

If You Want to Know

How to Liberate the Land from Monopoly—How to Liberate the People from Economic Slavery—How to Liberate the Homes of the People and their Trade and Industry from Unjust Rates and Taxes—How to Reduce Rents and Prices—How to Reduce the Cost of Living while Raising Wages—then

Read "The Liberator"

"The Liberator"—1d. monthly, 1/6 per annum; or 2/6, including yearly subscription to the N.Z. Land Values League—may be obtained, together with a sample parcel of leaflets and pamphlets, from the head office of the League, Herbert Street, Wellington.

"We hold," declares the platform of the N.Z. Land Values League, "that each man is entitled to all that his labour produces. We hold that the value which the community, by its growth and progress, gives to land should be taken for the use of the community." And, therefore, the League stands for the abolition of all taxes on the products of labour—the abolition of all taxes on private earnings, and the taking of public earnings (community-created land values), and public earnings alone, for public purposes.

This Pamphlet

2d. per copy; 1/3 per dozen, post free; 9/- per 100, post free—may be obtained from the New Zealand Land Values League, Herbert Street, Wellington.

Practical Politics for the People.

Evolution v. Revolution.

An Appeal to Wageworkers and Employers, to Capitalists and Professional Men, to Exploiters and Exploited.

(By the Hon. Geo. Fowlds.)

THE PLOW OF GOD.

If you listen you will hear, from east to west,
Growing sounds of discontent and deep unrest.
It is just the progress-driven Plow of God,
Tearing up the well-worn, custom-bounded sod,
Shaping out each old tradition-trodden track
Into furrows—fertile furrows, rich and black.
Oh, what harvests they will yield
When they widen to a field!

They will widen, they will broaden, day by day,
As the progress-driven plow keeps on its way.
It will riddle all the ancient roads that lead
Into palaces of selfishness and greed.
It will tear away the almshouse and the slum,
That the little homes and garden-plots may come.
Yes, the gardens green and sweet
Shall replace the stony street.

Let the wise man hear the menace that is blent
In this ever-growing sound of discontent.
Let him hear the rising clamour of the race
That the few shall yield the many larger space;
For the crucial hour is coming when the soil
Must be given to, or taken back, by Toil.
Oh, that mighty Plow of God—
Hear it breaking through the sod!

—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

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N.Z. Land Values League.

OUR POLICY:

"We would simply take for the community what belongs to the community—the value that attaches to land by the growth of the community; leave sacredly to the individual all that belongs to the individual; and, treating necessary monopolies as functions of the State, abolish all restrictions and prohibitions save those required for public health, safety, morals, and convenience."—Henry George.

"Not capital, but privilege, is the enemy of labour. . . . Abolish special privileges! Give to all equal access to the inexhaustible storehouse of Nature, and wealth will distribute itself in exact accordance with justice without any interference by Government officials. Equal rights and equal opportunities, through greater freedom, these are the ideals I would place before our people instead of the will-o'-the-wisp of Socialistic despotism."—Max Hirsch.

OUR FIGHTING PLATFORM.

- 1.—Assessment of all rates on unimproved land values.
- 2.—The Land Tax to be increased by another penny in the £ with no exemption for the additional penny; the revenue so raised to be applied to the reduction of railway freights and fares, and of Customs duties on the necessities of life not produced in New Zealand.
- 3.—Those things which must be monopolised, if they are not socialised, shall be socialised for the common good of all, rather than be monopolised for the private advantage of the few.



Practical Politics for the People.

EVOLUTION V. REVOLUTION.

An Appeal to Wageworkers and Employers, to Capitalists and Professional Men, to Exploiters and Exploited.

(By GEORGE FOWLDS.)

I.

"Look around you. Your world hosts are all in mutiny, in confusion, destitution; on the eve of fiery wreck and madness! They

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will not march farther for you, on the sixpence a day and "supply and demand" principle; they will not; nor ought they, nor can they.

"Foolish men imagine that because judgment for an evil thing is delayed, there is no justice but an accidental one here below. Judgment for an evil thing is many times delayed some day or two, some century or two, but it is sure as life, it is sure as death. In the centre of the whirlwind, verily now as in the oldest days, dwells and speaks a God. The great soul of the world is just. In this, God's world, with its wild-whirlwind eddies and mad foam-oceans, where men and nations perish as if without law, and judgment for an unjust thing is sternly delayed, dost thou therefore think that there is no justice? It is what the foot bath said in his heart.

"If you will once sufficiently enforce that Eighth Commandment, the whole 'rights of man' are well cared for. I know no better definition of the rights of man. Thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not be stolen from: what a Society was that; Plato's Republic, More's Utopia, mere emblems of it! Give every man what is his, the accurate price of what he has done and been, no man shall any more complain, neither shall the earth suffer any more."

THOMAS CARLYLE.

Never were the words of the great prose-poet and seer of the 19th century more true than they are to-day, when the 20th century is just entering her teens. The world over we have international wars and rumours of wars, and preparations for war even more expensive than war itself. The world over we have industrial wars, lock-outs and strikes following fast upon each other. Even here, in "God's Own Country," long known as "the land without strikes," in view of recent happenings, notably the predominance of the revolutionary faction at the Labour Unity Congress,

there is very real danger that suddenly, like a bolt from the blue, we may be plunged, without warning, in a general strike, resulting in general chaos and widespread disaster. And then—What?

To many this statement may seem unduly pessimistic, even alarmist in character. But it is not pessimistic to frankly face unpleasant facts. It is cowardly to refuse to face them. And it is the bounden duty of the watchman who sees the enemy at the gates to raise an alarm.

The enemy are at the gates! Nay, more, one section of the enemy has already, by a stroke of luck, aided by treachery, possessed itself of the citadel. But, while I recognise these unpleasant facts, I am not dismayed. I am not for base surrender, to one faction or to the other. I am for carrying on the fight; and I am optimist enough to believe that in the end, since Right is right, Right must prevail.

THE DANGEROUS CLASSES.

It were sheer folly, criminal folly, to blink the fact that there are in our midst classes that constitute a very serious danger to the commonweal. These dangerous classes are the extremists—the reactionaries and the revolutionaries. On the one hand, those amongst the exploiters who will fight to the last ditch for the monopolies by means of which alone they can exploit the people. On the other hand, those amongst the exploited, who, impatient at the hitherto deadly slowness of progress on peaceful, constitutional, constructive lines, or saddened by wrong — and

who that knows the world to-day can wonder that there are many such?—would resort to force to right their wrongs.

THE EXPLOITERS NOT ALL REACTIONARIES.

Happily not all the exploiters are reactionaries. Not a few of the exploiters realise quite as keenly as the exploited themselves the gross injustice of exploitation. They recognise that in the nature of things exploitation cannot last, and that the issue must be faced—that, whether sooner or later, whether by consent or by force, exploitation must cease. And, being on the whole sensible, well-meaning men—men who are exploiters simply because the only choice open to them to-day is that they and those nearest and dearest to them shall be amongst the exploiting classes or amongst the exploited, must be either anvil or hammer—their earnest desire is that, for the sake of all concerned, the issue shall be thought out, not fought out; that the solution shall be arrived at by consent, not by force. Like Tom L. Johnson, the millionaire Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, an exploiter and monopolist who, seeing the gross injustice of monopoly and exploitation, spent his millions and his life, his wealth and his health, in fighting the monopolies which alone render exploitation possible, dying, as a result, before his time, broken in health and purse, but achieving the record of “the best mayor of the best-governed city in the United States”—like Tom L. Johnson, they would rather leave their children penniless in a country where monopoly and exploitation were no more, and where

every worker was, therefore, guaranteed the full product of his labour, than leave them multi-millionaires under the present unjust, and therefore unstable, conditions of society. Like Joseph Fels, another millionaire exploiter and monopolist, they are willing to spend and to be spent in the sacred cause of humanity and justice.

THE EXPLOITED NOT ALL REVOLUTIONARIES.

Happily, too, not all of the exploited are revolutionaries. Many of them—indeed, I believe, in this comparatively favoured land, the great majority of them—are absolutely opposed to revolutionary action. They realise that in this Dominion, with one man one vote, one woman one vote, the appeal should be, must be, to reason not to force, to ballots, not to bullets. They realise that in a country like New Zealand, where the making and unmaking of laws is entirely in the hands of the people, it is folly, inexcusable folly, to talk of resorting to force for the redress of social, industrial and political wrongs. True, the intellectual and moral process of regeneration is seemingly slower than force; but it is sure and it is right, and when the work is thus done, it has the merit of having been done properly and thoroughly. The ballot is the people's own agency. By its use we in New Zealand have won all we already possess of liberty; and whatever further improvement in government and in industrial and social conditions is needed, can be secured by our existing machinery without any resort to force. Whatever evils the people of New Zealand endure from society or

from the Government; they suffer through their own fault. Governments, and therefore social and industrial conditions, are

WHAT THE PEOPLE MAKE THEM.

At present New Zealand is governed by monopolists for monopolists, and the people are taxed by monopolists for monopolists. The very country itself is monopolised by the few, and the many have to pay heavy tribute to those few for the right to live and labour in it. It is for the people—the great sane, neither revolutionary nor reactionary majority of the people—the people who neither wish to exploit others nor to be themselves exploited; who wish neither to steal nor to be stolen from—it is for the people to see to it, by peaceful, constitutional, constructive measures, that New Zealand shall be governed by the people for the people; that the people shall be untaxed; and that the public earnings, the people values, the land-values created by the people as a whole, shall be taken by the people for the people, instead of being foolishly and wrongfully allowed to flow into private pockets; that thus land monopoly shall be rendered unprofitable and impossible; and that thus, equality of opportunity having been secured, every man shall freely enjoy the full product of his labour, and "shall live under his own vine and fig-tree, none daring to make him afraid."

II

A MAGNIFICENT OPPORTUNITY LOST.

That a considerable section of the Labour forces of New Zealand are in a revolutionary mood at the present time was made manifest by the proceedings at the Labour Unity Congress, held at Wellington last month (July, 1913.)

Owing solely to the revolutionary spirit that dominated the Unity Congress Committee and the majority of the delegates, a magnificent opportunity was lost of welding together the whole of the labour forces of the Dominion on a sound programme, both industrial and political, of moderate immediately practicable, yet well-worth-while reforms.

This revolutionary spirit was made very clear by the fact that the committee submitted to the Congress as the preamble of the industrial section of the dual organisation that it was proposed to set up a preamble almost indetical word for word with that of.

THE NOTORIOUS I.W.W. OF AMERICA;

and was emphasised by the further fact that when the conference by a very close vote threw out the preamble, the Congress committee reinserted the very same thing in veiled form as the first of the objects of the industrial organisation.

In order that my readers may judge for themselves, I give below the proposed preamble of the United Federation of Labour, as submitted by the

Congress committee. The words enclosed in brackets indicate how very slightly this preamble differs from that of the American I.W.W. as it appears on pages 8 and 9 of "The I.W.W.: Its History, Structure and Methods," a pamphlet written by Vincent St. John, and published by the I.W.W. Publishing Bureau, P.O. Drawer 622, New Castle Penn., U.S.A. The passages marked with an asterisk (*) appear in the American I.W.W. preamble, but were omitted by the Congress Committee for reasons that are fairly obvious:—

THAT I.W.W. PREAMBLE

1. The working-class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are (to be) found among millions of working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.
2. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organise as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.
3. We find that the centring 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. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. (Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.*)
4. These conditions can be changed, and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organisation formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a (constitutionally

authorised) strike (or lock-out)* is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

5. 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)* our watchword is: "Abolition of the wages system."

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

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

"I.W.W. TACTICS AND METHODS."

On the defeat of their proposed preamble the Congress Committee substituted for it, as the first of the "objects" of the Federation, the following:—

"To organise systematically and scientifically upon an industrial union basis, in order to assist in the overthrow of the capitalist system, and thus bring about a co-operative commonwealth based upon industrial democracy."

The very same thing in a veiled form; for the innocent seeming phrase, "upon an industrial union basis" means upon the basis of "industrial unionism" as against trades unionism, on the lines of syndicalism, direct action, revolutionism, I.W.W.-ism, as against peaceful, constitutional, constructive effort.

In this connection it is significant to note that in the above-mentioned pamphlet Mr. St. John, under the heading "I.W.W.: Tactics and Methods," declares that—

"As a revolutionary organisation, the Industrial Workers of the World aims to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organisation to make good in their use. The question of 'right' and 'wrong' does not concern us."

EXORCISE THIS EVIL SPIRIT.

Such is the spirit of the American I.W.W. organisation which drew up the precious preamble, that the Unity Congress Committee sought to force upon the Congress. It is, indeed, the spirit breathed in the famous "To hell with agreements!" uttered some months ago by one of the prominent members of the Congress Committee.

I trust, however, that ere long this evil spirit will be very thoroughly exorcised by the people of New Zealand.

Small wonder that a Labour Unity Congress run on I.W.W. lines failed to achieve any real unity!

III.

"LOOK ON THIS PICTURE AND ON THAT."

Further evidence, if further evidence be needed, of the revolutionary character animating the Congress Committee and their supporters, was afforded by their repeated refusal to allow any modification whatever of their strike clause, which declares that—

"The United Federation of Labour will employ the strike weapon, local, general, or national, whenever the circumstances demand such action. In the event of a lock-out or authorised strike the full strength of the United Federation of Labour shall be at the call of the National Executive in support of the section affected."

Compare with this the strike clause of the United Labour party, which expressly provides—

"That no union or federation of unions shall be required to contribute specially to, or join in, any strike without first securing by referendum the consent of a majority of its members."

Every attempt to modify in this direction the committee's strike clause was bitterly opposed and heavily voted down; and it thus became only too clear that the real object of the Congress Committee in putting this undemocratic, despotic, and dangerous power into the hands of a small executive of a dozen men was

TO FORGE A STRIKE WEAPON

that could readily be used for the purpose of industrial action on sheer revolutionary lines—for "direct action," in short, to use a phrase that was often on the lips of the extremists.

If this was not the real object of the committee and their supporters, they could have readily granted the concessions required to secure effective unity—(1) the proper safeguarding of the strike clause, by providing that, not a small executive of a dozen men, but the union members themselves should decide whether or not they should take part in a strike, and (2) the abandonment of the shibboleths of I.W.W.-ism.

But, of course, if the committee were out, not for unity but for revolution, they could not possibly afford thus to modify their strike clause, nor would they be disposed to abandon their I.W.W. shibboleths.

In spite of the significant withdrawal of the president and executive of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, the committee consistently refused to make any concessions whatever on these points.

Small wonder, then, that, the Congress over, the United Labour party in conference assembled, declared emphatically and with practical unanimity the vital necessity for the continued existence of the party as a rallying-ground for the great

SANE NON-REVOLUTIONARY MAJORITY

of the workers of New Zealand!

Small wonder that in their manifesto, issued over the signature of their president, the Hon. J. T. Paul, M.L.C., the Dominion Executive of the United Labour party contend that

"The attitude of the Federation of Labour delegates amply proved that they have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. The experience of the past two years has taught them no lessons. They believe as firmly in the strike policy to-day as of yore, and appear to be only anxious to extend that policy to every field of industry."

"We declare," add the Dominion Executive, "that the conferring of autocratic power by the new constitutions on the national executive is undemocratic and antagonistic to the best interests of the Labour movement. The filching of control from unions and Labour Councils must necessarily act detrimentally upon the interests of the workers, and must ultimately bring about disastrous results from which it will take many years to recover."

"We declare emphatically against the power given to the new organisation to call unions out on strike. We say that no executive should have power to involve unions in a strike against their will. The unions must, in our opinion, be masters of their own business. The United Labour party stands solidly for that principle."

THE PROFESSOR ON I.W.W.-ISM.

Writing in the "Weekly Herald," Wellington, of April 10th, 1912, on the occasion of the Easter Conference of that year which gave birth to the United Labour party, Professor W. T. Mills said:—

"There has been an effort, not made by the New Zealanders themselves, to capture those large unions whose strategic position gave them very great power, and to use that power through their joint capacity to paralyse industry, to secure by compulsion advantages for themselves to the utter neglect of the workers less fortunately related to the whole life of the country. If you will call the roll of the spokesmen among these people, you will discover that those who represent the plans and programmes utterly repudiated by the Labour movement in Australia, in Great Britain, and in the

United States, are themselves men recently come from these countries, and are earnestly striving to re-establish here schemes which have utterly failed on their own hands in those other countries.

"The reason why these men have made such a determined assault on me and upon my work here is solely because, notwithstanding their most earnest requests that I should do so, I felt, on coming to this country, bound not to identify myself with their work but to instead identify myself with the life and the institutions of this country and to aid, so far as I might be able, in the furtherance of rational proposals under the guidance of those holding the confidence of the country in the direction of industrial and political progress."

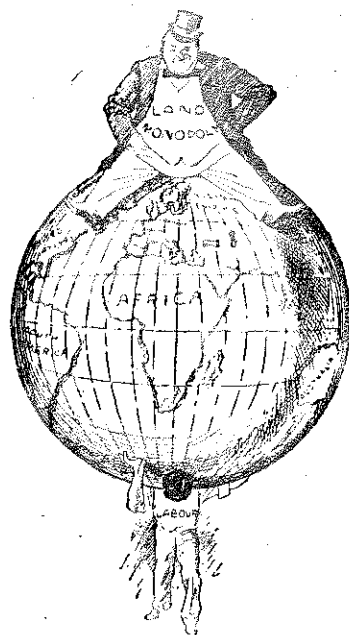
"THE WORST ENEMIES OF THE WORKING CLASS."

"The programmes they advocate here have been on trial elsewhere and have always collapsed, and must always collapse, on the hands of those who promote them. Direct action is in every country in the world the watchword of property-destroying, bomb-throwing Anarchists. There is nothing to be gained by avoiding the issue. Syndicalism, direct action, anarchism are the worst enemies of the working-class. They have caused immeasurable harm wherever they have gained power and influence among the workers. There is no use trying to unite 'barn builders' and 'barn burners' in the same company for building purposes."

"THE DESTROYERS."

"This is the reason why the Unity Campaign has sought from the start to make its appeals to the rank and file of all the workers, not to make bargains and compromises with destroyers under any misleading illusion that destroyers, who have exalted a passion for destruction into a superstitious conviction that the best things in human life can be built on the worst passions of the human heart, can render any desirable service to the cause of Labour here or anywhere."

These words were true then. They are just as true to-day. Would that we could say the same of Professor Mills himself. Unhappily, he has neglected his own warnings, he has himself been "captured" by those he so vigorously and so justly denounced. And so he passes from the United Labour party to the United Federation of Labour, from the evolutionaries to the revolutionaries, from the "barn builders" to the "barn burners." RIP.



THE MODERN ATLAS.

IV.

REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM!

That Professor Mills' characterisation of the aims and methods of the Industrial Unionists—the Revolutionary Unionists as they ought to be called—is not overdrawn, is clear from the following extracts from the "Industrial Unionist," of July 1st last, published in the city of Auckland:—

"The Timaru District Farmers' Union, which was instrumental in the procuration of scabs sufficient to break the recent strike of the Watersiders down there, held recently its annual conference, when a remit to the Dominion Conference was adopted to the effect that the Union take steps to organise emergency committees, as was done at Timaru, to secure labour (scabs!) to meet a waterside strike at any port."

THE GENTLE ART OF SABOTAGE

"The farm labourers of N.Z. must feel charmed by their master's confidence in their trustworthiness as scabs. The average bumpkin's intelligence hovers around nil, we know, and he has little or no time to improve it; still, he might be directly helped along the road to disillusionment. That there's many a slip 'tween cup and lip might well be remembered by rebels on the wharves, and the scabs will not forget it. And if the farmers find it indeed imperative that they invade the wharves, and thus destroy the striker's chance of making a decenter living, then the strikers may also find it indeed imperative that they invade the holy sanctuary of the woolshed, the barn, the orchard. Many an old swaggar has, by an innocent reference to hot sun and dry grass, transmuted a cocky's scorn into a feed and a flop."

"A POWERFUL ARGUMENT."

In the adjoining column read:—

"Searching sabotage would prove a powerful argument in educating the N.Z. and Australian cow-thumpers."

"Many of the latter are 'strong i' th' arm and weak i' th' head."

"A little of the above tactic, judiciously applied by nomad proletarians, would prove as electric in driving farmer-scabs back to the land as does ginger in driving a worn-out horse to the sale."

"The attitude of the I.W.W. to the small farmer is rather one of sympathy than otherwise because the latter is overworked and much exploited."

"It is withheld, however, from strike-breakers . . ."

"Quite a classic literature already exists upon the subject of sabotage."

"No branch of industry has yet been discovered where the searching tactic has not been applied with phenomenal success."

"If the boss should happen to read down this column, he should, by the time he reaches this paragraph (the end), have a vague feeling, that we are after his hide."

MIGHT IS RIGHT.

Again, in an article entitled "Might and Surplus Value":—

"The workers are now, in every country, beginning to repudiate 'striking at the ballot-box,' and are striking at the source of Might—surplus value, wherein the might of the Master Class is stored."

"Every strike, victorious or otherwise, is a step in the right direction, as it checks the accumulation of surplus value—reserve power."

"Workers! Get businesslike! This is surely a business proposition, and remember, like all business, it has no fancy ideals, no ethics save and except those that pay best."

And under the heading, "French Syndicalism: The Confederation General du Travail," we are told that—

"Strongly educated, rendered always more conscious, the workers augment the power and revolutionary intensity of the Proletariat by means of revolutionary gymnastics of action;

"This conception of the movement inevitably brings forth a state of struggle that translates itself into a series of uninterrupted strikes."

"Then there is the boycott and sabotage which the worker can use, though Messieurs the Capitalists, of all categories, condemn them vehemently. Strikes become more and more generalised, and the whole action and propaganda of the Confederation is to perfect the means of making a general strike, and this has been ratified by successive congresses that have been held for the last ten years."

"THE REVOLUTIONARY CATAclysm."

"The General Strike appears as the supreme effort, the last revolt, of the Proletariat to obtain their emancipation. The day when any power, no matter which, is incapable of resisting the complete and unanimous holding up of production, leads inevitably to the revolutionary cataclysm, the prelude of the transformation of society."

"Such is the aim and objects and methods of the C.G.T. as set forth in the rules and explained by the members."

Immediately below this article appears the following extract advertising a work by the writer of the article. I commend the extract to the attention—the careful attention—of the Trade Unionists of New Zealand:—

TRADE UNIONS IN ENGLAND.

"On the whole, carefully considering all the points in favour of the trade unions and possibilities of them coming together, we industrialists have come to the conclusion that their permanent mending is well-nigh an impossibility."—E. J. B. Allen, in "Revolutionary Unionism."

Or turn to the "Industrial Unionist" for June 1st. Sampling each page, I find:—

Page 1. The withdrawal of the efficiency of the railroad service, by the railroad clerk misdirecting the loading bills, and freight handlers putting wrong tags of destination on the cars, may cause a confusion hard to untangle, even partial paralysation.

"ADVICE" TO RAILWAYMEN.

Happily, our railway servants take no stock in such pernicious teachings; but in an adjoining column of the same paper a writer dealing with the recent trouble at Timaru, says:—

"Just here I presume to offer some advice: Whenever such a strike takes place the railwaymen should be appealed to, and the message of class solidarity put before them. Even though they do not respond to the call it would let them know what is expected of them, and it would give the few militants in the 'service' a chance to drive home the message of revolutionary industrial action. These railwaymen must educate themselves before we can hope to win industrial fights."

Page 2.—"Canadian railway construction workers, notwithstanding the fact that their conditions were good, comparatively, started an aggressive strike, to exercise the strike muscles, so to speak, just as the athlete goes into training. The French workers have committees for studying the strike, stirring up strife and putting ginger into the movement—they get after the boss."

"But see how docile we are in Australasia. Isn't it about time we became the aggressors?"

"Let's get after the boss."

Again:—"It is time to stop fooling and drop that ballot-box, nose-counting theory and get down to some real propaganda work. The self-reliant rebel will not be deterred by the abusive adjectives hurled by interested labour leaders who cannot tolerate having their theories challenged."

Page 3.—A Warning to "Farmer Scabs" (again with reference to Timaru:—

"But as things are at present the Industrialist wishes it to be distinctly understood that when the farmer scabs on the industrial worker, from that moment he will be treated as a social enemy."

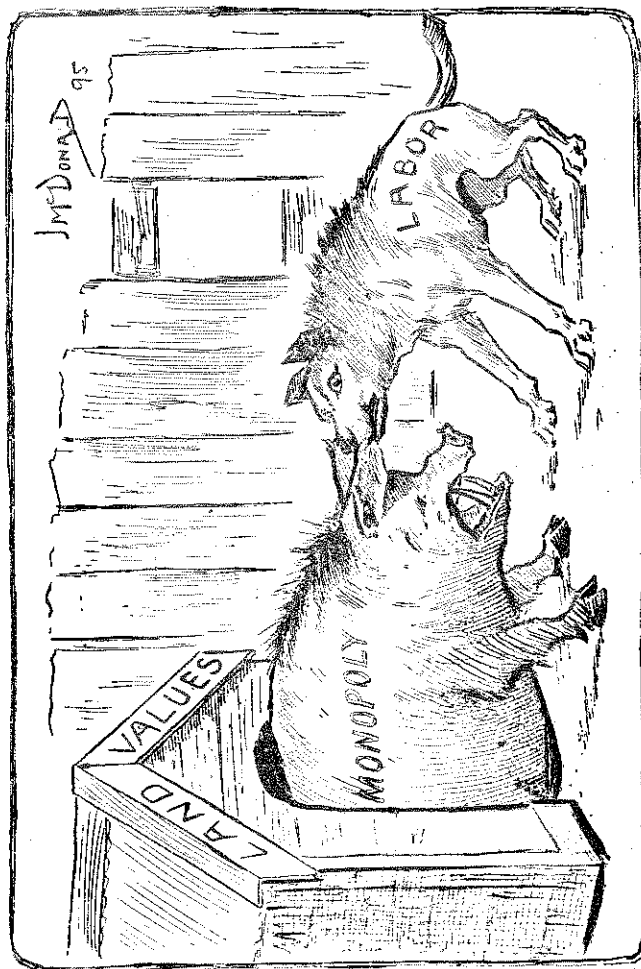
"If the farmer and his son are going to interfere . . . then the I.W.W. proclaims that it is the duty of the working class to go landwards, and look after the farms until their considerate owners return. Let the workers of New Zealand, especially the unmarried ones, be ready to go to the country when the rustic comes in with his whiskers and big stick to smash strikes."

"There is nobody with interests that the Industrial Union—(the Revolutionary Union)—cannot tame, and the obstreperous cockatoo, despite his appalling egotism, will be no exception to the rule. If you do dirty work, Mr. Farmer, you will get a dirty deal. Stay at home and mind your own business, and you needn't worry. There may be a few more Brisbanes or Timarus, but the working plug is beginning to think. Finally, if you value your stock, your herds, and your house, mind your own business and stay at home."

Page 4.—"Right" and "Wrong":—

"They strike without a grievance to show their power, return to work without an agreement and indulge in sabotage, a term and practice springing up in France, where the workmen threw their wooden shoes (sabots) into the looms. They respect no contract. As one of their leaders said recently, 'As to whether a thing is right or wrong makes no difference in our plan.' Their plan is to revolutionise the present industrial system."—Joliet, III.

And this sort of stuff is published with approval in New Zealand, where we have adult suffrage!



THE RIGHT PIG BY THE EAR.

V.

UNITY MUST COME.

"The Unity Conference," wrote Professor Mills in the article in the "Weekly Herald" of April 10th, 1912, already quoted in these articles, "is the largest, the most representative, and the best-spirited gathering of the whole body of the useful people ever brought together in New Zealand. The miners, the seamen, the waterside workers, the general labourers will not stay out of this organisation. Those who for the time only are using these great organisations to promote the rejected programmes of Australia and America will lose their power as their programmes collapse here, as they must collapse here and everywhere. The time will soon come when all New Zealand will fall in line."

This, I believe, is as true to-day of the United Labour party as it was true then of the Unity Conference.

TRAITOR POLITICIANS AND AGITATORS MUST GO.

It is, I believe, even more true to-day of the United Labour party than it was of the Unity Conference, when Professor Mills wrote the words in regard to that conference, that "The politician who would betray, the agitator who agitates in order to agitate and in the end betray, are alike without voice or influence in it." Professor Mills himself has now neither voice nor influence in the United Labour party.

I trust that, to use the Professor's own words, "in the political to-morrow they (these traitor politicians and agitators) will be without influence in all New Zealand."

But to-morrow is not yet. It is now to-day; and to-day these traitor poli-

ticians and agitators—these revolutionary unionists, syndicalists, direct actionists, anarchists—are with us, and the position must be dealt with with no faltering hand.

REVOLUTIONARY METHODS HOPELESS.

It is for this reason that I desire to convey to the minds of all the dangers to which society is exposed by the spread of revolutionary doctrines, and impress upon all how utterly hopeless it is to look to revolutionary methods for any real and lasting improvements in social conditions. It is for this reason that I wish to draw attention to the rapidly-growing conviction amongst the workers that it is hopeless to expect any really worth-while reform of social conditions by Parliamentary and constitutional means; and I wish to voice the warning that the despair arising from this conviction must cause, and is indeed causing large numbers in every country to listen to the anarchistic teachings of Syndicalism and Revolution.

That such teachings find many ready listeners even here in New Zealand is, I believe, due (1) to our faulty electoral system which has hitherto prevented the workers of this country from being represented in Parliament in proportion to their voting strength; (2) to the disappointment arising from the undoubted, and by many of us expected, failure of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Acts to really and permanently improve the wage-position of workers; and last, but by no means least, to the

FAILURE OF OUR POLITICIANS

to grapple in any adequate, root and branch fashion with the monopolies and privileges by means of which the idle few exploit the toiling many—monopolies which, by forcing up rents and prices, have time after time nullified all advances of wages won by the workers.

It was because of this failure that, after long "hoping against hope," I at last left the Liberal Government. It is because the U.L.P. gives promise of the drastic political action required that I am proud to number myself in its ranks.

At the time of writing there are, at the outside, only four Labour members in the New Zealand House of Representatives, whereas, in proportion to the votes cast for Labour candidates at the last general election the number of Labour members should be ten. From this it is very clear that our present electoral system does not give Labour a square deal. And the same applies to our local governing bodies. To this is due in large part the growing feeling amongst the workers of hopelessness in regard to political action. Proportional representation—a bill for which I introduced in 1911—will give the workers the electoral square deal they are entitled to.

WANTED: A POLITICAL AND AN ECONOMIC SQUARE DEAL.

But, even then, the "House of Lords" stands in the way. This "fifth wheel to the legislative coach" should be abolished; and by means of the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall, the electors should be kept at all times in direct touch with and full control over both legisla-

tion and legislators; while, by the adoption of the Elective Executive system, Parliament, instead of being controlled by the Government, should be given control over the Executive, so that vital national issues may be decided on their merits instead of being settled by mere party wire-pulling. Only by such measures can we get rid of the deadly, reaction-fostering, revolution-breeding slowness of our political machinery, both national and local.

But such measures are in themselves only machinery measures. They are not the end, but only the means to the end. In order to secure a political, an industrial, and a social square deal, we want (1) the government of New Zealand by the people for the people, instead of by the monopolists for the monopolists; (2) the untaking of the people and the taxation of land values instead, so that the land values produced by the whole of the people shall be taken by the whole of the people for the whole of the people, instead of being wrongfully pocketed by the monopolists for the monopolists, and so that what is produced by the individual and therefore rightly belongs to the individual shall be left sacredly to the individual, free from landlord tribute and free of all taxation, whether national or local; and (3) the abolition of every vestige of exploitation, by the abolition, or, where that is impossible, by the public ownership and control of all monopolies by means of which man exploits his fellow-man.

MONOPOLY IS THE ENEMY.

As I have already stated, it is these

monopolies that by forcing up rents and prices have hitherto nullified all advances in wages won by the workers whether through the Conciliation and Arbitration Courts or by other means, and have thus forced the workers back in despair on the strike methods of the old trade unionism and the revolutionary methods of the new "industrial" unionism.

And of these monopolies the greatest and the worst is land monopoly. So long ago as 1904 Mr Edward Tregear (then secretary to the New Zealand Labour Department, but now president of the Social Democratic party, the political Siamese twin of the revolutionary United Federation of Labour), in a memorandum to the Rt. Hon. R. J. Seddon, then Premier and Minister for Labour, referring to the manner in which the higher wages and other benefits arising from the operation of the Conciliation and Arbitration Acts were "rapidly becoming neutralised," stated that there was

"A THIRD HAND IN THE GAME."

"The fact is that there is a third hand in the game besides the employer and employee, and it is this third man, the non-producing ground landlord of city and suburban property, who alone will rise a winner in the end.

"The chief devourer of the wages of the worker and of the profits of the employer is excessive rent . . . a greedy rack-renting system, which transfers gradually almost the whole earnings of the industrial and commercial classes to the pockets of the non-producer, is indefensible. It partakes of three characters: It is unauthorised taxation by private persons, it is tribute to a conqueror, and ransom of a captive. . . . There is reason for the State to interfere to prevent the exploitation of its citizens

and the draining of the earnings of the community into the possession of a few private persons.

"It is beyond doubt that the advantages bestowed by progressive legislation are gradually being nullified, and will eventually be destroyed by certain adverse influences. Those influences must be sought out and neutralised fearlessly and effectively in the interests of all classes of workers, i.e., of the vast majority of the citizens of the colony."

And this was confirmed by Mr. Seddon, who, addressing the Australian Labour League at Sydney, in 1906, shortly before his death, declared that "up to the present the labour laws of New Zealand have benefited one class only, and that, the landlord class."

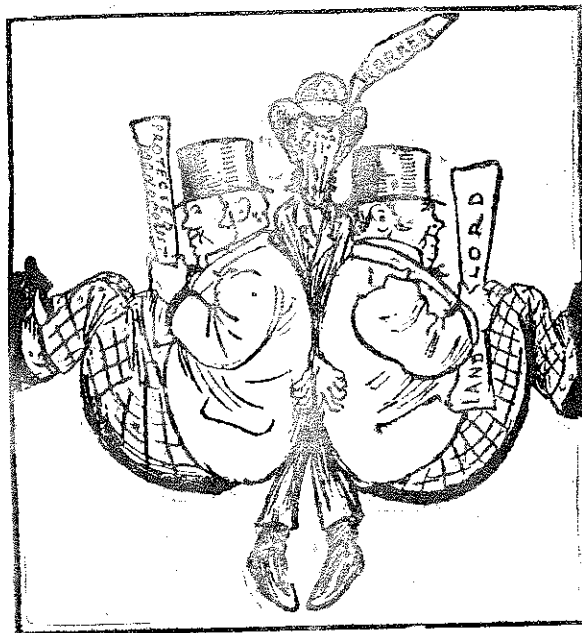
EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE EXPLOITED IN COMMON.

It is greatly to be regretted that Mr Tregear, who showed thus clearly in 1904 that employer and employee were exploited in common by the non-producing ground landlord, "the chief devourer of both the wages of the worker and of the profits of the employer," should in 1913 have so far forgotten himself as to endorse the lying I.W.W. preamble which, without reservation or qualification of any kind, declares that "the working class and the employing class have nothing in common."

Manifestly it is in the common interest of worker and of employer alike that they should get rid of the "chief devourer" of their earnings.

Manifestly, also, a course of action, which is "in the interests of all classes of workers—i.e., of the vast majority of

the citizens of the colony," only needs to be put clearly and effectively before the electors to be carried by an overwhelming majority; and there is, therefore, no excuse for the coquetting with revolutionary unionist methods of which Mr Tregear is guilty to-day.



LAND MONOPOLY IS THE ENEMY.

VI.

"THE NON-PRODUCING GROUND- LANDLORD."

In his memorandum of 1904 to the Right Hon. R. J. Seddon, Mr. Edward Tregear, as we have already seen, showed clearly that the failure of the Conciliation and Arbitration Acts to raise the real wages—i.e., the purchasing power—of the workers is due to "the fact . . . that there is a third hand in the game besides the employer and employee"; that "this third man, the non-producing ground-landlord of city and suburban property . . . alone will rise a winner in the end"; and that employer and employee alike are exploited by "this third man"; that, in fact,

"THE CHIEF DEVOURER

of the wages of the worker and of the profits of the employer is excessive rent." And next to excessive rent come unjust rates and taxes. The working farmer and those he employs find to their cost that they also have to contend with a "third hand in the game" who "alone will rise a winner in the end," and that this third man is the monopolist and speculator in country lands, who forces settlers into the backblocks, where, struggle as they may, they can make only the barest of livings; the monopolist and speculator who forces up the price of all other country lands to such a figure that the working farmer, settle where he may, can, on the average, after paying an excessive rent in the guise of "interest" to a mortgagee, make only

the barest living for himself and pay only the barest living wage to his employees.

As a case in point I may cite Taranaki, where the working farmer, his wife, and family are in only too many cases mortgaged up to the hilt, and, though slaving their hardest, still make, in these days of the milking-machine, the cream separator, and the refrigerator, with butter at 1/- per pound, just the same bare living that their predecessors made 20 years ago with butter at only 6d per pound! And the reason for this is obvious to the man who realises that the price of dairying land 20 years ago was £10 to £15 per acre, whereas to-day it is £50, £60, or £75 per acre, and near the bigger centres of population rises sometimes to £100 per acre. The rise in the price of land

HAS DISCOUNTED ALL THE ADVANTAGES

arising from the use of improved machinery and methods, all the advantages of the "cheaper money" provided by the late Liberal Government, all the advantages afforded in the shape of better roads and bridges, and a better railway service; and, until land monopoly and land speculation be abolished, all attempts, no matter on what lines, to improve the position of the working farmer and the farm-labourer must inevitably be discounted by the same "adverse influences," as Mr. Tregear would call them. The farmer cannot graze sheep or cattle or grow maize, wheat, turnips, or any other crops on the moon, nor run a dairy farm in "the milky way." He can only

farm the land, and so long as the land is monopolised, the land monopolist and land speculator can and will "farm the farmer"—and every other land-user, for the matter of that—of all he produces above and beyond a bare living.

It must be so, for, as Judge James G. Maguire, of San Francisco, put it in effect in an able address on this subject some months ago—"We are all like bees in a hive. If the bees in a hive worked twice as hard as before, and produced twice as much honey as before, how much more honey would the bees have left for themselves at the end of the year? The answer is easy: They would have no more honey left for themselves, for the owner of the hive would, as before, take from them all the honey they produced except just enough to enable them to go on living and working and storing up honey for him.

WORKING BEES V. DRONES.

This planet is our human hive of industry, and no matter how hard we work, no matter how enormously we improve our methods and machinery and increase the amount of wealth or "honey" we produce, the working-bees in the human hive will get no more "honey" for themselves. The drones who monopolise the "hive" will as usual take from them all that they produce, except just enough to enable them to go on living and working for the drones.

In short, the private appropriation of rent, only possible so long as private monopoly of land continues, is the master force that prevents a just distribution of the products of labour. This is

is no longer a mere matter of so much per hour and so many hours per day. Nothing short of securing to each worker the full product of his labour will now suffice. Nothing short of the abolition of every vestige of exploitation can solve the problem and avert revolution by force. In order to abolish every vestige of exploitation, we must, wherever we can, abolish the monopolies that make such exploitation possible, and wherever the abolition of these monopolies is not possible they must be owned and controlled by the public for the benefit of all, not held by a privileged few for the advantage of the few.

U.L.P. DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

This is clearly recognised in the "declaration of principles and statement on the present crisis," issued by the Dominion Executive of the United Labour Party.

After stating "(1) that our purpose and policy is evolutionary and constructive in character, and aims by constant revision and improvement of existing conditions of society to advance the well-being of the people as a whole and not merely the sectional interests of a class; and (2) that we repudiate as a party and as individuals the policy and methods of revolutionary action put forward under the various names of Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism, and Direct Action, under which the workers would be committed to planned industrial strife, stimulated class warfare, and the use of force instead of the process of law," this manifesto declares—

"(3) That we oppose most strongly the exploitation of the people by monopolies of all kinds, and seek to organise all who are opposed to such exploitation into one party.

"(4) That in the field of industry our policy is to endeavour by means of conferences, conciliation, and arbitration, or other methods of legal regulation, to effect the peaceful settlement of industrial disputes, reserving the strike only as a last resort.

"(5) That in the field of politics we stand as a distinct party. We uphold the rights of the people to the fullest measure of self-government by the free selection of their representatives, both national and local. Our object is to establish by law and just administration such conditions as will secure equality of opportunity to all and ensure that wealth created by society shall be owned by society and used for the benefit of all, while that produced by the individual shall be owned by the individual."

Surely no honest, level-headed man, comparing the above declaration of principles and statement of policy with the egregious "preamble and statement of principles" put forward by the United Federation of Labour and the Social Democratic Party, can hesitate to throw in his lot with the United Labour Party and subscribe to its policy as best calculated to protect the rights of the workers and promote the welfare of the people of New Zealand as a whole.

VII.

WANTED: A TRUE SQUARE DEAL.

Blind opposition to the claims of Labour is no remedy for revolutionary tendencies. As a matter of fact it simply stimulates such tendencies and thus plays directly into the hands of the revolutionists.

The only way to check revolutionary tendencies—the only way, in short, to avert revolution—is to recognise the just claims of Labour and set to work by peaceful, evolutionary methods to secure as quickly as may be a true square deal for Labour, both on the political field and on the industrial field.

FIRST STEPS FIRST.

The first step towards a political square deal for Labour is, undoubtedly, proportional representation. If the Federation of Labour were represented in Parliament in direct proportion to its voting strength, that, I am convinced, would tend more than anything else possibly can to check its revolutionary tendencies and to lead it to prefer peaceful, constitutional methods. For that reason, if for no other, I welcome the election of Mr. Webb as member for Grey.

Further steps in the direction of a political square deal are the abolition of the Second Chamber and the adoption of the Elective Executive, the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall. Only on these lines can we secure true democracy, true "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

The first step towards an industrial square deal for Labour is to repeal the most burdensome of the taxes now levied upon labour and labour products, and to substitute for them

INCREASED TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

As such a first step I would suggest that the Land Tax be increased by another penny in the £, with no exemption for the additional penny, and that the revenue so raised be applied to the reduction of railway freights and fares and of Customs taxes on the necessities of life not produced in New Zealand.

As a second step this might be followed up the next year by a measure requiring all local rates, both in town and country, to be levied upon unimproved values. And thereafter the Land Tax should, at least, be increased each year by the amount that the people add each year to the annual unimproved rental value of the land.

Monopoly is the enemy. Without monopoly the exploitation of man by man is impossible. And the root monopoly is land monopoly. We must go to the root.

WE MUST DESTROY LAND MONOPOLY.

And the best way to destroy land monopoly is by the progressive taxation of land values. Moreover, the progressive taxation of land values will not only check and ultimately destroy land monopoly, but step by step as we tax land values we can untax labour—step by step as we take more and more of

public earnings for public purposes we shall take less and less of individual earnings for public purposes; and the taxation of land values will also provide the funds whereby the people can reach out and secure public ownership and control of all other monopolies by means of which labour is exploited.

Only on such lines can we, in the words of the declaration of principles recently issued by the United Labour party,

"SECURE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY TO ALL,

and ensure that wealth created by society shall be owned by society and used for the benefit of all, while that produced by the individual shall be owned by the individual."

Only on such lines can we raise wages, not only without the increase in wages being swallowed up by an increase in rents and prices, but actually while forcing down both rents and prices.

To leave land values untaxed or only lightly taxed, encourages land monopoly and land speculation, thus forcing up land values. This inflation of land values discourages the use of land—that is to say, it discourages the employment of labour on the land in the production of wealth; and the competition of the workers for a diminished number of jobs forces down wages to a minimum, while the check to production forces up prices.

On the other hand, the local taxation levied on the homes and on the trade and industry of the people, discourages the building of homes and discourages trade

and industry generally, thus forcing up rents while forcing down wages, checking production and forcing up prices. The national taxes levied on the necessities of life also force up prices as against wages.

HIGHER WAGES, LOWER RENTS, AND LOWER PRICES.

But the reduction of the Customs taxes on the necessities of life will force down prices, which means that wages will go further, and is therefore equal to a rise in wages. While to take the local rate burdens off the homes and the trade and industry of the people will encourage the building of homes, thus reducing house rents by the amount of the rate burden taken off, and will encourage trade and industry generally. This means (1) a bigger demand for labour, therefore higher wages, and (2) cheaper goods by the amount of the rate burdens taken off the mills and factories, etc., in which the goods are produced, and by the amount also of the rate burdens taken off the warehouses and shops in which the goods are stored and sold.

And, further, the rating and taxation of land values, in place of the rates and taxes remitted, will tend to force idle land into the market, thus reducing rents and stimulating production, and thereby raising wages while reducing prices.

For example, an additional penny in the £ on land values without exemption would yield, say, a further £700,000 a year; and to reduce Customs taxes by that amount would mean, allowing only

50 per cent for wholesalers and retailers' profits on the taxes, a total reduction in the cost of living of at least £1,000,000 a year—i.e., £1 per head for every man, woman and child in New Zealand, or £5 a year for the average family of five (man, wife, and three children). This in itself is equivalent to an increase in wages of £5 a year, or practically 2/ a week.

SMALL FARMERS, ETC., WILL GAIN.

The small farmer—indeed, the small landholder, whether in town or country—has nothing to fear, has, in fact, much to gain, by the levying of this additional penny in the £ on land values without exemption and the reduction of Customs taxes (or railway freights or both combined) by the amount of revenue so raised. For the gain by the reduction of Customs taxes averages £5 a year per family of five, whereas under the one penny in the £ on land values the small landholder would pay 8/4 only on an unimproved value of £100; 16/8 on £200; 25/ on £300; 33/4 on £400; 41/8 on £500.

Indeed, since there are 1200 pence in £5, the one penny in the £ land tax would not balance the gain through the remission of Customs taxes until the unimproved value had reached £1,200; while at £1,300 unimproved value the landholder would only have to pay 8/4 a year more than he pays now; and he is far better able to pay 8/4 a year more than the small holder with, say, £100 unimproved value is to pay £5 a year under the present system in place of the 8/4 a year he would pay under the above proposal.

GAIN TWICE AS MUCH BY 2D IN £.

All small farmers, all small landholders, in short, stand to gain by putting an additional 1d in the £ on land values, even without exemption, and reducing Customs taxes by the amount so raised. And if they gain so much by 1d in the £, they will gain twice as much by 2d in the £; three times as much by 3d in the £, and so on.

In 1911 our local rates amounted to £1,592,601, of which some £500,000 were levied on unimproved values only. To levy all rates on unimproved values would, therefore, mean a gain to labour of another million a year, another £5 per family of five, equal to another increase in wages of 2/ per week.

In 1911 the unimproved land values of New Zealand amounted to £184,062,798, but in 1912 they had risen to £199,184,261, an increase, in round figures, of £15,000,000. On a 5 per cent basis this means that in the year 1911-12 the people of New Zealand increased the rental value of the land by £750,000 a year. And the rate of increase is accelerating, for in the year 1910-11 the increase in the unimproved value was only ten millions—equivalent to a rise in annual rental value of £500,000 only.

But let us suppose that the rate of increase remains at £15,000,000 a year, equivalent to an increase in rental values each year of £750,000 a year.

To increase the Land Tax each year by the amount added by the people each year to the rental value of the land—i.e., by £750,000—and to reduce Customs taxes or railway freights or both

combined by that amount, would, allowing as before only 50 per cent for dealers' profits, reduce the cost of living by over £1,000,000 a year, or by over £5 per family of five, which would be equal to a rise in wages of over 2/ per week. In the following year the Land Tax would be increased and Customs taxes and railway freights reduced by the same amount; and this would mean a further reduction of a million a year in the cost of living, a further rise in wages of 2/ a week. The next year the same, and so on.

In short, it is clear that in a very few years we could abolish all taxes, local and national, on labour and on labour products—i.e.,

ABOLISH ALL TAXES THAT FORCE DOWN WAGES AND FORCE UP RENTS AND PRICES—

run our railways free, pay off our public debts at a substantial rate per annum, and nationalise or municipalise all monopolies by means of which labour is exploited.

On the lines indicated wages would be raised in the lifetime of one Parliament by at least 6/ a week, and in the lifetime of two Parliaments by at least 12/ per week; for in what goes before I have dealt only with the easily measurable increase in wages due to the reduction of unjust taxation, and have left out of account altogether the much larger but not so readily measurable increase that would result from forcing idle land into use and thus greatly increasing the demand for labour.

On these lines of peaceful, constitutional, constructive effort, Labour, while wronging none, can, with the minimum of hardship to any and the maximum of benefit to all—for all must benefit in the long run by the substitution of justice for injustice and the overcoming of might by right—on these lines, Labour can abolish the last vestige of exploitation and secure to each man—even to the man who produces nothing—the full product of his labour.

So mote it be.

*The Byell Printing and
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