

DIRECT ACTION



VOL. I No. I

SYDNEY JANUARY 31, 1914

ONE PENNY

The continued existence of the Wage System is a standing reflection on the working Class. Get wise, and Organise for your own emancipation.

→ A Few Facts. ←

During the recent elections in this country, both State and Federal, much dope has been laddled to the workers as to the marvellous increase in their prosperity for which Labour Governments have been responsible during the past few years.

Statistics have been quoted showing a large increase in Savings Bank Deposits without regard to the increase in population in the same period, and without reference to the influence which the middle and lower middle classes exercise on such statistics in a backwardly developed country like Australia.

As the average working slave, who lives from week to week, very often on the credit which those same classes afford him, has listened to the politicians' loud talk about those millions in the Savings Banks which testify to his prosperity, he must have felt the incongruity between such statements and his own empty pockets.

However, a few plain facts will throw a lurid light on this so-called prosperity which the working class of Australia are supposed to have enjoyed under the benign influence of Labor Governments.

The figures for the manufacturing industries in Australia for the year 1912 show that the total wealth produced amounts to £148,745,000. The amount paid in salaries and wages was £31,195,000 or an average wage equivalent, approximately, to £93 a year to each worker employed. When one remembers that the salaries of highly paid managers and superintendents are included in this average, the wages paid must have fallen far below the bare existing point for the great mass of men and women employed in the manufacturing industries of this country.

One feels that the colossal impudence of men like Holman, Meagher and others, in quoting banking statistics to men and women whose very lives must be one round of worry, poverty and toil, is only equalled by the marvellous patience of these same workers with their lot, and the implicit faith which they place in the statements of such measurements which are absolutely contrary to the facts of their daily lives and experience.

The same figures show (the figures referred to are those published by Mr. Knibbs, the Commonwealth Statistician), that after £60,427,000 had been set aside for raw material, wear and tear, etc., there still remains for the manufacturers the nice little bonus of £57,023,000, or roughly, twenty six and one-half millions more than they had actually paid out in wages—a surplus value equal to 150 per cent. So now, Mr. Worker, as you are not just at this

moment under the hypnotic influence of your politicians, perhaps you will be able to grasp this fact clearly.

During the financial year 1913, you produced your own wages, you added values equivalent to the raw materials used, you replaced by your labour, value to the extent of the wear and tear of your master's machinery, and by way of thanks for being so kind as to give you permission to do all this, you handed him over 150 per cent. more than you and your co-workers received.

Do you ever think of putting a stop to this game of high-handed robbery? Do you ever ask yourself how it can be done? Do you know that year by year profits (surplus-value), are increasing out of all proportion to your wages? Do you know that in the States of Victoria and New South Wales alone, 66,000 female slaves, your sisters, are employed at an average wage of 15 shillings per week? Do you know that this is what the Labor Party calls "step at a time" legislation? Do you know that while this sort of thing increases the wealth, influence and power of the master class, it increases prostitution amongst the women folk of the workers, and adds to your economic dependency on idle and useless parasites? And do you know that for every "step" you have taken the capitalist easily covers five yards, and that as a matter of fact, your apparent step has landed you deeper and deeper into the mire.

The remedy? The remedy, lies, my friend, in cutting down that surplus-value to the lowest possible minimum: that is, in entirely abolishing it. This can not be done by supporting governments, no matter how named, which are dependent for their very existence upon your willingness to go on producing surplus-value; for, mark you, the appropriators of this value are those who finance governments, and they do not do it for your benefit. It cannot be done at the ballot-box, because it is a weapon the enemy has chosen for you and therefore, useless to you. It cannot be done by Trade Unionism, for that in an institution the very basis of which is that Surplus-Value is right, legal and moral for the master—and you. If you believe that your exploitation is necessary to your existence, support the ballot-box, support the politicians, support Trade Unionism, for thereby you are undoubtedly facilitating your own robbery. If you believe that exploitation should cease to exist, then you must forge a weapon that will make the masters "right" your wrong; the master's law, your no-law; in a word, a weapon that will carry in its wake its own code of ethics, laws and morals, by its very power to generate

A FEW FACTS
them and put them into force. That
weapon is Industrial Unionism.
Study it fellow-worker, it will repay
you.

The New Preamble

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

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

We find that the centering management of industries into capitalist government, and fewer hands makes the churches, a capitalistic union unable to cope with the growing power of the revolution which had such a class. The trade unions effect on all our standards of workers to be pitted against other set of workers in the industry, thereby helping to one another in wage wars over, the trade unions and the employing class to mislead the into the belief that the class have interests in common their employers.

These conditions can be the and the interest of the class upheld only by an action formed in such a way and its members in any one industry in all industries if necessary work whenever a strike is on in any department thus making an injury and its organization into a national, mind you; it is for the conquest of its free-iplution is just one thing: INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY WITHIN what organization is not cess. But it can no more and the movements of the con- and elemental as the simp- thing contributes to that it, it would be necessary schools, and destroy every

Instead of the conservative "A fair day's wages for a work, we must inscribe over the revolutionary work- "Abolition of the wage-

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with the army of industrialism. The army of must be organized, not of every-day struggle with but also to carry on when capitalism shall be overthrown. By our han thinking which Evolutionarily we are forming it is and is bound to be of the new society with the of the old.

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

I Won't Work

(By Starr E. Bounter, in Solidarity).

There they are, the whole pack of them, the bloodhounds of the capitalist household; their noses close to the ground, their tongues lolling, falling over one another in their eagerness and zeal, they follow hot on the trail of the I.W.W. rebel in their war of extermination.

Hideous is he who lives and fattens on the blood of his fellow-men, monstrous is he who wields the whip of want and starvation over the bent backs of his brothers.

Infinitely more hideous, desperate, inhuman, are those servile blood-hounds who for the sake of a bone thrown to them by the master, cringe, yelp, howl, and sink their bloodstained fangs into the noble knight of new humanity.

Herferm come. What familiar the owner- became the unmar- world. That revolution in us not only a capitalistic management of industries into capitalist government, and fewer hands makes the churches, a capitalistic union unable to cope with the growing power of the revolution which had such a class. The trade unions effect on all our standards of workers to be pitted against other set of workers in the industry, thereby helping to one another in wage wars over, the trade unions and the employing class to mislead the into the belief that the class have interests in common their employers.

had their beginning in the to find their completion in we are living—two revolutions privilege to have part: which will achieve the full of the whole working class once for all every line of men and men; and the In- ch you and I must clearly do our best service in this inception.

I mean the awaken- and its organization into a national, mind you; it is for the conquest of its free-iplution is just one thing: INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY WITHIN what organization is not cess. But it can no more and the movements of the con- and elemental as the simp- thing contributes to that it, it would be necessary schools, and destroy every

han thinking which Evolutionarily we are forming it is and is bound to be of the new society with the of the old. it is indispensable to any philosophy of social evolution has so cleared the at- path way toward the fu- llectual revolution of the

You, the man of letters, the flower of the human intellect, the product of the toilsome, upward, climb of the race, you were destined to be the torch-bearer of human progress and freedom, the harbinger of a new future. Instead, you sold your birthright for a pot of porridge, for the privilege of a life in idleness. You turned into a servile launcet in the hands of the oppressors, your intellect into tentacles of the social octopus.

You and your ilk, you dare to speak to me about work, the worker! Look at my hands. Rough, disfigured, it is they who have made civilization what it is, who created all the wealth, who for countless centuries toiled and slaved for you and your masters. Look at my muscles, they swell, palpitate with the sweat of my brain. I know the church itself, though claiming a supernatural sanction, consciously or unconsciously becomes the teacher of those moral ideas which the industrially ruling class dictates. In other words, you will see that there is no absolute standard of right and wrong, but that what is "right" and what is "wrong" are determined almost wholly by the necessities of the economic or industrial system under which people are living. Having learned that fact, it will not be hard to understand something about the moral and ethical changes which the co-operative commonwealth, which must succeed capitalism, will surely bring.

In order to illustrate this fact, that our sense of what is right, and what is wrong, is determined not by any absolute standard nor by the teaching of what is called "religion," but by the prevailing economic system and its necessities, think for a moment of four items of moral teaching with which we are familiar. Let us think, for example, of Lying, Stealing, Murder and what is called Adultery. We have all been taught as children at home, in school and in the church that it is wrong to lie, wrong to steal, wrong to murder, and wrong to commit adultery. All these teachings are so much a part of the very atmosphere of present day thinking that no one can wholly escape their influence.

What is the feeling of the average father and mother, if they discover that a child of theirs is a liar, is deliberately and purposely deceiving them? Is not the feeling universal that such a habit means the undermining of character? If you cannot depend on the truthfulness of a person, there is nothing in that person that you can depend upon. How does society in general look upon lying? You will have to say that IT ALL DEPENDS ON WHO IS DOING THE LYING, AND WHAT ABOUT. For a boy or a girl TO lie to a father or mother or teacher or employer—especially an employer—is wrong. On that point there is absolutely no difference of opinion in society as a whole. But when it comes to lying FOR OR IN THE INTEREST OF a parent or teacher or employer—especially an employer—it is a very different matter. As a matter of fact, LYING IS AN INDISPENSABLE QUALIFICATION FOR ANY SUCCESSFUL SALESMAN. There isn't a merchant in the world who would keep in his employ for 24 hours an absolutely truthful man. He couldn't do business on that plan.

Continued Next Issue

Direct Action



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Editorial:

WHERE WE STAND.

We think we are safe in predicting that this, the first issue of "Direct Action," will mark a new step in the development of the working class movement in Australia.

Of the *new thing in the history* of that movement, a paper appears which stands for clear-cut, direct action principles, unhampered, by the plausible theories of Parliamentarians, whether "revolutionary" or otherwise. We are therefore free from those handicaps which bind the working class aspirant to Parliamentary "honors," who sees before him a safe and sure method of advancing his material interests, and consequently, since economic determinism is such a powerful factor, cannot logically be blamed if he advances those interests quite regardless of the workers' welfare.

Our age-long tendency of putting our trust in "princes" has been a most potent factor in our continued enslavement.

Certainly, the members of the I.W.O. are out to better their material conditions, but their economic interests are interwoven with those of the working class as a whole; and the organisation offers no loophole whereby any member, no matter how capable or self-seeking, can further his own welfare at the expense of the welfare of his fellow-members, or at the sacrifice of the essential principles of the organisation.

This alone should be sufficient to ensure this paper's success, but we have stronger grounds for appealing to every member of the working class, who possess some of their true status in our society. In contradistinction to every other movement, political industrial, that has hitherto claimed to the workers in Australia in theory and in practice, the working class has a common; and the membership of the organisation, therefore, is confined to those whose economic interests are identical.

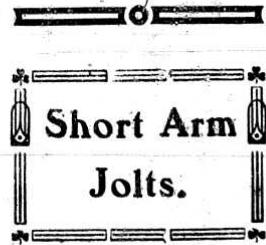
Contributor to this paper, porter, every individual "dug down" and given his shillings to its producer, member of the wage-earning class, is conscious of his position in society, and with motives

ives stronger that more sympathy or sentiment in voicing the aspirations of his fellows. He knows from painful experience, and some study that that which is to be done, for the working-class must be done by the working-class; and we are prepared to take a leaf out of the book of our exploiters in recognising no standard by which any contemplated action is to be judged except that of expediency alone.

Parliamentarians of all persuasions, reformists, philanthropists, sentimentalists and all the heterogeneous crowd, who from motives of self-interest or timidity, are content to move within the circle which the legal and moral code of capitalism allows, throughout the whole course of working class history, have been the real stumbling blocks to revolutionary education and action.

Recent happenings in the industrial world, as indeed the whole history of capitalist exploitation, eloquently testify to the brutal disregard of human life, the indifference to every code of ethics or honor, and the abrogation of laws and constitutions which our "Christian" masters are guilty, whenever their interests have been in jeopardy. Therefore, we are under no delusion. We are conscious of the fact that for good or ill, despite the factor of human intelligence, the brutal struggle for existence has been carried into the sociological domain, and that while that struggle exists, ORGANISATION and MIGHT are the only factors that make for success. If, as capitalists declare it is a question of the "survival of the fittest,"—so mote it be. In view of the marvelous growth of machinery in modern times, and the consequent displacement of labor, by the logical necessities of the case, the working-class are compelled to fight or be damned. Well, we refuse to be damned, even to minister to the avarice, vice and sloth of an idle class.

What do you say, fellow-workers? Will you assist us in reaching the goal we have set before us? Will you come to a like resolution, and it is therefore your duty to yourself to support it, and become a student of the principles which it advocates.



Wanted: Every worker in the world to join the union of his class, i.e., the Industrial Workers of the World.

Wanted: All the workers that are now employed to shorten their hours of labour, so that those who are employed looking for a job can find one.

Yes, it is true that the master class are complaining about the workers going slow on the job. The masters do not appreciate paying the workers strike pay, but have no objection to the workers paying their own strike benefits. Moral: Stay on the job and strike right where it counts.

If Labour was not prior to Capital, where did Capital come from? If Labour was prior to Capital, why don't the Labourers boss the Capitalists?

The capitalists are complaining because they have more of the good things of life than they can dispose of. The workers are growling because they can't get enough. I wonder why?

A recent cable from Berlin states: "The whole of the boilers in the great steamer 'Imperator,' which were guaranteed for five years by the Vulcan Shipbuilding Yard, need reconstruction at considerable cost." And yet, German "socialism" repudiates sabotage. Oh, you lawless slaves, what a crime against your would-be saviours!

Chattel slavery or compulsory labour, has been abolished in the British Dominions—so we are told. But, hark! "Tax the natives and make them work in order to obtain the wherewithal to pay the tax," is the suggestion of an exploiter from Papua.

This suggestion, as a solution of the labor "shortage," was put into practice by the Natal Government in Zululand a few years ago. Police were despatched to collect the tax; they returned hastily—some of them never returned. Then the capitalist press suddenly discovered that white civilization in South Africa was imperiled; the military were called in and the unfortunate natives massacred literally by the thousand.

Of course, this was not an attempt at forced labour. It was "Patriotism," "Carrying the Flag," "The White Man's Burden," etc., ad nauseum. The game failed, however, the Zulu, unlike his white civilised (?) brother still refuses to be industrialised.

"A race of loafers is no good to a country," says the Papuan exploiter above referred to. "Make them work." The natives are deteriorating in every way owing to their lazy existence, he informs us. What a simple solution of the class struggle. All we require now is a little patience and the capitalists and other loafers will "deteriorate" themselves off the planet.

At a church conference in Brisbane lately, the Archbishop of that police-ruled city declared that the church must get into line with the Labour movement, which, he says, is the greatest movement of modern times for the uplifting of humanity. We are afraid the Archbishop's ambition cannot be gratified. He is not eligible for membership in the I.W.O.

One wonders, by the way, whether the worthy prelate's zeal is altogether in the cause of humanity or in the interest of the Church. The history of that institution, and its relations with the ruling class in every age, is not calculated to inspire the intelligent worker with confidence.

In the Arbitration Court recently, Judge Hession declared that the workers made things for employers, the more profits the employer makes, he tells us, the higher the wage he would be enabled to pay.

If wages are demanded by the employers' profits, perhaps the learned Judge will inform us why he is just now taking such pains to ascertain what a "living" wage for the worker.

We are said this "friend" of the workers is highly mixed in his economics, anyhow. Profit, or surplus value is paid labor. According to the Judge's dictum therefore, the greater the proportion of unpaid labor, the more there will be for the worker; or, in other words, the more the worker doesn't get the more he will get.

This is the kind of dope that only a learned judge can understand. The Social Party is continually

deciding the Labor Party for imagining that Parliament can regulate the Trusts. The same Socialists tell us that Parliament can accomplish the more formidable task of expropriation. This is "scientific" socialism up-to-date.

The political party takes exploiter and exploited into its fold.

Here "Comrade" master and "Comrade" slave are expected to vie with each other in putting an end to the drudgery of the latter and the privileges of the former. Oh, you ballot-box dupes. Will you ever understand that a class organisation is the workers only hope?

Fair rents, fair prices, fair work for "fair" pay, means fair robbery of a disorganised working class. Intelligent class organisation will determine what is "fair" for the boss.

"Capital is dead labor that, vampire-like, only lives by sucking living labor, and lives the more, the more labor it sucks" (Marx). You and I, fellow-workers, are "suckers" of another type. Do something. Contented slaves are the real enemies of progress.

Industrial organisation means Industrial Power; from Industrial Power proceeds Industrial Control; the class which controls Industry controls the world. Workers get wise!

I WON'T WORK.

The whole product of my labor, and I do not want to be given to me by you or your benevolent State, either. I am out to take it, to expropriate it, to own and manage it in common with my fellow-workers.

Under duress, driven by hunger and want, I may be compelled to slave in your industrial prisons. Grudgingly, unwillingly, I may have to sell you my labor-power, and sacrifice a portion of your greed some grains of my energy. But my heart beating the war-song of the coming social battle, my brains, brimfull with the vision of the coming day, I deny you, masters of my bread. This I consecrate to the altar of the coming age, the Industrial Democracy. No scientific management, no profit-sharing or state-capitalism schemes, products of your cowardly intellects, will open that source of life, loving creative, human energy, without which your whole system will crumble to dust.

A day spent in your factories and workshops is a day wasted. It is only the hour of rebellion that counts, it is only the moments spent in undermining by intelligence and education your citadel of oppression, that makes life worth living. And it is only the energy expended in bringing the message of Industrial Freedom to the toiling millions, in preparing for the universal cry, "I won't work," the Social General Strike, that is spent to purpose.

I accept your challenge. To you and to your masters, I, the plebeian, the beggar, the scum, proletarian, the hobo and bum, say: I won't work until I shall have made YOU work or eat dust. . . . So spake the Free Footed Rebel.

**Intending
Members desirous
of joining Sydney
Local can do so
by notifying
Secretary Treasurer:
F. A. RAISON,**

The Iron Heel in South Africa!

The strikers in South Africa have met defeat, apparently, if the cables are to be believed. But, however that may be, the strike brings home several important lessons not alone to the working class of South Africa, but to that of the civilised world. It drives home, stronger than all verbal arguments industrial unionists have given expression to during the past seven years, the absolute failure of craft organisation, even where a strong Federation exists, to cope with the employing class and the methods to which they so ruthlessly resort, when a strike of this character is contemplated.

Here were the rank and file of the workers ready and anxious for a general strike almost from the first moment that a section of the railway men ceased work; and the fruitless efforts of craft organisation was shown by the spectacle of craft after craft taking a ballot on the question of a general strike, while the enemy utilised their services for the purpose of mobilising troops and concentrating their forces at whatever points they deemed necessary. Marking a ballot paper under such circumstances is manifestly casting a vote upon a question upon which there can be no two answers, namely, that of scabbing or otherwise. Organised along the lines of Industrial Unionism, the transport workers could have struck a blow at the very first onset that would have paralysed the enemy and made the mobilisation of troops and the enforcement of martial law an utter impossibility for weeks at least. The machinery of craft unionism, obsolete and cumbersome as it is, offers at the very onset an opportunity for the enemy to get into action, and kill the strike as, apparently, they have done in this case, almost before it has begun.

But the workers of South Africa, handicapped as they were by those very organisations which they built to protect them, showed a magnificent spirit of solidarity, and a fighting spirit unexcelled in the whole of industrial history. They have made the master class of the capitalistic world sit up and take notice in a manner which their previous outspoken defiance of the general strike weapon would scarcely warrant.

They have taught the working class of the world more in a day than all that street corner propaganda has accomplished for the past quarter of a century.

They have exposed the sham and hypocrisy of the capitalistic lie of the brotherhood of capital and labour, and torn the velvet which concealed the iron fist.

They have shown that all laws and constitutions, all ideas of morality and justice, even of the most rudimentary character, are things which our "brother" capitalist knows not whenever his economic interests are challenged.

And above all things, they have clearly exemplified the supreme absurdity and folly of the workers devoting years of effort and sacrifice to the building up of a political organisation, the mandate of which on any important issue would be cast aside and treated with the same contempt as the workers' constitutional right to organise, meet, and discuss their grievances, has been treated in this struggle.

Revolutionaries have never been under any delusion as to what methods and tactics the ruling class will adopt in order to crush any proletarian revolt. But the master class in South Africa have opened the eyes of the workers in a manner which surpasses even the predictions of those who are

went to paint "brother" capitalist in the worst colours, and let there be no mistake. What has happened in South Africa will in the near future be repeated on a larger scale in this and every other industrially advanced country. The methods of the ruling class in South Africa are not peculiar to that country alone.

Never was there a more imperative need for a form of organisation combined with militant tactics which will enable the workers to cope with and beat the master class at their own game. Special pleaders for Parliamentary action will be doubtless coming forward to place before us their particular cure all for such a situation. "Let working men representatives in Parliament," they tell us, "only control the military forces and all will be well." But there can be no greater fallacy. While the ruling class control the financial and industrial institutions they will also have supreme control of the physical force back of capitalism, and the Parliament which would defy their mandate would be simply inviting civil war.

The general strike weapon also will no doubt be held up as a failure by the paid servitors of capitalist society. Press, politician, and pulpit have already united in denouncing it as barbarous and useless.

The daily press, with its traditional anxiety for the workers' welfare, is urging us to discard this "boomerang," and use more conciliatory methods. It has always been so with the capitalist sheets. Any weapon calculated to "get the goods" has always been held up to ridicule and vilification, and its advocates denounced as "outlaws," "red-raggers," "enemies of society," etc. In commenting upon the failure of the "general" strike in Africa they carefully conceal the fact that it was but a general strike in name only. Thousands of workers, through lack of education and organisation, did not respond to the call, and as already pointed out, owing to the failure of craft organisation, thousands of others responded when too late.

The capitalist press and the politicians and hangers on of capitalist society know that when a general strike is "general" in reality as well as in name, the death knell of capitalism has been sounded.

To prepare for that day should be the mission of every worker who comprehends his slave status in modern society. Meantime, while thousands of workers are unorganised, apathetic, and indifferent, the militant minority have a weapon in their hands calculated to make our "beloved" masters pause in their tyrannical stampede over the rights, liberties and lives of our fellow-workers. **That weapon is Sabotage.**

Had the workers in South Africa understood its importance and power a different tale would be told. But no strike is ever really lost. This one, above all, has been invaluable for the lessons which it has taught. For that reason this paper congratulates the South African workers in the hour of what is called their defeat. We know that nothing on this capitalist planet can stop the onward march of the workers towards the social general strike and their economic emancipation.

All over the world the past year has witnessed many outrages upon the workers, by the master class, for the sole purpose that the rights of private property and the privilege of exploiting be maintained.

Property is the results of plunder, exploitation, etc., the means of life should belong to all the living, not merely to a few selected parasites. One cannot accumulate property without depriving hundreds of fellow beings of their rights and access to the means of subsistence.

Property creates classes, namely, masters and slaves, and it brings into being wealth and poverty; it is also responsible for almost every damnable condition prevalent to-day. It is quite evident the workers are beginning to waken from their slumber, and the near future will see the great struggle for economic freedom in reality.

The awakening is being watched with deep interest by the capitalist, who, with the aid of sly politicians, are ever ready to introduce some new scheme, whereby they can get a firmer grip on the ignorant worker.

The class war is on, it is very real, and must continue to the bitter end until exploitation ceases. All through the past ages and up till the present generation the rule of the capitalist has been marked by more bloodshed and disasters than any other struggle in history, and yet they are few compared to the masses of the workers.

In spite of all these disasters and bloodshed, the slaves don't seem to realise their strength. They are contented to be blindly led further into the mire, without ever asking themselves the question, "What for?"

The contending forces are miserably matched to-day. "Capital," the master class, are backed up by armies and navies, and goals, and clubs, and galleys, etc., whilst "Labor" the working class, the most powerful, and the producers of all wealth, go trembling forward with bits of paper to the ballot boxes, trusting to some cunning leader for their emancipation.

Should any trouble occur in any one of the unions the same cunning leaders will come forward, appealing to the workers to be peaceful, industrious, and law abiding, at the same time making all kinds of promises to get their demands acceded to. Finally, they sell the workers at the Arbitration Courts. Surely the slaves can see all this robbery going on in trade union circles. Why, the system is rotten, and only means starvation for the workers.

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Might is Right

(By Covington Hall.)

Might was Right when Christ was hanged,
Beside the Jordan's foam;
Might was Right when Gaeuchus bled,
Upon the stones of Rome;
And Might was Right when Danton fell,
When Emmet passed away—
'Tis the logic of the Ancient World,
And the Gospel of to-day."

Might was Right when Spartacus,
Went down in seas of blood,
Adn when the Commune perished
In the selfsame crimson flood;
And Might was Right at Cripple
Creek,
At Tampa, Homestead—yea!
'Tis the logic of the Ancient World,
And the Gospel of to-day."

Might was Right when Parsons died,
When Ferrer followed him,
When Cole's young life was beaten
out
In Spokane's dungeon grim;
And Might was Right when Pettibone
Went staggering down death's way—
'Tis the logic of the Ancient World,
And the Gospel of to-day."

Might was Right when Morgan builds
A hell 'round every earth;
Might is Right when Kirby starves—
His peons of the earth
Ad Might was Right when Deitz be-
came
Wolfe Weyerhaeuser's rey—
'Tis the logic of the Ancient World,
And the Gospel of to-day."

Might was Right when children die
By thousands in the mills,
When jewelled hands reach down and
take,
The gold their blood distills;
And Might was Right when maidens
give
Their love-dreams up for pay—
'Tis the logic of the Ancient World,
And the Gospel of to-day."

Might was, it is, it e'er will be,
The One and Only Right;
And so, O hosts of Toil, awaken!!
O workingmen, unite!
Unite! Unite! For Might is Right,
'Tis Freedom's only way—
'Tis the logic of the Ancient World,
And the Gospel of to-day."

How Capitalism Has Hypnotised Society

Whenever and wherever in all the world members of the parasitic classes in society—those classes of people who live solely by exploiting the labor of others or by the bounty of exploiters—express themselves morally or ethically, whether by word or deed, what they think or do is exactly described by the words "charity," "amelioration," "police regulation"—in one word: "Reform." Whenever and wherever intelligent members of the working class express themselves morally or ethically, whether in the demands of their unions or the literature of their organized movement, what they think or do is exactly described by the words "justice," "brotherhood," "industrial freedom"—in one word: "Revolution." The clear, intelligent grasp of this fact is the first essential of all sound knowledge regarding social or industrial questions.

There are three revolutions in human society which we must know about if we are to make our lives count as factors in the real progress of the world. The first of the three was the revolution in the method of industrial production which began in the last half of the 18th century and was completed in the 19th century. The causes that produced this revolution were the invention of machinery for doing what before had been done by hand, and also the discovery of steam as a substitute for human muscle and skill in the industrial process. By that revolution a complete transfer was made of industrial power from the hands of the workers, who had before owned their tools, to the hands of the capitalists, who under the machine form of industry, became the owners of the tools. By that revolution the entire working class became wage-slaves, utterly dependent upon these capitalist owners of the tools, and they are wage-slaves still. By that revolution in industry the capitalist class became the absolute masters not only of industry, but also of government—became so not by choice, but by necessity. That ownership of the means of production became the unassisted ruling class of the world. That revolution in industry, in other words, gave us not only a capitalistic industrial system, but a capitalistic government, capitalistic schools, capitalistic churches, a capitalistic press, capitalistic society and capitalistic morals and ethics. That is to say, the tremendous effect on the workers of the world industrially had just as great an effect on all our standards of judgment, all our notions of right and wrong, even on the whole fabric of religion. Capitalism has given us our morality—the only morality the mass of mankind believe in or practice.

But two other revolutions had their beginning in the 19th century, and are bound to find their completion in this very century in which we are living—two revolutions in which it is our sacred privilege to have part: the Proletarian Revolution, which will achieve the full and final economic freedom of the whole working class of the world and wipe out economic caste between men and men; and the Intellectual Revolution, which you and I must clearly understand before we can do our best service in this occupation.

By the Proletarian Revolution I mean the awakening of the working class and its organization into an international solidarity—international, mind you; it must be that, or nothing at all. It is the conquest of its freedom. The Proletarian Revolution is just one thing: THE FORMATION OF A NEW INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD. That organization is not finished—it is simply in progress. But it can no more be stopped than the tide of the movements of the continents. It is as natural and elemental as the simplest law of physics. Everything contributes to that revolution. In order to do it, it would be necessary to abolish printing, abolish schools, and destroy every gain of civilization.

And the revolution is a human thinking which Evolutionary Science set on foot as been and is bound to be a most potent factor in the creation of a new and higher social order. It is such an event. For the philosophy of social evolution and revolution, which has so cleared the atmosphere and lighted the pathway toward the intellectual revolution of the 19th century.

Can you not understand, too, that if the revolution in the method of industrial production, which created the capitalist system, has brought about such marked changes in those standards of moral value which control human lives with almost absolute sway—as we shall presently see—the impending change from capitalism to socialism will effect just as great changes in these same matters? Indeed, there is nothing in all the range of human knowledge, nothing that is ever mentioned under the roof of a school or within the walls of church or cathedral, so vitally imperative for you to know as these facts which the Modern School and the social revolutionary movement exist to teach. You can dispense with any other knowledge better than you can dispense with this. Better not know any subject taught in the schools than not know what the effects of the industrial revolution have been and what the effects of the existing revolutionary movements of our own time are bound to be. WE LIVE AT ALL ONLY IN THE MEASURE IN WHICH WE KNOW AND PARTICIPATE IN THESE MOVEMENTS.

I am going to show you that the mass of the world's workers are to-day hypnotized—morally and intellectually hypnotized. I am going to show you that the working class of the world, for the most part, is acting like a person who is under the spell of a hypnotist. If you have ever seen the process of hypnotism or read about it, you know that the person who is hypnotized loses will-power, loses self-consciousness, behaves as if he were someone else, is wholly under the control of another person. He is not a person—he is a thing. He is like an inert tool which some one else uses, a musical instrument which someone else plays. He does exactly what his "control" tells him to do.

I am going to show you, too, that "right" and "wrong" are determined by the demands of the industrially and politically ruling class. I shall show you that even the church itself, though claiming a supernatural sanction, consciously or unconsciously becomes the teacher of those moral ideas which the industrially ruling class dictates. In other words, you will see that there is no absolute standard of right and wrong, but that what is "right" and what is "wrong" are determined almost wholly by the necessities of the economic or industrial system under which people are living. Having learned that fact, it will not be hard to understand something about the moral and ethical changes which the co-operative commonwealth, which must succeed capitalism, will surely bring.

In order to illustrate this fact, that our sense of what is right, and what is wrong, is determined not by any absolute standard nor by the teaching of what is called "religion," but by the prevailing economic system and its necessities, think for a moment of four items of moral teaching with which we are familiar. Let us think, for example, of Lying, Stealing, Murder and what is called Adultery. We have all been taught as children at home, in school and in the church that it is wrong to lie, wrong to steal, wrong to murder, and wrong to commit adultery. All these teachings are so much a part of the very atmosphere of present day thinking that no one can wholly escape their influence.

What is the feeling of the average father and mother, if they discover that a child of theirs is a liar, is deliberately and purposely deceiving them? Is not the feeling universal that such a habit means the undermining of character? If you cannot depend on the truthfulness of a person, there is nothing in that person that you can depend upon. How does society in general look upon lying? You will have to say that IT ALL DEPENDS ON WHO IS DOING THE LYING, AND WHAT ABOUT. For a boy or a girl TO lie to a father or mother or teacher or employer—especially an employer—is wrong. On that point there is absolutely no difference of opinion in society as a whole. But when it comes to lying FOR OR IN THE INTEREST OF a parent or teacher or employer—especially an employer—it is a very different matter. As a matter of fact, LYING IS AN INDISPENSABLE QUALIFICATION FOR ANY SUCCESSFUL SALESMAN. There isn't a merchant in the world who would keep in his employ for 24 hours an absolutely truthful man. He couldn't do business on that plan.

Continued Next Issue

"Sabotage."

Sabotage is a word which will shortly find a place in the dictionaries of capitalist society, though it is at present but little understood by those whom it chiefly concerns, namely the working class; and for every reason, of course, the capitalists are for the most part unconcerned.

A book is already in circulation which bears that word as its title, written by Emile Pouget, a French anarchist, the English translation of which is published by Charles H. Kew and Co., Chicago. In an introduction by Arturo Giovannitti of Lawrence strike fame, we are told that "the book is not written for capitalists nor for the upholders of the capitalist system, therefore it does not purpose to justify or excuse sabotage before the capitalist mind and morals," and indeed the fearless exposition of the proletarian code of ethics with regard to what our beloved masters choose to call their private property which this booklet contains, is well calculated to upset the serenity not alone of the capitalist class, but to startle all those philanthropically disposed and fearsome creatures whose friendship consists in advocating a "higher moral tone" for capitalist and worker, in teaching respect for contracts and agreements, sermonising on the "rights" of capital and labor, and in general making themselves a pest to the two economic class of modern society.

Moral codes and the "rights" of individuals or communities have no influence with our Christian bourgeoisie where this formidable weapon can be used for enhancing profits. As the author remarks: "Saboters are the farmers and traders; by adulterating the milk, the nourishment of childhood, sap the root of the growing generation."

"Saboters are the millers and bakers who, by mixing talcum, chalk or other cheap but harmful ingredients with flour, adulterate the bread, a nourishment of first necessity."

"Saboters the manufacturers of chocolate made with palm and cocoa oil."

"Saboters the manufacturers and sellers of coffee mixed with starch, chicory and acorns."

"Saboters the grocers who sell adulterated pepper made with almond shells and almond stones."

"Saboters the confectioners who sell glucose taffy, creams made with vaseline, honey with starch and chestnut meal."

"Saboters the manufacturers of vinegar made with sulphuric acid."

"Saboters the dairymen who sell cheese made of starch and butter of margarine."

"Saboters the great patriotic and public spirited contractors of the great army supplies, who make shoes with paper soles, cartridges with coal dust and who sell fermented wheaten, rotten canned goods, etc."

"Saboters the iron and steel barons who build the powerful boilers of the warships with cracks and weak spots that will cause their explosion and the murder of thousands."

"Saboters the great importers of meat from clandestine abattoirs where tuberculous cattle are slaughtered."

"Saboters the building and railway contractors, the furniture makers, the manufacturers of chemicals and fertilizers—in short, all the captains of industry of any calibre, cut and make. All saboters, all, without one single exception, because all trick, fake, adulterate, defraud and swindle."

"Sabotage reigns supreme in the capitalist world; it is everywhere—

in industry, commerce, agriculture." Class-war theorists, our constitutional, law-abiding lovers of the master's private property, who sneer at the weapon of sabotage when in the workers hands, and who deride it as "crude," "unscientific," "ethically unjustifiable," etc., would do well to ponder over this indictment of its use when wielded by the master class.

Recent editorials in the capitalist press in Sydney, as well as the utterances of prominent exploiters in the State, would seem to indicate, at any rate, that on form of sabotage, namely, the go canny method, whatever may be said of its "crudeness," is most unpalatable to the exploiters. An editorial in the "Herald" recently, when commenting upon the statement of one of the owners in the Manly Ferry Co., to the effect that £5000 was lost in the construction of one of the ferry steamers owing to the "decreased efficiency" of Australian workmen, was loud in its denunciation. This sort of thing, cried the "Herald," "strikes a blow at the very root of all industrial enterprise," and forthwith it plunged into an economic lecture in an endeavour to show that that £5000 went up in smoke or anywhere else, rather than admit it went into the pockets of those additional workmen who had to be employed owing to the "decreased efficiency" aforesaid.

"It strikes a blow at the very root of all industrial enterprise." By industrial enterprise, of course, the "Herald" means the profits of the master class, and this has always been the one great crime in capitalist society. The "Herald's" agonizing wail against sabotage is the more reprehensible when we remember, as Giovannitti remarks: "There can be no injunction against it. No policeman's club. No prison diet. No prison bars. It cannot be starved into submission. It cannot be discharged. It cannot be blacklisted. It is present everywhere, and everywhere invisible, like the airship that soars high above the clouds in the dead of night, beyond the reach of the cannon and the searchlight, drops the deadliest bombs into the enemy's encampment."

One of the stock arguments in favour of parliamentary action by the workers is that it is essential to capture the State for the purpose of getting control of the armed forces of capitalism; but when the working class understand and perfect this weapon, a battalion of soldiers can be employed to watch every workshop, every factory, every field and every mine, and yet will be powerless to prevent its use. The army and the navy and all the devilry that it is possible for capitalist ingenuity to devise, are impotent to prevent its application.

The workers, more especially in this country, in the near future, will be compelled by the very law of self-preservation, to study the tactics and principles laid down in this little work. To strike is already a criminal offence in Australia, and in those countries where it is not so, as in South Africa and in Ireland recently, the masters are ever ready to turn out their hired assassins and shoot down the workers by hundreds in an endeavour to stampede them back to work.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the official press and spokesmen of the exploiting class are in such a blue funk wherever the workers exhibit a tendency to strike on the job. As for the ethical side of the question, the morality which capitalist

society has hitherto revealed to its slaves, has been a "find wufcu," as Pouget remarks, "disgrace to the workers, for the flexibility of their spine, their Christian spirit of resignation, and their fealty to the boss"; and as the author points out, this "scoundrel morality" has so tainted the minds of the proletariat that many so-called revolutionaries decried sabotage on the ground that the instinct of the workers revolt against it!

"The workers' sabotage," says Pouget, "is inspired by generous and altruistic principles. It is a shield of defence and protection against the usuries and ventions of the bosses; it is the weapon of the disinherited, who, whilst he struggles for his family's existence and his own, aims also to better the social conditions of his class, and to deliver it from the exploitation that strangles and crushes it."

Contrast this with the motives which prompt the sabotage of the exploiting class and every intelligent worker should be proof against the "morality" argument. If a copy of this work was in the hands of one out of every hundred workers in Australia, there would be less heard of Arbitration Courts, starvation, strikes, and the consequent garnisheeing of wages for fines, because—Remember! "Sabotage can compel the boss to pay the strike pay."

Organisation and Tactics

To those who are less acquainted with the principles of the I.W.W. I will endeavour to put the position.

First our great aim is the abolition of the Wages System, wherein the producer serves, and the parasite rules. Under the present day system we are confronted by misery of every kind, due to the hard and fast rule of the master class.

All government rests upon compulsory and physical force and is therefore wrong. By other means they cripple and distort the child's intellect in the schools, and keep the masses in subjection.

We are misled by slimy officials to be satisfied with a fair day's pay, for a fair day's work; anyone disregarding that rule is considered a red rag to the workers.

How long will the workers going to stand all this bluff? Can't they see that it is to their interest of officials to keep you in ignorance; it is by that method they are able to live in luxury, whilst you, the producers of all wealth, are contented to slave from morn till eve, six hours for the boss, and two for yourself, and be satisfied with washhouses and bug-holes etc.

It is about time the workers woke up. Too long have you trusted to leaders, who have only led you to the ballot-box and the Arbitration Courts, when you have sold your bodies like any cattle, to the highest bidder and have only been trick under the most damnable conditions.

Many strikes have taken place under Trade Union methods, which have proved disastrous for the workers, simply be-

cause their mode of organisation is rotten and has outlived its usefulness. As the class struggle stands to-day the worker must organize on a more sound basis, so as to cope with the ever growing power of the master class.

We must strengthen our position by getting into the One Big Union. It is the only hope of the workers, for an injury to one must always be an injury to all; new tactics should be adopted and no time agreements should be made with the bosses.

When strikes are on, scientific tactics should be used in such a way that it will inflict the greatest possible amount of damage to the bosses' interests; for the capitalists are not particular what methods they use on the workers, so long as they gain their ends. They never question whether they're right or wrong. That is exactly the position that the I.W.W. takes up. To hell with fast rules of the Union House, remember every victory of labor has been won by direct economic action. Parliamentary action merely changes the form of slavery. By slowing down on the job you are hitting the boss where he puts it most, namely the pocket-book.

D. RAMSAY

The P.L.L. Conference.

Speaking at the opening of the Political Labor League Conference, Mr. Holman warned the assembled delegates against the "federalist" Labor movement. For over twenty years, he said, the Labor movement in this State had fought for the success which it had achieved at the last elections, and though there was a time in the Labor movement when enthusiasm was essential, what was now needed was not enthusiasm so much as "guidance, research and sound thought."

Premier Holman has one redeeming feature. He makes no bones about his meaning. Now that Holman and Co. are on the safe and secure plane of economic independence, the unfortunate "enthusiast," who is getting deeper and deeper into the economic mire, is a stumbling block to their further ambitions, while they have not hesitated to make use of him in the past for their own personal advancement.

It only requires now an upheaval such as we have witnessed in South Africa to compel these gentry to expose their hands, and their masquerade under the name of Labor would come to an end in quick time.

Short Arm Jolts

Industrial Unionists condemn Craft Unionism because of its relative weakness. The "crafties" can only kick up a storm in a teacup at best.

Direct Actionists begin to organize the workers by uniting them into one Big Union of the Working class. The "crafties" begin to organize them by dividing them into one thousand, one hundred and thirty-eight distinct sections.

The I.W.W. organizes the working class of the world in such a manner that they can kick up a storm in every ocean and continent in the world.

Jones on Jones

"Comrades Roche and Jones delivered epoch making orations to the intellectually inclined, few etc."—Luke Jones in the "International Socialist."

Mr. Jones goes on inferentially, to compare himself to Charles Darwin and the other "light comedy" speakers who frequent the Sydney domain on Sunday afternoons, to Harry Lauder. Great men seldom become really famous till after their death. Poor Darwin! Had you lived to see your name linked with the renowned one of Jones, and that by the one and only himself, what joy would be thine.

Stock Literature

We have the following literature in stock:—

One Big Union, An Outline of a Possible Industrial Organisation of the Working Class, with chart. By E. A. Trautman. Price 6d.

The Rights to be Lazy, Not the Right to work, but more of the things that work creates with leisure to enjoy them, that is what intelligent wage workers demand. By Paul Lafargue. Price 6d.

On the Firing Line, Report of the Seventh Annual Convention, on the Maramara Case, Ettor and Giovannitti Case, The Lawrence Strike, And what is the I.W.W. Price 3d.

The I.W.W. Its History, Structure, and Methods. By Vicent St. John. Price 3d.

The Revolutionary I.W.W. By C. H. Parry. Price 3d.

Eleven Blind Leaders, or Practical Socialism and Revolutionary Tactics. By B. H. Williams. Price 3d.

Direct Action versus Legislation. By J. B. Smith. Price 2d.

Industrial Unionism, Aim, Form and Tactics of a Workers' Union on I.W.W. Lines. By T. H. Price 2d.

Wage, Labour and Capital. By Karl Marx. Price 1d.

Industrial Union Methods. By W. E. Trautman. Price 1d.

How Capitalism has Hypnotised Society. Price 3d. Published by Sydney Local No. 2.

Industrial Unionism, The Road to Freedom. By Joseph J. Ettor. Price 3d.

Why Strikes Are Lost. How to Win. By W. E. Trautman. Price 3d.

Economic Discontent, and Its Remedy. By Fathor T. J. Hagerty, A.M.S.T.B. Price 2d

Song Books, To Fan the Flames of Discontent. Published by the I.W.W. Price 6d.

Members in all parts are invited to send in short, concise articles and reports. Don't traverse the universe; keep them inside 500 words if possible.

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