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INDUSTRIAL SALVATION



BY
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1918.

INDUSTRIAL UNREST

EXTRACT FROM THE PROGRAMME OF THE WOMEN'S PARTY.

THE problem of industrial unrest to be dealt with by guarantees to the workers that their conditions of labour and the money return for their labour shall be in accordance with justice and the interests of the nation. The solution of the problem of industrial unrest is to be looked for in this direction, and, above all, in the shortening of hours of labour, and not in the direction of "control of industry by the workers." This, for the reason that the efficient management of industry is a function calling for specialised individual ability, for thorough training, and for wide experience. It is a function which emphatically cannot be performed by the rank and file of industry, either by a system of committees or by any other system.

The path of "control of industry by the workers" leads inevitably to the demoralisation and disintegration of British industry and its capture and conquest by the highly organised and disciplined industry of Germany—in other words, control of British industry by the workers inevitably means the subjection of British industry and of the British workers by Germany.

It is outside the wage-earning hours of the day that the British workers should look for and find that complete freedom from restraint which it would be as suicidal to introduce into industry itself as it would be to introduce it aboard ship. There is absolutely nothing inconsistent with personal dignity and individual liberty in submitting to discipline and obeying instructions for a certain part of each day, provided that the individual is free to utilise his ample hours of leisure according to his own particular will.

INTRODUCTION.

The German people think, in spite of the military defeat that is in store for them, that they have the power of accomplishing the economic ruin of Britain by producing Industrial Revolution in our midst. The first rumblings of this revolution, so the Germans flatter themselves, have already been heard in the British Isles even before the war is ended.

We, of the Women's Party, sympathise deeply with the aspirations of the British workers to better conditions and are determined that their unrest shall be directed into a proper course and be made the means of securing real and constructive progress, instead of following the destructive and disastrous course planned by the Germans and their tools the Bolsheviks.

One of the most dangerous demands of the Bolsheviks is for the so-called "democratic control of industry," but, as is shown in the following chapters, the only way in which industry can be democratised is to increase its productivity and thereby bring its products within the reach of the masses of the people. But to put British industry under the rule of committees of shop stewards, instead of having industry under the control of captains, as the Bolsheviks propose, would mean the early demoralisation and destruction of British industry, whereupon the highly-organised and disciplined industry of Germany would step in and occupy the whole field. Such is indeed the deliberate purpose the Germans have in view when they encourage industrial Bolshevism in all the Allied nations.

The Whitley Committee Report has been much discussed and some experimenting has been going on in the direction it advises. But the Whitley Report is vitiated by its striving

after "democratising" the control of industry. The Bolshevik element (which, by the way, is actually represented on the Whitley Committee itself) has exploited the Whitley Report, but it is now more and more repudiating that Report on the ground that it does not fully satisfy the demand for the so-called "democratic" control of industry.

The Women's Party maintain that British industry would not long survive the abolition of captaincy, and its decline would be marked by an industrial tyranny, such as the British workman never yet has known, for there is no tyranny so irresponsible and so formidable as Bolshevik tyranny. And be it noticed that one who is prominent in both ordinary Trade Union and Bolshevik circles has clearly and proudly stated that the shop stewards and shop stewards' committees of this country are the element which most closely corresponds to the Bolshevik element in Russia. Our Bolsheviks complain that the captains of industry take for their own benefit an excessive share of the fruits of industry. Even if they are taking an excessive share, captains of industry are indispensable. The necessity of captaincy in industry is a fact which is unaffected by the independent question of the remuneration of captaincy. As to the proportion of the fruits of industry absorbed by such remuneration, there are many conflicting statements before the public. One authority says that: "If you deduct interest on capital and the losses of bankrupt capitalists you will find that the net profits do not work out at more than threepence per head per day of the workers." A very different view is expressed by other persons claiming equal authority, and it is high time that the public should be enlightened on this important matter. Some light indeed has been cast upon it by the Coal Conservation Sub-Committee, in the course of whose report appears the following words: "In the United Kingdom in 1907, according to the Census of Production, page 19, the average 'net output per worker' was £102 per annum, and since this sum has to provide not only the wages of the worker, but also establishment charges, including interest on capital, it is clear that the average wage must be something very much less, probably little more than half."

From this it clearly appears that the struggle between employers and employed is only too much like a fight between

two dogs about one inadequately covered bone, and the more clearly the public know the facts about the paltry productivity of industry under present conditions, the more hope there will be of industrial unity and constructive progress for the purpose of securing increased wealth production.

Increased wealth production interests the Women's Party for two reasons, namely:—

1. National Safety, which is dependent upon a highly developed national industry; and
2. Social Reform, or, as we prefer to call it, the democratisation (i.e., generalisation) of prosperity.

As the readers of this pamphlet will find it expressed in the chapter called "Industrial Salvation," our task is to "bring within reach of the masses of the people the comforts, refinements, and luxuries that have hitherto been the monopoly of the few." This requires a great increase in industrial production.

The Women's Party realise that the discontent of the workers is due not entirely to material considerations. They chafe under unfair class distinctions. They resent, or ought to, the idea that the performance of manual labour must involve social disadvantages. This point is dealt with in the ensuing pages, but, briefly, we may say here that the Women's Party (while maintaining the necessity for industrial discipline, and, indeed, stricter discipline than in the past, during working hours) are opposed to any proletarian brand upon the manual workers, and believe that out of working hours the manual worker should be in manner and mode of life indistinguishable from the other members of the community.

The Women's Party, whose headquarters are at 4, William Street, Knightsbridge, S.W. 1, will welcome the co-operation of those who are willing to help with the realisation of the ideals set forth in these pages.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

October, 1918.

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INDUSTRIAL SALVATION

ALL pre-war books on Economics and labour questions, whether written by Socialists or otherwise, ought to be publicly burned by the common hangman, this condemnation to extend to all later writings whose authors show themselves to have forgotten nothing and learnt nothing since August, 1914. If some statements of truth should thereby be incidentally destroyed, those same truths could easily be reaffirmed, while the burning up of the mass of snobbery, prejudice, reaction, misunderstanding, stupidity, half-truths, and falsehood, so completely exposed and discredited during the war, would clear the ground for real economic and social progress.

The old-fashioned writers on social questions have, Socialists and non-Socialists alike, been guilty of snobbery. The non-Socialist has taken for granted the existence of a class which, because of its performance of manual labour, must be inferior to the rest of the community in instruction, in speech and manners, in clothing, housing, and mode of life generally. The Socialist has been guilty of an inverted form of snobbery which assumes that this same labouring class is morally superior to the other differently employed and reared classes of the community. This idea of the superiority of the Proletariat is enunciated by panderers to Demos, who in many cases do not themselves belong to the Proletariat, but wish to be allowed to manage the Proletariat's affairs, and think to achieve this object on the strength of ingratiating themselves with the Proletariat by means of flattery.

The cruder expression of the idea in question is to be found in the cry so popular in some quarters: "Up with the Proletariat and down with the Bourgeoisie!" But what nonsense, and, indeed, madness, that would be!

Because the ideal of true Democracy shows us that there is no inherent difference of worth or capacity as between the existing social classes (difference of worth and capacity as between individuals there is, but not as between classes). There is, however, an artificial difference between the social classes, due to environment, to training, to opportunity. And, let the truth be spoken! the Bourgeoisie is to-day the backbone of the country, the class which possesses on the whole the most desirable characteristics. How strange it would be if that were not the case: because those of the Bourgeoisie enjoy, in the main, the advantages which are required to develop and utilise the best human qualities. These advantages include good pre-natal conditions, a well-nursed infancy, a long childhood and youth sheltered from the cares of adult life, a good and prolonged education, including adequate training for self-supporting occupation, material conditions of comfort and refinement. The chief distorting and demoralising influence in the life of the Bourgeoisie is that it lives among its fellow-creatures, who lack the same advantages.

TO SUM UP, IT IS NOT THE BOURGEOISIE THAT MUST BE ABOLISHED. ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS THE PROLETARIAT THAT MUST BE ABOLISHED. What we mean by that is that the conditions under which the Proletariat lives at present must be brought to an end, AND IT MUST ENJOY THE SAME ADVANTAGES AS THE BOURGEOISIE, so that the two become indistinguishable.

As Democrats, in the best sense of the word, we of the Women's Party cannot tolerate the existing system under

which the manual workers are marked off from their fellow-citizens by peculiarities of speech and deportment, by uncouthness or inharmony even if not actual poverty of dress, by all or any of the limitations due to lack of such advantages as we have cited above, advantages which to-day are the monopoly of the so-called "upper" classes, but are in reality the birthright of all.

That, and nothing more and nothing less, is what we mean by the abolition of the Proletariat.

How is this to be done? First and foremost by the increased production of wealth.

Secondly, by raising the standard of living to which the workers themselves aspire. There are other minor conditions to be fulfilled, but these two are the chief conditions, and if they are fulfilled all else will follow.

First, as to the increase of the production of wealth. The problem we have to solve is this: WE HAVE TO BRING WITHIN REACH OF THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE THE COMFORTS, REFINEMENTS, AND LUXURIES THAT HAVE HITHERTO BEEN THE MONOPOLY OF THE FEW. This cannot be done except by increasing the production of commodities, so that there may be enough to go round. Certain Socialists, who ought to know better, have falsely taught that the poverty or semi-poverty of the many is due to the luxurious living of the prosperous sections of the community. This is not the truth, and if through all the years of Socialist preachings the result of each year's industrial effort had been divided equally among the members of the community, there would have been no appreciable increase of prosperity for any, and there would have been one dead level of poverty for all.

The plain fact is that the prosperous few have created a standard of living which must not be destroyed by reducing them to the condition of the impoverished many.

It is the impoverished many whose standard of living (and whose power of reaching that standard) must be raised to the standard of living of the prosperous few!

This can be done, and it must be done. But to do it the goods must be produced!

That is what makes so stupid and so criminal the cry that we must "return to pre-war trade union conditions and workshop practices." Those conditions and practices assured but a limited and even sordid condition of life even to the aristocracy of Labour, while to the still less privileged millions of the workers they gave a life from the material point of view hardly worth living.

The great sin of pre-war trade union conditions and workshop practices was that they RESTRICTED PRODUCTION. They represented a robbery of the community in general and of the poorer sections of the people in particular.

Increased production is feared by the workers, because of the false teaching of pre-war economists that increased production involves "over-production" and consequent unemployment. But increased production does not involve this danger if it is accompanied by INCREASED CONSUMPTION—IN OTHER WORDS, BY THE RAISING OF THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE TO THE SAME LEVEL AT WHICH THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE PROSPEROUS FEW IS TO-DAY! From the point of view of increased consumption of wealth as an economic necessity, there is much to be said for the so-called "extravagance" of the woman worker. In war time, a woman worker may be reproached for buying a fur coat when she might buy War Bonds instead, but she is a far better citizen than a certain type of man worker who does neither, but simply reaches a point when he earns more money than he cares to spend, and thereupon decreases his output and thus contributes less than his due share to the common effort.

In peace time especially, high earning and high spending, or, to express it better, high production and high consumption of commodities, are economic virtues. They result in a developed and expanded industry, and this, in its turn, is a guarantee of peace and national safety because of the Germans' realisation of the potential value of an industrial system, so expanded and developed, as a war machine, to which purpose it can be turned if they should attack us anew. And where war is concerned prevention is better than cure!

The paid employment of women, so greatly dreaded by the fossilised and reactionary element among the men trade unionists, is in reality an economic boon to all concerned. In the first place, the work of women increases the common stock of wealth and thereby increases the prosperity of the nation and the individuals that compose it. In the second place, the purchasing power of the woman worker and earner enables her to provide employment for others and helps to prevent unemployment due to under-consumption of commodities. If the women who during the war have been called into remunerative employment should be deprived of this employment at the close of the war, the cessation of their purchasing power—i.e., the cessation of their effective demand for the services and products of the labour of others—will in itself cause an appalling amount of unemployment and suffering.

The present mania (cunningly set going by the Germans for our industrial ruin) for the so-called "Democratic Control" of industry is the greatest possible danger to the Nation, and especially to the workers. SHOP STEWARDISM, COMMITTEE CONTROL, AND THE REST OF IT WILL, UNLESS NIPPED IN THE BUD, DESTROY THE POSSIBILITY OF REALISING THE GREAT AIM OF SECURING TO THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE THE COMFORTS, REFINEMENTS, AND LUXURIES AS YET ENJOYED ONLY BY THE FEW! This, as we have

shown above, can only be done by a vast increase in production, whereas under Committee Control (which means muddle, delay, confusion, divided counsels, stagnation, and retrogression) the production of commodities will fall instead of rising, poverty will increase, and the standard of living will fall to its lowest point. Only grown-up children, exploited by those who know perfectly well what they are doing, would make the demand that exists in some quarters for Committee Control of Industry instead of Captaincy in Industry.

There seems to be some vague idea in certain quarters that the Committee Control of Industry would result in doing away with the social inferiority that has been associated with manual work.

But this social inferiority is in any case doomed to disappear. It is the women of the so-called "upper classes" who have led the way in this, and we find them proudly doing all kinds of manual work, and thus proclaiming their conviction of the dignity and sanctity of toil. The Women's Party (W.S.P.U.) in pre-war days had already brushed aside in practical fashion all class distinctions based on social origin and the performance of manual work.

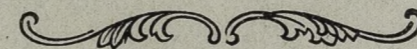
The Women's Party contemplates as more than a possibility a state of affairs in which all will be called upon to do, and will do it gladly, a certain portion of the necessary manual labour of the world, this obligation to industrial service carrying with it no suggestion of class inferiority. And it is certain that every truly educated, cultivated, and high-spirited man or woman would resent and indeed detest the idea of working under the inefficient, so-called democratic Control of Industry.

At least begin with the child, is the motto of the Women's Party, and we insist that, apart from everything else, the State shall in its own dealings with the child put into practice the principles of true democracy as out-

lined above. An increased number of children, otherwise unprovided for, are now to come under the direct care of the nation. These children must be cared for as any Cabinet Minister would have his own children cared for. What is not good enough for one child is not good enough for any!

"The country can't afford it," may be the cry. But then the country must work harder, must throw over silly and dangerous fads such as "Committee Control," must maintain and strengthen Captaincy in Industry, must abandon reductions on the output of commodities, must look for and adopt ever-improved methods of industrial organisation and production.

To rear and educate "cook's sons" like "duke's sons" will, carpers and criticisers may say, produce a lax and idle people, weakened in fibre by comfort and luxury. Not so! Good material conditions do not demoralise unless they are enjoyed in the wrong way and allowed to predominate over higher considerations. The material then clogs and chokes the spiritual. But when good material conditions and a really high standard of living become generalised among the community, and above all are enjoyed by the mass of the people from their earliest years, then this physical well-being will appear to them in its true proportion and as a means to something higher, and not as an end in itself. That high standard of living which to-day is to the "upper classes" a mark of privilege and to the "working classes" a monopoly of the few, unattainable by themselves, will, in the happier time towards which the Women's Party is striving, be as natural and as open to all, without distinction of class, as the free air of heaven.



TO ABOLISH THE PROLETARIAT

IN the preceding chapter we wrote under the heading "Industrial Salvation" :—

"It is not the Bourgeoisie that must be abolished. On the contrary, it is the Proletariat that must be abolished. What we mean by that is that the conditions under which the Proletariat lives at present must be brought to an end, and the Proletariat must enjoy the same advantages as the Bourgeoisie, so that the two become indistinguishable."

This teaching is very different from that of the class war Socialist, who, instead of trying to break down class barriers as the Women's Party purposes to do, wishes to set class against class, and foment civil war.

Fortunately women are now voters, and can play a real part in frustrating the plots and schemes of the class war-mongers.

The class war does not appeal to women. It happens to have been made in Germany, being used by the Germans strictly for exportation to other countries, including our own.

The German-invented class war has found its admirers in this and other countries almost entirely amongst men. It is abhorrent to women, as well as being ridiculous in their eyes.

The I.L.P. lecturer works himself up into a frenzy in his efforts to incite the working woman to the class war. He tries to rouse her to class jealousy by his denunciation of "the employer's wife in her silk dress." But the working woman simply and calmly adheres to her determination, not to prevent the employer's wife from having a silk dress, but to have a silk dress too! In fact, she is quite pleased to have a look at the employer's wife's silk dress, as she may thereby get some new ideas to be carried out when she is ordering her own silk dress.

The working women who spend their earnings on silk dresses, silk stockings, shapely shoes, fine underwear, fur

coats, pretty hats, and all the rest of it, are far better social reformers than all the men's Socialist or Labour organisations rolled into one.

For what are these women doing? They are raising their standard of living, and they are doing their best to break down class distinctions, which are so largely a question of dress, speech, and deportment. THE WORKING WOMAN'S INSTINCT IS TO RAISE HERSELF TO THE LEVEL OF THE MORE FORTUNATE, AND NOT TO DRAG THE MORE FORTUNATE DOWN TO HER OWN LEVEL.

If the women workers are able to retain and extend their place in industry, and if they maintain, nay, increase their earnings, THE SOCIAL PROBLEM WILL SETTLE ITSELF, OR RATHER THE WOMEN WILL SETTLE IT.

Because these women workers, if left free to follow their own beneficent instincts, will act on the following principles :—

They will do the maximum amount of work in a given time, knowing that thereby they will increase their own prosperity, and that of the whole community—knowing, in other words, that the less wealth is produced by the work of their hands, the smaller will be the amount of wealth for themselves and all concerned to enjoy.

They will claim, not only equal pay for equal work, but also a scale of remuneration for everyone, man or woman, concerned in industry, graduated according to skill and responsibility, and increasing in accordance with the increase in productivity of the collective industrial effort.

They will spend wisely and freely, so as to insure a high consumption as well as a high production of commodities. This high consumption will have two among other good effects.

(1) It will prevent what is commonly called "over-production," but is really under-consumption.

(2) It will raise the conditions of existence of the Proletariat (their housing, education, feeding, dress, and all the rest of it) until the distinctive Proletarian marks have disappeared, and manual work comes to be regarded purely as a form of necessary service, and not as a reason for social differentiation.

In thus affirming our belief that it is women who will bring about this wonderful social transformation, we have referred more particularly to the working woman in the ordinarily understood sense of that term.

But the women of the "upper" classes are doing their full share in this same and right direction. They have plunged into all forms of manual work, thus declaring their recognition of the sanctity of toil, and also proving that THERE IS NO REASON WHATSOEVER WHY THE PERFORMANCE OF MANUAL WORK SHOULD INVOLVE THE EXISTENCE OF A SPECIAL PROLETARIAN CLASS.

These same "upper class" women have also, by their example, shattered the stupid idea, spread by the Bolsheviks, that the "dignity of the workers" requires the Committee Control of Industry.

These newcomers into the industrial ranks are, owing to their advantages of education and so forth, sure enough of themselves and their own dignity to know, and they have also the common-sense to know, that CAPTAINCY IN INDUSTRY AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY ARE IN NO SENSE DEROGATORY TO THOSE WHO WORK UNDER THEIR DIRECTION. They recognise that Captaincy is an indispensable function, and that those who work under Captaincy have everything to lose in dignity as well as in material interest by exchanging Captaincy for committee rule, which is necessarily inferior from the point of view of all engaged in industry.

The chief folly and weakness of too many working men is that they regard themselves, and are willing to be regarded, as working men and nothing more. They deliberately brand themselves as a Class apart. They think of themselves as being workers before they are men and citizens. They are in their own estimation "hands," and little else. This point of view may in the past have been forced upon the working man, but that is no reason why he should deliberately cling to it now.

The women workers will, however, show the way. No "CLASS CONSCIOUS" NONSENSE FOR THEM! The one thing they do not want to be conscious of is Class! Nor do they want others to be conscious of it. Women are ready to work and work well. But they will refuse to go

through life with the label "we are the workers" tied round their necks.

Yes! Once the women get their chance in industry and politics it will not take them long to abolish the Proletariat!

THE SHOP STEWARD EVIL

COMMITTEE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY WOULD BE FATAL—THE
TRUE POLICY FOR THE WORKERS.

*Extracts from a speech delivered in the Æolian Hall,
December 4, 1917:—*

The Women's Party can speak with authority on the subject of industrial unrest, because for a long time past we have concentrated upon work in the industrial districts with the object of preventing and curing unrest. We have long realised that the object of the Germans is to hold up British industry, so that the soldiers at the front may be starved of munitions, and Great Britain compelled to surrender. At Coventry trouble arose in the form of a strike for the recognition of shop stewards. The shop steward movement has the Pacifists behind it, and is a most dangerous one. There may be some people who are supporting it in all innocence; but as a matter of fact it is a menace to British industry, and consequently to British liberty. I have in my hand a Pacifist weekly published in Coventry, and this particular number of it is a "special shop stewards' edition." The paper reeks of Pacifism and pro-Germanism, and makes it only too clear that the shop stewards' movement is being used as a means towards compromise peace. Its promoters openly say that the object of the shop stewards' movement is to secure the control of industry. They fully admit, and indeed boast, that the shop stewards would form

committees and that the whole system would mean the control of industry by committees. After that, when they had succeeded in inflicting upon industry the fatal injury of committee control, they would turn their attention to the Army and to the Navy, with a view to inflicting upon them a like injury. Indeed, the I.L.P. some time ago made an abortive attempt to start what they call Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies on the model of those which have brought Russia to the verge of destruction. Their object was to demoralise the British Army, just as their counterparts in Russia have demoralised the Russian Army. Just as they want control of British industry by shop stewards, so they would like to see trench stewards and rule by trench stewards of the Army. The men of the British Army cannot be led astray, but that is due to the splendid character and traditions of the British soldier and the British Army.

The British industrial army, however, does not work in the same atmosphere of sacrifice; the soldiers of industry are not within sight or sound of the enemy. Our industrial army has not the knowledge which our military army at the front has, and therefore the danger is great, and the disastrous idea of committee control of industry may make progress, not so much because of any hold it has on the mind of the mass of the workers, but because a disloyal minority is noisy and insistent, and the loyal majority is wont to be apathetic or pre-occupied by other matters. It should be obvious to everybody that committee control of a collective human enterprise such as industrial production is suicidal. Could you listen to an orchestra in which each person played according to his own ideas or the ideas of a committee instead of answering the beat of the conductor? Well, it is just the same in industry. There must be authority, control, discipline, individual responsibility. These things committees will never give you. It may be a pity, but it is the truth. Could you run the Army on committee principles? You have only to put that question to answer it in the negative. Industry is not so very different. The nation has its industrial army as well as its military and naval forces.

What are the matters in which the workers as such are directly concerned? They are hours and conditions of labour, and wages.

The question of hours is not one to be settled by committees. The settlement of the hours of labour depends on various considerations, but it is, above all, a question of scientific management and organisation. It is engineering and organising experts, and not committees, who are qualified to tell us in how many hours a day the necessary work of the country can be done. We would further point out that every person in the industrial army, from its Captains down to the youngest and least skilled workers, is a servant of the community, and from that point of view also committees of shop stewards cannot be regarded as the competent authority to decide the question of hours, which, we repeat, is primarily one for expert engineers and organisers to decide. Fortunately, these are able to assure us that in a near future more wealth can be produced in shorter hours than have been customary hitherto. One of the British captains of industry, Lord Leverhulme, predicts the advent of the six hours' day, thanks to the better utilisation of machinery. The advocacy by practical organisers and scientific experts of a six hours' day, or less, and their efforts in that direction, hold out, it seems to me, a far greater hope to the workers of the country than shop stewards' committee control of industry, because shop stewards and their committees do not promise, nor are they able to promise, any shortening of the hours of labour without at the same time reducing output and impoverishing the nation. They would diminish production, and thus lower and not raise the standard of living of the community, and reduce our safety in face of the enemy, since national self-defence is so largely a question of industrial production.

HEALTH CONDITIONS IN THE WORKSHOP.

This again is a question for specially trained and experienced minds to decide. It would be far better to consult a medical officer of health than a shop steward

as to what factory conditions should be, for we may be sure that his standard of health-preserving conditions would be far higher than the shop steward's.

Then there is the question of wages, a most important one from the workers' point of view. And here it must be said that many employers in the past have pursued a short-sighted and unjust policy, which may have been partly due to the false teaching of narrow-minded theorists on political economy. But since the war many minds have become more flexible and more progressive, and enlightened employers realise that it is to the common interest that the worker shall have a fair share of the reward of the collective effort of all engaged in industry. In this connection, we absolutely deny that the manual worker is the sole producer of wealth. That is the suggestion of some Socialists, and this morally and materially false teaching has done more than anything else to mislead the workers with regard to their true interest. Everybody engaged in an industrial concern, from the chief down to the least skilled worker, is taking a necessary part in the production of the total output, and each should have his or her fair share of the reward. And it should be noticed that when the question arises of the distribution of the reward of industry, the working man himself is not for equal distribution. You will find that the skilled man is discontented if he does not get more than the man he terms unskilled, and the foreman desires to have a larger remuneration for his work than is received by the men who are under him. Therefore the principle of an exact equality of wealth distribution is repudiated by the workmen themselves. They claim that those in each industrial grade shall be paid more than those in the grades beneath. As this principle of graded remuneration is insisted upon by the workers themselves, the best modern system of payment provides for the payment of a basic rate graduated according to skill, and over and above that the allotment to everyone engaged in the concern of a proportionate share of a collective bonus on total output. One advantage of this is to abolish the old plan of individual piece rates, which meant perpetual complications and incessant friction,

especially when employers, as has often happened, cut down the rate when the wage becoming payable to a workman seemed to them "too high." Under the system of the collective bonus this rate cutting is out of the question.

Committee control of industry would be a curse to industry and all engaged in it. To have shop stewards and shop stewards' committees looking out for grievances hour by hour, and day by day, is simply a means of creating trouble, because if you appoint people to find trouble, trouble they will find, and if they cannot find it they will make it—(applause)—if only to justify their own existence!

To sum up. We claim that hours of labour ought to be made as short as the scientific and organising genius of specially gifted minds can make them consistently with the necessity of increasing the wealth of the nation, and so increasing its well-being and insuring its safety against foreign attack; we claim that the conditions of labour shall be raised to the highest pitch of health and comfort as advised by those who have devoted their powers to the understanding of the needs of the human mind and body, and know what are the conditions under which the human machine can produce the best result with the least effort. And as to wages, we consider that the reward of industry shall be divided on an equitable system between all engaged in the industry, from the captain of industry at one end of the scale to the least skilled worker at the other. And we would add this further condition: there shall be no sex distinction in industry—(applause)—and for equal work of equal skill there shall be equal pay. (Applause.)

Our opinion is that the masses of this country should not simply live to work, but should work to live, and that you are bound to have discontent among people whose waking hours are almost all spent in doing mechanical work. So much of the world's work is routine and mechanical, and the work in our factories will in future become more and more sub-divided and specialised, so that the work of each individual will become more monotonous. But the great and splendid compensation

will be the shorter working day made possible by the increased productivity of labour. The workers will then have greater opportunity for self-development, for recreation, for study and other self-chosen activity, owing to the reduction in the working hours of the day. (Applause.) They should simply regard the less congenial work as a bit of national service. And after the faithful discharge of their daily national service they will have their long hours of leisure in which they can follow their own devices as artists, scientists, sportsmen—what they will. The real grievance which the working classes have suffered up to the present is that they have never been able to develop their own individual powers and gratify their individual taste as the people of other classes have. This can and must be changed. We hope to see the working classes rid themselves of the industrial obsession which has been partly forced upon them by circumstances, the obsession which consists in thinking that when they are not actually at work they ought to be perpetually absorbed in industrial questions. Let them be workers during working hours and ordinary human beings the rest of the time.

The Pacifist fomenters of industrial unrest are really riveting more firmly the industrial and spiritual chains of the workers. They do not enlarge the horizon of the workers.

Never will our Pacifists be satisfied unless they can make a Russia in this country, and therefore it is for the rest of us, as we can, to overcome this Pacifist manoeuvre to produce destructive industrial unrest.

We call on the workers of the country to accept for a few hours a day something of the discipline which for twenty-four hours a day is accepted by our fighting forces, without any loss, nay, with a gain, in their human dignity. Industry is first and foremost a national service, and a few hours' daily discipline is perfectly honourable to all the workers, especially as by increasing efficiency, discipline in the workshop will actually free the workers from that double yoke of low pay and long hours which has hitherto crippled their human development and activity.

THE BOLSHEVIK INTRIGUE FOR MASTERY

THE CAMOUFLAGE OF "DEMOCRATIC" CONTROL IS USED TO COVER ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH BOLSHEVIK TYRANNY.

THE Bolsheviki, and those who pander to them, make great play with the catch-phrase "Democratic Control of Industry." By this the Bolsheviki and their flatterers pretend to mean the control of industry by the rank-and-file. But the truth is that the rank-and-file do not control and will not control. Take, for example, the trade union movement, and notice how the loyal majority of the members of a trade union branch will let the control of their affairs, the decision of policy, the election of delegates to a Labour Conference, fall into the hands of a Pacifist few. What is more, the Pacifist few deliberately attempt by every means in their power to wirepull and manipulate matters so that the wishes of the loyal majority of the rank-and-file shall be set at naught. The following statement by Mr. Havelock Wilson should be noticed in this connection. He says: "I have been travelling hundreds of miles and addressing thousands of British working men trade unionists. I put these questions to the workers repeatedly:—

Have you ever seen the Labour war aims pamphlet at your branch union meeting?

Have you ever discussed it?

Were you asked to pass an opinion on it?

"In every case I received an emphatic 'No.'

"Then I have inquired not once but hundreds of times: Supposing that this pamphlet had been submitted to you—this pamphlet that proposes peace by negotiation, no annexations, no indemnities, and no economic boycott of the Hun—would you have supported it?

"The emphatic answer has always been 'Certainly not.'"

Again, what has become of the "Democratic" Control of Industry as manifested in the shop steward system? There we find the same old story! A Pacifist-Bolshevik element captures the Shop Steward positions and dragoons and intrigues the loyal majority into action which the good sense and conscience of that majority really condemn.

The plain truth about the movement for the Democratic Control of Industry is this. IT HAS BEEN STARTED BY AND IS RUN BY A BOLSHEVIK GANG WHICH WISHES TO IMPOSE ITS OWN AUTHORITY ON THE RANK-AND-FILE OF THE WORKERS.

The catch-word of "Democratic Control" is simply THE LADDER UP WHICH THESE BOLSHEVIKS ARE TRYING TO CLIMB TO THE POSITION OF RULING THE WORKERS. When this "Democratic Control" ladder has served its purpose and the Bolsheviks are safely on top of everything and everybody, the Bolsheviks intend to KICK THE LADDER AWAY, and the rank-and-file will hear no more of "Democratic Control," but will be expected to bow down under the rule of the Bolsheviks until such time as the Germans come and take over the situation.

Notice what we have now to tell! A certain Bolshevik (of military age), addressing a gathering of fellow-Bolsheviks quite recently, said

(1) That Bolshevism must be adopted, and, incidentally, that the monarchy must be overthrown.

(2) Strikes must be fostered on the Clyde, in the mining districts, and in other centres of War Industry.

(3) All traffic by rail and canal must be held up.

(4) LEADERS WERE ALREADY CHOSEN, WHOM THE RANK-AND-FILE WERE URGED TO OBEY WITHOUT QUESTION!

SO MUCH FOR "DEMOCRATIC" CONTROL! Bolshevik leaders are "already chosen"! By whom? Not by the rank-and-file of the workers of the country, for there has been no election of leaders, nor any vote on the policy of Bolshevism. The rank-and-file are urged to obey these

mysteriously chosen leaders "WITHOUT QUESTION." No Democratic Control there! In other words, the cry of Democratic Control is raised by the Bolsheviks without any sincerity whatever, BUT SIMPLY AS PART OF THEIR CONSPIRACY TO GET POWER INTO THEIR OWN HANDS AND RIVET THEIR RULE UPON THE WORKERS OF THE COUNTRY—until such time as the Germans come and establish German control, which, owing to the *régime* of the Bolshevik-Pacifists they very soon would!

Yes! the Bolsheviks talk very loudly about "Democratic" Control. But that is only to fool the British workers for the time being. What the Bolsheviks really mean and want when they talk of "Democratic" Control is their own control.

The Women's Party works for Democratic Control in its only real and possible sense—which involves LEADERSHIP!

The only hope for the British workers is to FIND GOOD LEADERS AND WILLINGLY AND LOYALLY FOLLOW THOSE LEADERS.

We maintain that the British working man would never choose one of the Bolsheviks as a leader. For the British Bolsheviks, taken as individuals, even the most prominent of them, have never won the respect and confidence of the British working men!

The Bolsheviks know this. They know that the workers, if they deliberately came to choose a leader, would never choose any Bolshevik on his merits.

Consequently, the Bolshevik, aiming as he does to control the workers, is compelled to achieve this object in a roundabout way. That is why he is trying to persuade the rank-and-file of the workers that by letting him take control of them, they—the rank-and-file—are themselves controlling the situation! The trick is an obvious one!

To sum the matter up! A Democracy is compelled, in the very nature of things, to accept leadership!

The workers of Britain are called upon to decide under what leadership they will march during the continuance of the war, and during the new era that will dawn as the war comes to an end.

The crafty Bolsheviks are throwing dust in the eyes of the workers, pretending to urge them to accept no leadership, but in reality intriguing to impose their own Bolshevik tyranny upon the workers.

The British workers are doomed, with their country, to ruin and enslavement unless they TEAR AWAY THE CAMOUFLAGE OF FALSE DEMOCRACY WITH WHICH THE BOLSHEVIKS HAVE COVERED THEMSELVES.

The British workman's proper answer to the Bolshevik-Pacifist gang, who under cover of so-called "Democratic" Control are intriguing for mastery of the Democracy, is this: "GO TO—GERMANY."

TO ABOLISH POVERTY

THE PRODUCTION OF WEALTH MUST BE GREATLY INCREASED.

COMMITTEE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY MUST BE NIPPED IN THE BUD.

INDUSTRY MUST, IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST, HAVE ITS CAPTAINS, WHO, IN ORDER THAT THEY MAY PERFORM THEIR DUTY TO THE PUBLIC, MUST HAVE SECURITY OF POSITION, AND BE ABLE TO EXERCISE AUTHORITY DURING WORKING HOURS.

This article first appeared in "Britannia" of January 25, 1918. Every day gives added proof of the soundness of its assertion that British Industry must be controlled not by Committees, but by Captains.

COMMITTEE control is the worst way imaginable of directing a practical enterprise such as Industry.

Control of Industry by elected committees of workmen means muddle, delay, waste of time and energy, friction,

stagnation degenerating into retrogression. In other words, it means the increase of poverty by the decrease of wealth production.

Poverty must be abolished, not increased. That is why the Women's Party opposes the so-called democratic control of Industry by shop stewards and shop stewards' committees.

In order to abolish poverty we must level up and not pull down to one dead level of poverty.

To make the poor richer is the prime and urgent necessity of the day, but that will become impossible if the system of shop stewardism and committee control of Industry is not swept away before it gets a hold on the situation.

The primary cause of poverty is UNDER-PRODUCTION OF WEALTH.

For proof of that, read and digest the following words taken from the recently issued interim report of the Coal Conservation Sub-Committee:—

In the United Kingdom in 1907, according to the Census of Production, page 19, the average "net output per worker" was £102 per annum, and since this sum has to provide not only the wages of the worker, but also establishment charges, including interest on capital, it is clear that the average wage must be something very much less, probably little more than half.

Therefore it is plain that no mere redistribution of the wealth already being produced can abolish poverty, because by no possible redistribution can a net output of £102 per annum per worker result in the abolition of poverty. There is not, under present conditions of wealth production, enough wealth to go round to make the mass of the people rich instead of poor. Even if money wages are increased, the extra money will not buy wealth that is not in existence because it has not been produced.

It would almost seem as though there are some people belonging to a few of the specially privileged trades, to

the aristocracy of Labour, as the saying goes, who, while they know that nothing but increased wealth production can abolish poverty for the masses, are nevertheless content with the present scale of wealth production because they are counting upon merely dispossessing those individuals who have hitherto had the biggest personal share of the inadequate total wealth produced and gaining this privileged position for the "aristocracy of labour," to which they happen to belong. But such a change would NOT bring any advantage to the people as a whole, and if it did not reduce the masses to greater poverty than they have ever known, would leave them just as poor as they were before.

Control of Industry by elected committees most certainly will impoverish the masses of the people, and indeed the community as a whole, the "Aristocracy of Labour" included, because, as we have pointed out, committee control is a curse to any practical enterprise. Instead of increasing wealth production, committee control will dangerously diminish production. Committee control will, we say again, bring into Industry, indecision, divided counsels, divided authority, friction, delay, incompetence, stagnation, retrogression.

Committee control of Industry will give infinite satisfaction to ambitious and irresponsible mediocrity, which always wants importance and credit for success, without any risk of direct and personal responsibility for failure.

Advocates of the so-called "democratic control" of Industry suggest that the alternative and only sound plan of captancy in Industry is in some way contrary to the dignity of the worker, and involves an unjust class distinction. Class distinctions may be said to be dying out when the polling booth, Parliament, the Cabinet, and the Privy Council are open to all men of whatever class, and when the munition-making man's income is often far larger than the income of his one-time "social superior."

But though class distinctions fade and die, nothing can ever do away with the necessity of discipline in work and during working hours.

And it is not only the "working-man," as the manual worker is termed, who is called upon to submit to dis-

cipline and authority. Discipline and authority affect virtually every sort and kind of worker in some way or other, though naturally, in a corporate enterprise in which large numbers of persons work together, discipline and authority are all the more essential as well as evident.

The right of the rank-and-file workman (and we use this expression without the idea of class distinction and without the suggestion of social inferiority, but in a purely practical sense) is not to control Industry. The rank-and-file workman's right is as follows:—

(a) An adequate and proportionate share of the wealth which he helps to produce.

(b) Short working hours, or in other words ample leisure, in order to compensate for the comparatively monotonous nature of his work, and in order to give him ample time to be master of his own actions and compensate for his willing acceptance (for the common good) of authority and discipline while he is at work. Of course, a shorter working day—for example, a six-hour day—is impossible if production is to be decreased in consequence. But it is certain that by the abandonment of all forms of slacking, by greater discipline, by better organisation and method, and greater use of power and machinery, more wealth could be produced in a shorter day than is now produced in a longer day.

These blessings of a good income and ample leisure cannot, however, be secured by the workers unless British industrial efficiency is increased.

The industrial output of this country, worker for worker, has fallen seriously behind as compared with the United States, whereas it could and should be ahead of any yet established record of production.

The poverty-breeding notion of returning to pre-war industrial conditions is bad enough, but if British Industry is to be further handicapped and burdened by the evil of shop stewardism and committee control, then the outlook is appalling, and stark poverty and ruin stare the British people in the face.

British Industry cannot maintain the past level of prosperity, and far less can it abolish poverty, unless its old and new fetters are removed.

Above all, shop stewardism and committee control must be nipped in the bud. This curse of Industry is being fostered by Mr. J. R. MacDonald and other wirepullers of the Labour Party. But Mr. MacDonald does not expect Industry in the land of his German friends to accept the curse of shop stewardism and committee control. Thus, on June 8, 1910, Mr. MacDonald, as reported in the *Times* of the following day, said at Whitefield's Tabernacle, in an address entitled "My Visit to Germany" :—

Englishmen had much to learn from Germany. The first thing was that in the modern State the best brains must be at the top, and the most up-to-date forms of ORGANISATION OF HUMAN LABOUR, CAPITAL, AND SKILL MUST BE ADOPTED. IN ENGLAND THERE WAS TOO MUCH INDIVIDUALISM.

We of the Women's Party refuse to share Mr. MacDonald's admiration of Germany and German ways, but we quote the above report to show how different are Mr. MacDonald's ideas of what is good for German Industry, from Mr. MacDonald's view (as evidenced by his support of shop stewardism and committee control) of what is good for the Industry of this country.

German industry, so far as Mr. MacDonald is concerned, may benefit by the assured control of the brains best gifted and trained to control it, and by the most up-to-date forms of organisation of labour, capital, and skill. But British Industry is condemned by Mr. MacDonald and his associates to be managed by shop stewards' committees, instead of by individuals directly responsible for success or failure, who, having a natural gift and a special training for organisation, are placed in assured and definite control of industrial production, and charged with the task of securing industrial progress by continuous improvement in scientific method and in organisation.

We insist that Industry must in the public interest have its Captains, who, in order that they may perform their duty to the public, must have security of position and must be able to exercise authority during working hours. As to the rank-and-file workers in Industry, every one of

them who respects himself or herself would rather work under the direction of a Captain than under the direction of a Committee. And all the more so that Captaincy in Industry makes it possible to realise the twofold boon of high pay and ample leisure.

Some notes reprinted from "Britannia."

A NATIONAL DANGER

THE MANIA FOR COMMITTEE CONTROL.

THE mania for Committee Control of Industry is at its height just now, but let us hope that this violent attack of German measles will soon have run its course without fatal results to the afflicted body politic! For if British Industry be strangled by Committee Control, the British nation will cease to be.

THE GERMANS AND COMMITTEE CONTROL.

Committee Control of Industry is a plan made in Germany FOR EXPORT ONLY, with a view to weakening and destroying other nations. In Russia this plan was tried, and caused the collapse of Russian Industry. In Britain this same German-inspired manoeuvre is in operation. An attempt is being made by sentimentalists, by Pacifists, by Bolsheviki, and by certain Asquithians to foist the curse of Committee Control upon British Industry. Hence the present severe eruption of Whitley Reports, councils, and committees!

CAPTAINCY WANTED—NOT COMMITTEEDOM.

In Industry, as in all practical affairs, captaincy, not committee rule, is needed.

In Industry, as on board ship, there must be captain, officers and crew. In Industry, as in an orchestra, there must be the conductor and those who play to his beat.

Captaincy means individual responsibility.

Committeedom means collective irresponsibility.

A STONE INSTEAD OF BREAD.

The people ask for Bread: in other words, for greater prosperity, more leisure, conditions of greater refinement and beauty.

The doctrinaires, the blue book-worms, the "intellectuals," the Bolsheviks, give them the Stone of Committee Control, which will result in muddle, stagnation, and retrogression; in other words, in DECREASED PRODUCTION AND INCREASED POVERTY!

SHOP STEWARDISM MUST GO

SHOP STEWARDISM and the whole system of Committee Control of Industry is a menace to the national safety and prosperity, and is especially dangerous to the industrial workers, whose interests it is falsely alleged to protect. Committee Control of Industry means decreased output of wealth, and that in its turn means greater poverty for the masses than has been known within the memory of man.

INSTEAD OF BREAD A STONE!

The workers demand increased prosperity—a greater share of the good things of life—and they are offered the empty fraud of Committee control. For Committee Control of Industry is indeed a fraud upon the people, and must be undone if ruinous and disastrous consequences are not to follow, as they have already followed in unhappy Russia, where Committee Control has brought Industry and Army to utter collapse.

A REAL LABOUR POLICY.

Greater leisure, as afforded by a six-hour working day, and a high return for their labour, represented by a proportionate share of a collective bonus in addition to a basic wage rate! Those are the cardinal points of the true constructive policy for Labour.

But to make the six-hour day a possibility and make high pay a reality in purchasing power, it is essential to have higher production. This higher production depends absolutely on discipline accepted by the workers during their short working day.

Committee management in industry spells delay, indecision, divided authority, incompetence, stagnation, and every other evil that can obstruct progress, waste the workman's energy, and make the money return for his labour a mockery owing to its low purchasing power.

Moreover, nothing is so tyrannical, arbitrary, and irresponsible as committee rule of a practical enterprise. Those who have managed industry in the past have too often fallen short in the matter of just, wise and progressive captaincy, and are therefore largely to blame for the progress which the destructive idea of Committee Control of Industry has temporarily made. But captaincy (as opposed to Committee Control and shop stewardism) is nevertheless as indispensable in Industry as is a conductor in an orchestra or a captain on board a ship!

COMMITTEE CONTROL INJURIOUS TO THE WORKERS' INTERESTS.

The point to be remembered is that the manual worker is performing a daily national service, which should be as productive as possible, and yet should be compressed into the shortest time consistent with the necessities of the case. Therefore Committee Control, which is always and inevitably inefficient and non-progressive, is absolutely opposed to the interests of the workers, however pleasing it may be to the self-importance of committeemen. Captaincy in Industry is as necessary to the prosperity of the workers as it is for the prosperity and security of the nation.

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