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THE UNIST



UNITED ACTION IN POLITICS AND INDUSTRY

Official Organ of

THE UNISM PLAN OF RECONSTRUCTION A BRITISH ALTERNATIVE TO DICTATORSHIP

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IF CHAOS COMES?

THE ANTIDOTE FOR REVOLUTION

You are asked to imagine that this number of "The Unist" has come into your hands while waiting at home with family and friends after the final breakdown of the economic and financial system. Primary industries are stagnant; factories are silent; shops are shuttered; prices of goods and values of buildings and land have collapsed. As banking operations depend upon real estate values and productive and commercial activity, stagnation has brought about the failure of all banks.

There is no production, no distribution, no employment. No wages and no savings are available. Such stagnation may have been hastened by war, pestilence, famine or some calamity of nature. Whatever the causes, everything now is in the melting-pot, and we have all to act so as to avoid untold misery.

As far back as 1913 "The Unism Plan" was published in anticipation of just such

"I am here to speak on the present international outlook . . . it is mental topsy-turvydom which is driving Europe forward on the road to chaos."

—General Smuts to the Royal Institute of International Affairs (London Times, 13/11/34).

a crisis. It assumed that the collapse would be all the more certain because common action would be hindered by the clash of parties, and by the conflict of reforms offered as cures for chaos.

When stagnation is dangerously widespread, food-control is of prime importance. Distress and starvation must be prevented, and law and order upheld, until the good sense of the people can be applied to an effective plan for the revival and expansion of industry.

The Unism Plan accordingly offers a simply understood programme that makes it possible for a majority of the people to co-operate quickly for national and self preservation. It is inspired with the spirit of the democrat who "believes in freedom of thought and expression, but knows that collective action is possible only when all are prepared to work together in accordance with some generally accepted plan."

Let us first see what happened during the Great War, when the Hoover Relief Commission had to feed some eight million Belgians, including one-third of the population dependent upon relief.

"The fight for freedom is the supreme issue of the future."—Gen. Smuts.

HOW HOOVER SAVED BELGIUM

During the Great War—in April, 1917—there appeared in "The World's Work" an article by Robinson Smith, on the Food Department of the Hoover Commission for Relief in Belgium. The following extracts summarize what took place in a great national emergency:—

"The gigantic task undertaken by the Commission for Refief in Belgium for feeding 8 million people daily . . . One-third of the people are fed indirectly by charity . . The cause of keeping millions from starvation proved big enough to enlist the services of the right kind of men, who found the work more exciting and certainly more significant than the work of making money. . .

"With the purchase and sale of the major foods, the Commission succeeded magnificently. It not only buys all the foodstuffs that are imported into Belgium (as well as controlling the native wheat), but it actually sells these foodstuffs from its own shops in every city and village in Belgium. The Commission was forced to import 100,000 tons per month in order to keep the population alive. Organization was necessary in order to bring the indispensable foods to the poor at the lowest possible cost.

"Eleven Belgian provincial committees—connected with the Commission—exist under the law as co-operative societies.
... Districts subscribed capital according to rateable value . . In one case—the province of Hainault—the original capital was subscribed to by everyone of any means within the province, according to the taxes that he paid. .

"Prices represent the lowest prices at which foodstuffs can be transported to Belgium and sold without loss, and indeed with a small margin of profit. . . The commune sold everything as low as it could: the commercant (merchant) sold everything as high as competition would let him. . . One communal shop -the one at Louvain-does the work of 40 that handled the same goods before the war. Indeed, the shop there succeeded so well that it stocked not only Commission goods, but anything it could lay hands on, selling everything practically at cost, since the overhead or general charges of running such a shop, if it is run well and the trade is large, are less than one per cent. . Altogether, from the time it leaves Rangoon until it is in the kitchens of Charleroi, about 6d. (over and above transport charges) must be added to its initial cost for handling, storing, and distributing 100 lbs. of rice if it is done by a Government agency

like the Commission; anything from 10 to 20 shillings will be added if it is done through ordinary commerce.

"How costly ordinary commercial practice is may be shown by a comparison of original wholesale and retail prices in London on the day this is written—

Per 1b. Per 1b. W'sale. Retail - W'sale, Retail Bacon 7d Beans 1/2 2 d9d Cocoa 2/-Coffee 1/-2/-Flour 2d3**1**d Lard 6ď 10:1 Rice 13d5**d** Soap 3d 434 Sugar 2§d $5\frac{1}{2}d$ Tea 1/-2/6 The figures do not indicate necessarily that the wholesaler or the retailer is making exorbitant profits, but at least they indicate how frightfully expensive is the competitive system of distribution. As opposed to that system we have this provisional committee of Hainault, which, although it tried to sell things at cost, could not help making three nullion francs on a capital of seven millions. It exercised a monopoly of the necessaries of life, a monopoly which it exercised solely for the good of the people, and in common fairness to all . . .

"The bakers are not allowed to sell directly to the people. . . . The Commune then sells the bread from the communal stores, each baker having his rack, and the people coming with their bread tickets, are able to have the bread of their particular baker so long as he continues baking good bread. The moment the weight or the quality of the bread falls off, they choose from another rack where the bread looks better. The result is automatic: all the bakers do their best to keep their trade and all bake good bread . . .

"All this paternalism does not seem in the least to have threatened individual liberty, or removed ambition, or under-mined independence of character. The shopkeepers have suffered, but not at one blow, and they were bound to suffer in any case. They, like the others, would have starved, or been swept off by revolution, had not this paternalism arrived. In our own self interest as a nation, if not in the welfare and happiness of the individual, we shall be forced to adopt reforms that experience in other countries has shown really do reform, if we hope to tide over the difficult period of reconstruction. Community sale for cash and at cost of the necessaries of life seems to us one such reform. . . We shall find that we can dispense with the middleman, the speculator who will never be missed, and to some degree, with the ultimate distributor."

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

The Unism Plan is a British contribution to national and international co-operation. It shows how democracy can be applied triumphantly in three spheres-political, industrial and reform.

POLITICAL CO-OPERATION.

To place the development of the country and the welfare of the people outside the scope of party politics-by forming all-party governments based upon proportional representation and elective ministries with improved referendum and initiative machinery, so that politicians can vote freely without fear or hope of wrecking the Government.

There is only one safe principle upon which a democratic people with adult franchise can carry on. Everyone must agree to be bound by the decisions of the majority either by referendum or in Parliament. Most Parliaments do not properly reflect public opinion. Proportional Representation is therefore essential to make sure that all political and independent groups will secure seats in number directly proportionate to their respective voting strengths.

A representative Parliament having been chosen, the whole House will appoint ministers from all the main parties also

on a proportional basis.

Each Farliament and Administration will last for a definite term of three years. Policy will be decided by majority vote in Parliament. When necessary a referendum will be taken. Also when desired by a sufficient number of the electors, an initiative by petition can compel Parliament to consider any matter of reform and to take a referendum thereon. Whatever decisions are made by Parliament or People will be carried out by the all-party administration. If a Bill is rejected Ministers will not resign. This means that all members of Parliament will be free to vote according to conscience and reason.

In a desperate emergency such a Parliament could give dictatorial powers to its All-Party Administration to keep law and order and to relieve distress, or to carry out any measure of reconstruction

considered necessary.

(b) INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION.

To promote stability and confidence in industry by uniting methods of individualism and of collectivism for the ownership and control of the machinery of production and distribution.

A long-term policy of development to be agreed upon as a great social compact under which-

THE INDIVIDUAL-all forms of private enterprise_SHALL PRODUCE

Individual effort to be encouraged by recognising the right to invest moneycapital and skill in primary and secondary productive industries according to the investor's choice.

THE COMMUNITY - as middlemen. retailers and transporters - SHALL DISTRIBUTE.

The present waste and overlapping of distribution to be reduced by organizing a vast public distributing service for all producers, and for the convenience of all consumers.

The present economic system is on the defensive, supported by those who want private individuals and groups to own and control the machinery of production and distribution. Asserting that this machinery should be owned and operated collectively, socialists and labour parties are working to change the present system. either by force or by constitutional means. These differences of opinion in regard to the control of industry have to be reconciled if a nation is to adopt a long-term plan of reconstruction.

Whilst there is money-capital to invest, Unism provides a formula for its investment. It is necessary to insist in the public interest that people shall be usefully employed-growing something, making something, or rendering service.

The State will control the investment of money-capital by granting authority for its use in productive channels, and by restricting its use in distribution. compact defines what private enterprise may do, and the sphere of control by the State.

REFORM CO-OPERATION.

To give full effect to the above reconstruction by blending with other reforms dealing with land, banking, curency, purchasing power, education, vocational training, industrial organization, fiscal policy, foreign relations,

The Unism attitude is that there should be the utmost freedom to consider other reforms in order that what is of value may be adopted by constitutional meansi.e., supported by an effective majority.

By securing fuller freedom of speech and expression in and out of Parliament, the nation will be better equipped to formulate its grand policy of development-Unism, with its organised food control, meanwhile holding the fort against the forces that make for chaos and revolu-

By working for such a policy of cooperation in our own country citizens will be building machinery for world cooperation, trading and peace

THE RALLY OF DEMOCRACY

Whilst most people believe that our parliamentary system of government is unsatisfactory the community remains in the grip of the party machines through lack of agreement how to change it for the better. A glimpse at an improved system, regarded by many students as the most-democratic in-the-world, will showhow the vital principles of British parliamentary practice may be preserved to more than hold their own in a world of dictatorships. We refer to Switzerland. where a large number of states are merged into a federation. Their States House contains two members from each of 22 states. Their Popular House is elected by proportional representation (P.R.) every three years so that the real political opinion of the whole nation is expressed. The results of four elections show how fairly and steadily the parties were represented and how stable government is possible under P.R. and Elective Ministries. The first figures show votes in thousands. The figures in brackets show seats obtained.

1919 1922 1925 1928 Catholic Conservatives:— 157 (41) 154 (44) 155 (42) 173 (46) Radical Democrats:—

216(58) 208(58) 206(59) 220(58) Farmers' Party:—

rainers raity.

115(31) 118(35) 114(31) 127(31) Socialists:—

175(41) 171(43)

All others:— 85(18) 83(18) 76(17) 64(13)

192(49)

220 (50)

After every election both Houses meet together and appoint an administration of seven men. In 1928 there were four German-Swiss, two French-Swiss and one Italian-Swiss. Their views politically were four radical, two conservative and one farmer. Briefly, this Administration and Parliament—blending races, parties and religions—stand for political co-operation as outlined on page 3. The Unism Plan, however, intends that all the main parties shall share in the work of administration.

We do not claim that Switzerland is without political and economic troubles, but we do insist that her system of government is a common sense application of the principle that the majority must rule.

No wonder Sir Robert Garran, one of the framers of the Australian Constitution, wrote, about 1897, in reference to the possible development of the structure of government, "This may tend towards an ultimate approach to the Swiss system of having Ministers elected by Parliament." and he added. "If the framers of the Constitution take care that Parliament shall represent the citizens, and shall have the power of the purse, the essentials of popular and responsible government will be secured."

We should note the emphasis on the words "Parliament shall represent the citizens," and compare them with what happens in our Australian and British elections:—

CICCIENIS .---

In the Australian Senate in 1934—1,744,000 National and Country Party votes captured 18 seats 1,358,000 Labour votes . . . no seats 186,000 other votes . . . no seats And in the House of Representatives—

1,767,000 National and Country Party votes captured 47 seats 1,495,000 Labour votes 27 seats 287,000 other votes . . . no seats In the British House of Commons in

The Government parties with 14½ million votes secured 554 seats

The Labour and other parties with 7 million votes secured 61 seats

If all citizens are to stand for law and order, to submit to drastic laws and changes, and to co-operate willingly during the world crisis, they are all entitled to some voice directly in the election of representatives and indirectly in the creation of the Government. P.R. is a proved practical method, under which single-member electorates have to be grouped in threes, fives or sevens into larger areas to return three, five or seven members respectively. This grouping enables the electoral staff to count the votes in such a way that all parties and independents are sure of their fair share of seats. The elector votes preferentially one, two, three as far as desired, with no compulsion to vote for more than one candidate.

P.R. guarantees that Parliament shall indeed represent all citizens whether merged in majority or minority groups. Elective Ministries—whereby all the main parties share in the Administration for full three year terms—mean that legislation can be accepted, amended or rejected on merit. Members are not called upon to save a party government from defeat or from loss of office or from the expense and risk of an election.

The nation needs Political Co-operation in full measure. It must therefore determine to discard a system which compels parties and members to safeguard unduly their own positions. Moreover, party control of Government strikes a deadly blow at freedom of speech—the very basis of democracy.

HELPING PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS

Just as the Hoover system in Belgium during the Great War enabled all bakers to display bread in the public stores as explained on page 2, so will a public Commission under the Unism Plan provide marketing facilities as far as possible for producers of all kinds of food and goods.

Bread being sold at one price, consumers will buy according to the maker or quality they prefer, and similar factors can apply to other articles where a standard price is practicable. When producers quote different prices the Public Stores will display these goods so that consumers can make their choice—guided by price, quality and maker. Comparison will be facilitated by the stores adding the same percentage of profit to all goods of the same class.

For instance, if three makers of fig jam fix their prices to the stores at—

8d. 9d. 10d. per tin, and the stores add, say, 25 per cent. all round, then the retail prices will be—

10d. 11\frac{1}{4}.d 1/0\frac{1}{2} per tin.

Or, if they add a flat rate of, say, 2d., the prices will be—

10d. 11d. 1/- per tin.

On imported goods it would be possible to show on the price tickets the amount of duty, so that consumers could realise how much protection is being paid for.

The purpose of the Stores is to assist all producers to make contact with the actual consuming public, giving the latter a wide and free choice. Beyond displaying goods there will be no guarantee on the part of the Commission to sell. Producers will only be paid for what the public buy, so that there will be an incentive to maintain quality and to keep down prices. Producers will not be prevented from advertising in the Press and by other means.

To what extent private shops will operate will depend entirely upon the degree of national emergency. If stagnation, competition with the Public Stores or other reasons force private traders out of business the Commission will help, if desired, to the extent of taking over stocks at fair valuation. Unemployed individuals will automatically come under the protection afforded by the Plan for all unable to find work.

The Hoover Commission dealt with but a few necessaries of life. The Unism system will cater for more and more kinds of goods as experience directs, by adopting and blending practices introduced by the present shopping system; The Departmental Store.

The Co-operative Store, in which all consumers have a share in the profits.

The Cash and Carry Store.

The Self-help Store, in which customers help themselves from the shelves.

The Popular Store, in which innumerable goods are displayed for sale, for selection by customers, without the help of shop assistants except to wrap up and receive payment.

The Chain Store whereby many shops

are linked to a central control.

Much work of private trading is necessary, but there is too much waste and overlapping in the system which has grown up. And as huge emporiums and chain stores develop producers themselves in an ever-worsening position. Not only have they to engage in cutthroat competition to get their goods into the shops, but the identity of these goods is often lost. Instead of all goods being sold in fair comparison, many are sold at exorbitant or sacrifice prices as shops of all sizes compete for custom. Unism Plan will prevent small producers being dominated by the shopping system or by large producers who now influence the channels of distribution.

Systems of pooling have been and are being tested, in order to try and obtain better prices for producers. This trend towards pooling must be brought into time with the principle of public control of distribution. Local, national and world committees are being developed to fix prices and to dispose of wheat, wool, metals etc. at home and abroad. The State must have an effective voice in the constitution of these committees, to safeguard the interests of all consumers.

As regards transport, the development of motor and air services is making it more and more evident that public authorities must exercise increasing control, in conformity with the Unism Plan.

INDIVIDUALISM and COLLECTIVISM Blend in Unism

"The individualism of the one (capitalism) and the collectivism of the other (communism) must be caught up in the higher synthesis. It was the task of Christian thought to work this out, and the task of the Church to propagate it. That was the question of the day, and unless the Church had something clear and intelligible to say on the subject it mattered little what she said on others."

—Bishop of Goulburn to the All-Australian Anglican Assembly. ("West Australian," 14/11/34.)

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PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

EXPANDING INDUSTRY AND EMPLOYMENT

There are many schemes aiming to create or to provide money, to distribute purchasing power, or to improve methods of collecting public revenue. The Unism Plan deals with the actual machinery and processes for buying and selling goods, and it devotes special attention to the manner in which moneys are used by individuals and by the State. If private moneys are to be used for making profit, such moneys should be devoted to industries of benefit to the nation.

Real prosperity does not necessarily result from the unplanned creation, collection and spending of immense sums of

money

People who obtain raw materials from the earth, or engage in other primary occupations are replenishing or increasing production—that is, providing something of real use to the community. And so are people in secondary industries which change raw materials into finished products. But people employed solely buying and selling, controlling and distributing goods, for the purpose of making a profit between producers and consumers, are not necessarily adding to the stock of commodities; i.e., of real material wealth from the point of view of the community.

Much of this work is necessary, but in an unplanned society there are too many speculators, manipulators and distributors causing tremendous waste and added expense to the cost of goods. Unnecessary costs in distribution curtail the purchasing power of the general community. Domination by distributors makes it difficult or impossible for many producers to get their goods on to the market, and so restricts trade. The Unism Plan will introduce stability into the business world by defining the ophere of activity for private enterprise and for the community. The former will be free to undertake the risks and responsibilities of production, and the latter will co-ordinate the machinery of transport, storage and distribution.

This brings us to the practical Emergency Measure:

Public Control of Investment of Capital.

To direct private money-capital into productive channels, and to restrict its use in distribution and speculation.

It will be necessary for individuals to obtain governmental consent before establishing any business, but this procedure will not interfere with the right to sell, or share ownership of such business. They will have to satisfy the Investment Board that such business is a genuine attempt to maintain or expand

production. If the proposed business is concerned with transport or distribution the Board will refuse or sanction according to the general policy and needs of the Public System of Transport and Distribution.

During the War the Federal Treasurer did assume some control of capital investments, and it was remarked that huge sums of money could more easily be found for luxuries or unproductive concerns than for real industries. As the Acting Prime Minister then said, "What the Government was doing would have to be done in time of peace. The Government would have to have a voice in saying how capital should be applied."

The Plan is not concerned with the ownership of the Banks, but it means that funds provided or loaned by them will be devoted to useful purposes from the point of view of the community.

At present the Banks lend money against approved securities, and are not primarily concerned how it is used, provided that the borrowers make sufficient money in production, transport, distribution or speculation to repay with interest.

The Unism Plan insists that the proper use of money is of vital importance to the community. No matter how provided, money should be used productively in the truest sense.

"The basis of legitimate Credit is the anticipation of future production of real material wealth. . . Credit may be regarded as the anticipation of future goods, and present existing, material goods are, in the modern world, purchased with promises to provide or produce goods in the future.

"Legitimate Credit, therefore, derives its purchasing power from the promise, the guarantee, the assurance

of further production."

—J. R. Butchart (of the London Bank of Australia Ltd.), February, 1917, on "Money, Credit and Banking," to the Incorporated Accountant Students' Society of Victoria.

A GOOD BORROWER

"There was a vast amount of money at present awaiting investment . . . they were eagerly looking for good borrowers . . . By a good borrower he did not mean a man with abundant security; he meant a man who could reasonably be expected to use the money profitably for himself and with advantage to the community."

—Sir Frederick Young, Director of the English, Scottish & Australian Bank Ltd. ("West Australian." Nov. 28. 1934.)

As a matter of interest the following extracts are quoted from articles dealing with some of the much discussed reforms. It was about 10 years ago when we first read of Social Credit in its official organ, The New Age, dated November, 1923. Major Douglas stated that—"... recurring periods of business depression are shown to be the result of present financial and business policies... The collective prices of the goods available for sale at any moment in a given community cannot be met by the money available through the channels of wages, salaries and dividends, at one and the same mo-

"The root cause is neither profit, rent, interest nor land," wrote Mr. W. H. Rhys in his "Real Wealth—Financial Poverty," September, 1930. This book is a synopsis of Douglas Social Credit, described by Major Douglas as "very valuable," and by the New Age as "comprehensive and clear." The following example given by Mr. Rhys suggests how Social Credit may be started:—

"Suppose one or more of the large departmental stores such as Myers (Melbourne), Anthony Hordern's (Sydney), or Beirnes (Brisbane) agreed to accept a fixed profit on their turnover. The Treasurer could say, "Sell your goods at 50 per cent. less than the usual price, and we will guarantee you the loss.' result would be that customers would get twice as much for their money. The firms would send in monthly a return of their sales, and the Treasury would credit their bank account with, or reduce their overdrafts by, an equal sum by a simple book Imagine the trade these shops would do. Within a month every store would fall into line . . . All present rights would be protected."

Major Douglas said in Perth, ac-

Major Douglas said in Perth, according to the West Australian of January 17, 1934, he "preferred to see the poor made rich, than to see the rich deprived of what they owned."

As far back as 1879 Henry George wrote, in Progress and Poverty—

"We have traced the recurring paroxysms of industrial depression, the scarcity of employment, the stagnation of capital, the tendency of wages to the starvation point, that exhibit themselves more and more strongly as material progress goes on, to the fact that the land on which and from which all must live is made the exclusive property of some

"The ownership of a natural agent of production will give the power of appropriating much of the wealth produced by the exertion of labour and capital . . . Rent, in its economic sense is that part of the produce which accrues to the owner of the land or other natural capabilities, by virtue of their ownership. . . What I propose is—to appropriate rent . . . To abolish all Taxation, save that upon Land Values. . . Rent being taken by the State, land would be really common property, and every member of the community would participate in the advantage of its ownership. . . .

"With all the burdens removed which now oppress industry and hamper exchange, the production of wealth would go on with a rapidity now undreamed of. Demand would keep pace with supply, and supply with demand. This, in its turn, would lead to an increase in the value of land—a new surplus which society might take for general purposes.

This measure would make no one poorer but such as could be made a great deal poorer without being really hurt. It would cut down great fortunes, but it would impoverish no one."

Mr. R. E. White, in The Liberator of November 1, 1934, wrote: "The reason why the masses do not consume the goods that glut the markets is that their wages do not permit them to purchase more than a portion of the goods they produce. The Liberation Plan is to abolish all taxes, which now take so much from the wages of producers, and utilise for public revenue the unearned increment of land, the ground rentals . . . created by the whole community. The effect would be immediately to double the purchasing power of wages. The vastly increased consumption of goods would quickly relieve the markets of their gluts, and so stimulate the demand for labour. . .

In the same Liberator, Mr. Hamilton Lamb wrote: "While man inhabits the earth, land will yield a rent. As population increases and the application of scientific discoveries gives certain sites greater advantages so must rents increase.

While land-values offer an avenue of investment for spare money, just so long can money demand interest, whatever the avenue of investment. To kill interest by collecting rent for the community in lieu of taxation is the sole objective of Liberation."

HOW TO MAKE MONEY

"No investment on earth is so safe, so sure, so certain to enrich its owner, as developed realty (land and buildings). I always advise my friends to place their savings near some growing city or suburb. There is no such bank anywhere."

-Andrew Carnegie.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND PEACE

THE TRIUMPH OF COMMON SENSE

For some reason or other the economic causes of war are not receiving sufficient attention. There is a tendency to find scapegoats—the human nature of the other fellow, or anything or anyone provided we ourselves are not called upon to make sacrifices or to alter our ways.

Very few people realize that the offer of Peace to Germany which hastened the Armistice and her surrender in 1918 contained this point:—

"The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers, and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance."

All nations need to be able to import and export raw materials and goods as freely as possible, for the greater prosperity of their peoples; otherwise friction and bad feeling are created. Witness Lancashire, Belgium and Japan.

The late President Wilson, of U.S.A., did his utmost to warn the nations that: "Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific cause in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war."

Just as increasing poverty and distress within nations need enlarged police forces to prevent violence and robbery, so do nations increase their armaments to safeguard the economic life of their peoples.

If economic rivalry, based on competition for raw materials and the struggle for markets, is a "prolific cause" of war—complicated by racial, religious and personal antagonisms—it is folly to expect peace either by restriction of armaments or by unlimited armaments. To deal with armaments without a definite policy of co-operative world trading leaves untouched the cause of friction. So whilst those who are competent devise the best means of defence in case of actual outbreak of war, the Unism Plan concentrates on the removal of the economic causes of war.

Since industrial warfare within a nation is based on a bread and butter struggle among different sections of the people, and since international warfare is based on a bread and butter struggle* among nations, the Unism Plan makes a start

(*"... the struggle of nationalism for power, prestige, territory and trade."—"West Australian" leader. Dec. 31, 1934.)

by providing for national political and economic co-operation. As nations equip themselves with co-operative machinery for their own well-being, they will be able to extend it to international relations and trade.

Co-operative Government of a nation must exist before there can be Co-operative Government in a League or Federation of Nations.

Co-operative Distribution of Commodities within nations must form the basis of Co-operative Trading among nations.

When nations know that they can all buy and sell in the markets of the world to their mutual advantage, huge national armaments will no longer be needed in readiness to fight for their economic existence.

To increased freedom for international trading there will be tremendous opposition on the part of employers and employees whose capital and labour are involved in protected industries. How is this opposition to be transformed into reasonable co-operation?

This brings us to the problem of compensation or assistance to displaced capital and unemployed labour. Unism provides that all men and women shall be suitably assisted when unemployed and more logically so when thrown out of employment by changes considered necessary under such a Plan of Reconstruction.

It will be easier for the nation to bear the temporary expense of unemployment relief until expanding industry can absorb all willing to work, than to bear the cost of increasing armaments. To what extent investors can be recompensed for losses of capital will depend upon circumstances. Under Unism they can expect fair dealing from a "State that plies its office moved with sympathy," whereas if a violent form of revolution takes place they stand to lose everything.

During the transition period unemployment for large numbers is inevitable, but as society reorganizes itself in accordance with the plans of other reformers as explained under "Reform Co-operation" on page 3, expanding industry will provide unlimited opportunities for all.

To-day Australia fails to give reasonable material satisfaction to her six million people. Some day she will support sixty million people. It is a matter of human co-operation based on unity, justice and generosity.

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