just as acceptable and just as much in harmony with the power of all the community, as in the interests of the people who belong to them."

The advocates of Industrial Unionism include among their number such persons as Mr. Tom Mann and Lord Rotherham. The latter's class don't care one damn about all the industrial organisation you can get together. When I say—or when the words are put into my mouth—that your unions are no good, it is that your unions are no further use in this decade when all your industrial influence is gone, and when more potent influences are working against you. Mr. Mann says if you lay down the strike you still leave the employer with the lock-out. I have never suggested arbitration that did not mean compromise on both sides. Is there any reason to suggest

that if we had it here we should be such fools as to accept a one-sided arrangement of that kind? I am against the strike, not only because it is economically wrong, but because it is a moral outrage. I have seen your class wars, been amongst them, led them, for I was a strike leader once. I have run eight strikes and won them all. My opponent has been sleeping on the Catskill Mountains, and he seems to be surprised that some of the fellows he knew when he was younger have grown wiser while he has slept. I am against the strike because it is wrong; because the blow does not fall upon the man you are striking at. You cannot hit him; you never will hit him. You can hit me, hit your children. I have been amongst the typical men who come out on strike, and had to do with them. I have never seen one of them with an empty pipe. I know who goes short all through that bitter black winter—the children are the sufferers in towns like Sunderland and Jarrow, where their fathers were striking about sixpence—and that is all they were striking about, one sixpence. I have seen children in Sunderland dragging ankle-deep in snow with their poor feet festering with frost-bites, taking out of refuse baskets any scraps they could. There was a man who had pigs at Wallsend during that dispute, and his pigs kept getting thinner. He could not make it out, and set a watch on his pig-stye. At night a man and

boy came there, and the boy was put through a hole which the man made, and the boy scraped out and stole all the pigs' food that he could. The watchers followed them home, and found the man and his wife and family greedily devouring the pigs' food. I don't know whether that is class or not, but any system that degrades women and children cannot uplift men. If you can show me that your strike is going to win anything for you, something may be said for it. So far, however, assuming that strikes have been won and that some small changes have accrued, look at the position to-day. The average wage of the organised is 19s. 4d. ("What would it have been?") And all the strikes that have taken place in the last 60 or 70 years have cost the community more money than would pay the National Debt and all the municipal debts of the country. And yet the capitalist class has grown rotten rich all the time. The man you strike against is the man you cannot hit. The man you ought to protect and help is the man that you kill, and so it must be. The strike is not the way. Take up the organisation you have got. You *have* got it. The master machine, the key of all is there. What wrong is there that you suffer, what benefit you desire, that does not find its foundation in law? Every evil that you complain of is buttressed by evil law or the absence of good law that would prevent it. Mr. Mann says,

and Industrial Unionists generally say, that if you are organised all over the world you can take hold of the machinery of production when scientifically organised and prepared. Well, the law will be there—still the law! You must alter the law before you can use your forces.

Is it not true that the time which has been wasted by great trade unions in chasing the phantom of the difference between two-and-a-third and time-and-a-quarter, if devoted to reasonable uses would have put us in a much better position? I am not here to defend any particular party. They have ceased to be anything to me at all. But political action, the turning of all your activities into this channel, the training of all your trade union guns on the political target—when you have the wisdom to do that you will get better results than you have yet had. This is a method that is easier—more within your reach. You are already organised—politically, you are organised to-day as well as you ever will be. You are disorganised industrially, and no power on earth, the chasing of no fresh phantasmagoria whatever, is going to bring you near effective industrial organisation. You must lose all the time on these lines; you will never win any more strikes whether little or big. The things against you are overwhelmingly too strong and but-

tressed and defended by law. Get rid of this incubus of the strike; cease all bother about organisation to get better conditions of life; organise to change the whole system of society. My claim, then, is that with regard to the proposition put before us, and to which I have religiously tried to keep in spite of all my opponents wanderings from here to the Antipodes and elsewhere—my claim is that Industrial Unionism is not the way to effect any good purpose; and that political action—call it Parliamentarianism or what you like—is the means that is to your hands to alter things to-day if you like. If you do not like, the fault is with yourselves. Mr. Mann has invited me to give any reason why I should not join hands with Industrial Unionism. I will not be out-done in generosity. I ask Mr. Mann to stop chasing this phantasm and to be as practical as we once believed him to be. I am disposed to think that when his voice, eloquent and persuasive as it is, is raised against the strike and in favour of better efforts, better generations, better avenues of labour, then he will have on our side a might that will be able to effect more good for the cause that is right, than ever he will be able to use in the prosecution of efforts to set up a cause which is helplessly and hopelessly wrong.

THE END.

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# The Industrial Monthly Syndicalist

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## Miners, Wake Up!

By TOM MANN.

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The essay on "A Minimum Wage for Miners," which will be found in this pamphlet, was written by colliers actually working at the mines. It is addressed to the entire mining industry, but more particularly to the 600,000 members of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, of which the authors themselves are members. Whilst being themselves located in South Wales, and specifically treating, in the following pages, of the Abnormal Places Question, as it confronts the 200,000 miners of the South Wales and Monmouthshire coalfield, the writers are of opinion that the whole coalfield of Britain is confronted with the same difficulty.

The case for the Miners is put in most temperate language and with an inside knowledge of the subject; it is therefore hoped that the brochure will speedily reach a very large portion of the men to whom it is specially addressed and whose case it presents so unanswerably.

### **We urge Direct Action.**

It must be understood that a substantial increase is to be demanded also for the lower grade men, and no man ought to be expected to work as a labourer at, or about a mine, for less than six shillings a shift; in fact; it is inconceivable that any person worth consideration should look upon the minimum of eight shillings per shift which is demanded for the miner, as higher than the conditions warrant.

To those who are wishful to see a minimum wage for miners fixed by legislation, we of the "Industrial Syndicalist" heartily back up the advice of the writers of the pamphlet, and urge direct action by the Miners' Federation.

### **Transport Workers to Line up.**

In the power of that Federation we have every confidence, if only they agree to act with unanimity; but the solidarity of the whole working class is to be called for and utilised, and especially should all those in the

**Transport Industry line up in battle array** on behalf of the miners. The opportunity for getting the genuine co-operation of the carrying trades is better now than ever, owing to the fact that eleven of the Unions in the carrying industry are now federated. These include the vast majority of men who load the vessels with coal and who man them at sea. The National Transport Workers' Federation includes: The Dockers' Union, The Sailors' and Firemen's Union, The Stevedores' Union, The Carmen, The Watermen and Lightermen, The Crane Drivers, The Enginemen and Firemen, The Ships' Stewards, Butchers and Bakers, The National Amalgamated Labourers, The Labour Protection League, and the United Order of Labourers.

Several other Unions are expected to join the Federation immediately, for they have taken the vote of their members, and amongst them are the railway men whose co-operation is imperative, both for other transport workers, and also for the miners in the event of a real fight coming off.

### **Scotland and England also.**

The Scottish Miners are exhibiting determination corresponding to the more militant one in Wales; they are conducting a vigorous propaganda on behalf of a minimum wage, and that there is an equally urgent necessity

for it in England, is shown by the pointed extracts given hereafter from reports and speeches, and we especially direct attention to the excerpt from Mr. J. Wadsworth's speech on page 16.

If the officials as a whole were enthusiastically in favour of securing this minimum, there would be no room for questioning the immediate and complete success of the demand, but whatever officials may say or do—*If the rank and file demand it, and insist on fighting to get it, that will ensure success.*

The time has gone by when reactionary officials are to be allowed to impede working class advance; it is really a case of "get on and lead," or "get out and follow"; and the sooner this is fully realised the better for all concerned.

### **Why not a Co-operative Mine?**

I desire to here emphasise the fact that there is not one coal mine in the legal possession of the working miners, or indeed of any body of workers in the whole of Britain; if there is, I know not of it; yet a very large percentage of the miners are members of the Co-operative Movement, and the Co-operative Movement in some districts is burdened with more capital than can be advantageously used.

Many of the trade unions invest their accumulated funds in distinctly capitalist business concerns, or in municipal corporation stock; surely it would be wise on the part of the workers in the Co-operative and Trade Unionist Movements to get complete control in various parts of the country of a number of coal mines, from which their household supplies could be drawn and thus ensure supplies during a dispute.

We ought to be able to command all necessary stores for sustenance of all the women and children in time of hostilities. To do this it would be wise of all workers identifying themselves with the Co-operative Movement and dealing regularly with the stores; already, as Co-operators, they are the owners of some of the finest flour mills in the country, and if they had a bit more "horse" sense, we should even now get hold of ten times the number, and take steps to control wheat supply to the mills also.

### **Get Ready for the Fray.**

We may not be able to get trade union reserve funds, for fighting purposes, adequate to the successful fighting of the moneyed class, but we may, by the two movements, get adequate control of a food supply. We ought to get, and we can get, an adequate Commissariat Department always available when the battles of the Class War are being waged. This subject

calls for more lengthy and careful treatment than a mere reference of this kind, but the hint, if acted upon, will be helpful.

Reader, whoever you are, do not be content with simply reading this appeal for action to the mining community. We are all affected by whatever seriously affects our fellows, and this demand of the miners, resulting in a fight, as it certainly will, means that you must line up on one side or the other. We cordially invite your hearty co-operation in popularising the demand, preparing for the fight, and sharing in it till victory crowns our efforts.

TOM MANN.

## A Minimum Wage for Miners.

WHAT IT MEANS, AND HOW  
TO GET IT.

By **W. F. HAY & NOAH ABLETT.**

### A Sweated Industry.

The present unrest in the mining industry, the almost constant ferment and discussion, the epidemic of strikes, small and large, can, on careful analysis, be traced to one cause—underpayment. Underpayment of such an extreme type, that it is impossible in many instances, for the men concerned, to buy with their scanty wage—the price of the most intense and exhausting labour—the bare necessities of life. In a word, the mining industry has, to a very large extent, become a sweated industry. Numerous instances could be adduced of men who, after a week or fortnight's strenuous toil under adverse conditions, have not only received no return for their own labour, but have had to find money to pay their assistants. Such a state of affairs was bound to breed discontent, both deep and bitter. And not until a just and equitable solution to this problem has



live on. So strongly was this custom established that many cases were won in the Courts when employers neglected to observe it.

### Judge as Law Maker.

Judge Bryn Roberts signalised his advent by deciding that all such allowances or considerations were in the nature of a gratuity or charity. That the miner had no claim for any payment for work, unless it was covered specifically by the price list. The intensely insulting position, that a man should have thrown to him as an alms, to be picked up with gratitude, that which he had earned two or three times over, gave rise to an attempt to have inserted in price lists, a clause, which should insure payment under these circumstances. Clauses were drafted carefully covering the points in dispute, and notably in the case of The Cambrian Collieries, Ltd., two foot nine seam, November 21st, 1908, were inserted in a price list as follows:

In the event of a collier having conditions in his working place which prevent him earning a fair wage on the price list, he shall receive such allowance as he and the management shall agree upon.

The management agree to meet the workmen in such places reasonably in the matter of allowance, with the object of enabling them to earn a wage equivalent to a wage they would have earned if they had worked in a place in a normal condition.

If the management and workman fail

to agree as to the amount of the allowance, the management will in all cases pay 5s. 4d. to the collier and 4s. 7d. per day to the helpers on the 1877 standard.

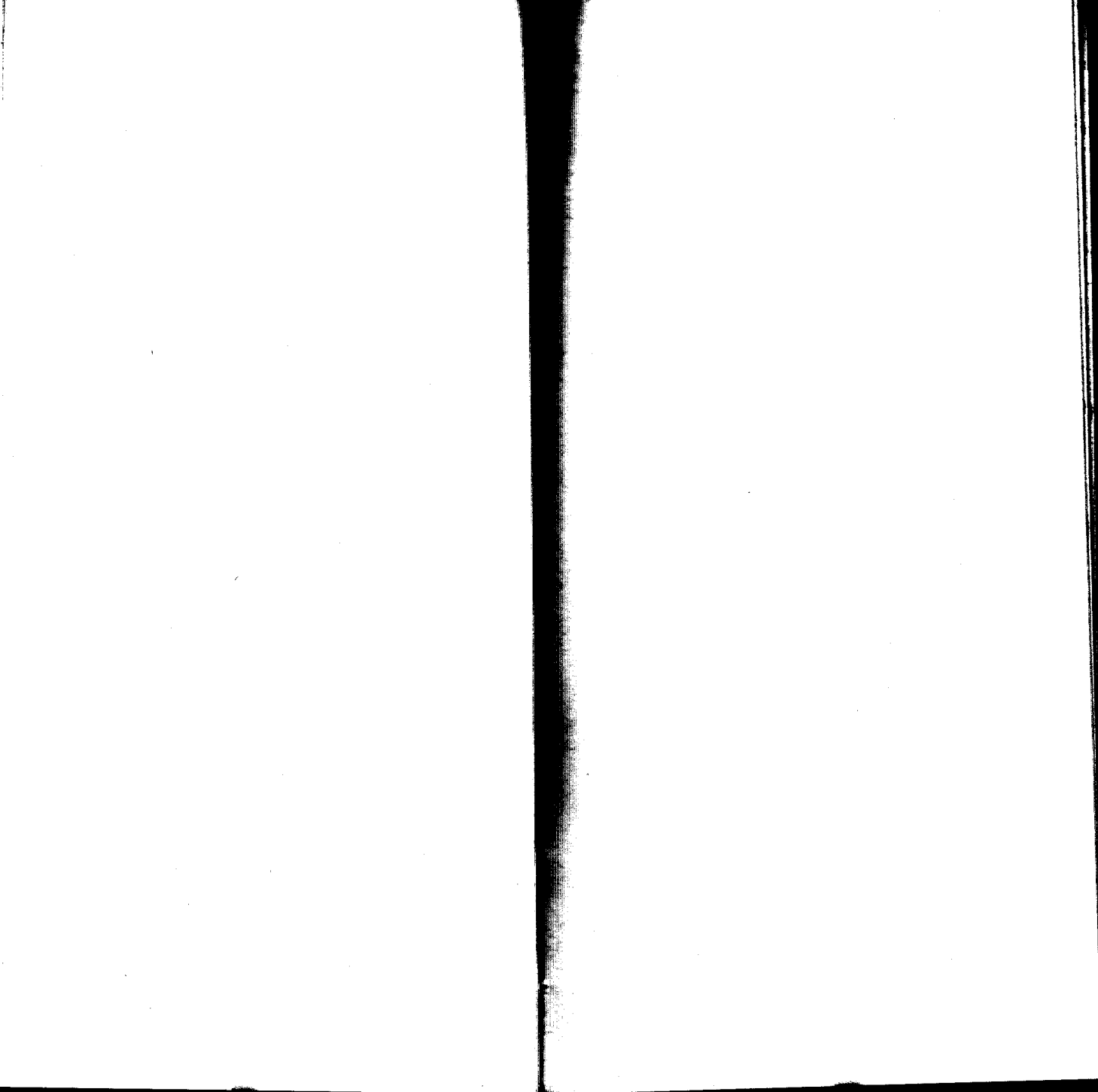
If the management and workman disagree, the management have the power to remove the workman to a place in its normal state.

The forensic ability of Judge Bryn Roberts did not desert him, however; he speedily discovered that men who brought cases to court under this clause, were lazy malingerers. Thus with this further insult to add to the rest, it was realized that the position, so far as the Courts were concerned, was hopeless.

The termination of the agreement (1910) was at hand, however, and it was decided to make a determined struggle to secure a standard of payment for all such places. That the men's demands did not err through extravagance, can be seen by the following draft resolution submitted by them to the Conciliation Board.

### ABNORMAL PLACES.

"When colliers in any colliery meet with soft coal, rolls, faults or other unusual conditions, and give notice of the same to the management, the management and the colliers so affected shall endeavour to arrive at a settlement, by which an allowance or extra sum shall be paid. But failing an agreement as to the amount to be paid, the basis of payment for the collier working in the abnormal place shall be the average wage earned by him for the three months previous, when his place was in a normal condition. Provided, that if the management shall at any time become dissatisfied with the work done



Many cases were settled by this means, and undoubtedly thousands of pounds retrieved, which would otherwise have been lost to the men. This happy result was achieved, however, only at the cost of very keen struggles with the management. Sometimes it resulted in the victimization of the men; sometimes Pharaoh hardened his heart and refused point blank. In that case there remained only one course; the men concerned left their tools in the place in dispute and went on stop. No one but a blackleg would work the place, and such men are fortunately rare. Trouble in connection with the ventilation would speedily arise, and Pharaoh's heart would soften. But not always; sometimes he became obdurate, and after months of fighting, it would be discovered that the place was on the boundary or that some means of circumventing the difficulty had been discovered.

Then arose a painful problem.

Men cannot stay on strike for ever, nor would any useful purpose be served if the Lodge maintained them, till they qualified for an Old Age Pension. The management would quite naturally refuse to reinstate them in the colliery, and a strange fatality pursued them when they sought work elsewhere. No one could find place for them. So soon as their name was mentioned, all prospect of work faded away. This victimization soon had its effect; men became

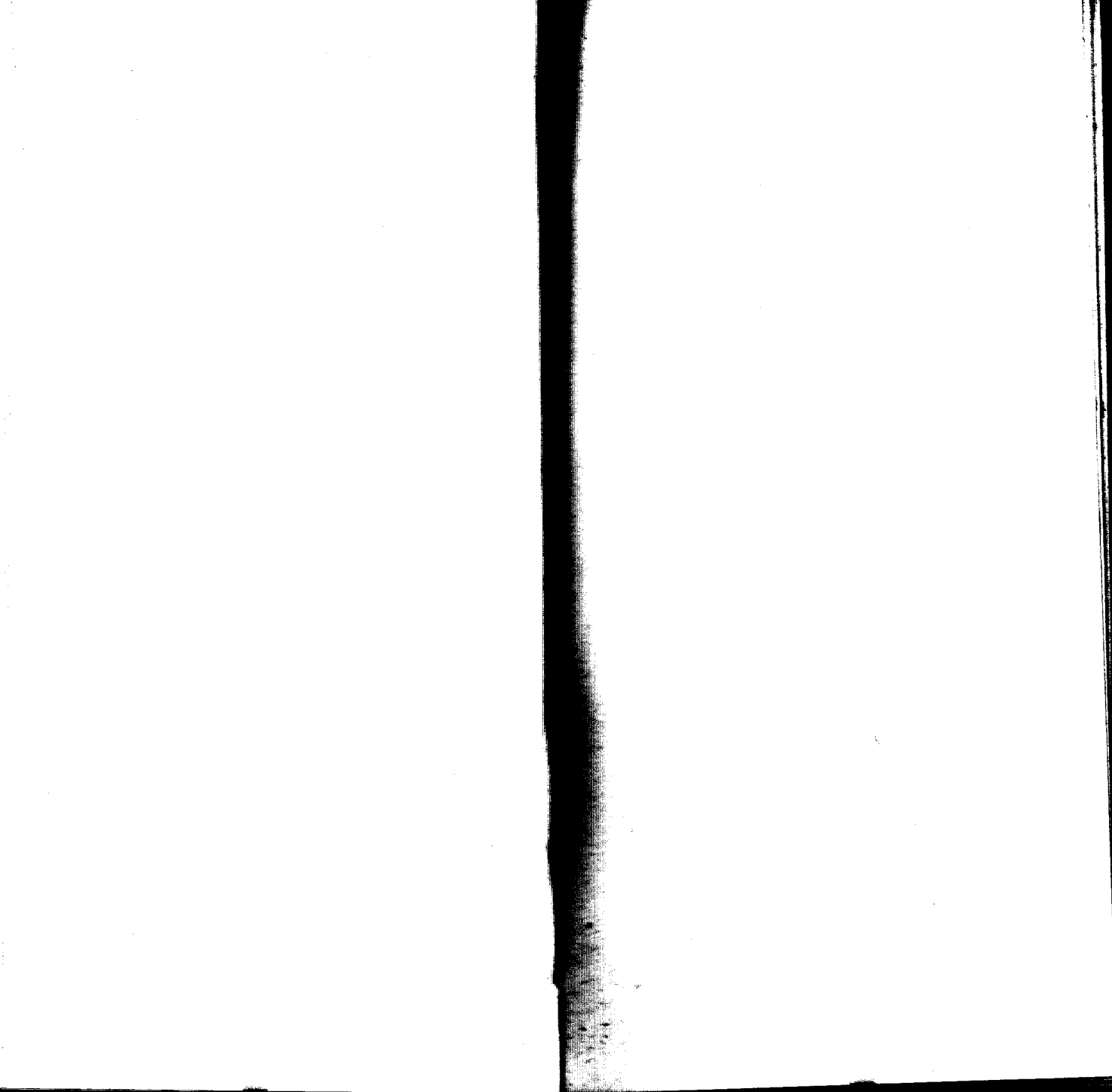
chary of airing grievances which in the end might bring greater trouble. The only method which could rally them was some strong and decisive action by the Lodge or District, which action could only have been in the direction of tendering notices.

### Seeking a Path.

Now arises a quandary. If a sectional fight of the whole of South Wales is hopeless—and experience no less than the warnings of our leaders prove it to be so—how much more hopeless must be the strike of a District or Lodge? Every way we turned we seemed to see the words written: "No thoroughfare."

Yet we must find a path, for it is intolerable to remain in the present position. Even if we should wish to, we cannot. Painful experience teaches us that we must go forward or backward. We have tried sweet reasonableness, local action by the Lodges and Districts, all that can be done on the Conciliation Board as a Federation, and it remains, in the end, ineffective. We have not yet gained a secure return for our labour, or such command over our conditions of work as befits our dignity as men.

We are driven to cohesion, to united action on a gigantic scale, to cast our eyes forward to the operation of Rule 20, to some simple and plain proposition, which shall solve our problem.



There can scarcely be a more humiliating position than that of a man who accepts as an alms, money which he has earned two or three times over. That position implies a situation more insulting to his manhood than that occupied by the beggar on the street; for by implication it condones the robbery to which he has been subjected.

It would decrease the competition of men with insufficient skill who, driven by the stress of low wages, take work for which they are unfitted, thereby constituting a danger to themselves and all others with whom they are working.

It is a proposition which would unite all grades in one common demand, and which would give a secure basis both for present and future action.

It would entail the solution of the non-unionist question, for it will be readily seen that only determined and united action will maintain the minimum.

It would brush away, once and for all, those quack remedies which have so long deluded us.

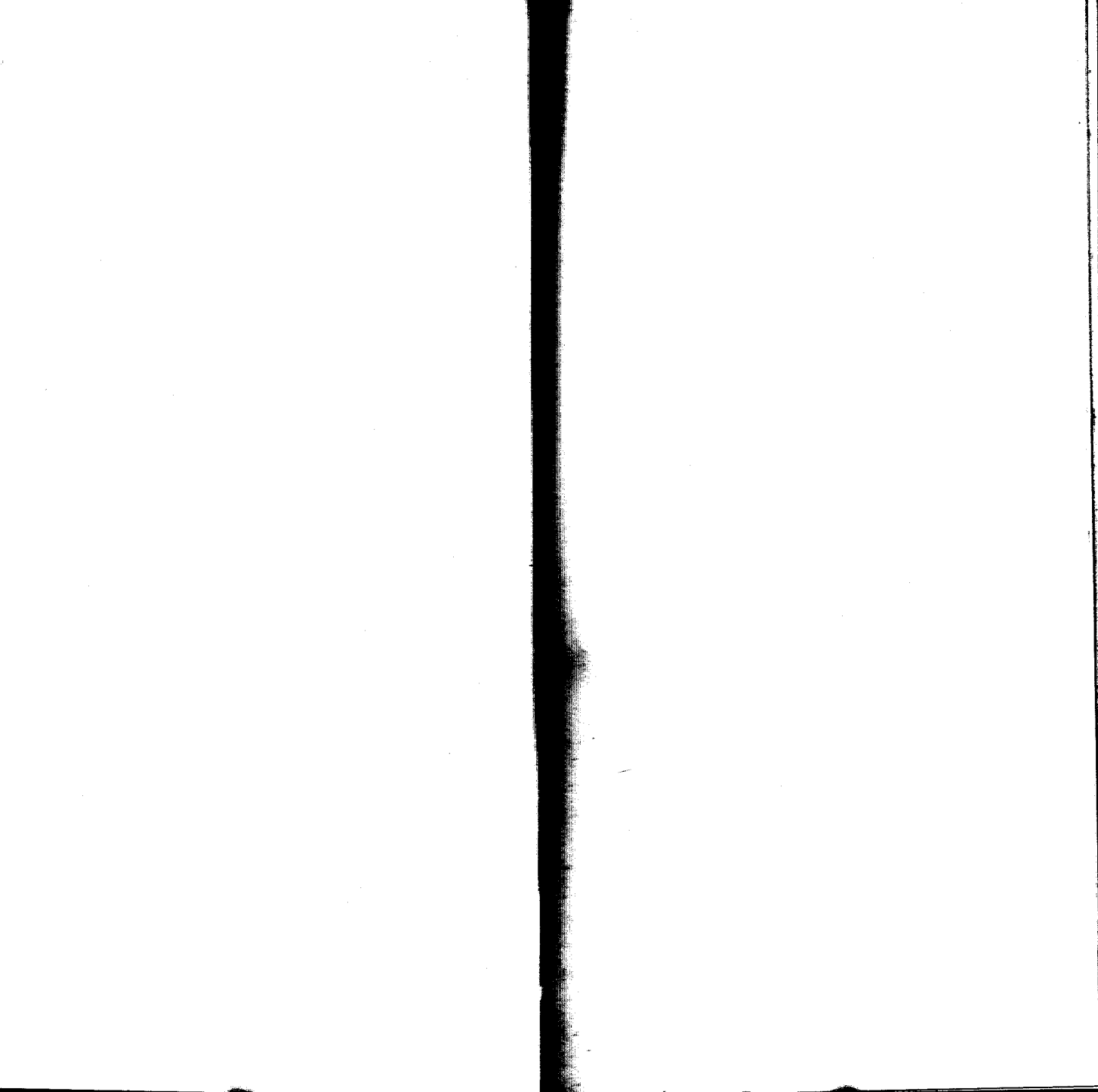
It has the merit of being simple, easily understood, and of offering a return to every man who will be called upon to fight for it.

It would have a profound influence on both present and future price lists and agreements, a contingency which we can contemplate with equanimity.

It would take much work off the

shoulders of our leaders, condense the subject matter of disputes, and bring practically all questions between ourselves and the employers in the future to one straight issue—a revision of the minimum.

It possesses one further advantage which, if it stood alone, would be sufficient to urge us to strain every nerve to secure it. For some time past, owing to the depreciation of gold, consequent on its decreased cost of production, due to the introduction of machinery and labour-saving devices in mining it, the purchasing power of money has been falling. If we take the range of commodities which constitute the necessities of life, *i.e.*, food, clothing, house rent, etc., we find that during the past ten years their prices have increased from 15 to 20 per cent. And, since our *real* wages are the amount of these necessities, which the money wage will buy, our wages have decreased to that extent. This factor, the depreciation of gold and the consequent appreciation of all other commodities, for which it acts as a measure of value and a standard of price, is by no means at an end. On the contrary, we may look forward with certainty to considerably increased prices in the future. Our real wage as distinguished from the money wage, is in constant danger therefore of decline, and we need a method of adjustment to compensate us for such loss. Under the existing system of price lists, with no minimum attached,



that the employer would have to offer "attractions" to get the more difficult places worked. Is this doubted?

Why, it is in operation to-day, and the employers are compelled in the vast majority of cases, to render "gratuities" that will place the hewer in a 'slightly better position than the "lower" grades. The lower paid wagemen are the bulwark of the allowance system. Reduce his wages and you reduce allowances, and we say *vice versa*; increase his wages and you increase the "attractions" for the coal cutters. That is the key to all real increases. If this tendency operates to-day, how much more intensely will it operate when—there being the same minimum for all classes of labour—the employer tries to make the minimum the maximum?

What are his chances?

We ask anyone who has taken the pains to observe a colliery or seam, where at present the employers do recognise a certain rate: Is that rate the maximum?

We could give many authenticated cases where as much as one and a half times the rate is paid, not because the employer has any special affection for the individual he pays this sum to, but because he cannot get work of that quality in the labour market without paying for it at its "value." Well, under the conditions assumed in the scheme of the minimum wage, these forces will be more powerful than they are now. If, now, the minimum

(where recognised) is not the maximum, how then, with security of the minimum wage for all grades, can the equalization be maintained? All the forces of competition in the labour market will compel recognition for any special skill or danger. And what else can the miner of any grade expect extra payment for? What applies to the collier (hewer), applies with nearly equal force to timbermen and the other "higher" grades. There need be no undue anxiety that we shall all come to a dead level.

### A Strong Objection.

No doubt it will be said: Oh, yes, this is all very fine. Great things will undoubtedly happen when you have obtained the minimum wage. But can you get it? Is it possible? Will you not, if you do get it, so cripple the industry that capital will be diverted into other channels, and we be left in the bog of unemployment, cursing the fate that drove us to kill the goose that laid the golden eggs?

The latter is an objection that must be examined with great care, for if it should contain only half the truth, our ideal might be a two-edged sword that would injure us as much as our opponents. We shall therefore, before seeing if we have the power to secure it, consider whether it is economically possible, whether the industry will bear the burden.

First, to block up one thoroughfare. It must not, and cannot come out of

the consumer. The price of coal is not regulated by the desires of the employers or by the demands of the men, otherwise, this would be a much more comfortable world for miners and mine-owners. They might in such a case join hands and form a new aristocracy. But no, the gentlemen who are supposed to direct the mining world take the uttermost farthing they can get for their coal to-day. Their own instincts of appropriation are sufficient without the impetus of our demands. If they could raise the price of coal when we secure the minimum wage, they would not wait till then, but as Shakespeare put it: "if twere well done, twere well twere done quickly." There is only one thing we can attack in this as in all other wage questions, viz: the pocket or profits of the employers.

### **Monopoly Character of Mining.**

To thoroughly examine all the mysteries of the workings of mining capital throughout Great Britain is a feat not yet accomplished. But one does not require much knowledge to see that the mining industry is virtually a monopoly. It has been stated that four men — Sir Christopher Furness, Sir Charles B. McLaren, Lord Joicey, and Mr. D. A. Thomas — probably control nearly one-fifth of the whole coal supply of Great Britain. While we cannot vouch for the

accuracy of this, the very statement is an indication of the trend of affairs. In South Wales, where the tendency to place the whole industry into the hands of one firm, is proceeding at a phenomenal rate, scarcely a month passes, but there is news of two large companies amalgamating, or steps taken to form a large combine. There are already about a dozen men, one or more of whose names appear in the directorate of every company of any importance. What is taking place in South Wales is typical of what is happening in Durham, where already the Joicey Company own mines that raise six million tons of coal per annum; in Northumberland, where Sir Christopher Furness enacts the role of "Ole King Coal"; in Yorkshire, where the Briggs and Browns loom large; in short, the tendency in general. As we write, news arrives that the coal owners of Great Britain are taking steps to form one huge board for purposes of defence against the supposed aggression of the wicked miners who, it appears, have the audacity to demand a certain security against starvation, and a little more of the good things of life in exchange for their danger and toil. This amalgamation of the owners only paves the way to a great centralization of management and concentration of ownership.

### **The Timid Dove, Capital.**

We are thus face to face with no timid bird who will fly away at our

frowns, but a huge ugly vulture whose beak is red, and whose appetite has been exquisitely tickled as the following will show. Mr. Brace, M.P., speaking in Parliament on the eight hours question, stated that the Powell Duffryn Co., on a capital of £980,000, made a profit in the year 1907, of £453,757, or enough to pay a dividend of nearly 50 per cent. This works out to 2s. 10d. per ton profit. In the same year, the Cambrian Company obtained 3s. per ton; Messrs. D. Davies and Sons, 2s. 7½d.; North's Navigation, 2s. 7d.; the Albion, Penrhiwceiber, and United National, 2s. 3d. to 2s. 4d. per ton. Lord Joicey, a few years ago, when profits were not quite so high, in a lawsuit with a railway company, stated that his usual profit was 2s. 6d. per ton, and his claim was allowed. The North Brancepeth Co., Durham, on a capital of £105,000 in 1901, made a net profit of £96,878 or £8,122 short of 100 per cent. They paid a dividend of 75 per cent., and yet for the next six years paid 33½ per cent.

We could cite instance after instance of this kind of thing. Mr. Vernon Hartshorn, quoting from the published accounts, selected the following, to back up his claim for the nationalization of the mines, at the M.F.G.B. Conference, held in Edinburgh last.

"One concern, with a capital of £980,000, realised a million and a half profit in five years. Another, with

a capital of £450,000, have cleared a £1,000,000 of profit in nine years. Another, with a capital of £600,000, made £1,300,000 in ten years. These are taken from the published accounts in South Wales. . . ."

## **Monopoly Prices and Small Collieries.**

But it will be objected that we have only quoted the best instances; that there are many small collieries where these results do not obtain. Let it be remembered, however, that our quotations are given to show that the coal industry is a monopoly, and that therefore the price of coal on the market is the high monopoly price which can be secured by all sellers, whether producing on low or high capital. It is part of our argument that every far-seeing policy, to be in line with industrial evolution, should encourage the adoption of up-to-date methods of production. We must not sentimentalize about the small colliery, but adopt a policy that will compel the employers to come up to twentieth century conditions or "get out," just as the combine employers do with us. We shall never attain freedom by looking backward. We must go on with the times.

## **Skim the Monopoly.**

Our argument, briefly summarized, amounts to this: The coal industry being a monopoly, gets a higher rate

of profit than the average profit obtained by average capital. If we therefore transfer a certain portion of those profits into wages—from the employer's pocket into our own—we shall be doing ourselves a good turn, and at the same time leave the mining industry quite as good an investment as the average. Is that clear? And remember the consumer will not pay any more than he pays to-day, unless the market rises in the ordinary way. What is wrong in these arguments, Mr. Miner?

The goose will still continue to lay golden eggs, the demand for coal will, as we have shown, not be affected by the operation of the minimum, but the eggs which the employers take, will be smaller in number, and less in size than before. Those which the miners take will have increased. But since the tiger will fight as fiercely for the tip of his whiskers as for his whole carcass, we have now to discover what power we have to bring about this "consummation most devoutly to be wished."

### **The Power to Enforce our Demand.**

This depends upon several factors. In the first place our courage and determination must be equal to our task, and small wonder if discouragement prevails in our ranks. Time and time again, we have faced the employers with demands, fought them

with sectional strikes, spent our funds with a lavish hand, and all this to practically no purpose. Agreement after agreement, settlement after settlement, has left us in a worse position than before.

### **Puzzle: Find the Way Out.**

Our last agreement in South Wales, *e.g.*, was arranged on the principle that any increase in the cost of production should be compensated for by a reduction of the percentages. Thus the cost of the Compensation Act and Eight Hours Act was the argument alleged by the owners and conceded by the men's side (which latter repeated the argument in the coalfield) should be compensated for by excluding the 9d. per ton when coal sold from 14s. to 14s. 9d., from percentages. Here then is a puzzle. Any reform that will increase the cost of production (and what reform worth the name will not have this effect) will be paid for from wages. This is the game of see-saw. A million years of this will find us—"where we were." And we have been compelled to submit because never before have we had what is a necessary condition for united national action, a universal demand for one solid concrete proposal. With this our force is irresistible!

Coal is an economic necessity. On it, all modern production rests. A few weeks' stoppage with coal mount-

ing to famine prices, would paralyze industry in such a way that there would never again be the slightest doubt of the despised miner's power.

The Mining Industry employs (1909) 1,013,998 persons, who have the strongest labour organization in the world as their weapon. If that organisation, fired with a sense of intolerable wrong and injustice, cannot develop the necessary courage and determination to achieve what is a relatively paltry ambition—a Minimum Wage—then indeed may we despair, fold our hands and say "cowardice has so rotted the soul out of the miner, that he no longer has the courage to fight, even with the certainty of victory."

But we know that no conference is held to-day, or has been held these last few years, without this demand being thrust insistently forward. Scotland, Yorkshire, South Lancashire and Cheshire, and many other Associations have brought forward and passed resolutions in its favour. The demand is not brought forward from men who think it can be got by asking. They know it can only be got by fighting for it. We can therefore assume that they are prepared to fight. If courage is an essential factor on our side, no less strong are the fears of the employers. Much he fears and dreads the time when Continental coal-fields will have developed into successful competitors in the foreign market.

## **The Coal Owner's Nightmare.**

Potential competition is always present in the coalowner's mind. He knows that a national stoppage here would have the effect of rapidly opening out coalfields in Belgium, Germany and France, for those countries are only prevented from opening out now, by the fact that it is cheaper to import British coal, or impossible in their present stage of development, to compete with British coal in the foreign markets. A national stoppage here would result in the rise of formidable competitions from those quarters, and no one knows or dreads it more than the coalowner. Even far off America is not outside the range of possible competitors. And with this possibility, nay certainty in his mind, he dreads giving his potential competitors the opportunity to effect a footing.

But if we are able to accurately gauge our opponent's fears, we have also a knowledge of his utmost strength. Apart then from the enormous pressure which would be brought to bear on the employers, through the dislocation of industry, he would have the dread of losing his present practical monopoly of the foreign market. He would be compelled to remember that, even after granting this demand, he would still be in the position of an employer, still in receipt of at least as high a rate of

profit as employers in other industries.

Under these circumstances, do you doubt he will rather bear the ills he has than fly to others he knows not of? Use your imagination, and try to see the employers, faced by the whole force of the M.F.G.B., united with this one demand:—

*That we will have a minimum wage of 8s. per day for all miners,\* if we have to stop out till all the world goes short of coal, and his foreign competitors steal his market.*

Can you see the employer faced with this dilemma that if he does not settle quickly, other industries in which he has invested his "savings," will have to shut down for want of coal, and be therefore unable to pay dividends. If you are able to picture this, you will see a situation calculated to bring a serious qualm under every coalowner's waistcoat, and an access of reasonableness and humility to every coalowner's brain.

### **Our Method of Fighting Must be Industrial Action!**

We have endeavoured to point out clearly the evil, its cause

\* Boys, of course, cannot come under this minimum; but no difficulty would be experienced in grading them according to age, as thus: At 13 years, 3s. per day; at 14 years, 4s.; at 15 years, 5s.; at 16 years, 6s.; at 17 years, 7s.; and at 18, to come on the minimum of 8s.

and growth, the legal position, the various failures to find a remedy, and the fact that it is impossible to stand still. We have endeavoured to clearly show what a Minimum Wage is, what are the advantages to be derived from it, and have discussed the capacity of the industry to bear the increased cost of production. We have examined the factors which will make for our success in the struggle, and demonstrated that it is the only proposal which will meet the difficulties we are confronted with. A short discussion on the methods to be followed in the struggle will now be in order.

### **Political Action?**

There is already a movement on foot to create a political agitation on behalf of a legal Minimum Wage for Miners, and some of our well-meaning friends are undoubtedly sincere enough in their efforts. But, with the recollection of the *twenty-five years'* agitation for the Eight Hours Act, we shall readily see that to place any hope in political action of that kind, is to lend ourselves to an indefinite postponement of the question.

Political action means obtaining the conversion of a majority, an overwhelming majority of the voting strength of the country, to one point of view. This, of necessity, means a patient and costly propaganda. Meanwhile, our men continue to

work and starve. No! we have the power in our own hands to get it by our own action, here and now, and if it is a thing to be done, it would be well to do it quickly.

The forthcoming M.F.G.B. Conference, to deal with the abnormal places question, and the low paid wagemen's question, is bound to be dominated by officials, and the well-paid official point of view. That it may be abortive goes without saying. But it *can* be made the occasion for a demonstration in favour of the Minimum Wage. Let it be the duty of every member who is convinced of its necessity, to move in his Lodge the following or a similar resolution:—

That this the Lodge, of the expresses itself in favour of the Minimum Wage, as defined in the Newcastle resolution, 1909, as the only solution of the Abnormal Places question and the Low Paid Wagemen's question, and urges that a ballot be at once taken throughout the M.F.G.B. area to ascertain whether the membership is in favour of an immediate general stoppage to secure it.

Get this resolution carried in *your* Lodge; see that it is sent on to be discussed at *your* District, and from there to *your* Central Executive; agitate amongst, and educate *your* fellow-workmen. You will do more to elevate your class—for the miner's example will undoubtedly be followed by other industries—and to dignify your calling, than you can by any other possible means.

## And, Lest you Forget.

Remember, in this work, all petty pride and prejudice has to be dropped. It is a case of each for all, and all for each. The collier or hewer, the timberman, putter, labourer, etc., have all to *fight* for it.

They must *all* receive it. The hewer or collier who thinks *he* should have it, and the labourer should not, has to understand that without the labourer's help, it cannot be obtained at all.

He who seeks to divide us into grades, with varying rates of minimum, is consciously or unconsciously helping to disrupt us.

We have THE POWER to get it for all, and because we have that power, it is our duty to secure it. Let us go into battle, then, united at last in one common demand, with one unifying battle cry, with all the solidarity which that common cause can give. Our demand one, our members as one, our fight as good as won, since we are united. Prepared to see every wheel in the country stop, before we will abate it one iota. Knowing that at last, to compensate him for the hardships he endures, the miners will have at least,

**Eight hours' work,  
Eight hours' play,  
Eight hours' sleep,  
And Eight bob a day.**

Parliamentary Action is secondary in importance to Industrial Action ; it is Industrial Action alone that makes Political Action effective ; but, with or without Parliamentary Action, industrial solidarity will ensure economic freedom, and therefore the abolition of capitalism and all its accompanying poverty and misery.



Whether you work by the piece, or work by the day,

## Reducing the Hours Increases the Pay.

The 8-Hour Day : get ready for the fray in 1912.



NOTE.—Each number of this series of pamphlets deals with a separate subject which is of permanent interest to the workers and will, therefore, remain on sale after the month of publication.

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# The Industrial Monthly Syndicalist

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THE

## Weapon Shaping

In No. 3 of the *Industrial Syndicalist*, "Forging the Weapon," I submitted a method of organisation ; I showed the way to help, and asked for the formation of an "Industrial Syndicalist Educational League."

The first outcome of it was the inception of "The Manchester Syndicalist Education League," as the result of our great Conference on Industrial Syndicalism held at Manchester on November 26th.

At this Conference, some 200 delegates representing between 70 and 80 societies, unions and groups, 16 trades councils, and approximately 60,000 workers, were present. The names of those delegates, the bodies they represented, and a full report of the

proceedings was published in No. 6 of the *Industrial Syndicalist*, under the title "A Manchester Message to the Workers of Britain."

Since, the League has been actively selling literature and holding meetings amongst Manchester Trade Unionists, who are very numerous in that district, and one hears from all parts about amalgamation, federation, new tactics, etc.

### After Manchester, Derby.

Since the Manchester Conference, the weapon has been steadily shaping, and several other conferences have been held, notably at Derby. Following upon the reports of delegates to Manchester from the Derby Trades' Council, that body convened a special meeting on the subject, when the resolution previously carried at Manchester, was unanimously adopted at Derby. It was as follows:—

"That, whereas the sectionalism that characterises the Trade Union movement of to-day is utterly incapable of effectively fighting the capitalist class and securing the economic freedom of the workers, this Conference declares that the time is now ripe for the industrial organisation of all workers on the basis of class—not trade or craft—and that we hereby agree to form a Syndicalist Education League to propagate the principles of Syndicalism throughout the British Isles, with a view to merging all existing Unions into one compact organisation for each industry, including all labourers of every industry in the same organisation as the skilled workers."

More significant still, is the fact that since that conference the Derby Trades' Council has decided to itself act as the Educational Committee for the promulgation of syndicalist principles, initiating their public propaganda work by holding a Public Meeting on 31st March in the Temperance Hall, and the following is the facsimile of a letter received from their Secretary:—

MEMORANDUM	
Derby and District Trades Council. Secretary—JMS. BENNETT, 23 Vincent Road, DERBY.	March 4 1921 Mr. Tom Mann 23 Englefield St. Southfields London S.W.

Dear Mr Mann  
 Many thanks for your kind letter to hand. I am glad to hear that my Council is amongst the pioneers of the Industrial Unionist movement, and feel sure that your encouraging letter will greatly assist them to accomplish their object of educating the Trade Unionists of Derby on the principles of syndicalism.

Derby being a railway centre, it lends itself to the application of these principles and I may inform you that steps are already being taken by the Council to get the various Unions having members working in the Shops or on the Lines to take joint action with a view of securing the redress of many grievances of railway workers.

I will submit your letter to the Council, and shall be glad of all the information and assistance you can give us in furthering the Industrial Syndicalist Movement. Best wishes & kindest regards  
 Yours faithfully JMS Bennett

### After Derby, London.

The address of Comrade A. G. Tufton, printed in this issue of the

*Industrial Syndicalist*, was given by him before the Walthamstow Trades' Council.

A. G. Tufton had been appointed delegate by that Council to attend the Industrial Syndicalist Conference at Manchester, in November last, and after having given his report to the Council, it was considered advisable by that body to have a further address on the subject from Comrade Tufton. This was given on February 1st, and on March 8th, the following resolution was discussed at the Walthamstow Trades' Council:—

"That, whereas the Osborne Judgment has shown conclusively that political action is utterly insufficient to meet the aspirations of the Working Class, this Council is of opinion that the time has arrived when definite steps should be taken to give the Trade Unionist movement a new impetus on the basis of Industrial Syndicalism, and agrees to convene a Conference of London organisations to decide upon a definite policy in that direction."

At a specially convened meeting of the Council, held on the 22nd March, the matter was again discussed, when it was decided to convene a Conference for London.

### The Work in Front of Us.

This Conference ought to be the most important yet held in this country on this subject. Syndicalist Leagues, or Committees, are now in course of formation in half a dozen other towns, and guidance is asked for in the matter of procedure, and how to commence work.

I therefore submit the following points as showing the work in front of the Syndicalists.

1st.—Our immediate aim is to bring about Industrial Solidarity.

2nd.—Our chief educational platform is found in the Trades' Councils.

3rd.—There and everywhere else we must habitually encourage one Union only for each Industry.

4th.—Visiting every Union and branch of Union in the district for propagandist purposes.

5th.—The systematic sale of, and distribution of Syndicalist literature.

6th.—To show the urgent necessity for a Syndicalist paper, and securing pledges for support of same.

7th.—As a definite and practical step towards industrial and social betterment, to urge on the campaign for a general *reduction of working hours*.

8th.—To always battle on behalf of the unemployed, and to prove that the one natural and entirely effective remedy for unemployment, is to be found in the systematic *regulation of working hours*, so that as rapidly as labour-saving devices are applied, working hours shall be reduced, and no unemployed be allowed. *Industrial Solidarity will make this an easy matter.*

9th.—Finally—and vitally essential it is—to show that economic emancipation of the working class, can only be secured by the working class

asserting its power in workshops, factories, warehouses, mills and mines, on ships and boats and engines, and wherever work is performed, ever extending their control over the tools of production, until, by the power of the internationally organised Proletariat, capitalist production shall entirely cease, and the Industrial Socialist Republic will be ushered in, and thus the Social Revolution realised.

### **Wanted, Speakers.**

Now to detail. What is most urgently needed is, an adequate supply of enthusiastic advocates to visit all Societies, and Branches of Societies and Unions, to advocate the principles; already there are many thousands who heartily endorse Syndicalism, but we need thousands of speakers; and whenever a Syndicalist League is formed, their first night's work should include a decision to visit all Branches, or at least to write them, offering to send speakers. This, however, means that there must be speakers available. There may be twenty invitations in one week; maybe half of them wanting speakers the same evening, and the supply of these must be equal to the requirements.

In the middle of this pamphlet will be found a list of advocates, but hundreds more are needed. We shall therefore be glad if comrades will send along their names and addresses,

and we shall print them in our subsequent issues.

Meanwhile, let me remind the advocate that, pending the advent of the Social Revolution, we are out for the speediest remedy for social distress, and this is found beyond any question, in the effective

### **Reduction of Working Hours.**

We must guard against committing ourselves or others to an Eight-Hour Work-day, or to any other fixed number. The hours must ever be regulated to suit the necessary demand for the products of labour, and if these can be effectively produced in six or five hours, or less per day, then that will decide the hours to be worked.

But, *for a start*, it is sufficient to demand an Eight-Hour Day for workers generally, and a Six-Hour Day for Miners and Chemical Workers, whose occupations are specially arduous and dangerous. It is estimated that an Eight-Hour Day applied to all grades of railway workers in the United Kingdom, would at once cause a demand for 60,000 more men. In transport work generally, it is the same, but particularly with carmen, whose working hours vary from 60 to 100 hours a week. In the case of Shop Assistants, the eight hours would be an enormous boon, more especially to the tens of thousands of females.

Syndicalists need have no worry as to whether the Capitalist Class can afford to grant it, the one all-important point is, that the working-class cannot afford any longer to do other than take it, and getting reduced hours is the one sure way to make it immediately possible to get higher wages.

It is a very common thing to say it is impossible to deal with the unemployed question effectively; yet, nothing is surer than that we can most certainly so adjust working hours, as soon as the workers once agree that they want it done. And this will have to be done in such way that fluctuations as must needs exist in any system, and caused by seasons, fashions, advancing methods of production, etc., shall all be coped with, and the hours regulated within the maximum and minimum of demand.

This would mean that if in normal times demand can be adequately met with a 36 hours a week production, and, for some reason, there is a fall in demand of say, 5 per cent., then, instead of a corresponding number of workers being dismissed, the working hours will be reduced to the corresponding extent; and if there is an increased demand, the hours would be systematically added to, to meet requirements.

### **No More Intermediaries**

Every Syndicalist must continue to battle on behalf of the unemployed

until unemployment is cured. We have approached Parliament times enough over this during the last twenty years. Now, we are out to demonstrate our ability to deal with it effectively on the industrial plane, without the intermediary of either Parliament or parliamentarians.

Again, then, I say to the Syndicalist Leagues—the work is perfectly plain.

1st.—Visit the Unions and get them converted.

2nd.—Circulate literature everywhere to teach the principles.

3rd.—Agitate unceasingly for a reduction of working hours, and point out the far-reaching effects of this means.

4th.—Always champion the cause of the unemployed and show *how unemployment can be cured* by regulating working hours.

All this work can be tackled by any earnest-minded man or woman, well versed in the Syndicalist faith. And once Industrial Solidarity of the working class is an accomplished fact, greater things than these will follow.

TOM MANN.

# Osborne Judgment Outcome.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED  
TO THE WALTHAMSTOW  
TRADES' COUNCIL,

By **A. G. TUFTON.**

Mr. Chairman and Brothers,—

With further reference to the Manchester Conference on Industrial Syndicalism, and of which I have already given you a report, you ask me for a short address, giving you my views on the matter and the lessons I learnt from the Conference.

I do so with pleasure, especially as Walthamstow is the birth-place of the Osborne Judgment—that judgment which gave rise to such a terrible fuss, but which leaves us trade unionists, more than ever before, face to face with the problem of how best to organise for our ultimate emancipation.

A Liberal Party is in power, and political reforms are being scattered far and wide, yet we find that if we are to hold the industrial bargains we have made in the past, we have to resort to a more perfect organisation, and small as those bargains may be, we cannot afford to lose them, for in

spite of promises from Parliament and politicians, we find wages steadily decreasing and wealth rapidly accumulating.

With the arrogance of wealth all around us, the old-fashioned methods of Trade Union organisation have



A. G. TUFTON,  
Secretary Walthamstow Trades Council  
Delegate to Manchester Conference,  
November 27th, 1910.

become hopeless. The present unions, as was so strongly pointed out at the Manchester Conference, stand for the brotherhood of Capital and Labour, a delusion which is, however,

# List of Persons willing to speak as advocates of Industrial Syndicalism in their respective districts.

Those wishing to have their names added to this list, kindly communicate with GUY BOWMAN 4, Maude Terrace, Walthamstow, London, E.

DISTRICT.	NAME.	TRADE UNION.	ADDRESS.
GLASGOW ... ..	NIEL MACLEAN ... ..	Lecturer ... ..	14, Fairlie Park-drive, Partick
do. ... ..	MALCOLM MacCOLL ... ..	Shop Assistants ... ..	34, Cowcaddens-street
do. ... ..	H. COLQUHOUN ... ..	Engineers ... ..	17, Cromwell-street, St. George's Cross
NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE ... ..	NED SCOTT ... ..	Railway Servants ... ..	3, Fenwick-terrace, Gateshead
do. ... ..	JOHN PARKS ... ..	Miners ... ..	11, Tulip-street, Prudhoe-on-Tyne
do. ... ..	WILLIAM KEY ... ..	Government Contractor ... ..	Walworth-street, Sunderland
HUDDERSFIELD ... ..	E. J. B. ALLEN ... ..	Caseworkers ... ..	New-street, Honley
WAKEFIELD ... ..	T. POOLE ... ..	Miners ... ..	"Rainthorpe," Cragglestone
do. ... ..	W. CARPENTER ... ..	Railway Servants ... ..	Lineside Cottage, East Ardsley
MACCLESFIELD ... ..	LEONARD B. COX ... ..	do. do. ... ..	52, West Bond-street
SHEFFIELD ... ..	T. J. RING ... ..	Cabinet Makers ... ..	138, Scotland-street
do. ... ..	W. FIELDING ... ..	Railway Servants ... ..	17, Pearson-place, Meersbrook
CHESTERFIELD ... ..	C. WATKINS ... ..	do. do. ... ..	Fir Vale, Hepthorne-lane
MANCHESTER ... ..	HARRY GREEN ... ..	Engineers ... ..	122, Heald-pl., Rusholme
do. ... ..	T. W. PUNLOTT ... ..	Railway Servants ... ..	43, Songsheet-lane, Stockport
do. ... ..	A. A. PURCELL ... ..	Leaving Trades ... ..	21, Elleray-road, Pendleton
do. ... ..	SAM BRIERLEY ... ..	Wholesale Newsagent ... ..	238, Hyde-road, Ardwick
LIVERPOOL ... ..	FRANK PEARCE ... ..	Ships' Stewards ... ..	6, Spekeland-buildings, 22, Canning-place
do. ... ..	PETER LARKIN ... ..	Wreckers ... ..	36, Gadsby-street
do. ... ..	F. BOWERS ... ..	Stonemasons ... ..	11, Ebvey-street
do. ... ..	S. H. MUSTON ... ..	Lecturer ... ..	266, Smithdown-lane
BRISTOL ... ..	HERBERT E. EADY ... ..	Clerks ... ..	1, Sunnysdale, Clifton
NEWPORT (Mon.) ... ..	GEORGE JACKSON ... ..	Sailors and Firemen ... ..	31, Ruperra-street
do. ... ..	ALFRED COX ... ..	Dockers' Union ... ..	49, Raglan-street
do. ... ..	GEORGE COX ... ..	Do. do. ... ..	20, Lewis-street
S. WALES	NOAH ABLETT ... ..	South Wales Miners' Fed. ... ..	97, Griffith-street
PORTH ... ..	WILLIAM THOMPSON ... ..	do. do. ... ..	42, North-road
do. ... ..	W. F. HAY ... ..	do. do. ... ..	27, Upton-terrace
YNYSHIR ... ..	GEORGE DOLLING ... ..	do. do. ... ..	11, Upper Gynor-street
CWMPARC ... ..	TOM EVANS ... ..	do. do. ... ..	157, Parc-road
CLYDACH VALE ... ..	W. H. MAINWARING ... ..	do. do. ... ..	3, Llwynycelyn-terrace
PONTYPRIDD ... ..	JAMES RIGG ... ..	Brassfounders ... ..	20, Brookes-terrace, Tower-street
PORT TALBOT ... ..	Cr. JONAH CHARLES ... ..	Dockers' Union ... ..	20, Station-road
LONDON ... ..	GUY BOWMAN ... ..	Journalists ... ..	4, Maude-terrace, Walthamstow, E.
do. ... ..	A. G. TUFTON ... ..	Carpenters and Joiners ... ..	68, Springfield-road, Walthamstow, E.
do. ... ..	J. LLOYD ... ..	Clerks ... ..	48, Barrington-road, Brixton, S.W.
do. ... ..	ERNEST GLAVE ... ..	do. ... ..	29, Hazeldene-road, Goodmayes, Ilford
do. ... ..	E. JAMES ... ..	Postmen ... ..	43, West-square, Kennington, S.E.
do. ... ..	T. F. HIBBARD ... ..	Shop Assistants ... ..	6, Cholmondeley-avenue, Harlesden, N.
do. ... ..	E. POPE ... ..	Clerks ... ..	64, New-road, Grays
do. ... ..	G. H. LOVELL ... ..	Printing Trades ... ..	10, Claude-road, Leyton, E.
do. ... ..	TOM RENNOLLS ... ..	do. ... ..	44, Carroun-road, Lambeth, S.E.
SOUTHAMPTON ... ..	THOMAS GARNETT ... ..	Moulders ... ..	39 College-street

gradually being killed by the growth of the Employers' Federations.

But the keynote of the Conference was, that in future the Unions must exist for preparing to take over, own, and control the whole of industry. That, and that alone, must the Trade Union live for in the future. In short, the Trades Unions must organise in order to provide the necessary machinery for the conduct of industry in the future State. This is what is meant by Syndicalism.

### **Then, and Now.**

In tracing the history of Trades' Unions, we see their growth from the trade club, to the great amalgamated unions of to-day, and by the side of that development, we see the growth of the tools, from the simple tool of the handicraftsman, to the complex tools of modern industry. The small workshop with its few workmen and one master has evolved into a huge factory and yard with thousands of workmen of all trades, no longer known as "men," but only employed as "hands" by the Joint Stock Companies owning those factories.

The sub-division of trades has taken place to such an extent, that to-day the mechanic hardly knows where the line is which divides him from the labourer.

Under the growth of industry, the laws of competition have worked very effectively, for on the average, the

worker seldom gets a wage above what is needed for actual subsistence. But the modern worker, once he has got an understanding of the wages system which is based upon open competition, will see the absolute need for solidarity and will join the industrial organisation. For under this system of competition, wages always have a tendency to fall, and as it is a fact that the price of food is rising in all parts of the world, the wages of the workers have really fallen although in some cases no actual reduction has taken place.

Now, the production of wealth is continually rising, and in this country the income tax-payer pays year after year upon a larger and larger income, but the workman gets less, or the share he gets remains stationary.

### **Wages System to Go.**

Our attention, therefore, must be turned towards that wages system, and large and difficult as the problem may seem to be, we have got to tackle it, for the brutal competition for wages must be abolished, and this is what is to form the basis for the continued existence of the Trade Unions in the future.

In fact, no man in his right senses would argue to-day that the workers do not produce more than they subsist upon, therefore, it follows that as all wealth is produced by the application of labour to raw material and natural

resources, the worker produces *all* wealth; but he is robbed in the process of production, and not by the landlord or the tax office. The worker has but one problem before him, and that is, how to control production in the interest of himself and the community.

And in the same way as he thinks it is his right to vote for the election of Parliament or a Municipal Council, so must he acquire the right to elect the organisers of industry, viz., managers, foremen, and all others necessary for the successful conduct of wealth production.

### **Keep the Worker Fit.**

But the Trade Unions, as at present organised, and owing to the number of them scattered about, form a very weak force indeed. The reasons for their being so many are various, but the main reason for their existence is mutual aid or their benefit system: sick pay, out of work pay, and so forth.

But when pointing out the weak points of craft unionism, it is no good deploring these benefit systems, on the contrary, whilst trying to find out means by which to make our unions more effective as such, we must, as long as the present industrial system with its unemployment and other brutalities exist, foster mutual aid to the widest possible extent, and we must do so both to strengthen the

worker's power of resistance in time of need, and to get him most efficient for the industrial system of the future.

### **Proposed Form of Organisation.**

An ideal form of organisation would be to get all the workers employed in any one industry to join into one union of that particular industry, be they carpenters or blacksmiths, boiler-makers or upholsterers, engineers or labourers, skilled or unskilled, cigar makers or shop assistants, railway porters or booking clerks. So that should any section of workers, whichever their trade, be threatened, the whole of that industry could be brought to an immediate standstill. And the benefit system should be made purely local and optional.

But when considering the ideal, we have also to consider the difficulties that would confront us, were we to set out to bring about such organisations. First of all, there is the slow-moving disposition of the British worker and his hesitation to adopt anything new. And there is also the fear of losing any of the benefits which I mentioned a few minutes ago. But above all, there would be the resistance of certain trade union leaders whose conservative interests go before anything else, and their influence would have to be reckoned with.

Syndicalism, therefore, is not aiming at the formation of brand new

organisations; for the time being, it merely suggests re-organisation or amalgamation of existing unions, and for the present, it would content itself to bring about federations of existing unions as far as possible in any one industry; these federations would become the only authority and deciding factors in all disputes and tactical moves, leaving mutual aid and other benefits entirely to the affiliated unions themselves.

This is, I take it, what is meant by Syndicalism, and though much more in sympathy with the method I described as an "ideal" one, I think we ought to give it our hearty support, for I am convinced that it will soon lead us to the real kind of organisation which otherwise we might be waiting for, half a century or so.

### Agreements.

The recent strike of the Boiler-makers, that of the Miners in South Wales, and many others, have been lost through the lack of organisation on the lines I have just described. Sections of industry, or craft unions had made with Masters' Associations, agreements which fell in at different periods of the year, when the main body of those employed in that industry had trouble with the employers, the agreements had the effect of keeping at work the very men who, by striking also, would have brought

those industries to a standstill and made the men victorious.

Now, if any more agreements are ever entered upon, they should in any case be in the hands of the Federal Executive, and they should all terminate on the same day. Hence the need for organisation by industry instead of craft.

### Apprenticeship.

The apprenticing system is another problem for the trade unionist which Syndicalism proposes to tackle, and I think it highly necessary, for everybody knows that this system has now become but a pretext for child exploitation. To-day, what was called "skill," is performed by machinery, and eighty per cent. of the men who, years ago, were classed as skilled, are now classed as unskilled; moreover, employers simply put their apprentices to do labouring or on "jobs that pay," so that these have not even a chance to practice upon that which they are likely to spoil during their apprenticeship, and the employer also knows that if he allows men to teach the boy, the men are wasting time.

But certain employers of labour deplore the decadence of the apprenticing system; unfortunately for them, it has died a violent death, killed by the perfection of machinery and the speeding up of industry.

## **Industry to be Made Attractive and Pleasant.**

As we all know, modern industry, based as it is upon profit, means often bullying foremen and bosses, and consequent hatred of it by the workers who are looked upon as mere parts of the producing machines, and not being able to express themselves in writing or otherwise, they often give vent to sheer feelings in senseless strikes, bad work, and general skulking.

I for one believe that we have yet to see good work, and that will be when work is made pleasant and attractive, well organised by capable men, who will have been elected by their mates. They will do with pleasure all they will be asked to do; what is irksome to-day, will become a pleasure under the new system, and the mechanic will become an artist, living for the sake of beautifying the industry he is connected with.

I understand Syndicalism is to use some of its efforts at making the worker take a vital interest in the industry he is connected with, thereby preparing him for the democratic conduct of the industrial community of the future.

## **State Socialism**

There are nowadays two distinct schools of thought in the working-class movement, Political Socialism, and what may be called best by the

new term, Syndicalism. Political Socialism works by legal means from above; Syndicalism works from underneath, irrespective of legality.

The Political Socialist sees in everything the need for the State or the Municipality to do something, thereby forgetting the class nature of that State and his own teaching that anything to be done, must be done by the workers themselves, and that no law will be enforced effectively in the workers' interest, until the workers can enforce it themselves.

The politician of to-day attaches so much importance to "getting elected" that his chief concern has become that of getting votes, thereby neglecting what used to be his main endeavour, the education of the worker himself. And when he gets into Parliament, he simply gets swamped by his new environment. Even if his presence there *did* influence the passing of laws beneficial to the worker, of what good are they to the latter, if he does not want them because he does not understand their value? We have examples of this in the inspection of mines, guarding of machinery, sanitary conditions of factories, housing of the workers, etc., etc., many of which are not enforced because the workers do not care about them.

So far, therefore, as good coming from parliamentary Socialism to the organised worker, is concerned, it is very difficult for him to see it, for in any case, the process is too slow, and

as a rule the worker only sees what is in his hand.

What does this mean? Simply that if any new laws are wanted, the necessary propaganda must be carried on in order to prepare the minds of the people for them.

The purpose of Syndicalism is to educate the organised worker to the extent that he will *see* and *feel* the necessity for the fullest share of economic freedom. Hence the complete division between the industrially organised worker and the State Socialist.

After all, I do not think the workers have much to gain by the State Socialist coming into power, for the organisation of industry by the State means to the organised worker, the further power of the political machine, the political power extended to the industrial. This, in my opinion, the workers would have to fight even more than they do present governments. In fact, the only endeavours of the workers towards the State of to-day, is to make it a model employer. But to help building up an all-powerful bureaucracy with its own laws, and its own army and police to support it, would be, on the part of the workers, the greatest of mistakes.

### **Politics a Private Affair.**

I do not mean to suggest that the trade unionists should adopt the

policy of taking no part in political life at all, but I very much doubt the wisdom for Trade Unions, in their corporate capacity, to continue to support any of the political parties. Politics, like religion, vegetarianism, malthusianism or teetotalism, is a matter for individuals themselves, and it is of no concern to the worker whether another worker is religious, a vegetarian, a malthusian, or a teetotaler. All that is necessary for the workers is to understand the solidarity of their class.

### **The Osborne Judgment.**

This leads me to the Osborne Judgment.

I must admit that it is hard for honest trade unionists who, for years have worked so valiantly for political action, to see themselves thrown back in that fashion, only is this not a conclusive proof that the capitalists will never allow us to gain parliamentary supremacy?

Thus, what we have got to do is to use our efforts in the direction of Industrial Organisation, there lies the solution. And it is clear to me that through such organisation alone, will we see direct and immediate results, for the political machine, although it makes such a noise when it does anything, always lags behind industrial development.

## Conclusion.

I conclude by emphasising the need for strong organisation by industry as a further improvement on working class organisation, in order to meet the changed conditions of industry, and the growth of employers' associations. So that whilst rising to the understanding that they must finally become the masters of the whole of industry, the workers must here and now endeavour to get a larger share of the wealth they produce, always bearing in mind that "might is right" and that this will be the determining factor yet for a long time to come.

But how are we to proceed to get the unions to move in that direction? The leaders are hopeless, it is the rank and file, therefore, that will have to force the pace and whom we have to educate. I suggest that the Trades Councils are marked out to undertake the task, and as Walthamstow is the birthplace of that Osborne judgment which has partly led us in search of a new policy, it is fitting that the Walthamstow Trades' Council should convene a London Conference on the subject, and hoping to hear someone moving a resolution to that effect, I think it will be to the everlasting credit of this Council to have taken the initiative of leading London, generally so sleepy and so apathetic, into a new, live, and revolutionary movement towards emancipation.

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# The Industrial Monthly Syndicalist

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A

## TWOFOLD WARNING

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### Who is to Control Industry?

Upon the answer to this depends the well-being or ill-being of the people in real life.

Is industry in the future to be controlled by an organised capitalist class running it in its own interest as at present? If so, we know the result:—Continued demoralisation of the workers and enrichment of the owners.

"No," say the progressive politicians, "Parliament will run the industries in the common interest of all alike."

The Industrial Syndicalist declares that to run industry through Parliament, i.e., by State machinery, will be even more mischievous to the working-class than the existing method, for

it will assuredly mean that the capitalist class will, through Government departments, exercise over the natural forces, and over the workers, a domination even more rigid than is the case to day. And the Syndicalist also declares that in the near future, the industrially organised workers will themselves undertake the entire responsibility of running the industries in the interest of all who work, and are entitled to enjoy the results of Labour.

### **Quiescent, but Groping.**

The workers to-day are partly conscious of the injustice they are subjected to, owing to the domination of the capitalist class, but they display overthrow this domination, and to no confidence in their own ability to work out their economic freedom.

They tacitly accept the capitalists as a superior class, a ruling class to whom they must be subject; they accept their decisions all-but unquestioningly as to how industry shall be carried on; and finding it pans out with wretched results, they turn to yet another dominator, Parliament, and beseech the parliamentarians to have mercy upon them, and for pity's sake to relieve the burden a little. Parliament is deaf, the organised capitalists are brutal, and the workers are quiescent, but groping.

If the workers owned the land, and machinery, and tools of production, we could . . . . . But I can hear

someone saying, contemptuously:—  
If all the workers were in heaven, they need not, etc. . . . .

### **Yes, Exactly.**

Well then, let me start again.

Even though the workers do not own the land and minerals, and mines and machines, and engines and gear, etc., etc.; and even though the capitalist class *does* own all these essentials:—If the workers dared to declare that the first charge upon industry should be an adequate income for every worker, and acted accordingly, poverty would immediately disappear; it is as simple as that. Despite all disadvantages, our own decision to secure a substantial livelihood for all, backed by solidarity in mine, mill, factory, shop, etc., would of itself secure the object aimed at. It is exactly this that the capitalists are doing—running the industrial machinery in their class interest—and the story told in the following pages of the inner workings of the Cotton Ring, makes it abundantly clear.

The Master Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers desire to raise the price of cotton goods; to do so, they agree to fix up an artificial shortage which, even the increased supply of gold, the standard of value, is unable to counteract, and they secure 20 per cent. above average prices to add to their profits. The owning class, the bosses, decided upon it, in their own exploit-

ing interests; and the subjugated class, the workers, quietly acquiesced. Tens of thousands of these workers, when on full time, received not more than 18s. a week, and when running, in the interest of the bosses, on short-time for a year on end, they averaged less than 15s. a week. And this was as stated, purely in the interests of the owners.

Had the textile workers in the twenty-two countries where the Master Cotton Spinners' Federation operates demanded a standard wage for everybody in the industry; had they withheld their labour till they got it; had other workers industrially organised, backed them up; they might, at this hour, be enjoying a minimum equal to adequate maintenance.

But being unable to take the view that they as workers, have the most perfect right to do this for themselves, they systematically await the pleasure of the capitalists for any improvement in their condition; these, however, and naturally enough, are seeking their own additional advantage.

### **A Twofold Warning.**

The writer of the following pages on the Cotton Ring has rendered great service by his lucid exposition of the master class methods; his warning is two-fold. It tells us what is awaiting the workers in all industries when the capitalists have per-

fectured their industrial organisation, and it is a warning to us to speedily get out of the silly sectional trade union ruts in which, as workers, we are at present.

As the writer puts it, "*Labour is without up-to-date organisation, and the labourer is apathetic and gullible.*"

If industrial solidarity had characterised the workers in the Textile Industry, and they had realised—what is an absolute fact—that there is no power on earth equal to the workers', solidly organised, and agreed as to a rational course of action, then, the same weapon that has been used by the employers in the industry, would have been used by the workers also; and the hours of labour in the textile industry, as well as in other industries, would be substantially reduced, and the minimum wage substantially raised.

Here are the facts demonstrating that the power of production in the Cotton industry exceeds demand; that the Master class resorts to international organisation to prevent "the undue extension of machinery," thus checking production to secure bigger profits.

The writer emphatically declares that "*there is not with the present capacity of production, enough work to go round.*"

This, of course, points directly to the urgent necessity for reduced working hours. No argument can over-

come the contention that if working hours were reduced adequately, every unemployed person could be included in the ranks of the workers.

Why do not the workers therefore take direct action and reduce the working hours?

### **Gulled into Parliamentary Action.**

I sincerely believe that the chief reason why the workers have not given proper attention to reducing the hours is owing to their having been encouraged to take the view that only by Parliamentary enactment can such a thing be brought about.

After all the experience we have had, I now believe this to be utterly wrong, and I believe it has had a most demoralising effect upon the workers at large, and upon their organisations as well.

I have before me a copy of the April number of the Report of the International Federation of Textile Workers' Associations. It is published at Manchester, in English, German and French. From it, one learns that the next International Congress of Textile Workers is to be held in June next, at Amsterdam.

The German contributors to the Report express regret that the resolutions to be submitted to the Amsterdam Congress are not already known, so that the same might be discussed beforehand by the members of the

various societies, and on their own account they submit:—

### **The Question of International Solidarity.**

The Germans declare that "The sharply pronounced class distinction, which to-day is a factor to be reckoned with, and which will not be overcome through any make-believe in harmony between the owners and the non-possessing, but which have to be dealt with through the medium of a bitterly-contested fight of the non-possessing, tribute-paying class against the possessing and tribute-exacting class, in favour of the proletariat.

"The methods of the proletariat of this country to fight against the oppressors do not go far enough. They cannot lead to a favourable and deciding issue in this struggle. In fact, the possessing class is conducting the fight with unheard-of solidarity; they are giving it such a wide basis and act with such sharpness, that the proletariat in hundreds of thousands will have to stand up and fight."

The French contributor reports numerous strikes in the textile industry. At the town of Halluin a dispute is now on over wages, which has already lasted eight months; the employer is described as an "arch-millionaire who behaves like a despotic Czar"; at Tourcoing a strike has been on for seven months. At St. Maurice-sur-Moselle the weavers

are on strike; also in several other districts where wages are exceptionally low. In Belgium, too, the report describes the conditions as very bad, and disputes very numerous, but in all cases, as far as can be judged, the fights are merely sectional, and therefore puerile.

The Lancashire cotton operatives have opportunities of heading a gigantic movement, if only they can properly appreciate solidarity.

Unfortunately, the "piecers," or assistant spinners, are, for the most part, tied down by the spinners, i.e., the higher paid men; so that the higher paid men are able to keep control of the lower paid ones. If International Solidarity really were a fact, a revolution could be speedily accomplished in the conditions of the workers, not only of Lancashire, but also of every one of the twenty-two countries where "Syndicalism" on the employer's side is already a fact.

A substantial reduction of working hours and a minimum wage of 30s. a week would be worth fighting for, and if the Lancashire textile operatives would only set about it in real earnest, it could be brought off.

### **In all Solemnity.**

I ask the officials of the Unions in the cotton industry why they should not use the International Federation this year to secure the dual purpose of reduced hours and a minimum wage?

As to what the reduction should be, judging by the facts given in this pamphlet, I consider a 45-hour week would be ample; i.e., five days of eight hours, and five hours on Saturday; or, as many seem to prefer, five days of nine hours, and Saturday free from the mill.

The cotton men are not the only ones with whom reduced hours of work is an urgent necessity. The men in the Transport industry need similar improvement. The carrying trades are more active than they have been for years, and dock and wharf work is affected similarly; yet the struggle at the principal docks in London, Southampton and other places, is of so revolting a character as to sicken the heart of any one witnessing it.

### **Reducing the Hours**

#### **Means Employment for All.**

The sea-going men have tasks imposed upon them on many lines that only fit with slavery. The vast majority of the 10,000 boats constituting the merchant men of this country are always inadequately manned, and fair-minded men understanding all that appertains to seamanship, declare that an average of three more men per vessel is a very moderate demand to secure proper manning. If this were done, it would mean employment for 30,000 more men.

To establish an eight-hour day, or a 48-hour week on the Railways, would necessitate 60,000 additional men.

If the gangs were properly made up in connection with work at the Docks throughout the country, and a 48-hour working week acted upon, another 90,000 men would be required here.

Some of the London carmen, of whom there are fully 40,000, regularly work 60 to 70 hours at a stretch; thousands are working an average 14-hour day. A case came to light recently of a carman in the employ of the United Cartage Company, Kennington Cross, who was on duty for five days and nights consecutively, getting a snatch of sleep only whilst his van was being loaded, but he was responsible the whole of the time. Reasonable working hours for present carmen would necessitate another 7,000 to 8,000 men in London alone.

I submit there is no other method whereby substantial economic betterment can be achieved comparable to that of reducing the working hours.

### **No Necessity for "Submerged Tenth."**

I contend that reducing the working hours provides a solution to the problem of unemployment, and it matters not what economic system obtains. Providing the workers have thoroughly organised industrially, and are able to act upon the principle of

solidarity, they will be able to secure regular incomes, and throw the burdens of fluctuations in trade off their shoulders.

There is no necessity whatever for a "submerged tenth." The only reason the submerged are ever present, is because the workers as a class have never been bold enough to insist upon all sharing in the work to be done.

The workers are beginning to see the enormous power which lies in industrial organisation, and the far-reaching effects of proper regulation of working hours.

The Right to Work requires no Bill or Act of Parliament. Let the workers in all industries follow the example of the Master Cotton Spinners, and there will be work for all.

**TOM MANN.**

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Whether you work by the piece,  
Or work by the day,  
Reducing the hours  
Increases the pay.

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The 8-Hour Day:  
Get ready for the fray in 1912.

# The Cotton Ring.

By G. MOORE-BELL.

## Capitalist Activity, and Labour Apathy.

WHILE the politicians are amusing the people with such spectacles as that of Balfour, the cousin of a Marquis, and Churchill, the cousin of a Duke, playing the fool in the House of Commons, the curtain rises slowly upon another act in the Industrial world. The play at Westminster is a farce; the act at the Manchester Chamber of Commerce is a tragedy. But for every hundred men who read of the doings of the Comedians and take them seriously, not one notes the decisions of the Ring. And yet it is in the Industrial world that the springs of the social problem are to be found. Social reform is always overdue; legislation never overtakes the miseries of the people; and profits are increasing out of all proportion to wages.

Why is this? There is only one answer, and it is because Capital in the hands of a predatory class is constantly accumulating, federating, concentrating, and centralising, while

Labour is without up-to-date organisation and the labourer is apathetic and gullible.

I am not, however, going to deal in this article with the workers' movement, and the misdirected zeal of the Labour leaders, neither am I going to appeal to their best or worst sentiments. I am going to look at the case from the Masters' side. And when I have fairly put before the workers a picture of the forces arrayed against them, I leave it to their judgment to decide whether such forces can be met by anything short of a class-conscious, organized, and self-reliant Social Democracy.

## Non-Competing Capital.

Even while I write details are coming to hand which prove that Mr. Andrew Carnegie, with his intimate knowledge of the Industrial world, only spoke the truth when he declared less than two years ago that all the great productive industries are to-day monopolies and only nominally competitive. What this means may be judged from some of the facts already gleaned as to the profits of those who own and control such monopolies in the world market. Our English Labour Party was terribly concerned last year at the proposal to increase the civil list by a few thousands, but they seem to have entirely missed how the wage-system is operating under massed capital to increase the

surplus accruing to the Capitalist Ring on the one hand and to decrease the real and relative wages of the working-class on the other.

Recent returns show, for instance, that the income of the Standard Oil Trust exceeds the combined incomes of all the Kings and Royal Families of Europe with the Presidents of the North and South American Continent thrown in. The Copper Ring formed last year has restricted the output and held up production in order to regulate the market. All this means that we are face to face with conditions, gradually coming to light, that never existed before. It is now clear that the Trust, Ring, or Federation of International Masters, is in a position to operate with *Non-Competing Capital*, and regulate the labour of our Industrial Slave Class so that production and distribution of wealth shall be uninterrupted by competition and over-production.

### **The Fraud of State Interference.**

It is also quite evident that the use that will be made of such organisations as Labour Exchanges in the hands of a Capitalist State will be to serve the interests of predatory capital. The Federated Masters have now advanced so far in the control of the world market that they need no longer tolerate disturbing elements in the Labour world. Moreover, the surplus now at their disposal as an

organised band is so great that they can well afford to provide through taxation such sums as may be necessary to keep going the state machinery to contribute to their objects.

Such is the prospect now facing the workers of all nations, and I propose in this article to deal with the evidence that has come to hand regarding the Cotton Ring.

### **Sir Charles Macara.**

And so we return to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and the meeting of the Cotton Masters with Sir C. W. Macara in the chair. Who is he? Who are they? What game are they playing? What are the stakes? Sir Charles Macara is the President of the International Committee of the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers Association. He is one of the great Liberals and Free-Traders whom the Prime Minister included in the New Year's honours by conferring upon him the title he now possesses. Last year he was plain Mr. Macara, but his great services have won for him the special recognition of his Premier, and if he goes on serving the cause of Capital he will no doubt go to the House of Lords when it is reformed, so as to be brought into line with modern Capitalist development. But whatever honour he obtains in the political world, and whatever distinction he

# List of Persons willing to speak as representatives of Industrial Syndicalism in their respective districts.

Those wishing to have their names added to this list, kindly come and see Mr. G. W. Bowman, 4, Maude Terrace, Walthamstow, London, E.

DISTRICT.	NAME.	TRADE UNION.	ADDRESS.
GLASGOW ... ..	NIEL MACLEAN	...	14, Fairlie Park-drive, Partick
do. ... ..	MALCOLM MacCOLL	...	34, Cowcaddens-street
do. ... ..	H. COLQUHOUN	...	17, Cromwell-street, St. George's Cross
NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE ...	NED SCOTT ...	...	3, Fenwick-terrace, Gateshead
do. ... ..	JOHN PARKS ...	...	11, Tulip-street, Prudhoe-on-Tyne
do. ... ..	WILLIAM KEY...	...	Walworth-street, Sunderland
HUDDERSFIELD ... ..	E. J. B. ALLEN	...	New-street, Honley
WAKEFIELD ... ..	T. POOLE...	...	"Rainthorpe," Cragglistone
do. ... ..	W. CARPENTER	...	Lineside Cottage, East Ardsley
MACCLESFIELD ... ..	LEONARD B. COX	...	52, West Bond-street
SHEFFIELD ... ..	T. J. RING ...	...	138, Scotland-street
do. ... ..	W. FIELDING ...	...	17, Pearson-place, Meersbrook
CHESTERFIELD ... ..	C. WATKINS ...	...	Fir Vale, Hephthorne-lane
MANCHESTER ... ..	HARRY GREEN	...	122, Heald-pl., Rusholme
do. ... ..	T. W. PUNLOTT	...	43, Songsheet-lane, Stockport
do. ... ..	A. A. PURCELL	...	21, Ellera-y-road, Pendleton
do. ... ..	SAM BRIERLEY	...	238, Hyde-road, Ardwick
LIVERPOOL ... ..	FRANK PEARCE	...	6, Spekeland-buildings, 22, Canning-place
do. ... ..	PETER LARKIN	...	36, Gadsby-street
do. ... ..	F. BOWERS ...	...	11, Ebvey-street
do. ... ..	S. H. MUSTON	...	266, Smithdown-lane
BRISTOL ... ..	HERBERT E. EADY	...	1, Sunnydale, Clifton
NEWPORT (Mon.)...	GEORGE JACKSON	...	31, Ruperra-street
do. ... ..	ALFRED COX ...	...	49, Raglan-street
do. ... ..	GEORGE COX ...	...	20, Lewis-street
do. ... ..	NOAH ABLETT	...	97, Griffith-street
do. ... ..	WILLIAM THOMPSON	...	42, North-road
do. ... ..	W. F. HAY ...	...	27, Upton-terrace
do. ... ..	GEORGE DOLLING	...	11, Upper Gynor-street
do. ... ..	TOM EVANS ...	...	157, Parc-road
do. ... ..	W. H. MAINWARING	...	3, Llwyn-celyn-terrace
do. ... ..	JAMES RIGG ...	...	20, Brookes-terrace, Tower-street
PORT TALBOT ... ..	Cr. JONAH CHARLES	...	20, Station-road
LONDON ... ..	GUY BOWMAN...	...	4, Maude-terrace, Walthamstow, E.
do. ... ..	A. G. TUFTON...	...	68, Springfield-road, Walthamstow, E.
do. ... ..	J. LLOYD ...	...	48, Barrington-road, Brixton, S.W.
do. ... ..	ERNEST GLAVE	...	29, Hazeldene-road, Goodmayes, Ilford
do. ... ..	E. JAMES ...	...	43, West-square, Kennington, S.E.
do. ... ..	T. F. HIBBARD...	...	6, Cholmondeley-avenue, Harlesden, N.
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SOUTHAMPTON ... ..	THOMAS GARNETT	...	39, College-street

gains in Society, will be as nothing compared with the historic role he has played and is playing in the Industrial world.

### The Cotton Ring.

I have before me a report of the Seventh Congress of this Federation, held at Brussels in June last. M. de Hemptinne presided, and declared that they now deal with nearly one hundred and twenty millions of spindles. The Federation operates in twenty-two cotton manufacturing countries, and the cotton goods of these countries form nine-tenths of the clothing of the human race. This Ring has practically captured the production of one of the great social necessities of man. All material wealth may be grouped under four headings—food, clothing, shelter and tools (or means of production). And the Cotton Federation has got control or is fast gaining control of a great part of these sources of wealth. For not only does the Ring aim, as we shall see directly, at regulating labour, but it also deals mercilessly with all Capitalists who remain outside the Federation. In proof of this listen to two quotations. M. de Hemptinne said: Unfortunately, having no coercive powers, the Federation had been unable to check the *undue expansion* of spindles and looms out of all proportion to the production of raw cotton, on the demand

~~for~~ manufactured articles, *but they kept this danger well to the front.*

### Down with Competition.

Sir Charles Macara, speaking at the Congress, declared that the experience of the last ten years had demonstrated the utter helplessness in the Cotton trade not only of the individual employer, but also of individual associations of employers, and that the only means of removing the increasing difficulties was by an International Federation of Masters.

That is Sir Charles as the leader of the strongest army in the trade had given the order "quick march," and all competitors must be ruthlessly trampled under foot. Not only individual Capitalists were doomed, but "Associations of Employers"—national and local—must give place to International Capital.

### The Law of Concentration.

But I pray you, dear reader, do not think that I, as a Socialist, am condemning this, or wishing minor Capitalists to escape extinction. Not at all. I understand the law of concentration, and know that it is by the action of this law that the way is prepared for International Socialism. In fact, I know that now the industrial and political development have paved the way for the Social Revolution, and that the one thing necessary is the

intelligent action of the working class to bring about their emancipation.

A serious menace to the trade, Sir Charles declares to be the *undue extension of machinery* after periods of large profits. This point must be clearly understood before the next point to be dealt with—the short time movement—can be considered.

### **Capturing the World Market.**

All through the reports of the Federations Meetings in England, America, and elsewhere, there constantly crops up this question of the existence of machinery beyond the needs of the trade. What does it mean? Simply this, that social forces have been developed giving man so much control over nature and the raw material that our needs can now be met without toil and misery, if only those forces and powers were socially owned, regulated and controlled in the interests of the workers of all nations, instead of being run, or not run, just as suits the interests of the Ring. And what are the interests of the Ring? The capture of the world market and its regulation for the profit of the Federated masters. Take as a sample of this the "Times" article of 3rd February last on "U. S. A. Industrial Conditions Irregular," wherein it is declared that "General restriction of production in Cotton Mills has been recommended, until the situation brightens, owing to

the unsatisfactory demand and other well known difficulties. In many quarters this development, though regretted, is not looked upon as entirely unfavourable, it being argued that avoidance of over-production of high-cost merchandise, pending reasonable assurance of a satisfactory distribution, will lead to healthier conditions when the corner is turned." Here we see the rigging of production and the rigging of the market in the interests of the masters, and never so much as a single reference to the fact that the workers have any interests whatever.

### **How They Determine Prices.**

A few days later in the "Times" of the 14th February, we read that at the annual meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, on the previous day, Mr. Stubbs, the President, said that owing to the very large increase of spindles during recent years the supply of yarn had overtaken the demand, and that this, and the continued high price of cottons, might result in short-time being worked by spinners. They (that is the Masters) had, however, the consolation of knowing that business in the Cotton Trade in this country had been better for some months past than it had been with their foreign rivals.

Mr. F. Ashworth, ex-president, sent a communication to the Chamber which throws a flood of light on the

position of both capitalists and workers in the cotton trade. He says foreign trade was restrained last year by high costs, but the permanence of these high prices and the depletion of stocks gradually restored confidence abroad and led to a growing demand for goods during the last three months of the year. Large contracts had been entered into extending to June of this year, and in some cases later. Already this revival had led to the exportation of 568 million yards of piece goods in January of this year alone (against a monthly average of 500 millions in 1910). This, Mr. Ashworth speaks of as the first fruits of the increased demands, but even so, he says, this quantity probably does not exceed the needs of the depleted markets. Then follows what is described as the significant feature of the whole affair, namely, that these goods have gone out at the highest average cost recorded for over 30 years—approximately  $3\frac{1}{4}$ d. per yard, or 20 per cent. above what may be considered the normal average. Let the reader note this—at the present time it appears that the export trade in this one branch amounts to nearly one hundred millions per annum, and yet at the meeting of the Cotton Masters on the 10th March it was decided to ballot the employers as to whether short-time running of the mills should be again resorted to! But on this point, more later on. For

the present let us follow Mr. Ashworth in his remarkable analysis of the masters' case.

### **The Whole Race at their Mercy.**

He next proceeds to answer the practical question—can the consuming world take off a full production at such a high cost? "I believe," he says, "that with the present capacity of production and given sufficient inducement, it would be quite possible to supply for export from this country 600 million yards per month of assorted cotton piece goods, or 7,200 million yards per annum." Such is the productivity of social labour! Are those whose labour is so productive to benefit by this? Not at all. Ashworth has no time to consider their case. The regulation of capitalist production to meet the requirements of capitalist markets is the particular business of this great man, and he arrives at the conclusion that our oversea markets are not yet capable of taking the 600 million yards per month.

His conclusion is therefore that the preservation of healthy relations does not admit of the machinery (either spindles or looms) being worked continuously at its full capacity throughout the current year under the prospective conditions governing the trade.

The fact is, Mr. Ashworth knows as well as I do that whatever may be the

state of trade—good, bad, or indifferent—there is not with the present capacity of production (another name for the productivity of social labour) work enough to go round. Last year 500 million yards were produced monthly for export, this year 568 million yards are being produced for export, next year 600 million yards may be produced for export. The output is increasing year by year, and prices (that is, the profits) are also increasing—they are now 20 per cent. above the normal average. What is more, the Ring of Federated Masters operating in twenty-two countries have workers, capitalists, traders, consumers—in a word, the race absolutely and unconditionally at their mercy.

### **The One Disturbing Factor.**

There is, however, one point upon which the Cotton Spinners Ring is not yet satisfied. So far as I can see, looking over the whole case, it is the one disturbing factor in the situation from their point of view. This element of dissatisfaction does not, I regret to say, come from the world of labour. It springs from the region of capital, and is bound up with the sources of supply of the raw material. But even this difficulty is not without its compensating effects; for it gives two Rings the opportunity of fighting out their fight through the stomachs of the stupid workers.

The difficulty is this. Just as Sir Charles Macara and his Federation have got control of manufacture and the distribution of the manufactured articles, so Rings have been formed in the United States of America to get control of the raw material and compel the manufacturers to pay inflated prices for the cotton crop. Naturally, Sir Charles and his friends look upon any other Ring as objectionable. We have already seen that local and national combines outside the International Federation, are looked upon by Sir Charles as a nuisance when they set up machinery without reference to the requirements of the trade, and seek to compete with the Masters who are in the Ring. And in just the same way the capitalists who use their money to secure a part of the profits of the trade by manipulating the raw material are placed under the ban of the high-priest of the Federation.

### **Why They Run the Mills On Short Time.**

So long ago as 1904 the Master Spinners broke the other Ring by a short-time movement and brought down the price of the raw material by lessening the demand.

In July, 1909, they again organised short-time running, and by this time were so well organised that they had it adopted universally.

At the meeting held at Manchester on the 15th February, 1910, it was reported that the continuance of the high price of raw cotton had diminished the demand, and that to manufacture goods to put into stock at present rates would be ruinous. It was therefore decided to continue for another three months the short time running which began in July, 1909.

This short-time meant that the operatives were compelled to work forty hours instead of fifty-five-and-a-half hours per week. What this resulted in may be seen by returns of wages. In the Board of Trade Labour Gazette for February, 1911, under the heading "Cotton Trade," we read that employment in the spinning and weaving branches showed an improvement during January, 1911, in wages, which were twenty per cent. higher than twelve months ago when organised short time was being worked. As these Board of Trade returns include 134,000 workers in these branches who are the most highly skilled, the best organised, and members of unions paying benefits, it is safe to conclude that 20 per cent. is a moderate estimate of the loss accruing to the workers in general, owing to the short-time running.

It will be remembered that when Mr. Patten, the American millionaire, visited England last year, he had an

unpleasant experience on the Cotton Exchange at Manchester. He was hunted and barely escaped personal violence by making for the police station in double-quick time and fleeing thence by the back-door to the railway station. The next day he embarked for America.

What meant this scene? What had Mr. Patten done? Who were the men who sought to do him personal violence? The story is a grand comment on what Professor Mallock calls the ability of the Middle Class.

### Aaron's Rod.

Mr. Patten had bid for the option of the American cotton crop—and had thereby increased the cost of the raw material. Speaking at Brussels last June, Sir Charles Macara said:—"To-day the greatest element of danger was the undue inflation of the price of the raw material by combinations, which had no interest in the growing, distribution, or manufacture of cotton. So far, the difficulties of removing this by legislation had proved insurmountable, but they could be removed by combination among the users of cotton"—that is, by the Master Spinners' Federation. Precisely! Sir Charles Macara's Ring is out, like Aaron's rod, to swallow up the rest of its kind. Like Aaron, Sir Charles is jealous of all competitors for the surplus created by the workers. He says:—"Down

with all individual employers, and individual associations of employers; down with all combines connected with the raw material or manufacture; we, the International Federation, are out to capture the whole trade and the profits of the whole trade; we want the surplus, the whole surplus, and nothing but the surplus, and by the help of God and the strong arms of the worker, we mean to have it."

### Where the State Comes in.

But not only does the Federation depend upon combination and short-time to break down opposition from the side of organised capital; it also uses the State to serve its ends. M. de Hemptinne, at Brussels, declared that in the important matter of increasing the supplies of raw cotton, the Federation had shown to Sovereigns and States the necessity of encouraging cultivation of cotton in the Colonies. Sir Charles Macara has also referred to the important work of developing the cultivation of cotton in our Colonies and dependencies to checkmate the operations of Patten and Co. It is also to be noted that the present Government has subsidized the scientific culture of cotton in the interests of predatory capital. What the success of these undertakings means to the Federation may be seen when it is remembered that a rise of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pence a pound in the average price of the average crop

amount £100,000,000. If the International Federation of Master Spinners and Manufacturers Association can get control of the supplies of raw material, as well as the manufacture and distribution of cotton goods, it means that they will add this sum to their annual profits.

### Workers, Dispel Your Lethargy!

We are now in a position to understand the tendency of Capitalist accumulation in practice. Here is a Federation of Masters which only held its seventh annual congress last year, and which controls manufacture in twenty-two countries; sets in motion States and Sovereigns; deals with 130,000,000 spindles in those countries; and organizes production internationally to meet the requirements of the world market.

Mr. Arno Schmidt, Secretary of the Federation, stated, according to the "Times" of the 5th October last, that the organized short-time movement had been quite universal throughout the year ended 31st August, 1910. What does this mean? That in compliance with the decrees of the Federation, short-time was run in the mills on the cotton belt of the U.S.A., in Lancashire, in Bombay, in Japan, and in all the cotton manufacturing countries of the world, so that production might not overtake

the markets and interfere with the profits of the Ring.

Not, again, that I am against the international regulation of industry: I am only against that regulation being carried out for the profit of the Ring instead of for the benefit of the producers. Not that I am against the Trust, the Ring, the Combine, the Federation. I am only against these being private instead of public concerns. Not that I am against the short-time movement: I am only against it being organised to cut wages and increase private profits. In a word, what I am against is capitalist production, and what I favour is social production under social ownership and social control. And whether we like it or whether we don't like it; whether we want it, or whether we don't want it, Socialism, and Socialism alone can save us from the horrors of the present position, and the still greater menace that threatens us when once the Ring has completed its organization and extended its ramifications. And under the present system there is no escaping this consummation. The mass of capital in the hands of the Federated Masters; the growing surplus at their command year by year; the increasing command over labour in any and every country that International Federation gives them; the influence in Senates, Legislatures, and States, that the control of such

vast wealth confers on them; the unlimited and undisputed power over the machinery of wealth production, and the ever-increasing technical development and scientific knowledge of the race—all these things render it certain that non-competing capital and industrial slavery have come to stay for generations unless the lethargy of the working class is dispelled, and a similar spirit to that of the masters takes possession of the workers.

### Internationalism Once More.

The masters are disciplined and organized. Remember what happened in the last dispute over George Howe's case. When the disagreement arose in the Fern Mill at Oldham, the owner of that mill did not adjudicate on the case, but referred it to his committee, and they in turn referred it to Sir Charles Macara, the President of the International Committee. When mills were closed in Burnley, Blackburn, and Nelson last year, to avoid over production and comply with the orders of the International Congress, the American masters in conformity with the same ruling, shut down for a whole month to reduce the output for the year by one-twelfth. At the same moment a dozen mills shut down in Bombay and Japan fell into line with the world's movement. In all lands the cotton masters are federated, and the

workers are but pawns on the board to be moved in and out of the mills just as suits their masters.

But again, I say it is useless to rail at this short-time movement, which is inevitable with the present productivity of social labour. *There is not work enough to go round under the present system and never will be again so long as it lasts.*

The only question is—Shall this power that exists in our midst and has been developed by countless generations of the human race, be used to enrich an International Ring of Masters and to degrade the longing and famished millions of our race, or shall it be owned and controlled by the people to lighten the burden of labour and ensure to all the means of social ease and social enjoyment?

The one is Capitalism, the other is Socialism.

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Whether you work by the piece,  
Or work by the day,  
Reducing the hours  
Increases the pay.

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The 8-Hour Day:  
Get ready for the fray in 1912.

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## The Railwaymen

BY

TOM MANN

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The Transport Workers' Federation is a powerful body with which the Railwaymen have as yet not identified themselves. It is to be hoped, however, that they will do so ere long.

The day when unified action with the Railwaymen and seagoing men, and other sections of those employed in the transport industry, becomes a fact, it will be an occasion for much rejoicing.

Later, the actual control of working hours on the Railways by the men themselves, through their industrial organisa-

tion, will become a fact ; and later still, this same organisation will be entrusted by the community to control the entire Railway system in the community's interest, and, of course, with due regard to their own well-being.

Syndicalists do not demand the nationalisation which means the capitalisation of the railways, but the entire control and management of them in the common interest by themselves.

But this will be understood more clearly in due time ; meanwhile, let it suffice to guard against the notion of nationalisation and to tilt thought on to the truer views of direct control by the workers for the community.

The many facts and figures, so well presented by comrade Watkins, will prove a real storehouse of information for all students of Industrialism.

**TOM MANN.**

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Or work by the day,  
Reducing the hours  
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## THE QUESTION FOR RAILWAYMEN:

# Conciliation OR Emancipation ?

BY  
**CHARLES WATKINS**

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### Opposing Tendencies of Capitalism.

**T**HERE are two opposing tendencies of capitalist development whose counteracting effects are reflected in the working-class movement. On the one hand, there is the positive tendency produced by economic developments which, by concentrating the productive forces, and generating class antagonisms, compels the workers to combine in ever-increasing numbers in defence of their class interests. On the other hand, there is the counteracting tendency produced by the capitalist system of private ownership with its resulting anarchy—which, by increasing the insecurity of employment, and intensifying competition in the labour market, has a disintegrating effect on the working-class movement.

It is the latter influence which has given the capitalists their whip-hand over the workers, and increased so greatly the difficulties of working-class organisation. Lately, however, even this influence has lost some of its potency for keeping the workers divided. Under the combined in-

fluence of economic pressure and Socialism teaching the workers are made more class conscious, and with their awakened intelligence, manifest a greater degree of solidarity than hitherto. Consequently, the capitalists finding their position threatened, seek every means at their disposal for creating artificial divisions in the workers ranks, so that their own supremacy may be maintained as long as possible.

### Railwaymen's "Conciliation Scheme."

No more effective means for their purpose could be devised, than the Conciliation and Arbitration Schemes, with their Sectional Agreements, which of late have become so numerous. And the irony of the situation for the workers, is that these schemes which put them more completely in the grip of the capitalists, have had, in the majority of cases, the warm approval of their own Trade Union leaders. These schemes not only divide the workers into innumerable sections, and, by sectional agreements, make permanent such divisions, but they also—by binding the workers for long periods—hold in abeyance the class struggle, and retard the development of the working-class movement.

For the class in possession, Conciliation and Arbitration agreements are of good service, but for a class that has yet to achieve its emancipation, they are a repudiation of the purpose of its own existence and a denial of the reason for any further development.

"The way of development being that of struggle, a reconciliation of antagonisms implies the arrest of development."—(Kautsky).

If a concrete example is wanted to prove the disintegrating and demoralising effects of "conciliation," it is provided by the

Railwaymen's Conciliation Scheme which was accepted, on the initiation of Mr. Lloyd George, as a basis of settlement for the "All-Grades' Movement" agitation of 1907. The movement was started by the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants for the purpose of uniting all sections of railwaymen, on a common programme, for the removal of some of the more glaring evils associated with railway life. For this reason, only those demands were included in the programme which affected railwaymen as a whole—demands that were purely sectional being eliminated.

The railwaymen had plenty to fight for without in any way pushing forward those grade differences which usually supply a goodly crop of grievances.

### Conditions of Railwaymen.

A hours-and-wages census, which was conducted by the A.S.R.S. about that time, showed that out of a total of 308,000 railway workers, comprised in over thirty grades, the wages were as follows:—

129,000—42 per cent.—received £1 or less a week;

104,000—34 per cent.—received £1 1s. to £1 10s.;

75,000—24 per cent.—received more than £1 10s.

The hours' percentages were:—

7.2 per cent. worked 8 hours per day;

67.0 per cent. worked 10 hours per day;

25.2 per cent. worked 12 hours per day;

and 6 per cent. worked more than 12 hours per day.

These were the conditions when the railwaymen began their 1907 agitation, and they offered splendid scope for a united and successful movement. The movement was in fact more successful in stimulating and rallying the railwaymen than any previous

movement had been. It brought 27,431 new members into the A.S.R.S., thus raising the total membership to 97,561; and the threat of a national stoppage, eventually caused Mr. Lloyd George, as President of the Board of Trade, to intervene to prevent it.

### **Board of Trade "Settlement."**

As a result of this intervention a conference between the railway companies and the men's representatives was arranged at the Board of Trade Offices, with Mr. Lloyd George and his chief officials acting as intermediaries.

This conference was held on November 6th, 1907, when Mr. Lloyd George unfolded the Scheme of Settlement which he and his officials had already drafted.

That scheme, with certain modifications, was accepted and signed by representatives of the Companies and of the railwaymen the same day. It was never submitted to the men, and the only intimation they had of it was given by the next day's papers, when they learnt that they were bound by the terms of the Board of Trade settlement for a period of seven years.

Mr. Lloyd George has the reputation for being a very ingenious and clever statesman, but even his ingenuity and cleverness must have been sorely taxed to produce a scheme such as the Conciliation and Arbitration Scheme now in operation on the British railways.

### **A Network of Sectionalism.**

The scheme, in the first place, provides for the formation of a system of Sectional Conciliation Boards for the different sections of railwaymen of the separate railway companies. For this purpose, the various grades are grouped together in sec-

tions, and, for the purpose of elections, further divided into districts. Each section so divided elects one or more representatives to form the men's side of the boards. The company also selects its representatives, and the sectional boards so formed deal with matters of hours and wages affecting the particular section.

If no agreement is reached, matters in dispute have then to be referred to the Central Conciliation Boards. These Boards are composed of representatives of the Company concerned, and of one or more representatives of the men from each Sectional Board.

If, yet again, no agreement is reached, matters in dispute have then to be referred to an Arbitrator.

The provisions for the selection of Arbitrator are such as preclude the possibility of anyone very sympathetic with Labour being appointed. Failing mutual agreement by representatives on both sides of the Boards, the appointment rests with the Speaker of the House of Commons and the Master of the Rolls.

As if this elaborate and tedious process was not sufficient to delay the consideration of the men's grievances, the scheme further lays down that before any question of hours and wages can be considered by the Boards, it must first of all have been submitted to the Companies, according to the "usual practice" in vogue before the Scheme was adopted. As the "usual practice" varied with each Company, and, in many cases, with each different department of each separate Company, the difficulties engendered by this provision can well be imagined.

### **Dispersion of the Men's Forces.**

The A.S.R.S. representatives not only gave in their adhesion to a scheme contain-

ing the aforesaid condition, but they even failed to insist on the programme which formed the subject of the 1907 agitation being referred straightway to the Boards as they were set up. Consequently, the railwaymen discovered after the famous "settlement" that they had to begin the whole agitation over again—this time, however, not as a united host, but as scattered, disunited sections. Thus, the immediate result of the "settlement" was the dispersion of the men's forces, the dissipation of all the energy generated by the National Movement, and the indefinite postponement of the consideration of the men's grievances. In all truth Lloyd George by his intervention served his class well, and was deserving of the fulsome eulogy heaped upon him by the capitalistic Press.

The delay occasioned to the consideration of the men's claims, may be seen by a reference to the dates when the Conciliation and Arbitration agreements came into operation. Only one of these agreements—the Midland Goods Guards'—was reached before the end of the year 1908; the majority came into operation during the year 1909; and a dozen or more were not reached until the year 1910—nearly three years after the Board of Trade "settlement."

### **Why Home Rails are Rising.**

If, however, the Companies were in no hurry for the setting up of the machinery for dealing with the men's claims for improved conditions, they were by no means slow to take advantage of the truce arranged for strengthening their own forces. Judging by an article contributed to the "Daily Mail" of Feb. 21st, 1911, by a Mr. W. J. Stevens, it is to the time of the "settlement" that we have to look for the

beginning of that "new policy of co-operation and economy" by the Railway Companies which has led to such excellent financial results. The article was entitled "Why Home Rails are Rising," and it gave a very glowing account of the improved prospects of British railway stock. Apparently, the settlement which resulted in the disintegration of the men's forces, has had the opposite effect of consolidating the interests of the Companies.

The Companies' position, as compared with the men's, was further strengthened by the decline in trade which continued throughout 1908 and 1909; this gave the Companies an excuse for resisting the men's demands. The men, too, were being intimidated by the dismissals that were taking place. During the year 1908, 114 Goods Guards were dismissed by the Midland Company on the pretext of falling trade. The men dismissed were not the youngest hands, but men with from eight to thirty-two years' service to their credit. The arbitrary way in which men were selected for dismissal had the effect, it was intended to have, of engendering a feeling of insecurity in every man of this grade. With the men's forces broken up, and with the "industrial reserve army" of unemployed being rapidly recruited, it is hardly to be wondered at that the men displayed little energy in pressing forward their claims on the Companies.

### **Victimisation Galore.**

Never, perhaps, have railway officials displayed a more vindictive spirit than they did about this time. Victimisations were frequent and the A.S.R.S. seemed powerless to prevent them. These, then, were some of the first fruits of "conciliation," as railwaymen experienced them, and, as may

be imagined, they were by no means reassuring. The men, however, had an opportunity of showing their resentment to the Companies' tactics when the elections for the Conciliation Boards took place.

The Companies endeavoured to get as many of their own puppets elected to the Boards as possible, with what result may be seen by a comparison of the following figures:

For all the various railways brought under the scheme, there were somewhere about 162 separate Sectional Conciliation Boards established. The seats to be filled numbered 824. Of these, the A.S.R.S. candidates secured 692; other Union candidates secured 68; and the Companies' non-Union candidates secured 64.

The votes were distributed as follows:

A.S.R.S. candidates secured	236,000;
Other Union       "       "	55,000; and
Non-Union       "       "	53,000;

Total approximate number	
of votes ...	344,000

These figures show that the A.S.R.S. influence predominates on the men's side of the Boards, and that any failure resulting from the operations of the Boards cannot be attributed to the existence of a strong non-union element.

### Failure of Conciliation.

That the Conciliation Boards have been a colossal failure as far as the railwaymen are concerned, every experienced railwayman will admit, whatever his views on conciliation may be. The actual concessions made, either in increased wages or reduced hours, are paltry in the extreme when compared with what the circumstances demanded. In the majority of cases all

demands for increased pay were swept on one side by the Boards or by the Arbitrators; in some cases, slight reductions in hours were made (the Midland Company's arbitrator—Lord Cromer—for example, reduced the hours of the twelve-hour men to eleven); but the bulk of the "concessions" simply allowed a slightly-increased rate—usually time-and-a-quarter—for overtime and Sunday duty.

Regarding the concession of increased rate for overtime and Sunday duty, it is well to remember that while it is valuable for its effects in penalising this class of work, it does not in the long run add anything to the meagre wages of railwaymen. Indeed, as far as the Midland Railway is concerned, it has already had the effect in the majority of cases of reducing the actual earning-capacity of the men.

As an illustration of the Arbitrator's reluctance to add to the wages' bill of the Companies, the case of the Midland plate-layers is a proof. These men are paid the miserably low wages of 19s. a week; yet when their claims were considered, the Arbitrator's award was—"nil."

### £52 10s. a Day for the Arbitrator

"The Conciliation and Arbitration Scheme" has been a costly business to the A.S.R.S. members in more ways than one; it has entailed a heavy tax on their accumulated funds.

When asked at the last A.G.M. conference (October, 1910) what expense the Society had so far been put to by the working of the Scheme, Mr. Williams, the General Secretary stated that up to date the Conciliation Boards and Arbitration proceedings had cost the Society £25,000!

In reply to a further question, Mr. Williams stated that the Arbitrators' share

might be estimated by counting the days the Arbitration proceedings lasted, and allowing £52 10s. per day on an average, for the Arbitrator's fee. As in some cases the proceedings lasted as long as eighteen days, the fee of the Arbitrator was a fairly substantial one. Seeing that in many cases the Arbitrators decided that men getting as low as 16s., 17s., 18s., or 19s. a week were not entitled to any more, they apparently adopted a different criterion of valuation in the two cases.

### **Railwaymen Inert because of "Sacred Contract."**

The men are now even worse off, as since the award was given, they have had their allowance for Good Friday and Christmas Day reduced from a day's to half-day's pay in each case. Indeed, as far as the Midland men are concerned, the vast majority of those coming under the Award are worse off than before, for now, none of them, with the exception of the Goods Guards, are left with the guaranteed week. Hitherto, it has always been contended that if railwaymen's wages were low, they were permanent, but now even this satisfaction has gone. The Company is now able, with considerable saving to itself, to "play" the men off during holiday periods and slack times, and deduct wages accordingly.

This loss of the guaranteed week has been a considerable hardship already to the lower-paid men, and it will be much more seriously felt when trade is more depressed.

In spite of the fact that the Companies are allowed the liberty of altering established customs in a manner whereby the workers' earnings are reduced, the men are prevented by their agreements from de-

manding more wages to compensate themselves for such losses. The present "boom" in trade is running its full course, and workers in other industries are demanding, and getting, more wages; yet railwaymen have to remain inert with their miserably low wages, because, forsooth, they have entered into a "sacred contract" with their employers not to upset their equanimity by making fresh demands for a certain number of years.

### **Railway-workers' "Progress."**

The railwaymen, along with other workers, have an exceptionally strong case for increased remuneration, for besides the increasing exactions made on them by the "speeding-up" process, their real wages are considerably less than they were ten years ago. According to a statement of Chiozza-Money's, made in the House of Commons on May 3rd, 1911, the Board of Trade returns for the chief British Railways show that in the four principal departments employing nearly half-a-million of men, the average earnings in ten years from 1899 to 1909 remained stationary, although during the same period the cost of living had risen 12 per cent. In the light of these facts, how miserably inadequate are the paltry "concessions" which have fallen to a few sections of the railway workers through the Conciliation Boards; and how devoid of sound reasons must be the defenders of the Scheme when they even claim these meagre "concessions" as a victory for "conciliation."

### **Railway Companies' Prosperity.**

If, however, the railwaymen have gained no material benefits worth speaking of, the Companies have been by no means so un-

fortunate. Even before the present trade revival, they were gaining good material benefits through more economical working. For the half-year ending June 30th, 1909, the gross receipts of the principal British Railways were £249,000 less than they were for the corresponding period the year previous; but the working expenses were less by £952,000, making the net receipts higher by £703,000.

The Chairman of the Midland, Sir E. Paget, explained the position of that Company by saying that for the half-year (ending June 30th, 1909), with receipts less by £100,000 and with £36,000 more spent on the upkeep of the line, there was still a net increase in receipts of £59,000 due to more economical working. Sir Ernest was able to resume his optimistic report the next half-year (Dec. 31st, 1909), by explaining a net increase of £93,000; and again for the half-year ending June 30th, 1910, when there was a net increase of £146,000; and yet again for the half-year ending Dec. 31st, 1910, when there was a further increase of £167,000. For these two years—1909 and 1910—the net increases for the Midland alone totalled £465,000. How great were the increases in the Midland workers' wages during this same period?

The Midland Company was no isolated case. In eighteen months—July 1st, 1909, to Dec. 31st, 1910—the net increases for the L. & N.W. totalled £536,000.

According to the "Statist," the returns of the nineteen principal railways for the half-year ending June 30th, 1910, showed that the gross earnings were more by £1,563,000, or 3.2 per cent., than for the corresponding period the year previous; yet for the 3.2 per cent. extra earnings, the train mileage was only 1.6 per cent. extra, and the wages were also but 1.6 per cent. more. Thus it is seen that while wages

remain at the same ratio with mileage, they are a greatly diminishing proportion when compared with the receipts and profits of the Companies. Which means that all the benefits accruing through improved trade and more economical working are being monopolised by the railway shareholders. And the period just dealt with—the first half-year of 1910—was a period when most of the Conciliation and Arbitration agreements were already in force. This doesn't look as if these agreements imposed any extra burden on the Companies.

The Railway Returns just published for the complete year 1910, show:—Increase in gross receipts, £3,752,000; increase in net receipts, £2,220,000.

### Consolidation of Railway Companies.

The increased profits which it has been shown are accruing to the railway shareholders are the result of the more economical working of the railways, made possible by the closer union of the Companies. It is a striking commentary on Lloyd George's scheme of settlement, that while it has intensified and perpetuated sectionalism among the railway workers, it has led to the consolidation of the Railway Companies in a few powerful groups. The meeting of the Railway magnates in the Board of Trade Offices, on November 6th, 1907, for the common purpose of resisting the men's demands, seems to have suggested the desirability of a more permanent and solid union. Anyway, we have the statement of the writer in the "Daily Mail," who has already been quoted, that the "new policy of co-operation and economy was inaugurated about three years ago." This was written in February of this year. Since this "new policy" was inaugurated, all the large Companies have

# List of Persons willing to speak at meetings of Industrial Syndicalism in their respective districts.

Those wishing to have their names added to this list, kindly communicate with GUY BOWMAN, 4, Maude Terrace, Walthamstow, London, E.

DISTRICT.	NAME.	TRADE UNION.	ADDRESS.
GLASGOW ... ..	NIEL MACLEAN...	Printer ... ..	14, Fairlie Park-drive, Partick
do. ... ..	MALCOLM MacCOLL	Assistants ... ..	34, Cowcaddens-street
do. ... ..	H. COLQUHOUN...	Engineers ... ..	17, Cromwell-street, St. George's Cross
NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE	NED SCOTT ... ..	Way Servants ... ..	3, Fenwick-terrace, Gateshead
do. ... ..	JOHN PARKS ... ..	... ..	11, Tulip-street, Prudhoe-on-Tyne
do. ... ..	WILLIAM KEY ... ..	Government Contractor	Walworth-street, Sunderland
HUDDERSFIELD ... ..	E. J. B. ALLEN ... ..	Workers ... ..	New-street, Hounley
WAKEFIELD... ..	T. POOLE ... ..	... ..	"Rainthorpe," Cragglestone
do. ... ..	W. CARPENTER...	Way Servants ... ..	Lineside Cottage, East Ardsley
MACCLESFIELD ... ..	LEONARD B. COX	do. do. ... ..	52, West Bond-street
SHEFFIELD ... ..	T. J. RING ... ..	Sheet Makers ... ..	138, Scotland-street
do. ... ..	W. FIELDING ... ..	Way Servants ... ..	17, Pearson-place, Meersbrook
CHESTERFIELD ... ..	C. WATKINS ... ..	do. do. ... ..	Fir Vale, Hephthorne-lane
MANCHESTER ... ..	HARRY GREEN ... ..	Engineers ... ..	122, Heald-pl., Rusholme
do. ... ..	T. W. PUNLOTT...	Way Servants ... ..	43, Songsheet-lane, Stockport
do. ... ..	A. A. PURCELL...	Finishing Trades ... ..	21, Elleray-road, Pendleton
do. ... ..	SAM BRIERLEY...	Wholesale Newsagent	238, Hyde-road, Ardwick
LIVERPOOL ... ..	FRANK PEARCE	Ships' Stewards ... ..	6, Spekeland-buildings, 22, Canning-place
do. ... ..	PETER LARKIN ... ..	Dockers ... ..	36, Gadsby-street
do. ... ..	F. BOWERS ... ..	Stonemasons ... ..	11, Ebvey-street
do. ... ..	S. H. MUSTON ... ..	Teacher ... ..	266, Smithdown-lane
BRISTOL ... ..	HERBERT E. EADY	Clerks ... ..	1, Sunnysdale, Clifton
NEWPORT (Mon.) ... ..	GEORGE JACKSON	Sailors and Firemen...	31, Ruperra-street
do. ... ..	ALFRED COX ... ..	Dockers' Union ... ..	49, Raglan-street
do. ... ..	GEORGE COX ... ..	Do. do. ... ..	20, Lewis-street
S. WALES	MARDY ... ..	South Wales Miners' Fed.	97, Griffith-street
	PORTH ... ..	do. do. ... ..	42, North-road
	do. ... ..	do. do. ... ..	27, Upton-terrace
	YNYSHIR... ..	do. do. ... ..	11, Upper Gynor-street
	CWMPARC ... ..	do. do. ... ..	157, Parc-road
	CLYDACH VALE	do. do. ... ..	3, Llwynycelyn-terrace
	PONTYPRIDD ... ..	Brassfounders ... ..	20, Brookes-terrace, Tower-street
PORT TALBOT ... ..	Cr. JONAH CHARLES	Dockers' Union ... ..	20, Station-road
LONDON ... ..	GUY BOWMAN ... ..	Journalists ... ..	4, Maude-terrace, Walthamstow, E.
do. ... ..	A. G. TUFTON ... ..	Carpenters and Joiners	68, Springfield-road, Walthamstow, E.
do. ... ..	J. LLOYD ... ..	Clerks ... ..	48, Barrington-road, Brixton, S.W.
do. ... ..	ERNEST GLAVE ... ..	do. ... ..	29, Hazeldene-road, Goodmayes, Ilford
do. ... ..	E. JAMES ... ..	Postmen ... ..	43, West-square, Kennington, S.E.
do. ... ..	T. F. HIBBARD ... ..	Shop Assistants ... ..	6, Cholmondeley-avenue, Harlesden, N.
do. ... ..	E. JOPE ... ..	Clerks ... ..	64, New-road, Grays
do. ... ..	G. H. LOVELL ... ..	Printing Trades ... ..	10, Claude-road, Leyton, E.
do. ... ..	TOM RENNOLLS	do. ... ..	44, Carroun-road, Lambeth, S.E.
SOUTHAMPTON ... ..	THOMAS GARNETT	Moulders ... ..	39, College-street

formed themselves into a few powerful groups, and it is only a question of time when these groups will in their turn be absorbed in one powerful trust. When that day arrives, the position of a large body of railway workers will be far more insecure even than at present.

### **The Coming of the Trust.**

Already, according to the statement made by Mr. J. H. Thomas in the House of Commons the other day, railway workers number 10,000 less than they did ten years ago. This reduction is still going on, but its full magnitude will not be realised until all the railways are in one huge trust. With a centralised management and organisation, it will be possible to abolish all duplicate lines, stations, offices, warehouses, etc.—including all their superfluous staffs of employees. Moreover, with railways under one huge monopoly, it will be quite easy for the centralised management to standardize its rolling-stock, and thus get rid of the hundreds of thousands of superfluous wagons owned by private companies, which, at present, are responsible for most of the block and needless delays existing on our railways. It was stated some few years ago, by a writer on Railway Nationalisation, that there were then about 700,000 private companies' wagons on the various railways; since that time, this number must have been considerably augmented. The getting rid of these, and the adoption of a standard wagon for all ordinary purposes (which quite frequently could be loaded both for inward and outward journeys) would greatly expedite the working of traffic, and make it possible to run all trains with clock-like regularity. Incidentally, this would dispense with thousands of shunters, guards, enginemen,

wagon-repairers, etc. These are some of the inevitable effects of that new policy of "co-operation and economy," set in operation by the Companies, which, sooner or later, will manifest themselves. It is folly for the railwaymen to ignore present tendencies and their ultimate consequences, or to imagine that a policy of "conciliation" will do anything for them save render them more helpless victims than they otherwise would be of forces beyond their control.

Never was a bold revolutionary policy so called for as it is at the present time.

### **Sectionalism of Railway Workers.**

While the Railway Companies are thus combining their forces, and consolidating their interests, railwaymen have allowed their forces to be split up into innumerable sections. The scheme of Mr. Lloyd George was apparently specially designed for this purpose. It has resulted in at least 162 Sectional Boards being established as a means of negotiation with the Companies. Each small section of railwaymen has now to concern itself with its own little sectional grievances. This not only divides and weakens the men's forces, but it also keeps their minds fixed on issues of minor importance; the larger and more vital issues are now relegated to the background. Never again, as long as the present scheme is in operation, will it be possible for the railwaymen to conduct a national agitation similar to the "All-Grades Movement" of 1907. Lloyd George's "settlement" at least "settled" that to the satisfaction of the Companies. It would be highly illuminating to have a complete record of all the industrial agreements which bind the different branches of industrial workers to periods of varying length, and to know just when each one

terminates. The record of the Railway-men's agreements is alone sufficiently startling to those who realise its sinister significance.

At the end of 1910 there were at least 57 separate agreements in force between the different Railway Companies and various sections of their men, and these terminate on as many as 28 separate dates—extending from December, 1910, to April, 1915. Of these agreements:—

- 2 terminated on 1 date in 1910;
- 1 terminates on 1 date in 1911;
- 9 terminate on 6 dates in 1912;
- 29 terminate on 8 dates in 1913;
- 13 terminate on 9 dates in 1914, and
- 3 terminate on 3 dates in 1915.

(39 Railway Companies.)

### **Conciliation to be Swept Away.**

An analysis of these agreements only emphasises their disintegrating effects. The North Stafford, for instance, had five agreements with different sections of their men. The first terminated in December, 1910; three terminate on different dates in 1913; and one terminates in 1914. The L.& S.W. have three which terminate in May, 1912, in July, 1913, and in January, 1914. Three other companies have each three separate agreements with sections of their men, and about half-a-dozen more have two agreements each. As each agreement expires it will be renewed to some new date, so that the present sectional arrangements are likely to be perpetuated indefinitely, and may possibly become worse. The men are beginning to realise the mistake of allowing their forces to be split up in this manner, and are expressing their dissatisfaction of existing methods. In response to this dissatisfaction, the officials of the Union are advising that amendments to the

present scheme should be secured before it is renewed at the end of 1914. But no amendments will meet the needs of the situation; the whole scheme of conciliation is inherently bad and should be swept completely away.

The policy of "conciliation" is altogether a mistake at this time of day, with capitalism approaching its climax. Never in the history of the working-class movement was it so necessary for it to keep itself free from capitalistic entanglements, so that it may determine for itself how and when it shall fight its battles. With the accelerated speed of economic developments by which the workers' conditions are being so completely transformed, and with the increasing intensity of class antagonisms—necessitating on the workers' part common action against the whole of the forces of capitalism—the methods of conciliation and agreements are a fundamental source of weakness.

### **Who Benefits by Conciliation?**

As an illustration of how conciliatory methods fail, we have the reports issued by the Labour Department of the Board of Trade on the Changes in Rates of Wages and Hours of Labour; these reveal net decreases of £76,600 in weekly wages in 1901, £72,600 per week in 1902, £38,800 per week in 1903, and £39,200 per week in 1904. These reductions coincided with a rise in the cost of living, so that they represent considerably more than is shown by these figures. In a preface to the report giving these reductions, Mr. Wilson Fox, of the Labour Department, states that "The great bulk of the changes were arranged by conciliation, arbitration, wages boards, sliding scales, and other conciliatory agencies without any interruption of work."

Truly an excellent arrangement—for the employers.

These material losses occasioned by conciliation are by no means the worst part of it; the moral effects are far more serious. Under the capitalist system of exploitation, where the forces of production are run in the interests of a small class, every development for the benefit of that class means at the same time a retrogression and depression in the conditions of the class exploited.

That at least is the general tendency. But this tendency may to some extent be counteracted, and neutralised, if the class oppressed offers organised resistance to the forces which tend to degrade it. This is what the workers have done through their Trade Unions, and that is the strongest justification of Trade Unionism that can be advanced. If, however, the workers are now to give up the struggle, and through conciliatory and compromising arrangements with their exploiters, remain passively inert while capitalism continues its undisputed and despotic sway—then will the working-class forces become weakened, and be rendered incapable of accomplishing their work of emancipation.

### **Is State Ownership a Remedy?**

Finding its attempts to improve the lot of the railway-workers meeting with such poor success, and realising its helplessness in face of the growing consolidation of the Companies, the A.S.R.S. is now endeavouring to work up a movement for the State ownership of Railways. The railway-men, however, do not seem inclined to grow wildly enthusiastic over the proposal. It is perhaps as well they do not, as it will save them from going through a process of disillusionment later on.

With their recent experience in mind, railwaymen have little reason for placing any great degree of confidence in the State as an employer. As the conflict 'twixt capital and labour becomes keener, the workers are having impressed on them the real character and functions of the existing State.

The State, which now sends British soldiers and police to protect blacklegs (Chinese and others), and to bludgeon British workers who are fighting for their bare rights to existence, can hardly be expected to inspire the workers with much confidence as to its intentions as an employer of labour. The lesson of the recent railway strike in France, where the Premier "socialist"—Briand—compelled the State railwaymen who had come out on strike, to return to work, or else undergo all the penalties of military law, has not been lost on British railwaymen.

### **State Bossing worse than Company Bossing.**

As being the highest form of capitalist concentration and organisation, State ownership of the Railways may offer to the trading and travelling public certain facilities and advantages it does not get at present, but in its relationship with its employees it is likely to be as unscrupulous an exploiter as is the private corporation. And this need hardly be wondered at. The State is essentially a ruling-class organisation, and its functions are chiefly coercive. The State came into existence with the rise of private property and a privileged class; its main functions have always been the protection of ruling-class property and the keeping of the masses in subjection. No matter how property in the resources of production may have changed hands during

the course of its history, or how one ruling-class has been superseded by another, the nature and functions of the State have remained practically constant throughout.

### One Union for Railwaymen.

To prepare the way for that great work—the work of economic emancipation,—it is essential that railwaymen shall do their part by improving their system and methods of industrial organisation. One Union for Railwaymen is the great need of the hour, and railwaymen should let none of the obstacles in the way prevent them from achieving this most desirable consummation.

At present, it is difficult to say how many unions there are which cater for the various sections of railway-workers. Besides the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, there are: The Associated Society of Enginemen, The General Railway Workers' Union, The United Pointsmen, The Railway Clerks' Union, and others. All these could immediately be amalgamated into one union if personal interests were no longer allowed to stand in the way. Something more than this is needed, however, for besides the railway-workers eligible for these unions, there are a large number refused admission because they are entitled to join the union of their own special trade. In consequence of this, the great mass of them remain outside the scope and influence of Trade Unionism, and become potential blacklegs for the first labour dispute that arises.

The A.S.R.S., in spite of its professed universality, refuses admittance to quite a number of men who are anxious to join—because, in admitting them, it would be poaching on the preserves of some other union. These stupid restrictions should be

got rid of, and an end put to our present sectional weaknesses.

### Get out of the Slough of Despond.

With one Union for all Railwaymen, imbued with a revolutionary purpose, the railway-workers would soon be raised out of the "slough of despond," into which too many have sank in consequence of recent mistaken methods. Economic developments have already obliterated the old craft divisions that formerly existed; it is time we ceased to artificially perpetuate them by our system of organisation. The industrial organisation of Railwaymen should be as wide in its scope as is the industry itself. At present there are somewhere about 600,000 railway employees. Of this number, 100,000 are included in the various unions already mentioned. With one effective organisation and a militant policy the number of railway workers remaining outside its scope would be a constantly diminishing proportion.

Organised in this manner for its main functions, with the necessary sub-divisions for special purposes, and linked up with the other Transport Workers' Unions in this and other countries—railwaymen would be given a power that would be absolutely invincible. The transport workers occupy a position that is unique in the strength it gives and in the possibilities it opens out.

Not only have they the power at hand for preventing the gang of international financiers from plunging the nations into war whenever it may serve the purposes of high finance, but they are also the most favourably situated for taking the initiative in the formation of that world-wide confederation of workers which is the necessary prelude to the realisation of social freedom in an organised Industrial Commonwealth.

## Futility of Present Methods.

However, before railwaymen will be able to rise to the conception of these larger aims, they will have to be convinced of the futility of concerning themselves with the petty aims which now absorb so much of their interest.

One of the strong reasons that may be urged against conciliation is that it keeps the workers' attention fixed on superficial matters to the neglect of more fundamental questions. No matter how perfect the scheme, conciliation in the long run, is bound to lead to sectionalism. There can be no conciliation on matters that fundamentally affect the class interests of either party; these, by their very nature, are ruled outside the area of peaceful persuasion and compromise. When a class issue of any importance is raised, Might makes Right, always and everywhere.

Now, it is just these fundamental issues which divide the classes, which will have to be raised to an increasing degree in the future, if the workers are not to be completely crushed by the grinding forces of capitalism. Conciliation, even, does not prevent these issues from being created, though it does considerably cripple the power of the working-class for grappling with them. It cannot too often be repeated that agreements never prevent employers from introducing economic changes and mechanical improvements, no matter how adversely they affect the workers' conditions. The worker may even find himself in the unemployed market as a result of these changes, in spite of the fact that his "agreement" may have several years yet to run. If agreements really gave the worker some security, if only for a relatively short period, they might then have something to recommend them. But they do nothing of the kind. It is therefore foolish for the

workers to forego their own liberty of action by agreeing to such one-sided arrangements.

## The Sophistries of Labour M.P.'s.

The first prerequisite to a scientifically organised, vigorously-conducted working-class movement is a clearer understanding on the part of the workers of the actual relation existing between themselves and the capitalists, and a more intelligent appreciation on their part of the importance of the class-struggle. To gain these, the workers must rely on their own experience and on the knowledge gained through the study of industrial history and working-class economics. But even without a knowledge of economic theory, the workers will find their class-instincts far more reliable as a guide than much of the advice tendered by some of their "leaders." The attitude assumed by some of the Labour "leaders" on this question is fittingly illustrated in a speech made by Mr. James Thomas, M.P., in the House of Commons on July 4th, 1911.

Speaking to a proposal for the rejection of a Midland Railway Bill on the ground of the Company's violation of existing agreements, Mr. Thomas committed himself to this remarkable expression:—"Here is a great corporation in the Midland Company which ought to recognise that the interests of the Company and the interests of the employees are identical, and which at least ought to make it a first duty to see that the relations between employers and employees are of the most amicable character possible."

Mr. Thomas has the reputation of being an "advanced" Labour man; it would be interesting after this to have the views of the Labour men who are not considered so "advanced."

When we have representative men of the movement giving expression to such bourgeois sentiments, we need not be surprised at the failure of the Labour Party to properly represent its own principles.

In the same speech wherein the foregoing statement appears, Mr. Thomas mentioned that during the past ten years, in spite of increasing traffic, the Companies had dispensed with the services of 10,000 railwaymen. Apparently, all these men were got rid of equally in their own interest as in that of the railway shareholders. That is the line of reasoning of men who refuse to accept the logic of the class struggle!

### **The Importance of the Class Struggle.**

As against the sophistries of Labour M.P.'s and the special pleadings of capitalist apologists may be put present-day facts and the whole history of capitalist developments. These reveal not an identity of interests, but a fundamental and irreconcilable antagonism. In spite of the complexity of capitalist phenomena this conflict of interests between Capital and Labour may be reduced to quite a simple and intelligible explanation.

In a society where one class lives by labour and another class lives by appropriating as much as possible of the wealth that that labour produces, conflict, active or suppressed, is bound to be the normal condition of things in the relations of the two classes. During the two hundred years of its existence, Trade Unionism has been engaged in a continuous struggle to obtain or maintain a decent standard of existence for the workers coming within its scope and influence. Arrayed against it have been all the forces of capitalism whose tendency has been to reduce the workers' conditions to bare subsistence level. By

organising and as far as possible restricting the available labour supply put at the disposal of capitalists, the Trade Unions have succeeded in obtaining for at least a section of the workers a higher level of subsistence than otherwise would have been possible. But the more successful the Trade Unions have been in getting the workers higher wages, the greater the stimulus given to the capitalists to reduce the labour cost by the adoption of labour-saving machinery. The increased output of goods resulting from the greater use of machinery compels the capitalists to look abroad for new markets for their surplus commodities, and new fields for the investment of their surplus capital. In this way does capitalism extend itself until one country after another—the whole world in fact—is brought under the influence of the capitalist system. Wherever capitalism establishes itself we always witness the same effects: the concentration of the productive wealth of society into the hands of a small class, and the reduction of the mass of the population to the position of a propertyless proletariat, possessing nothing but its power to labour, which it has to sell in order to live and reproduce its kind.

### **Why Employment Decreases.**

Lately, a new development is taking place which is making it increasingly difficult for the workers to sell their labour-power and obtain employment. This development is in the direction of a greatly extended use of automatic machinery.

At one bound the skilled glass-worker has been superseded by the invention of an automatic glass-blower, which performs every industrial process at one-twentieth the cost of the former method. One man can tend a machine which turns out glass-bottles at the rate of 23 a minute.

The Northop loom, now being adopted in the cotton mills of Lancashire, dispenses with four men out of every five formerly employed—one man working twenty of these new looms.

Railway Companies are using automatic appliances for doing away with signalmen, and others, and when once the railways are electrified, automatic processes are likely to be much more extensively used.

In the mines, foundries, engineering establishments, and in other industries, automatic processes are being applied to an increasing extent, and the workers are being dispensed with in ever greater numbers.

### **The Industries for the Workers.**

All these developments point to but one possible solution, as far as the workers are concerned. The working-class must perfect its system of organisation, in order that it may assume ownership and direction of the industries in the interests of the organised working community.

With the industries in the possession of the organised working-class movement, the production and distribution of wealth will be arranged on conscious and systematic lines, and all the insecurity and misery caused by the present industrial and social anarchy may then be completely abolished.

In the industrial struggles now going on in every direction, the workers are showing a greater determination, and a more intense class feeling and solidarity than ever before. The railwaymen in many places have shown a disposition to identify themselves with the revolting workers of other trades; in a few places, they have risked **all and thrown** in their lot with the strikers.

Always, however, are the officials of the Union quickly on the spot, not to en-

courage and stimulate the men in the fight, but to bring all their influence to bear to get the men back to work, and to impress on them the iniquity of their action in having repudiated their "agreements." Loyalty to agreements with the employing class is, apparently, in the estimation of the Union officials, of far greater importance than loyalty to our own, the working-class.

That being the attitude of the officials of the Union, it remains for the men in the ranks to take things in hand, and bring to an end as early as possible the existing Conciliation Scheme which, not only creates innumerable divisions in the ranks of railwaymen, but prevents them uniting with other branches of organised Labour.

To the Railwaymen, then, belong the duty of gathering up their present scattered and disunited forces, and of consolidating them in one compact and militant organisation, capable of taking its rightful place in the van of the Working-Class Movement.

### **A Live Paper for Spirited Railwaymen.**

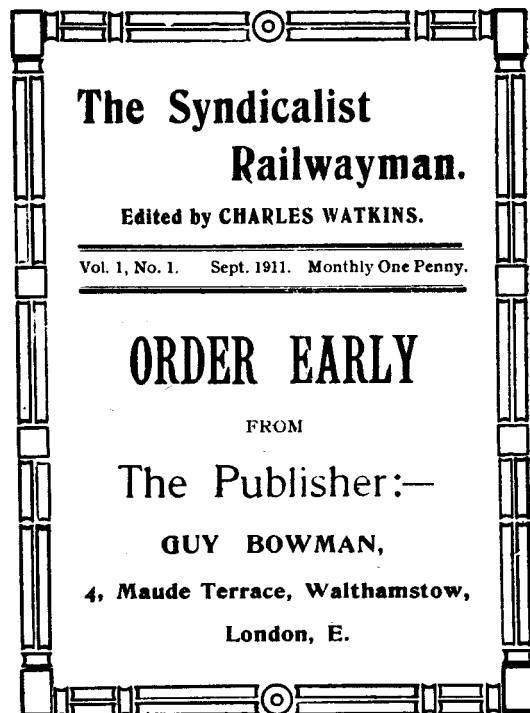
The discontent which has been spreading during the past year or two seems at last likely to break out into rebellion. The spirit which provokes the rebellion needs encouraging and so does the intelligence to direct it. The railwaymen are not likely to get either the encouragement or the guidance which, at this juncture, they so much need from the Press organ which is supposed to be run in their interest. The piffle which is so copiously doled out in the columns of the "Railway Review" needs exposing and we need an organ to voice the new revolutionary spirit which has hitherto had no means of expression. These needs we hope to partly meet by the publication of a monthly paper en-

titled "The Syndicalist Railwayman."

Will all advanced spirits willing to co-operate in helping forward the new venture send along their names and any information that may be useful to the publisher, Guy Bowman, 4, Maude Terrace, Walthamstow, E.

And instead of the cowardly compromising policy of "Conciliation" we should adopt as our aim the principle of Working-class Emancipation.

**CHARLES WATKINS.**



**The Syndicalist  
Railwayman.**

Edited by **CHARLES WATKINS.**

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