

DIRECT ACTION



VOL. I No. 2

SYDNEY FEBRUARY 28, 1914

ONE PENNY

The Labor Struggle is Primarily and Essentially a Struggle for Industrial Control. Industrial Unionism, therefore is the First and only Requisite.

→ The Late New Zealand Strike. ←

(By C.T.R.)

It's Lesson.

To understand the late New Zealand strike and the events leading up to it, one has to review the labor movement of that country for the past few years.

When the Ward Government held office a Bill was passed known as the Compulsory Medical Examination of Miners' Bill, which was in its essence an insidious attempt of the coal and gold Barons to shield them from the provisions of the Employers' Compensation Act, in other words, a clumsy effort to put into operation a systematic plan of victimising any miner of revolutionary principles.

The miners refused to work under such a Bill, and Semple, as their mouthpiece, interviewed the then Premier (Mr. Ward), and forced the politicians to recognise the Economic Power in the miners hands, with the result that the Act was repealed. That victory was the birth pang of the Miners' Federation, which ultimately evolved into the New Zealand Federation of Labour. So far, so good. Like all labour movements when young, the eyes of the fakir and would-be labour Messiahs were cast upon it with longing.

Gathering unto itself trades union after trades union, it soon bade fair to become a movement of some import. But (that "but"!) with the trade unions came the fakir, the union official and the inevitable politician. The growth of the Federation met with much opposition from the industrial despots and fight after fight took place. Here and there, where the economic power of the workers proved temporarily supreme, slight benefits were gained. Failure as inevitably followed weakness.

In 1911 the general labourers of Auckland affiliated with the Federation of Labour. The same year, in October, trouble arose in the ranks of the general labourers over the sub-contracting system; a strike was declared, and a compromise effected and the men went back to work. Then the war cloud burst in Waihi. The Employers' Association were in the meantime perfecting their organisation and preparing for the coming battle, whilst the workers were living in a fool's paradise, inasmuch as they believed that Craft Unionism, in the guise of Federation, could cope with the organised might of the master class. They were soon to be sadly disillusioned. The tragic story of Waihi proved, if proof were wanting, that a long drawn-out sectional strike, with its concomitants of trade union scabbery, can only end in defeat for the workers.

As a protest against the masters' tactics in Waihi, the Huntly coal miners with other workers ceased work for twenty-four hours, and held a demonstration. Next day the whole of the miners' executive were dismissed, and the Huntly miners now ceased work in consequence. They were forced back to work under the Arbitration Act, and those prominent in the strike were obliged to roam elsewhere. The same applies to the Auckland general labourers.

In reality, there is no General Labourers' Union. There are some 270 unions, and under the Arbitration Act at that. Since the first strike at Huntly the miners have known no peace. Miner after miner was victimised until even the reactionaries revolted, and still another strike was declared. The cowardly action of the Coal Barons aroused the workers throughout New Zealand. Trouble eventually took place on the water front at Wellington. This coupled with the Huntly trouble set the country ablaze with strike rumours, until the wage-slaves of the country openly revolted and struck from the North Cape to the Bluff. In Auckland alone, twenty-two unions, somewhat dilatorily, it must be admitted, respon-

ded to the call of the Huntly miners, but meanwhile the masters were not slow to take advantage of the dilatory and cumbersome machinery of craft organisation, and scabs and special police were mobilized from all quarters.

The defeat of the strike points to the absolute necessity of some form of organisation other than a conglomeration of craft unions!

Even admitting the concessions gained by the Federation of Labour in the zenith of its power, this strike proves the absolute impotency of craft organisation in any guise to cope with the power of the employers. Federations and confederations must by the very necessities of the case give way to more scientific and systematic unionism.

If the workers of Australia, or any other country, seek for a moral from the New Zealand strike, it is perfectly plain that we must not make a fetish of any form of organisation through a temporary success, and these facts stand out clearly:

1. Federating craft unionism is NOT INDUSTRIALLY organising the workers.
2. Amalgamating craft unions is NOT industrially organising the workers.

3. Putting craft union treasury chests against the masters' bank-rolls is fighting a losing fight.

4. Relying on politicians or leaders is relegating the intelligence of the rank and file—a suicidal policy which must ultimately lead to disaster.

5. A long-drawn-out strike can only end in failure, as all wars, industrial and military, are fought on the stomach.

6. "Trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage-wars."

A careful study of Industrial Unionism must surely convince the least intelligent that here is a weapon which, if adopted by the workers, would be all-powerful. Such a form of organisation, embracing all actual wage-workers in any given country regardless of craft, creed or colour, promises something right here and now. Whilst such a weapon lays to our hand surely craft union warfare is madness, and those who uphold craft organisation, directly or indirectly, thereby brand themselves as traitors to the interests of the toiling slaves.

• The 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 organise as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

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

state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organisation formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

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

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

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

Somewhat Personal.

This paper is written by slaves for slaves. So long as we are understood by the workers, we do not care whether or not critics criticise, friends approve, or enemies revel in denunciation.

Grammar, orthography, punctuation, etc., are things that we heard of at school in the dim and remote

past. We only heard about them. Economic need, or in other words, the master's voice, became imperative, and the years which should be given to study were devoted to manual toil in the service of those fortunate people whom God ordained to place over us. And the "ennobling influence of labour" has

not yet, apparently, accomplished its task. We are still "uncultured," "uncouth," and ungrammatical.

We drop our h's in conversation, our composition is faulty, and our punctuation abominable, but fellow-slaves will, nevertheless, understand our message. This is not meant to be an apology. It is merely a roundabout, but we hope a polite, method of telling would-be critics to go to h—ll

— AN — Explanation.

The author of the pamphlet, "How Capitalism Has Hypnotised Society," a first instalment of which appeared in our last issue, is William Thurston Brown, to whom we apologise for inadvertently omitting his name.

In our opinion the pamphlet is one of the best in revolutionary literature, and should be in the hands of every wage-slave.

Sixpence in stamps to I.W.W. headquarters, Sydney, will secure it.

The Vampire.

By Bert Leach.

With Apologies to Kipling.
A fool there was and he cast his vote

(Even as you and I)
For ragged pants and a tattered coat,
And some grub on which he didn't dote
He voted for G.O.P., you'll note,
(Even as you and I)

Oh, the work we do for the favoured few,
And the miserable wage we get—
We crack the puts and they take the meat,
They hand us chaff and they take the wheat,
And to make our bondage more complete,
We vote for this system yet.

A fool there was and he goods had none,
(Even as you and I)

He worked like 'ell from sun to sun,
He got no cash so he worked for fun,
And he voted just as his dad had done,
(Even as you and I)

Oh, he worked like fun from sun to sun,
And he plotted and schemed and planned,
But he just could not make both ends meet,
If his head kept warm then he froze his feet,
And his kids hadn't half enough to eat,
But he couldn't understand.

The fool was stripped to his foolish hide,
(Even as you and I)

They couldn't use that tho' they may have tried,
And the poor old fool was kicked aside;
And his legs lived on though his head had died,
(Even as you and I).

It isn't the shame and it isn't the blame
That stings, like a white hot brand,
It's the cursed foolishness of a jay
Who'll work ten hours for two hours' pay,
And vote for the thing on election day,
And will not understand.
— "New York Call."

Direct Action



MONTHLY ORGAN

OF THE
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF
THE WORLD.

(Australian Administration).

Office:—330 Castlereagh St., Sydney
Australia.

EDITOR—THOS. CLYNN.

MANAGER—E. A. CUFFNEY.

Matter for publication only should be
addressed to the Editor. Other matter
to the Manager.

Subscription, 2/- per year. Special
Terms on Bundle Orders.

HEADQUARTERS I.W.W. (Australia):
330 CASTLEREAGH ST., SYDNEY.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS—
164 W. Washington St., Chicago,
Ill., U.S.A.

Labour Militant

In view of the recent strikes and the ever-increasing militancy of the workers, those good people who still fondly believe that the age-long antagonism of Capital and Labour can be settled by arbitration or other "amicable" methods, must be as patient as Bruce's spider.

Industrial unionists know that while the capitalist system exists, the workers' position is year after year growing more precarious, while the employing class are for ever extending their wealth, influence and power.

As the second sentence of the I.W.W. preamble states: "There can be no PEACE so long as hunger and want are found among millions of workers, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life."

Arbitration, as a matter of fact, is, in one sense, the weakest weapon in the bosses' armoury. It may serve its purpose for a time of leading the workers to neglect or abandon more direct methods of achieving their aims, but once awake to the futility and farce of it all, the worker is proof against all pleadings of arbitration advocates. Just at the present moment we find the usual chorus of condemnation from press, politician and pulpit of those workers who are consciously or unconsciously in revolt against so-called conciliatory methods. And what a chorus! How our self-styled "friends" and would-be savidous dearily love to tell the ignorant worker what is good for him! After years of experience, as we are sleepily rubbing our eyes and becoming alive to the fact that we have been living (or sleeping) in a hell-paradise, we look around and discover we are still surrounded by the same old clique, the statesman, the politician, the judge, the capitalist scribe, bishop, priest and parson, with the trade union

leader well to the fore, all with hands raised in pious horror at the very idea of the worker daring to think and act for himself.

The politicians — "labour" politicians — are endeavouring to send us to sleep for another decade or so. "The principle of arbitration is sound," they say, "but the law itself, is defective." "As soon as we re-assemble in our talking-shop we shall amend that law and all will be well." Meanwhile, we are warned not to be "fire-brands" nor "enthusiasts"; not to be impatient; to trust our elected saviours, and above all things, to observe the law, to avoid illegitimate methods, and to remember "that the work of centuries can't be undone in a day." When we turn from our twentieth century Messiahs to the utterances of the capitalist press, the same warning is given us only in different language. The Bible-thumper dins into our ears the damnable teachings of Christianity, a religion suitable for, and adapted to, slavery, in which meekness, servility and obedience to superiors, are held up as the highest attributes.

Judges censoriously lecture us lustrious union organisers, such as lustrious non organisers, such as Mr. Con Hogan, pat us paternally on the shoulder and inform us that penalties must be enforced if we continue to misbehave.

But we are still sinful, disobedient, irreconcilable, somewhat over-grown, children. There was a time when this charlatanism imposed upon us. We have reached a point in our economic education in which the doctrine of submission finds no place. We preach and believe in insubordination in its very widest application. We know that industrial evolution, "undoing the work of centuries," to our advantage or disadvantage, according to the standard of our organisation and power. And we know, too, that given scientific organisation, labour militant is labour triumphant.

So every diatribe against our want of respect for your law is a compliment; every congratulatory word you speak as to our "reasonableness" and "moderation" reproves us for our inaction. We have revered your "law and order" for centuries; we have been meek too often, asleep too long, and while slumbering and submissive, you have bought us at your own price.

Arbitration has failed, you shout in disappointment. Good! It marks one further step towards the end of your rule, and is one of the few compliments you have ever paid to our intelligence. You and we know that economic power is the invisible chairman at all industrial disputes, and that the road to power for the working-class lies through INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION, militant, aggressive and uncompromising.

Why Living is Dear

In a recent issue of the "Sun," observer "raised the question of "Why Living is Dear?" but utterly failed in his attempt to demonstrate why prices are rising. In order to understand the causes of a rise or fall in prices we must first of all understand the functions of money and the laws of exchange value. In the first place, money became an economic necessity during the epoch in which the individual producer could no longer gratify his own desires with his own labour;

in other words, during the transitory stage from individual to social production. Division of labour is a necessary condition of social production, and of an increased productivity of labour. In the first stages of this epoch articles of utility were exchanged for articles of utility, the uses of which were expressed by their bodily form. But so long as one article was exchanged directly for another they remained non-commensurable; they both existed in relative forms. For instance it was impossible to express the difference of the magnitudinal value between a spear and a canoe in primitive society. We could not say how much more a canoe was worth than a spear unless we estimated the value of both in terms of some third thing—money—which now stands not in the relative but in the equivalent form. By reducing both the canoe and the spear to terms of money we are thus enabled to find the relative value-difference between the spear and the canoe. Call the former 5s. and the latter 20s, and it is obvious that the canoe is four times the value of the spear.

A product of labour becomes a commodity when its value is expressed in a universal equivalent—money—and exchanges indirectly for other products by first exchanging itself for money which measures its value and expresses its price. It commences with a sale and ends with a purchase, or goes through the process C-M-C (commodity, money, commodity).

Should the average amount of necessary social labour time remain relatively the same for the production of the spear and the canoe, the latter will (providing that supply and demand has not altered), remain four times the value of the former, notwithstanding an increase in the quantity of money, in which case prices would rise absolutely, but not relatively. The sum total of their prices may rise from 25s to 30s, and thus leave their individual prices 6s and 24s respectively. But a rise of prices cannot take place without a rise in the quantity of coin. The coin in our example must have been increased by 5s. "Observer" in the "Sun" is somewhat confused when he doubts whether an increase in the output of gold and silver does not make it possible for people to obtain more money, and he became further confused with the laws of the velocity of circulation by stating that "the precious metals play but a small part in commerce for the greater part of the commerce of the world is conducted by notes, cheques and bills of exchange." True, the sum total of prices are greater than the sum total of money, the difference being made up by increasing the velocity of circulation. One pound may pay £100 of debt, but the above notes, etc., or vouchers, are issued only on the strict understanding that some day they will be paid back in gold. This fact manifests itself most vividly during industrial crises, when credit or velocity is stopped by the banks and gold and gold alone is demanded as a means of payment. Owing to the use of modern machinery and the cyanide process in the gold mining industries, ore can be worked to-day that was unprofitable a few years ago, and consequently an ounce of gold can be produced in less time than formerly, and therefore has less value. Since gold is only the equivalent form of value, all other things must be relative to it. Gold cannot express its own value because it cannot be relative to itself as seen by the fact that its price remains the same in spite of a change in its value; it is the standard of price. The cost of living is constantly falling, while the price of living is constantly rising, simply because the value of gold is decreasing at a greater ratio than the value of the necessities of life. It is otherwise with commodities such as bicycles, motor cars, etc., the value and prices of which are falling in an inverse ratio to gold. If the value of all commodities were to fall in an exact ratio to the fall in the value of gold, prices would remain relatively the same. And, again, should there be no increase in the productivity of labour of both gold and commodities, prices would remain absolutely the same.

P. B. SHORT.

Direct Action

"Direct action" means getting at your boss directly, through your union. It is usually contrasted with "parliamentary action," which aims at getting laws passed "in the interests of labour" by some politician. The direct actionists want "laws" relating to hours of toil, wages, safety appliances, sanitary regulations, etc., made and enforced directly by the workers in the shops. In disputes of this kind between the workers and the boss, the most usual form of direct action is the STRIKE. It may be an active strike, in which the workers leave the shop, form picket lines, and endeavour to bring the boss to terms by stopping production for the time being. The aim in this case must be to tie up the shop and all other shops of the same industry completely, every worker being off the job. Or it may be a "passive strike," where the workers do not leave the shop, but stay on the job, working more slowly and carefully, and thus delaying production and increasing its cost. Again direct action may take the form of sabotage, where the workers tamper with the machinery, turn out poor work or systematically curtail production until the boss gets tired and comes through with the better conditions demanded. Direct action may take the form of sabotage, the resources of the slaves at the point of production. Direct action is the great WAR METHOD of the workers in the class struggle.

Reports

A debate was held outside the "Deadhouse" (Trades Hall), between Mr. Price, a trade unionist, and fellow worker C. Reeves, of the I.W.W. Mr. Price affirmed that the I.W.W. principles and methods were no good to the worker. Mr. Price was first to put his views, in which he pointed out that there was about 4000 members in his union, and yet at business meetings hardly 60 attended; that was one of the reasons why the workers wages are so small to-day. The workers were constantly fighting amongst themselves, instead of directing their activities towards their unions. Continuing, he said he couldn't possibly agree with the I.W.W., because they abuse all trade unions; and they were not scientific in their organisation, therefore he considered they were wrong. In concluding, he stated they had no principles, and therefore a general strike under such an organisation would be a complete failure and disastrous for the workers.

Fellow-worker Reeves replied, and said that why so few attended to the various Trade unions' business meetings was due to the awakening of the workers, their seeing the fallacy of trade union methods and the trickery on the part of leaders, which landed the workers further into the mire. Then Reeve explained that why the I.W.W. "constantly abuse" trade unionism was because it had outlived its usefulness. Surely, the worker is not going to stand by and be told that £2 6s. 3d. is enough for him to live upon, without demanding more of the product of his labor. If it is enough for us, why isn't it enough for them? Furthermore, Fellow-worker Reeve went on and explained that the methods and tactics of the I.W.W. were scientific, because

great force could be put into operation, in such a way that it would bring the masters to their knees very quickly, without giving them any cause to victimise any particular person working in the industry.

In concluding, Reeve pointed out that he could put no better principles forward than the one the I.W.W. aims at, namely, "The World for the World's Workers."

At the conclusion of the meeting a vote was taken, and the case of the One Big Union once again met with unanimous approval.

—D.R.

Propaganda

From all sides there are queries concerning the One Big Union and what it means thereby. It must be admitted that a great deal of our outdoor propaganda is devoted to side-issues which have no direct bearing on forms of organisation, industrial or otherwise; so much so, indeed, that it is not infrequent to hear a question asked as to the remedy at the conclusion of, perhaps, an otherwise excellent address, in which the speaker has laid bare the workings of the capitalist system and its tendency to crush and exploit the worker. While all phases of the class struggle, simple or complex, whether they find expression in religious, social, industrial or political activity, are of interest to the industrial unionist, most of us are liable to forget that we ourselves went through an evolutionary education, and that the average worker when first becoming interested in I.W.W. propaganda, is more anxious to hear of forms of organisation, tactics, etc., and where and why the I.W.W. claims superiority over craft organisation in this respect. If these things are left undisturbed, we cannot wonder that most of the audience go away with the feeling of "having heard all that before." Every propagandist should remember, no matter what order he may wander over in order to emphasise his points or "get the crowd," that the primary purpose of outdoor propaganda is to put forward the purposes and principles of the organisation in the simplest manner possible. We admit that in doing so, a speaker may come in for some criticism of the score of "repetition," but it is repetition only to the initiated, and is what potential recruits require to hear. Members may be induced to enrol themselves by other means, but experience proves that the members worth having in a recruit Local are those who join with some thing approximating an intelligent conception of the industrial form of organisation and the tactics which go with it. A broader education on economics comes after as it has done with ninety-nine per cent. of those in the revolutionary movement to-day. It may be argued that to propagate Industrial Unionism without its economics is like giving the husk without the grain and while this may be true to some extent, the fact remains that an analysis of the capitalist system of exploitation is only more or less academic interest; the matter of vital importance is the remedy for putting a stop to that exploitation which the worker, consciously or unconsciously, knows to be a prerequisite of its causes. As the I.W.W. is likely to function for some time as an educational force in Australia, this matter of sound propaganda is of vital interest to

PROPAGANDA.

concerned. If industrial solidarity is to be eventually achieved, it can only be done by the propagation of sound principles in form, aim and tactics, combined with the lessons which the masters are hourly teaching the craft organisations.

The writer is aware that it is easier to give advice than to follow it, but however that may be, the first requisite for success in propaganda is in other matters, is a clear understanding of what is needed.

Broken Hill

Local No. 3 of the Industrial Workers of the World are right here in the city of heat and dust, carrying on the propaganda of the I.W.W., as they have been doing for the past 15 months. We hold meetings every Sunday evening at the corner of Chloride and Argent streets, and the meetings are always attended by a good crowd of wage-workers who are anxious to hear of a better form of organisation than exists on the Barrier to-day. Our sales of literature are good, and by the distribution of literature we have secured several applications for membership. Since the Local was formed in B.H., a large number have taken out cards of membership, and these are not merely dues-paying members, as we have in the craft organisations, but fellow-workers who take an interest in the affairs of the organisation and attend the economic classes held weekly, doing their utmost to become acquainted with ways and means to enable them to fight the master class.

We are in need of a good soap-boxer, who can and will, deliver the gospel of industrial unionism, so that any fellow-worker who is able to deliver the gospel and requires a place to be scientifically exploited in, should communicate with this Local. Ways and means will be found to get him to Broken Hill. The majority of wage-slaves are anxious to hear the gospel delivered, so get busy you free-footed rebels and blow along to this hell-hole of capitalism.

I notice a warning in to-day's paper warning men to keep away from Mt. Morgan (Queensland), as the slave-market is overstocked. The same thing applies to Broken Hill, as it does to every industrial centre of Australia, but those workers who understand why this state of affairs occurs, know that the warning is of very little use, as the class that controls industry to-day, force the workers to wander from place to place, increasing the army of unemployed, and with the result of decreasing the wages of those employed in the different industries.

Where the contract system operates, as it does in Broken Hill, it should not be difficult for the average toiler to see how wages must be reduced, as the competition for the jobs naturally causes masters' representatives to cut the contract prices.

There is only one way to alter these conditions and decrease the army of unemployed, and that is by organising on lines laid down by the I.W.W. and fighting for a reduction of hours, the only way that is going to solve the unemployed problem.

Get wise, fellow-workers, and organise!

A. O'M.

SYDNEY LOCAL.

During the last few weeks our meetings have been very well attended. On Sunday, the 8th, a demonstration was held in the Domain to protest against the deportation of our fellow-workers from South Africa. A great crowd listened attentively, and a thousand copies of our paper ("Direct Action") were sold. On Sunday, the 15th, an exceptionally big meeting was held. Many strikers were among the audience, and they listened attentively to our speakers, who pointed out the futility of the starvation strike, and the necessity for sabotage, or, in other words, how to go on strike, and remain at work at the same time. Our meetings at Bathurst-street continue to become larger, and many are waiting for the message of industrial unionism long before our speakers commence their addresses.

On Friday, 13th, a fine meeting was held at Newtown, and the sales of "Direct Action" were very good. At the Trades Hall, on Wednesday, 4th, at least a thousand "slaves" gathered round our stump, and listened to the goods being delivered. An invitation was given to the secretaries and treasurers of the "dead-house," who listened from the windows, to refute the case for industrial unionism, but, of course, no one accepted. On the 11th Fellow-worker Reeve lectured at the same place, and, notwithstanding the wet weather, a very big crowd turned up to hear our case for better organisation. A few questions were asked, and answered satisfactorily. At the indoor lectures on Sunday nights the hall has been packed, and many have been turned away. On Sunday, 1st inst., Fellow-worker Glynn lectured on "The Conditions in South Africa." On Sunday, 8th, Fellow-worker Haslam on "Anti-Militarism," and on the 15th Fellow-worker Reeve on "Sabotage." After each lecture the meeting was thrown open for discussion, and much educational work has been done. The speakers' class continues to make good progress with increased attendance at each class. On Tuesday the subject was "sabotage and all the young speakers present showed how it could be applied scientifically, in the industries in which they worked. Taking all things into consideration, the organisation is making great progress, and quite a few slaves have become conscious of the position they occupy in society, and joined the One Big Union.

D. GRANT, Organiser.

INTENDING

MEMBERS DESIROUS OF JOINING SYDNEY LOCAL CAN DO SO BY NOTIFYING SECRETARY TREASURER, F. A. RAISON.

Open Letter

MR. O'BRIEN, SECRETARY OF THE TRADES AND LABOUR COUNCIL.

Sir,—When you were but a mere vice-president of that intellectual body known as the Trades and Labour Council, then the speeches of your late chief, Mr. Fox were ridiculed by the industrial unionist, but when they were doing so they were continually reminded that his days, as president were numbered, and that when you would take hold of the reins of office all criticism from the "rebels" would have to cease. We were assured that you were really an intellectual, being conversant with all the economists of repute, and that you had made an es-

OPEN LETTER

pecial study of the laws operating under capitalism, as expounded by Man himself. If you had remembered the old proverb, "A still tongue maketh a wise head," perhaps even now some of the slaves would be looking to you as a real emancipator, but when you made your maiden speech as president, you immediately made yourself ridiculous to all industrial unionists, and shattered all hopes of your most ardent admirers. You opened your address by telling us that Labour's victory at the polls would not be complete until the workers had demonstrated that they could get what they wanted through parliament. As you proceeded on your way you made it known that you "were against strikes unless they were for a principle." A strike for a rise in wages was different, for after all the rise was not paid by the employers but by the general community. The Council should endeavour not so much to increase wages as to reduce the price of commodities. If they failed in this then the whole system of arbitration would completely break down." Those three statements taken together from one of the most extraordinary speeches ever made by a so-called intellectual member of the Trades and Labour Council. Let us examine them separately. First: "The workers can get what they want through Parliament." What do they want? A fair day's work for a fair day's pay? Or has the judge of the Arbitration Court determined what they want—£2 8s. per week—or as Mr. Kavanah, the secretary of your Council would have it, £2 6s. 3d. If it is, you can have it. Is this what your Parliamentary Unions have to show after 20 years of fighting for a Labour party. After 20 years during which thousands of our class have been murdered in the mines of Broken Hill, Mount Morgan and Mount Lyall. After all the slaves who have gone to a watery grave through being forced to go to sea in the rotten ships that sail around your native shores. After all those women have sold their bodies on the streets of every city in your country. After all those sleepless nights in your rotten houses that are infested with bugs. After hundreds of politicians have shouted themselves hoarse with the cry of "Leave it to us; leave it to us!"

After years, during which your Holmans, Fishers and Hughes have left their umbrellas and bonnets and risen on the backs of the workers to be associates of princes and kings. After twenty years of marvellous inventions that have made Labour power more productive than ever before. £2 8s. a week after twenty years; and Parliament can give you what you want. Well, if it can, it is obvious you must want damn little. It is proven that Parliament cannot legislate for us, we must accomplish our ends ourselves by our only weapon, namely, "Direct Action."

Second: "A rise in wages is of no benefit to the workers; it is paid by the general community." Now, Mr. O'Brien, there is no general community in the sense you mean. There are only those who live on their wages (the workers), and those who live on surplus value (the capitalists). If so, how can the workers and capitalists both get more at the one time? Come now, is it not impossible? Of course it is! and no one recognises the fact more clearly than the Masters; that is why they fight like hell when the workers demand a rise in wages. If a rise in wages

is of no use, why do the Master Butchers of this town not give the Slave Butchers the ten shillings they demand? Because, Mr. O'Brien, they cannot pass it on as you maintain; and therefore, they must pay it out of the surplus values unless they can lengthen the hours of labour or intensify production.

If space would permit I would deal with the question in detail, but I am forced on the third and silliest point of all.

The Trades and Labour Council should try and reduce the cost of living. If you had the slightest idea of the cause of the high price of living, or the "cost" as you call it, you would never have made such a silly statement. I do not believe that you know the difference between the "cost" of living and the "price" of living, so let me explain the real sense of the word the "cost" of living, that is, the labour-time required to produce the necessities of life is less than ever before, but the "price," the amount paid for the necessities of life, has increased enormously during the past ten years. Why? Because gold can be produced more easily, with less labour time embodied in it; therefore, it is less valuable, and we require more of it to exchange for the necessities of life. So if you are to reduce the "cost" (price), I suppose you are going to destroy the machines used in producing gold, make it less easily produced, and therefore more valuable, and thus reduce the "cost" (price) of living. You are the man all the world has been looking for for years past. Come along quickly and tell us all about it and there will be more money for you as a capitalist economist than even a Labour politician. Surely you, with all your knowledge, know by this time that prices are determined by economic and not by statute laws by natural and inevitable laws. Even admitting that you can reduce prices by act of Parliament, will that benefit the working class? Decidedly not. And that for the following reason. If you reduce the price of necessities of life for the workers do you not thereby reduce the prices for by far the greater consumers, namely, the master class. The sovereign would buy more for the working man it is true, but would it not buy more for his master? Such a change in prices would produce no relative difference. The purchasing power of money would increase for both capitalist and worker alike; for as you know they are both buyers. It is also true that should a general reduction of prices take place in Australia, people would flock here in order to reap the benefits of cheap prices. This would mean more slaves on the labour market; intensification of competition between working men for jobs; and you know what the result would be—reduced wages. Where the price of living is low, wages are low also. Wages, as your friend Judge Heyden truly said, are based on the price of living. No, Mr. O'Brien, you have no solution. The I.W.W. would propose a six-hour day in order to employ the surplus labour on the market. If that is not practicable, just at this juncture, a general slowing down in all industries would have the same effect. In conclusion; you either know nothing about the working class's position, or you are a traitor to your class. If you be in the former category you are of no use to the workers, for only men with knowledge are beneficial.

If in the latter, you ought to be a pestilence, for all traitors are out to live upon the degradation of their fellows,

Yours revolutionary,
D. GRANT.

What a Workingman should know

That Judge Heyden was expressing the opinion of the class he represents when he declared that £2 8s. was a living wage for a family of four.

That he meant a working class family.

That he said: "In this State, children of LIVING wage workers can, and, as a rule, I believe, do, begin to earn money (surplus value) as soon as the law allows it, that is, at 14. As their school education ends, their education to habits of industry begins."

That working for the benefit of another class is certainly a "habit" of the modern wage plug.

That working two hours for yourself and six for the boss is a very bad habit.

That the habit of enjoying life should be the object of our existence.

That we should transform more of our working time into living time, and not give our daylight away for darkness.

That we will be a long time dead. That the right to be lazy is a principle of the boss.

That he does not advocate his principle to his workman, because there's a reason why.

That the old maxim: "The hand that rocks the cradle moves the world," is, unfortunately, not true.

That it should read: "The man that holds the bundle rules the world."

That this bundle business rules Parliament which cannot be captured by votes.

That an international civil war is inevitable sooner than we expect.

That a national strike in Australia is certain within 12 months.

That Premier Holman visited New Zealand to inquire into the recent strike, as a similar strike is expected on this side of the Tasman.

That the real Government in New Zealand is the Employees' Federation.

That industrial laws are made by the owners of industries, and are only CONFINED by Parliament.

That the One Big Union of workers would make industrial laws where they work.

That a living wage for a wage-slave is not a living wage for a racehorse.

That the latter costs more to produce.

NOTICE.

Mr. SHEARSBY will Lecture on Astronomy in the I.W.W. HALL, 330 Castlereagh Street, on Saturday, March 7, at 8 p.m. He will show the operation of the Solar System by means of two marvellous machines called Orrery and Tellurian.

All are invited to attend. Those who want to miss a treat kindly stay away.

"HOW CAPITAL HAS HYPNOTISED SOCIETY"

By WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN.

(To be Continued in Next Issue)

Unavoidably Crowded

Short Arm Jolts.

"Mr. Holman, Premier of New South Wales," says a recent cable from Wellington, "arrived by the Manuka, and was entertained by Mr. Massey and other Ministers at luncheon."

Premier Massey, of New Zealand, is the capitalist tool by whose agency the recent strike in New Zealand was broken, and on the very date that Mr. Holman waved with Massey and his lieutenants, workers were being tried and sentenced in the New Zealand courts for "sedition" and co-called crimes against capitalist society.

There is an old saying about "Birds of a feather," etc.

It may be a co-incidence, but the same cable informs us that Mr. Holman allowed himself to be interviewed for the purpose of expressing his disapproval of strikes in general and the general strike in particular.

Mr. Holman informs us that six years ago "the I.W.W., an American organisation, devoted to the general strike, was making much headway in Australia," but now, according to this working-class champion, "there are only a few isolated voices raised here and there urging that action be taken on other than Parliamentary lines."

The politicians' reputation for veracity is not so high as for their ever-increasing lies. In the case of the recent strike Premier Holman fully justifies it. As the I.W.W. has been established in Australia only some two and a half years, it is interesting to hear from such a reliable source that it was "making much headway in Australia" three or four years before.

"I do not think," adds the ingenuous Holman, "anyone suggests now that there is a better method of righting the wrongs of the workers than the Parliamentary one." Of course not; at least not in the circle in which Holman now moves. Imagine Massey and Co. toasting the "Social General Strike" in champagne!

No wonder, by the way, that capitalist henchmen, such as Massey, are anxious to show their appreciation of Australian Labour leaders. The tactics adopted by Hughes and a few others in frustrating an extension of the New Zealand strike to Australia should be enough to make the notorious Farley, of Yankee strike-breaking fame, turn in his grave.

We have always known that the motives which prompted capitalistic "reform" were not exactly of a character which would appeal to a man like Jesus Christ, for instance; but Barrister J. D. Fitzgerald, a gentleman who appears to have made a study of city planning and civic government, etc., put it really too bluntly in an address at the Chamber of Commerce building the other day. "We, as citizens," he said, "cannot avoid the responsibility of the fact that less than a mile away there are disease-breeding structures which maim, cripple and cause degeneration in the growing race, who are thus, through circumstances beyond their control, often forced into the rank of the criminal and

wastrel. The healthy citizen is the best worker, he is more contented, creates more wealth and does it more continuously."

Abolish slums, says Mr. Fitzgerald, in effect, because healthy slaves are better profit making machines.

As his audience included such well-known exploiters as the President of the Chamber of Commerce, and the President of the Chamber of Manufacturers, we may expect the idea to be taken up enthusiastically.

There is only one flaw in the legal gentleman's argument. The capitalist system produces such a surplus of wage-slaves that the life of even a healthy one in the eyes of Braddon, Pratten and Co.'s hell much cheaper than a night's doss in the cheapest slum in Woolloomooloo.

Were it not for one thing, this paper could not help having a sneaking regard for General Smuts, Minister for Defence in the South African Government, because we abhor a scab and like a man who stands up for his class, even when he belongs to the other side.

When men like Smuts openly proclaim by their actions their belief in the class war and crush every attempt of so-called organised labour to better its condition, we bow our heads for the nonce, as we know that Might is the only arbiter in capitalist society.

When we hear of so-called workers fondly believing that their "inalienable rights," the "right" to organise, the "right" to assemble, the "right" to withhold their labour, the "right" to freedom of speech, and the "right" to a so-called trial in courts of so-called justice—when all these "rights" are shown to be but vain delusions, we simply rub our eyes and thank Smuts and his ilk for awakening us, and work and live for the day when every debt we owe the capitalist class shall be faithfully discharged.

But when Smuts, Eckstein and Co. Ltd., not content with sabotaging the workers' "rights," sabotage the wives and children of the best and bravest of our class by deporting their husbands and fathers, then all the respect due to an antagonist vanishes, and we are reluctantly compelled to inform these gentry that they are nothing but low, dirty, despicable and cowardly mongrels.

In pleading for the principle of arbitration in industrial disputes, the capitalist press always falls back upon that hoary old chestnut, "the rights of the general public." Eliminate masters and slaves, and who constitutes the rest of the "general public?" Nobody but the henchmen and hangers-on of the capitalist class, the prostitute scribe, the politician, the statesman, the lawyers, and all the parasitical crowd whose existence is necessary to the capitalist regime.

That is why "public opinion," so dearly loved of the capitalist press, is invariably in conflict with the workers' demands.

And of course the craft union leaders fall to the bait. To hear the average Union official expiate upon the beauties of arbitration and the inadvisability of losing "public sympathy" through a strike, is enough to make the capitalist scribes aforesaid turn mouldy with envy.

In commenting upon the Syndi-

calist character of the South African revolt, the "Sydney Morning Herald" is constrained to remark that there is also a revolutionary section in the labour movement in Australia, but that their efforts have been fruitless and so forth, but plainly states its objection to the continued existence of the I.W.W.

The capitalist sheet is at its wits' end to find a means for discrediting I.W.W. propaganda.

In one and the same issue will be found a leading article ramping and raving at the influence which the I.W.W. wield in labour organisations, and a leaderette congratulating the "good sense" of the workers in their refusal to be led away by a few "red-raggers," etc.

The blue blood of our "glorious Empire" must have derived its name from the tainted source from which it derives its sustenance.

The cable informs us that by direct instructions of George Rex, Kennington slums, of which George happens to be the landlord, are being abolished, and up-to-date artisan dwellings erected in their stead.

The cables do not say, but we will bet our Domain "mansion" (the fourth tree on the right from the gate) that George has at the same time increased the rents of his beloved subjects 50 per cent. Evidently "Our Most Gracious Majesty" is well in the forefront of enlightening the "Slums do not pay," is the modern slogan of advanced landlordism.

Daceyville is a case in point. How the labour politicians love to gloat over the contented slave in this twentieth century, feudalistic suburb.

Speaking of Royalty reminds me that while "British law" forbids the slave to indulge in an innocent "two-up" gamble (he might forget his job, you know), we are told per medium of Reuter, that "our" Queen Mary had a little plunge in Consols the other day and pocketed seven thousand of the best as a result.

The cable also somewhat hastily informs us that the transaction was not, of course, executed in Mary's name, but in that of her she-mate private secretary.

We wonder whether the "dignity" of her Imperial Majesty rose to the level of a refusal to accept the "dibs."

The "Cape Argus" remarks that the deportations of the strike leaders were "legally unjustifiable, but justifiable from the point of view of common sense." Workers, judge every action of yours from the same standpoint.

Roger Babson, an eminent Wall-street authority on economic movements, and a legal shark employed by some of the largest financial institutions in the United States, has this to say, among other things, about the I.W.W.:-

"Therefore, although we may despise the leaders and condemn the methods of the I.W.W.'s, we must not lose sight of their ultimate aim, as upon this aim depends their future growth. In short, the American Federation of Labour professes to believe that there can be two heads to a mill or business, and that it can be operated jointly by Capital and Labour. The industrial workers of the world state frankly that there can be but one head—either capital or labour must rule—and that we are to see a fight to the finish. I regret to admit it, but I nevertheless believe that the I.W.W. theory is the more correct, and many great manufacturers reluctantly agree." Verb sap.

Mutineer or Striker.

Where We Are Heading For.

There are times when the members of the National Association of Manufacturers open their hearts to one another, or the congressmen or senators, or governors or judges they are about to bribe, and tell them what they think about you and me and other working men and women.

Henry K. Towne, president of the Yale and Towne Manufacturing Company has such infamous ideas of the way the workers ought to be treated that we want to lay bare his heart for your inspection. When Browning spoke of his beloved Italy, you may remember that he said, "When I am dead, open my heart and you will find there written, in letters of gold, Italy." Well, we have had a peep into Mr. Towne's private correspondence with James A. Emery, general counsel for the N.A.M., and we have found, in his heart, written in letters of brass, the one word, PROFITS.

This is a sample of the labour millennium for which the capitalist class (and their honourable servants) are striving. Mr. Towne writes:

"I have long held and expressed the opinion that the only complete and adequate protection of the public against intolerable oppression by organised labour in the case of public-service and public-utility corporations will consist in legislation whereby employment in the service of such corporations will be put on a quasi-military basis. THAT IS, WILL INVOLVE ENLISTMENT either in the form which now applies to the Army and Navy, or in the form which now applies to the police and fire departments under municipal government. Such service is voluntary, not compulsory, and no fair argument can be advanced against imposing conditions reasonably needed for the protection of the public welfare on individuals who voluntarily seek to engage in such service.

"A STRIKE by enlisted men would be MUTINY, the PUNISHMENT for which, of course, should be FIXED BY LAW. Coincidentally with legislation of this kind I would hope to see legislation providing ample safeguards for the protection of all just rights of THE ENLISTED MEN, including the right of petition for the redress of grievances, with adequate provision for the obtaining of redress wherever justified."

In commenting on Mr. Towne, the "Commercial Telegraphers' Journal" says:

"For emphasis I have capitalised certain words in this remarkable epistle. It is not surprising that such sentiment should come from Mr. Towne. He was one of the first American manufacturers to adopt the Taylor System of scientific shop management, which provides for the use of cruel speeding-up processes of workingmen in order that dividends may be increased. In fact, Towne was one of the star witnesses brought to Washington by Lawyer Brandeis, of Boston, to demonstrate the possibilities of scientific management before the Interstate Commerce Commission.

"Senator Reed sharply cross-examined Towne on this letter. In answer to questions Towne declared he expected to live to see his proposition enacted into law. He estimated that 5,000,000 wage-workers would be included in his scheme of enlistment subject to punishment for mutiny in case of strikes.

"Then Senator Reed asked Mr. Towne what would prevent the extension of his system from the purely public service corporations, such as railroads, telegraph companies and the like, to the Chicago stock yards, the coal mines, the steel industry, and in fact to all industry, since all manufacturing is directly a public service. Towne, however, was not willing to go to this extreme.

"But is there any question that if such military enlistment were applied to purely public service corporations it would eventually be applied to all industry?"

According to Mr. Towne's own estimate, 5,000,000 men are now employed by public service corporations—more than a quarter of the total number of wage earners in the country. A few years of Mr. Towne's peonage would create in this country a great, disorganised horde of supine, spiritless serfs, afraid to lift their voices for fear of punishment as "mutineers."

"We can imagine what would follow. The first step would be to deny to the American peons the right of petition, the argument being, of course, in Mr. Towne's own words, that 'service is voluntary, not compulsory, and no fair argument can be advanced against imposing conditions reasonably needed for the protection of public welfare.'

"This argument is fictitious. No labour is voluntary; all labour is compulsory, since self-respecting men must labour to live and must accept the jobs which are offered. 'Workingmen should think carefully over this Towne letter. It may have a deeper significance than the fantastic scheme at first seems to warrant.'—'International Socialist Review.'"

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 5d.

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 McNamara Case, Etor and Giannitti 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.

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Song Books, To Fan the Flame 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.

Published by Sydney Local No. 2, 2, Castlereagh-street, Sydney, printed by E. A. Chown, 97 Devonshire-street, Sydney, N.S.W.