

DIRECT ACTION



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DIRECT ACTION MARCH 31, 1914

ONE PENNY

The Bosses own the Earth. You only own your Labour Power.
Organise to Control it and the Earth is Yours Wage Slaves
Wear Your Wooden Shoes

THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME OF THE I.W.W. BY B. H. WILLIAMS

The charge is now being made and repeated constantly by the enemies of the Industrial Workers of the World, that our organisation is committed "exclusively to a programme of violent destruction"; that "the I.W.W. would destroy society and industry, leaving nothing but chaos in their place." With much eagerness and flourish a large part of the labor press is repeating this nonsense, until no doubt many sincere workers are misled by it, which is, of course, the intention of the enemy. In order to offset this, and supply our own active members with material with which to educate outside workers, "Direct Action" hopes from time to time, to deal in detail with the structural forms of the "One Big Union." Our readers should understand that it is not the alleged "nasty talk" of the I.W.W. agitator that is so much feared by the capitalist master, as it is the attempt by the I.W.W. to BUILD CONCRETELY THE WONDERFUL STRUCTURE OF INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY, that shall replace the rule of the masters by the organized control of industry and society by the working class.

textile mill, can no longer be properly organized on a craft basis, according to the tools used by the workers.

Recognising these fundamental changes due to industrial evolution, the I.W.W. provides for the organization of all workers in a given metal and machinery shop or a textile mill, into ONE SHOP BRANCH—with regular branch officers, shop committees and general shop meetings or referendums to deal with questions pertaining to their shop interests alone. In this way we get directly at the boss or shop owner, at the closest possible range.

But there may be many shops of the same kind in the same locality. Most matters do not concern a single shop only; for example, an eight-hour day, or an increase in wages is a matter that cannot well be settled by a single shop organisation. Hence the shop branches must be grouped in such a way that all the workers in a given locality, or in all localities, can act as a unit against their employers and for all the workers at once. So for the purpose of local unity of a given industry, all the shop branches are bound together in a LOCAL INDUSTRIAL UNION, for instance, of "metal and machinery workers" or of "textile workers." This local industrial union functions through a central committee or council composed of delegates from each of the shop branches, having all necessary officers to transact affairs of general concern, to maintain communication between the branches and larger subdivisions of the same industrial union, and so on. All detail work except important matters are referred to a general meeting or a general referendum of the local membership. In this way, by the I.W.W. plan of organisation, every possible detail is provided for.

(2) Just as the local industrial union is the unit of the I.W.W. organisation, so GENERAL LOCAL UNITY is of prime importance in the development of the organisation. Without strong, healthy and vitalised local organisation, a general weakness is inevitable all along the line. The I.W.W. cannot properly function from the top down; it must function FROM THE BOTTOM UP. Consequently, the I.W.W. provides for the very important formation known as the INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT COUNCIL, whose function it is to secure and maintain local unity and solidarity of all industrial groups. The district-council is composed of representatives from each and all of the local industrial unions of a given locality. In case of a strike in a given industry, the council becomes a most effective instrument for calling into action all the workers of

the locality to aid their struggling brothers. Raising funds, carrying on propaganda and organisation, calling out workers in other industries, are some of the possible means by which the industrial district council may function as a quick and effective means of promoting local solidarity.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION.

(3) But local unity is not sufficient; the local industrial union and the district council are not complete in themselves. An eight-hour day or a demand for a general advance in wages may originate as a local movement, but in order to be successful against a MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION or in face of the advantage that one competing capitalist will naturally take of another, such a movement must involve the entire industry. For instance, the Paterson textile workers (1913) demanded an eight-hour day and succeeded in completely tying up the silking shops of that city. Immediately the bosses shouted that they could not "compete with the mill owners of Pennsylvania, New York, and other sections of New Jersey." Thereupon, the I.W.W. took them at their word, and proceeded to call out about 20,000 more strikers in the sections named, particularly paralysing the entire silk goods industry. The strikers of Hudson county, New Jersey, were offered their demands and requested to return to work. They refused, "until such time as the Paterson strikers should be granted the eight-hour day and other concessions."

Thus the I.W.W. plan of organisation has provided the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION for the purpose of bringing together all local industry into one national body. All the textile workers of the nation are to be united in one national industrial union. To transact its affairs, maintain unity of action and inter-communication between locals, etc., the national industrial union elects national officers and a national executive board, holds national conventions and deals with national matters through the referendum.

Through this form of organisation, the textile workers, for example, will tend more and more to assume control of that industry and to regard it as their particular RESPONSIBILITY, in relation to the industrial society as a whole. Hence the basis of that claim by capitalist writers (and given a foundation in the assertions of some "half-baked" "syndicalist") that the I.W.W. proposes to "have the miners own and control the mining industry; the textile workers own and control the textile industry; etc. This is not true, as will appear later. Suffice it to say here, that the national industrial union is

provided for by the I.W.W. constitution to enable the workers in a given industry to maintain, in detail, the national unity and solidarity of that industry. This form of organisation is seen to be essential both for purposes of defence and aggression against the capitalist enemy, and for shaping an essential part of the structure of the new society which it is seeking to form within the shell of capitalism.

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES.

(4) Following the same "industrial lead" through the "vein" of modern capitalist industry, we find that a still larger grouping—of closely allied industries—is necessary. That is provided for under the name DEPARTMENT. In dealing with "departments," we cannot speak with the same assurance as with regard to the other subdivisions of the organisation. Owing to the close inter-relationship of "allied industries," the departmental lines are not closely defined. Nevertheless, the I.W.W. constitution provides tentatively, for the following departmental structure:

1. The Department of Agriculture, Land, Fisheries and Water Products.
2. Department of Mining.
3. Department of Transportation and Communication.
4. Department of Manufacture and General Production.
5. Department of Construction.
6. Department of Public Service.

Each of these six departments will embrace all the national industrial unions of closely allied industries in the respective departments to which they may properly belong. Under this classification, as at present conceived, the national industrial union of textile workers would be included in the Department of Manufacture and General Production. A national industrial union of "Municipal Workers," having charge of the lighting, heating, paving, watering and otherwise administering cities, would belong to the Department of Public Service. But, as suggested above, the question of departmental grouping will have to be gone into more thoroughly, as the constructive work of organisation proceeds. The concept of "departments" only brings out more clearly the inter-relationship of one industry to another, and provides for the closer unity of allied industries.

GENERAL ORGANISATION—UNION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

(5) On this question of "closer unity" the I.W.W. constitution goes even further. It proceeds on the understanding that wealth production is to-day a SOCIAL PROCESS, in which the entire working class co-operates to feed, clothe, shelter and provide the entire population of the world with the accessories of civilisation.

No single group of workers stand alone; no single industry is sufficient to itself; no group of industries can operate independently of other groups. For instance, the textile workers would be unable to "clothe the nation" if other groups of workers did not supply them with food, built machinery for the mills, raise cotton, wool and flax as "raw material"; transport products to and from the textile factories, etc. At bottom, all the working class co-operates with or aids directly or indirectly any groups of workers in performing its functions.

Consequently, just as the local industrial union binds together the branches; the national industrial union the locals, and the departments the national industrial unions—in the departments, whether more or less than six in number when this form of grouping is worked out, will be brought together in ONE GENERAL UNION OF THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS, whose functioning will bind together all workers of all industries into one co-operative commonwealth.

This form of organisation precludes the idea of the workers in one industry "owning and operating that industry for themselves." That proposal is found to be impossible of realisation in view of the social character of production. The GENERAL ORGANISATION OF THE I.W.W. is for the purpose of securing and maintaining the co-operation of all industrial groups, for the work of social production for the use and benefit of all the people. The general organisation has also another purpose at the present time—that of binding all the workers of the organisation together for common defence and aggression against the master class. Its present success along this line brings forth the cry that the "I.W.W. is trying to destroy society."

Through this form of organisation thus briefly sketched, the I.W.W. is seen to have a constructive programme, supplementing its destructive tactics against the capitalist enemy, that is invincible. And it is this CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME that alarms the masters and their retainers more than all the "loud talk" which they attribute to I.W.W. agitators. This programme should be debated, studied and understood by all I.W.W. members first of all. Moreover, it should form a part at least of every soap-boxer's speech. Without it the "tactics" of the I.W.W. are of as little value as geometrical figures without material substance through which to express their meaning. Tactics are inseparable from organisation. Therefore let us study and work to build the organisation that, while striking capitalism its death blow, is at the same time preparing to put in the place of capitalism a new and better society.

With acknowledgements to B. H. Williams — Organiser

Direct Action

Confessions of a Self-Conscious Parasite.

THE APPROACHING Revolution.



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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS—

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LIBRARIAN.—D. Ramsay. Rebels note: Library now open. Loose-foot Rebels drop in for a book or a chat with other Rebels.

Boost, But Don't Knock

The following gem is from the official organ of the Railway and Tramway Unions of New South Wales:—

"One of the worst sins of indifference on the part of the average trade union member is the neglect to attend the union meetings. A union member who does not attend the meetings loses the biggest part of the evolutionary, educational effect of the opportunity to broaden and improve one's self through association with his fellows. Besides that, he is depriving the movement of the encouragement of his personal presence. There is an enthusiasm about large meetings that carries a message of hope and confidence to each member. Attend the union meetings, but by all means go to boost and not to knock."

We presume when tramway men, for instance, are assured by the secretary of their union that it would be useless asking for an increase in their wages, as the "trams don't pay," that they are expected to greet the statement with enthusiastic cheers. It would take a pretty large microscope to find the "hope and confidence" with which craft organisation, and its ignorant and reactionary officials, inspire the average worker to-day.

RECENT DEPARTURES.

Fellow-worker P. Short, of New Zealand and has left for Old Dart to study the Class Struggle, also "Facts of London". Fellow-workers Goldstein and Y. Glynn, South Africa, off to educate Smuts rans, and make their presence felt in the land of the Wily Boer. Don't forget your wooden shoes, departed rebels.

All wealth is the gift of Nature and the efforts of labour.

If we spin not, and sow not, we are parasites, living on our fellows.

The man who owns wealth which he did not earn by his own efforts must necessarily gain the benefits of some one else's labour, and he is certainly a parasite and morally, if not legally, a thief.

The intelligent worker recognises he is a wage slave. Should not the intelligent man of the master class also admit he is a parasite?

There are many stratas of society, but classify them as you may, there are but two classes—the robbed, and the robbers.

It is quite honorable to rob if you have money, and it is quite right you should be robbed if you do not have money to rob others. Property is more sacred than life in the sight of the law. There are so many points of law, and all are in favour of the man who owns the purse.

Law is a thing which you can buy and sell. Justice is a thing we can only venture to dream about, but is never known to materialise under present conditions.

The world must attain enlightened reason and educate its conscience before we can venture to speak of justice. We must understand the dictates of Nature and the true principles of nature's laws these will give a larger, broader, and nobler conception of Truth and Justice.

Justice would give all men equal rights and opportunities. Does society give these? No; then society is not in harmony with justice, and this is our justification for attacking society. Some workers have evolved just sufficient light to comprehend that they are slaves to a master class, and some of the employing class are equally conscious that their position is certainly not moral. There are others who live on profitmongering; they recognise that their position, to say the least, is doubtful.

The writer is of this class. He claims to be strictly honest. He buys in the cheapest market and sells in the quickest (not the dearest). Small profits and

quick returns is the motto. Quite honest, you know. Strictly within the law. Yet he knows the system of competition brutalises and demoralises the best of us, and that he, in spite of himself, is a parasite.

During the present week a friend he is in constant touch with, and who does business of a similar nature, asked "How do we stand from a self-conscious standpoint?" The answer was brief and undebatable. "We are parasites, we cannot get away from the fact, there is no other name for it."

Honest confession is good for the soul, and if all parasites would own up to the truth it would assist in bringing about a more just and equitable state of society.

If all parasites would own up to the truth! Why, that would solve the social problem in one act. If every self-conscious parasite will own up to the truth, it is the beginning of the end. It is the natural evolution of conscience asserting itself in its might and majesty of truth.

The aim and object of all self-conscious parasites should be to expound the principles of the unconscious parasites. It may, and no doubt will be, a difficult task; it may be painful, but it must be done; and while one section of society are rousing up the wage slaves, we, the self-conscious parasites, can be doing the same thing with our own class. No doubt they will resent the name "parasite," but some workers resent being called wage-slaves. Yet neither of us can deny the fact, and the reader must acknowledge they are milder terms than classifying ourselves as rogues and fools, which are equally applicable terms.

It is possible I may be termed a black-leg parasite, which would be just as illogical as calling a man an honest thief. I will henceforth do all I can to convince my fellow-schemers that they are parasites. I will endeavour to organise and propagate the knowledge that all who do not produce, yet consume, are parasites. Admitting there are some who work, yet as they do not produce, they are parasites in embryo, and should be classed as such.

In conclusion, I may inform you the new organisation will be known as the S.C.P.—Self-con-

scious Parasite.

(The opinions of our correspondent do more credit to his heart than to his judgment. Rebels occasionally despair of the task which they set themselves of opening the eyes of their fellow-workers to their slave-status in modern society, but it is easy as "walking off a log," compared to that which our correspondent essays, of expounding successfully slaves philosophy to slave exploiters.

The ruling ideas of every age are the ideas of its ruling class." Until the working-class by the might of their organisation show their "fitness" to "rule," ethical considerations, as hitherto, will find no place in the economic creed of our masters. Individual exceptions only prove the rule.—Ed.)

MONTHLY PROPAGANDA REPORT.

In every country of the world to-day there are two elements in society—one which has access to all the joys of life, and the other which gets just a bare existence.

Every day one can see arrays of frail children, weak, tottering women and broken-down men returning from the mills, mines, workshop, and factories, where their sweat and blood is ground into profit for a class living in luxury and ease; a class who will stop at nothing (not even at murder) to keep the workers in subjection, and to have their animal appetites and passions satisfied.

The Class War is on, and it is the most bitter of all human contests; it has been marked by more murder and violence and disaster than any other struggle in history, due to the ignorance of the workers for brushing, cunning leaders.

During the last few years great industrial unrest has prevailed in the different countries of the world, the cruel lash of economic oppression is surely whipping the spirit of revolt to fight, the veil of ignorance is being torn away from the eyes of the workers, and they can see that labor is mercilessly robbed and exploited.

The past few years and up to date labor unions have tried to get better conditions from the organised Master Class. They have fought bitterly for it with Trade Union methods, and have been slowly starved back to work, thanks to trade secretaries, who live on the backs of the slaves.

It is now up to the workers to into a new organisation that can cope study their class position, and to get with the Master Class, namely, the I.W.W.

Its methods are scientific, and its tactics are not met with approval by the boss. We have no time agreements with the boss.

Our organisation is international, grouping the workers in such a way, then making an injury to one an injury to all.—D.R.

By P. B. Short.

No one to-day will dispute the fact that the growing discontent among the workers right throughout the whole world is rapidly increasing. No matter where we go the same tendency is to be found. Every paper we read contains accounts of industrial unrest and strikes; and even rumblings of revolutions are not uncommon.

Just recently in China a violent revolution marked the climax of thousands of years of slowly accumulating discontent. China has now entered the commercial arena, and before long will surely become a successful competitor with the most advanced countries of the world. Already the American "Steal" Trust has spent 50 million dollars in erecting steel mills there. The capital invested therein knows no color, no creed, no flag, and no country. It is international in character, and knows no limit, save the world itself. The modern means of transit alone make this possible. Just as capital becomes cosmopolitan, so do the people themselves. Workers of all nations are compelled to work side by side in the same industry, and this tends to break down the old national hatred that for centuries has characterised the craft unionist.

There was a time when men had no fear of unemployment. The only thing they feared was scarcity of food, through failure of crops, etc. Nature was their only enemy, but this enemy has long since been conquered with the aid of the instruments of production, and the practical application of science to the means of life.

The working man of to-day, instead of being master of the tools of production, as of old, has become subject to them—has, in fact, become a slave to that which his own hands have brought into being. He has produced his own enemy, whose power increases with every improvement in its use, for increasing the wealth of the world, he no longer depends upon the means of subsistence, but upon the means of employment. The means of subsistence are ever increasing, while, on the other hand, the means of employment are for ever decreasing. This is due to the great contradiction in society to-day, namely, those who use the tools of production neither own nor control them.

Those who use them are part of them. Not only that, they are treated as merchandise, and are bought in the market as a farmer buys pigs; the only difference being that the farmer pays a premium for the pig, but can procure a man without. If the pig dies he loses his premium, but if the man dies he gets another without any pecuniary loss. It is far easier to sell a pig than a man, because there are less of them on the market. He who fixes a price upon himself or upon his labor places himself in the position of a slave. That which has a price has a buyer, and therefore, becomes a commodity. All men are not in that position, but only those who have been divorced from the tools with which they work.

The workers right throughout the world are becoming conscious of the above facts, which alone explain the cause of discontent and industrial unrest. The modern proletariat is becoming a menace to capitalist society, and are to be found in every nation propagating the doctrine that the workers of the world should unite and capture the earth for their own use.

The war of the future will not be a national war, but an international civil war, between the workers on the one hand, and the owners of the earth and their satellites on the other.

Masters, try how you will, your day is doomed. Your revolution has been accomplished: ours is yet to come.

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.

Short Arm Jolts.

... SHORT ARM JOLTS...
Who is right?
They are both liars. Holman's wish was father to the thought. The I.W.W. was never more fit, thank you, William.

The only two "rights" the worker possesses under capitalism are the "right" to work when he finds it, and the "right" to starve when he can't.

The right to vote is a "concession" of capitalist society, and, therefore, useless.

The right to organise is limited by the might of the master class to crush its materialisation. Witness South Africa, New Zealand, Dublin, and other places when this "right" attempts to manifest itself.

The right of Freedom of Speech in the present state of working-class organisation is a myth, and can be suppressed at will by our rulers and masters.

When the workers can truly say that they have established one right which the master-class dare not, and cannot, encroach upon, their emancipation is not far distant.

Controlling the lives and liberties of millions of working people is the "right" of our masters, because they have the might to maintain it.

Ownership of the means of life places this power in their hands. This is the key of the economic power of the master-class.

The economic power of the workers lies in the fact that they handle, possess and distribute the means of life, which the capitalist owns.

This is why Sabotage and industrial unionism are of supreme importance to the workers. The first to be utilised in every-day struggles; the latter as a weapon by which ownership is to be ultimately wrested from our exploiters.

The strike of iron-workers was declared over by ballot, because, "in the opinion of the committee, the masters would meet them in conference" if work was resumed!

Another glorious victory for "the policy of confining strikes to the narrowest possible limits," as expounded Mr. E. J. Kavanagh, Australia's champion strike-breaker.

Both the butchers' and iron-workers' strikes were defeated because of the scabbery inseparable from craft organisation, and the baneful influence which scabby "labor leaders" exercise over the rank and file.

Premier Holman on his recent trip to New Zealand assured all and sundry that the I.W.W. in particular, and direct action propaganda generally, were as dead as the dodo in Australia.

Billy Hughes informed Judge Higgins in the Arbitration Court, that the increasing unrest among the workers was due to "syndicalist" propoganda.

As for our "friend" Hughes, this monument of intelligence forgot that "syndicalist" propoganda is itself the effect of certain causes. The increasing unrest among the workers, and, what Hughes still more deplores, "their tendency to ignore the advice of their leaders," is due to the pressure of economic conditions, and their gradual realisation of the fact that they themselves must be their own saviours.

Billy in the role of Messiah, anyhow, is too funny for words.

"The partnership of capital and labor is indissoluble," said the "Herald" in a leading article lately.

Quite so. In the last analysis, they are both the same, for capital is Labor materialised.

That between capitalist and laborer, however, is not the kind of "partnership" workers are over much in love with. One of the "partners" would appear to be so predominant that he can kick out the other at will. Far from its being "indissoluble," this partnership (?) is dissolved every time a worker gets the sack.

How our Big Brother Capitalist treated his "partners" in South Africa, to be sure!

Anyhow, the working class would appear to be "sleeping" partners just at present. When they wake up, the "partnership" so dear to "Granny Herald's" heart will be so revolutionised that old Gran. will require an extra powerful pair of spectacles to recognise it.

"Learn to vote straight and shoot straight," was the advice of H. M. Hyndman to a gathering of 50,000 workers in Hyde Park, London, the other day. What we want to know from Hyndman, and ballot-box advocates generally, is: What in h— is the good of "voting straight," if we have got to do the shooting after it!

The writer is one of those who would prefer to shoot first and vote after.

"Vote straight and shoot straight," was the cry of Hyndman and the old S.D.F. a quarter of a century ago, and, like its advocates, it is becoming useless with old age.

Experience has proved the fruitlessness of voting, and as for shooting straight— With what? Toy air-guns? Even the few thousand blunder-busses and old Martini's, which the workers could lay their hands on, would make a poor show against modern machine guns and dreadnoughts.

The I.W.W.—the "irresponsibles," the "physical foresters" (!), the "anarchists," etc.—have better advice to offer to the workers. It is, As you produce, handle and distribute all of the necessities of life, organise by industry in such a manner that you will be in a position to cut off supplies and starve those who would shoot at you.

That is the direct method, and the only method. Hyndman's and the politicians' "method" is neither direct nor indirect. It is sheer bunkum.

Mr. John Norton, editor of "Truth," is a gentleman for whose pen this paper has a profound respect. That respect would be increased tenfold, however, if John would try to make himself acquainted with the subjects on which he writes.

In his article on the South African situation on Sunday, 15th inst., Mr. Norton would have us believe that he is a past master in the art of fathoming the subtleties of the Boer character, and the jingoism which we thought John had no time for, came to the fore when he told us that the shooting of strikers, martial law, and the deportation of strike-leaders, etc., were a danger signal, so to speak, to the British Empire and flag.

This may be so, but not in the direction Norton means. The South African issue is not one of racial or national bigotry. It is one of class interests, class hatred, in a word, the class war, in its more violent manifestations.

Had friend Norton taken the trouble to look up the list of killed and wounded in the so-called "riots" of last July, he would have seen that a large number were Dutch workers, and the class interests in jeopardy did not discriminate between exploited Britisher and exploited Boer. Had he taken the trouble to ascertain the facts, instead of reasoning from preconceived notions, he would also have found that a considerable minority, if not an actual majority, of those workers in revolt in the recent railway strike were Afriekander born, men who fought in the late war with Botha, not against, and thousands of whom are now exploited on the South African railways at a wage of three and fourpence a day.

So get those facts into your brain-box, John, and prate less of "syndicalist shysters," etc. The desire of Botha and Smuts to "get even with the British rooinek" on account of the late war had as much to do with recent happenings in South Africa as the Frisco 'quake. Botha, Smuts, and Co., are the paid tools of the British, German, American, and Jewish capitalist brigade in South Africa, as unscrupulous a gang of

boodlers and murderers as ever disgraced our so-called civilisation.

The Chamber of Mines is the "power behind the throne" of King Louis I. (as Botha has been christened), and this power would deport Botha and Smuts themselves if its interests demanded it, and that, too, even at the cost of another war.

We may note in conclusion that the fact of back-veldt burghers being armed and mobilised to crush the strikers, lends color to Norton's theory that the whole thing was the outcome of racial hatred. But there are no Boers and no Boer Government in New Zealand, yet an exactly identical situation occurred there a few weeks ago.

John Norton has yet to learn that all governments under capitalism must function for capitalism, for those who pay the piper have a right to call the tune.

SYMPATHY WANTED.

The following is from the manager of the "Industrial Unionist," Auckland.

"If militants desiring to help the "I.U." out of its financial difficulty, will send their "sympathy" along to this paper, it will be forwarded to Auckland in due course.

N.Z. Notes for Direct Action

The Auckland Local of the I.W.W. is still alive and kicking strong. F. W. O'Brien is now secretary-treasurer, and keeps the finances up in a marvellous manner. F. W. Sullivan is literature secretary, and Tom Barker, business manager of the "Industrial Unionist".

F. W. Reeves has transferred to Sydney local, whilst F. W. Johnston late of Broken Hill has transferred to Auckland. F.W's Barlow, Frietag and A. Hunter have lso left for Sydney.

F. W. E. Hunter (Billy Banjo), of the Denniston Local, is now organising the country workers down Wellington way, and will do good work, as he is one of the few naturally gifted organisers kicking round.

The "Industrial Unionist" will restart about May and put out the old red dope, unadulterated by

meal-ticket politicians or yellow Labor Socialism.

She will have an assured circulation on getting into it again. All the Reds in N.Z. have considerable time for her.

F.W. O'Brien, has just done 48 hours in Mt. Eden Gaol for street speaking, he refused to pay his fine on conviction.

The Auckland Local is at present at 102 and 104 Albert-street. These rooms are large and commodious and well supplied with papers, books, and literature. All fellow-workers on the loose foot racket, are invited in to talk things over.

As a result of the strike, the Direct Action outfit are scattered far and wide throughout Australasia. As a consequence, the workers in out of way places are hearing the message of class Unionism.

F.W. Alf. Coleman who was victimised from Denniston, is busy trying to organise the farm laboring people around South Canterbury. More power to you Alf. One Big Union is the goods.

N.Z. is now flooded with a sort of political party called the S.D.P., which takes, or attempts to take, a stand between Liberalism and State Socialism. It terms itself "Progressive" like the bull moose outfit in the States, and clamours loudly for the funds and votes of the people.

The S.D.P.'s exponents are floundering through the columns of the daily Press, advocating all sorts of funny things, mixing up Henry George with Marx, talking "the Right to Work" for the worker, of course, and generally screeching for notoriety and public attention.

On their claims being overthrown by Industrialists they delight in sophistry and deplore that the "disrupter" is abroad.

The U.F.L. is virtually dead, but can afford to borrow £1000 for political purposes from the A.W.U., while in Huntly many miners are stranded and starving through victimisation. How long, ye harlots, how long!

Unite, ye workers of Australasia, beneath the Red Banner of the Revolutionary I.W.W. For direct action, and general action.

How Capitalism Has Hypnotised Society

By WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN.

(Continued from No. 1 still Obtainable from Office.)

Suppose, for example, a man with such a reputation as Jesus Christ were to apply for a job as clerk or salesman in any business house in any city in America, or for a confidential position in any city government, or in any political party. What would happen to him? You know what would happen to him. The whole police force would be after him in no time. He couldn't get a job anywhere under this system and would be pronounced a "vagrant" by any police court in America. If there were 500 men of exactly the moral quality of Jesus in this one respect: that they were known to be absolutely truthful, aggressively truthful, there would be 500 vagrants in the city in addition to those already here. There would be 500 men subject to arrest and imprisonment! Why? Because our capitalist system cannot use as clerks or salesmen people who insist on telling the whole truth, or people who actually practice the "Golden Rule." Why, in our system of advertising lying has become a fine art, and the most clever and successful liar can actually make a fortune, sometimes, at that art.

In Battle Creek, Michigan, is a man by the name of Post—an eminently religious man (religion is said to be one of his specialities)—also a great capitalist. He has for years been advertising Grape Nuts as a health and brain food, and telling what its constituents are. Collier's weekly has proven that Grape Nuts is made of material having just about the same amount of nutriment as sawdust—and it is said that "Brother" Post, "leader-in-prayer" Post, enemy of organized labor and hater of socialism, must now pay \$50,000 for deceiving the public, for wholesale lying. What chance would Jesus Christ have in the employ of "Christian" Brother Post? "There's a Reason."

But what "Brother" Post is doing, every advertiser on the market is doing. They are all lying, systematically, poetically, fluently, profitably, and there does not exist any effective sentiment in the whole body of society against that lying. Pious fathers and mothers of all classes, who would feel sad at heart to know that a son or daughter was lying to them about some little personal matter which is none of their business at all,

(To be Continued in Next Issue.)

Judge Heydon and the "Living Wage."

"What is now sought is an authoritative declaration as to the basic or living wage in New South Wales, together with the ascertainment of some method (if such can be found) of raising or lowering it with the rise and fall in the cost of living."

This is certainly illuminating. Federal Laborism in Australia has been assuring the workers for years past that if Parliament were empowered to "regulate" trusts and combines, which, we were assured, were the cause of the rise in prices, that the position of the worker would be materially improved. "Garn!" says the State Labor party through its Arbitration Court, "what is now sought is some method (if such can be found) of raising or lowering wages with the rise and fall in the cost of living!" And yet some people say that Hughes, Hofman and Co., are clever politicians!

But let us have some more of Heydon:

"As to the rent, the house should be, I think, a house of three rooms, besides a kitchen. It is quite true that some families will require more," he admits with an outburst of generosity, "and others not so many, but one can only go by averages imperfect as the method is."

"I have considered," he goes on to say, with that generous impartiality characteristic of him, "whether a house with two rooms and a kitchen could be fairly taken as the standard, but I think that the immense importance of preserving decency in the home, and the great help which reasonable house accommodation gives towards maintaining a good standard of manners and civilisation, must require us to reject it." For which we thank thee, O Judge.

"To eat economically," he tells us, "is purely a personal and private matter." But, may the time never come," he adds, "when any section of our people will lose the inestimable privilege of a home of their own; a house entirely to themselves." Further on, this worthy friend of labor informs us that the worker's wage in Sydney should go up and down with the Commonwealth Statistician's table on the changes in the purchasing power of a sovereign.

If space permitted we could go on to give more interesting extracts from this interesting document. It is interesting for the reason that we have rarely, in fact, never, come across anything which contained so many insults to intelligent workers. In our opinion this well-paid, well-fed monument of intelligence remarks that £2 8s. per week is what he would allow to the worker for the necessities and "luxuries" of life, including that "inestimable privilege," a home of his own, for which, by the way, he has to pay rent. After this, "to eat economically" would appear to us to be more a matter of compulsion than the "purely personal and private matter" which it undoubtedly must be with a fifty quid a week gal vampire.

This is all that Arbitration Unionism — craft organisation — has to offer us. This is where the "step at a time" politicians

"the must creep before you walk" sophistry — have lauded the workers of Australia after years of effort and sacrifice.

Statistics show that in the past years the productivity of labor has increased to enormous proportions; that the total wealth being produced is year by year growing larger and ever larger; and the workers, by whose physical and mental faculties alone, this creation of wealth is taking place, are calmly told that their share is to be just barely sufficient to keep body and soul together—whilst actually employed.

Human labor power is so plentiful in the capitalist system, of course, that is the ethics of Arbitration advocates, there is no room for sentimental qualms as to the worker's well-being when unemployment, sickness or accident overtakes him. All that is required is sufficient to keep him in physical trim whilst actually engaged in producing profits. The two-roomed "home," the importance of "maintaining a good standard of manners and civilization," etc., are all lost sight of immediately the worker ceases to be a profit-making machine.

He is then in the eyes of capitalist society, a "won't work," a bum, a tramp, a hobo, to be utilized only for the purpose of making those actually employed more diligent producers in the fear of being supplanted.

All of which would be very disheartening if the ethics of Heydon and his class, the teachings of Arbitration "Unionism," and the sophistry of Parliamentarianism, were destined to hold sway in the labor movement.

Industrial Unionists, however, have a few comments of their own, and an ever-increasing number of workers are beginning to observe them. The message of Industrial Solidarity is again bringing hope to thousands who had fallen into the trap set by wily and unscrupulous politicians. One of these gentry, by name, Mr. William Hughes, regretfully informed the Arbitration Court in Melbourne the other day, that the rank and file of the workers, owing to the teachings of syndicalism, were more and more exhibiting a tendency to put not their trust in leaders nor in Arbitration methods. Hughes and his ilk already see the writing on the wall. When the Labor movement becomes a labor movement in reality as well as in name, when it moves by the might of its own numbers from below, instead of being propelled hither and thither by a few astute parasites at the top, men like Heydon may take lessons from revolutions of the past and be more cautious in handing out insults to the injured.

The mission of the I.W.W in Australia and elsewhere is to seize this growing discontent and organise it for revolutionary purposes. There can be no such thing as a short cut to freedom. The exploitation of the working class did not begin yesterday, last week or last century. Militant labor, the world over, is becoming impatient. It scorns the doles which capitalism is now offering; in order that its slaves may be lulled once more into Arbitration, National Insur-

ance, Profit Sharing, A Living Wage, anything to appease the angry millions who are slowly but surely awakening to the fact that not doles, but a world awaits them when they are ready to take it. Yes, friend Heydon and Co., our "profit-sharing scheme" is the whole product of labor; our demand is the abolition of your system of exploitation; our Living Wage is the World for the Workers.

Royal Commission on Sabotage

Sabotage must be making progress despite what politicians say about it, when we find it suggested that there should be nothing less than a Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the subject.

The following is an extract from the "New Zealand Dairyman," the official organ of that farming fraternity, who acted as strike-breakers in the late New Zealand strike:—

CARE OF OUR PRODUCE

"It seems that it is not only in the holds of the ships that our produce is defiled. It sometimes happens on the railway. Perhaps this is done in revenge for the farmers coming to the rescue to keep the ports open. But be this as it may, we have had information given us this week of another awful outrage that was committed on some cheese coming to Wellington for shipment. Fortunately, the terrible business was discovered before shipment was made, and the polluted crate of cheese was destroyed. In this case the injury to the goods may have been done through spite against the proprietor of the factory, but as the cheese was loaded at a flag station, it is evident that some supervision by responsible persons is necessary everywhere that our butter and cheese is handled. Pollution of the same kind (this time in regard to butter) was reported to us by a gentleman, who occupies one of the most prominent positions in the dairy industry in the Dominion. The sooner we have the Royal Commission to investigate the whole problem of shipping our produce the better."

This would indicate that the New Zealand strike has not yet been lost. That is the beauty of Sabotage.

We join with the New Zealand Saboteurs in a broad grin at the idea of a Royal Commission being able to put the stopper on.

INTENDING MEMBERS DESIROUS OF JOINING SYDNEY LOCAL CAN DO SO BY NOTIFYING SECRETARY TREASURER, C. T. REEVE

Some definitions for Economic Students

Circulation: Exchange of commodities for money and money for commodities; a complete circuit; e.g., M-C-M, or C-M-C.

Velocity of Circulation: The Rate at which money changes hands. If 5s. makes four purchases a day its velocity is 4 to 1, and functions as one pound.

Commodity: Must be a product of labour containing both use-value and exchange-value.

Money: Expresses value in terms of price; measures value; is not a "standard" of value.

Price: The money name of value which rises in proportion to the fall in the value of gold.

Cost: Labour-time taken to produce a commodity; the less time the less the cost.

Cheap: Differs from cost, being measured by money, not by time; to purchase a lot with little money.

Exchange Value: The necessary amount of average social labour hours embodied in a commodity; it is determined by time, measured by money and expressed by price.

Use-value: Having the qualities of satisfying any human desire, physical or mental.

Capital (constant): All the instruments of production and raw materials worked by wage-labour with an object to produce profit for the buyer of labour-power.

Capital (Money): Money used to purchase constant capital and labour-power with a view to produce profit.

Capital (Variable): The value of labour-power, or wages in money form.

Profit: A component part of surplus-value; all that sum over and above the PRICE paid for production.

Surplus Value: Everything produced over and above wages.

Capital: The function of the means of production worked by wage-labour to produce profit for the owner.

Political Economy: Science of Government; deals with economic administration of affairs of the State and municipalities, such as methods of taxation, etc.; aims at explaining the laws of commercial competition and the employment of labour by capital in the interest of the latter; economics from the masters' point of view only.

Politics: Expressions of opinion regarding State economy; theories relating to the different economic and material interests of opposing sections of society.

Economics: A science which deals with the laws of economic production and exchange, and its effect upon sociological conditions; laws of value; a treatise of the laws of capital and function of money; is not idealistic, but strictly scientific, and does not consider the interests of any one section of society any more than another and is therefore unbiased.

State: A necessary condition for the existence of the State is the division of society into opposing economic classes, which is based upon the recognised

SOME DEFINITIONS FOR ECONOMIC STUDENTS.

right of private ownership of the principal means of production worked by wage-labour; the executive of the ruling class. The collective expression of the economic interests of the ruling class; an institution used to preserve the ownership of the means of production and stands for the perpetuation of wage-slavery.

Philosophy: To arrive at general conclusions and causes by deductive reason, that is, by abstract reasoning and not by empirical or concrete manifestations of laws; to arrive at the absolute; a theoretical endeavour to explain phenomena by means of the faculty of thought.

Stock Literature

We have the following literature in stock:—

One's 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 McNamara Case, Etor and Ciovaninetti Case, The Lawrence Strike, And what is the I.W.W. Price 3d.

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

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

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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.

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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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