

DIRECT ACTION



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ONE PENNY.

"Ca Canny."

The Sun's Economics are Moonshine.

The employers in Australia lately have been kicking up a shindy through the medium of their press, because workers are more than ever inclined to slow up on the job, or, in other words, to adopt the "Ca Canny" method of sabotage. "Direct Action" is not going to follow the example of Trade Union officialdom, or the Trade Union press, and complain that this is a "gross libel" on Australian wage-earners. The unfortunate part of it is that the "accusation" is not founded on a universal fact.

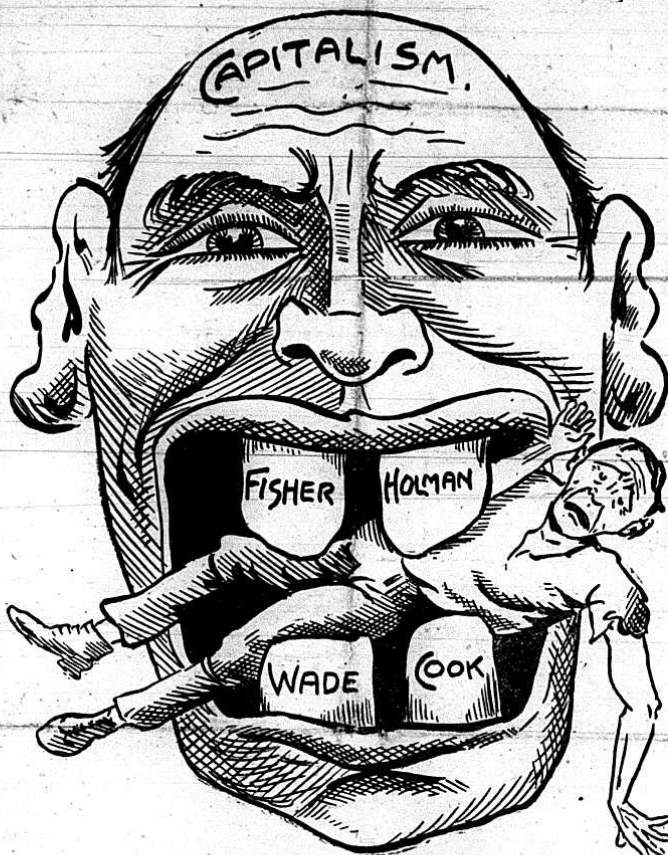
True or false, however, it is amusing to watch the antics and somersaults of the press in its anxiety to prove to the workers that tactics of this kind are in reality dangerous to their own interests. The "Sun" of July 17th, for instance, in a leading article would have us believe that the wage of the worker is determined by the profit of the industry in which he is employed, and draws a picture of the capitalist and workman helping themselves conjointly to their share of the total product, and each suffering in consequence of its diminution. "The better the total yield of an industry the bigger is the fund of profit into which the workman can dip," argues the "Sun" economist. Happy workman! Imagine him going into the boss's strong room at the end of the year and helping himself without hindrance, as a consequence of his industrious habits.

The "Sun's" argument is not new. It is as old as capitalism itself. It may be said to have found concrete expression some three-quarters of a century ago, when the workers in the manufacturing towns in England began to have a hazy notion that they would be just as well off by working ten hours a day instead of sixteen.

The "Suns" of the period like the luminaries of to-day, were vehement in their denunciation of such an "insane idea." All the brains of the prostitute scribes of capitalism, from University professors downwards, were utilised in a common endeavour to prove to the wage-earner that the longer and harder he worked, the bigger would be the fund of profit into which he could dip.

The same instinct which prompted the workers of that period to revolt against exploitation is in evidence to-day, wherever the agitation for a shorter work day, the adoption of "ca canny" or other methods of curtailing the output, are employed.

The workers are consciously or sub-consciously aware that their wages do not depend upon the amount of wealth they produce, but upon the amount necessary to keep them in physical trim to continue producing. The more intelligent of them also recognise that even this amount has a tendency towards the lowest possible minimum, while numbers of unemployed are standing at the factory gates ready to take their places. They know, too, that these unemployed are a standing refutation of the "Sun's" "economic" argument that employment is plentiful and wages good" by the better efficiency of the workers employed, and that; on the contrary, the longer and harder they work, the sooner they, also, will find themselves on the streets in consequence of a glut in the commodities they have produced. The history of capitalism, and the facts of every day life, go to show that the workers do not benefit by increasing the output.



ALL GOVERNMENTS ARE CONTROLLED BY THE CAPITALISTS, WHETHER CONSERVATIVE, LIBERALS, LABORITES, OR SOCIALISTS. THE WORKERS COMBINED INTO ONE BIG UNION CAN ALONE DICTATE TERMS TO THE CAPITALIST, BECAUSE ON THE SURPLUS PRODUCT OF LABOR, IS BASED THE SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION. ORGANISE, YE WORKERS, FOR THE MASTERY OF THE WORKSHOP, OF INDUSTRY, OF SOCIETY.

but that one of the prime causes of unemployment and the misery which follows in its train, is because they produce too much and not too little.

Curiously enough, an unintentionally ironical commentary upon the argument put forward by the "Sun" appeared in the "Sydney Morning Herald" of the following day.

In its financial columns a writer discusses the "relationship" between "profits and wages," and gives the views of the judges of Arbitration Courts in Australia and New Zealand, on the subject. The "view" of Judge Higgins, who, by the way, is supposed to be most "sympathetic" to the workers' demands, is typical of them all. He says: "The minimum wage which I am authorised to prescribe must be primarily based on the needs and the qualifications of the class of workers concerned, not on the affluence of the employer."

The judiciary is merely giving expression to the actual so-called "relationship" of wages to profits, and no amount of verbal juggling by the "Sun" can alter it.

It is true, of course, that Judge Heydon told a witness in the Arbitration Court the other day, that the more profits the employers made, the higher the wages they would be enabled to pay; and a week afterwards put a workman's wife into the witness box in order to ascertain how much it cost her a week for picture shows. But these little idiosyncrasies and inconsistencies of £50 a week parasites are part of the price workers

pay for the beautiful "principle" of Arbitration.

We take off our hat to the "Ca Canny" workers of Australia, and all other capitalist countries. The day of their emancipation is at hand when the principle is carried to its logical conclusion, by a universal refusal further to submit to the dictates of any social parasites, legal, political, or economic.

THOS. GLYNN.

"The Land of Plenty."

Times out of number one reads of New South Wales and Australia generally, as "the land of sunshine"; a place where everybody enjoys life and misery does not exist.

Such statements look all right on paper and may be gulped down by numerous ignorant working men in other parts of the world, who have been unfortunate enough to come in contact with the bosses' "magsmen" (politicians) on their annual health-recruiting, rambles abroad, or who happen to come across their deceiving advertisements in the press of other countries.

A great percentage of workers in this so-called "land of plenty" are compelled—at certain periods to go through an unemployed stage, whether they like it or not, because the buyers of labor power have so overstocked their warehouses, that production must be curtailed until a market has been found for this over-supply.

The employers of labour do not

keep workers employed from motives of philanthropy, but from motives of profit, even in this supposed "land of plenty."

There is no country under the sun where the working class enjoy life to the fullest extent; they work too hard and too long to know that there is such a thing as life. Such a state of affairs will always exist until they shorten the hours of labor, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and run them in the interests of the workers, and not for the benefit of idlers as they do to-day.

The Industrial Workers' of the World are continually trying to awaken the slumbering class consciousness of the workers in every country where they are exploited, so they will organise in their own interests and achieve their industrial Freedom.

This is the only road to the "land of plenty" for the working class. Remember the capitalist's Paradise is the worker's Hell.

C. VINCENT.

Ballot boxers, skitters, fire escapes, and bunco steers all fear the I.W.W. That's why the Labour Party are trying to stamp it out of existence.

When Holman was in N.Z. he stated that the I.W.W. did not exist in New South Wales. Evidently he was suffering from shortsightedness, but since being tested by the optician, and his eyes restored to normality he has discovered that its existence is more than a fact.

New Zealand And Its Federation. The 'Borers' Boggled.

The report of the July Conference of the United Federation of Labour has come to hand, and makes very interesting reading for the militant industrialists of Australasia.

It is quite evident that whatever the organisation may have been in the past, that it has now reached that stage where it ceases to be a revolutionary factor, and a help to the legislation-ridden workers of New Zealand. A few militant delegates endeavoured to make their voices heard and their influence felt, but they were stifled and outvoted by the barnacled crowd who hail from the easy chairs of the various Trades Halls of the Dominion.

The militant miners will scarcely be pleased with the results of the conference, after all the money they have thrown into the organisation during the past six years, and the efforts put forward by them to organise with some degree of efficiency their class in New Zealand.

Some six years ago the miners and their Federation condemned the Arbitration Act and the Trades and Labour Councils, and formed a separate organisation which ultimately took the name of the "New Zealand Federation of Labour." From that time onwards they conducted a militant agitation against the Act, and against the reactionary craft union officials.

And now they are back once again under the thumbs of the Trades Hall, who grasping their opportunity, will undoubtedly use the organisation for their own material ends, to finance elections, etc. No wonder the Labour movement is in a parlous condition in the Isles of Borrow and "resolutions."

Mr. Hughes' precious preamble has been adopted, but I am of the opinion that even such a preamble will be far too advanced for an organisation whose shining lights are such sage philosophers as Messrs. Fagan, Long and Sullivan. The "cop 'em all in" policy has resulted in an impotent and spineless force, which ought to make industrialists like "Banjo" Hunter and Tim Armstrong begin to see the futility of "boring from within."

Strict legality and perfect respectability have once again acquired control of the N.Z. Labour movement, and from present indications it seems as though there is going to be another stage of craft union scabbery and political futility.

The capitalist class and their Press have often condemned sabotage and direct action, but the new secretary-treasurer of the Federation goes one better. He would chop off the heads of the advocates of such philosophy. And Mr. Sullivan's name reminds us of that cruel struggle waged in Waikato, when one of the most militant unions fought for six months the ruling class, and its treacherous allies, the officials of the Trades and Labour Councils. But, however, the workers of N.Z. never had very good memories at any time, a fact upon which the new shining geniuses of the U.F.L. can congratulate themselves.

But the miners may remember the death of Fred Evans, the thousands of wasted sovereigns which they poured into Waikato, and rightly, refuse to finance, or affiliate with—an organisation whose president was the Christchurch agent of the scurrilous sheet ever printed in N.Z., the infamous "Voice of Labour," which was

Continued on Last Page.

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THE COLORADO STRUGGLE

A "SOCIALIST" VIEWPOINT

Some ballot box "revolutionaries" see incidents of the class struggle in a weird light whenever the words "direct action" or I.W.W. are mentioned in connection therewith. The more remote the connection is, the greater appears to be their difficulty to express themselves in language appropriate to aspiring Parliamentarians. "Bums," "anarchists," "hoboes," etc., are their stock-in-trade on such occasions.

The I.W.W., as an organisation, was in no way connected with the fight recently waged in Colorado, yet a scribbler signing himself "Dominicus" in the "International Socialist" of July 18, seizes the occasion to fulminate against all forms of direct action in general, and against the "anarchistic," "bummery" I.W.W. in particular. With the partisanship and prejudice which characterise the political socialist type of human, he ignores the fact that the I.W.W. increasingly lays stress upon the important truth that the only kind of force or power worth a tinkers cuss to the working class is that which they can wield through scientific industrial organisation. "Dominicus" seeks, of course, by inference to put the blame for the Colorado massacres on I.W.W. shoulders, and has a passing sneer at the miners, who fought so bravely against such tremendous odds, as "mainly from the Balkan States where they had recently played the part of blind puppets in a capitalist orgy of blood, lust, and plunder." Truly, what beautiful sympathy the workers receive from their would-be saviours whenever they endeavour to act for themselves.

As already stated, the I.W.W. does not advocate the use of the rifle, not because of any qualms, but as a matter of expediency. Its facility is recognised, and we leave its advocacy to Socialist politicians of the Hyndman, Berger, Hillquit type, who appear to have a hazy idea that the ballot after all is not the all-powerful weapon which socialists believe it to be. That does not prevent us however, from recognising that the action of the Colorado miners was the only course left open to them under the circum-

stances. "Dominicus" is so full with fury against the advocates of any form of direct action, that he carefully refrains from mentioning that it was not ~~men~~ their wives and children were massacred by the Rockefeller thugs that the miners attempted to retaliate. Or perhaps "Dominicus" is one of those white livered "revolutionaries" who would fly the white flag over the bodies of murdered women and babes and wait for five years to roll by in order to have a shot at the enemy with a ballot paper.

In his eagerness to discredit any direct effort of the workers to defend their interests or their lives, this "socialist" luminary falls into a ludicrous inconsistency, and unintentionally boosts the very form of "direct action" which he set out to condemn. "Contrast this direct action in Colorado," he says, "with the direct action of the Portuguese capitalists who expelled King Manuel." These latter, "when the time was ripe," he informs us, "captured the political machine with one bold stroke."

Had they followed the example of the political socialists, they would still be bombarding "the political machine" with ballot papers.

In conclusion, it might not be out of place to remark that a so-called socialist newspaper, might very well fence attacks on the Colorado miners to the capitalist press and to John D. Rockefeller and his co-sacks. Why is "Dominicus" that he should presume to lecture working men who have for the first time in many years, in the history of the United States, taught the exploiting class that murder can not be perpetrated with impunity, and who have shown their loyalty to working class interests by the sacrifice of their liberty and their lives.

T. G.

PROPERTY AND HUMAN LIVES.

"Property is the most sacred thing in the universe," declared a Judge of the United States Supreme Court, not very long ago. That it is, at all events, more sacred than human lives, in the eyes of capitalist law and capitalist ethics, is evident from an incident which occurred in a London police court the other day.

A suffragette was charged with advocating violence and calling up on women to arm themselves. On declaring that she was doing no more than Carson was doing in Ireland in defiance of the Government, she was sternly told by the magistrate that Sir Edward Carson did not advocate the destruction of property.

What does it matter about destroying a few thousand workers in Ireland whose religious rights and passions are fanned into flame by scheming scoundrels of the Carson type for purposes of personal notoriety and aggrandisement? Workers are cheap dress in the eyes of capitalist society, but when the bosses' property is jeopardised, then "Law and Order" snarls like a hungry tiger. In the case under notice the hawk showed his appreciation of this fact by awarding the offender two months in goal.

The moral is that workers should attack the boss in his weakest spot. In other words, study sabotage. It is the safest method of attack and defence.

SHORT ARM JOLTS

Don't pay too much attention to master's interests; you are apt to forget your own.

The same labor-power used by the workers in industry for the benefit of the master class can be used to greater advantage for the benefit of the working class.

Don't cling to your job at any old price or at the age of forty you may be ashamed of yourself.

Don't compete with your fellow-man for the job; he may be a better man than you. Organise with him to make the job worth having.

The power of law is only created by the workers' submission thereto. It does not emanate from parliaments and law courts.

ADELAIDE ACTIVITIES.

Things in Adelaide, so far as the I.W.W. is concerned, are moving along steadily. Since the Free Speech fight in Port Pirie, the tactics of the I.W.W. have come up for general discussion. The capitalist press calls attention in unmistakable terms to the irregularity of the usual order of things by the I.W.W.

The request from the Labor Trades Council in Port Pirie in connection with the Free Speech fight, asking for the assistance of the organisation in electing municipal councillors, was received with derisive laughter by the rebels.

We have heard that Fellow-worker Reeves intends staying several weeks in Pirie as there are great opportunities for the I.W.W. to develop there, and he intends to concentrate his efforts on that local.

One of our soap-boxers, H. T. Kelly, who has been secretary of the Adelaide local, has decided to seek a master in other spheres. (Broken Hill profit-mongers, please note). Exploitation has ceased to exist in Adelaide in hundreds of cases, so slaves had better stay away until we knock off several hours and a lot of pace. Adelaide never contained a greater number of unemployed than at present, and the usual deputations to the government, begging alms, etc., prevent the lasses getting a clearer conception of the real cause of their trouble, as well as obscuring the remedy.

Our propaganda meetings are proving to be of greater interest than ever to the workers, and successful from every standpoint, our local, but it takes a deal of explanation to enable them to get a grip of the economic problems which confront them, that is, in the main. As we go along with our workers, real live rebels are joining up however.

"Direct Action" is well read here and freely spoken of on various jobs. We are most anxious to increase the paper's circulation, but of course we are up against the movements and institutions of the existing order. It is an uphill fight which can only be carried out by sincere and undaunted rebels.

An "illegal" action by an intelligent saboteur caused a great sensation here amongst the master class during the day-baking dispute. One master baker, most prominent in his opposition to the demands of the men, suddenly discovered one night that his dough was dead and useless. He could not bake that night and lost good loaves. We hear so much of the supposed fact that the workers could never hope to carry on sabotage without detection in view of the "superior brains" of the masters; yet in this case they were all at sea as to its origin. Since then, the open air meetings of the I.W.W. have been honoured by the distinguished attendance of some half dozen noted detectives—also brains, of course. We can afford to be generous, however, and credited them with having brains enough to know why the weapon was used. The other workers were too respectable and too "honest" to follow the example of the solitary saboteur, so the masters took them to the court and fined them. The masters are well acquainted with the gentle arts of Sabotage.

E. L. ROYALS.

N.Z. NOTES

"Our industries" is a common expression among S.D. Parrots in New Zealand at the present time. Mr. P. C. Webb, at Cobden, West Coast, wants the small farmers and cockroaches to unite with the Party for their mutual benefit. Or for Paddy's?

The U.F.L. Conference was attended as usual by the politicians. Disappointment at the polls may create a reversion to union meat tickets again.

The N.Z. Herald, the hoary Auckland sausage wrap, has discovered that the "undesirables" are now in Australia. You're right, Granny, as you always are. We are growing some over here. And, say, Granny, there are four "essentialised" I.W.W. organisers still in N.Z. Cheer up, we'll see that you don't get lonely.

A YELL FROM BROKEN HILL.

(The A.M.A., we believe, prides itself upon being the most militant labor organisation in the Commonwealth. The following spasm sent in by a slave from the Barrier, a victim of the Arbitration and contract system so beloved of that militant organisation, speaks for itself. It may not be poetry, but it is certain common horse sense.)

Cursing, sweating and toiling
With hammer, machine and drill,
Down in the duncey mines
You slaves of Broken Hill.
You are the pick of the market,
But you are slow to understand
That you are keeping the lazy few,
Yes, you, of the horny hand.

You live in a shack that shames you
You starve with your wife and kids;
You stifle the germs of madness,
And do as your master bids,
You sign his cursed agreements,
That it binds you down for years,
Yes, you cowardly curs, God d—
you,
You signed it with blood and tears.

Look at the streamer flying
Which tells of a murdered mate;
Of the tears of widow and orphan,
And the things we ought to hate.
The wronging class is callous,
And they claim the right to kick

Men, oh, men, will you stop it,
You slaves of Broken Hill.
Workers, be up and doing,
Discard your A.M.A.;
To hell, with its obsolete methods
Of fighting the boss to-day.
With its courts, and prejudiced judges,
Can you not see, you ass,
That they fix your hours and wages
To please the master class.

Have you not heard you dullard,
The beat of the Rebel's drum;
The tramp of the Industrial Workers
With the cry, "We come; we come
To preach of the revolution?"
You crafts get wise and choose;
You have a world to win, you shirkers,
And nought, but chains to lose.

Unite and fight for what is right,
And claim the right to refuse
The dirty deal your master gives
And kick with your wooden shoes,
Join the Industrial Workers,
Take your place in the battle of life;
Say, now, will you wake up brother,
And fight for your kiddies and wife.

TOM McHILLAN.

The Preamble of the I.W.W.

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 centring of the management of industries into fewer, and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

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 be of 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.

How to Join.

Any wage worker wishing to join the Industrial Workers of the World can obtain information by applying to the nearest local I.W.W. secretary. If there is no branch of the I.W.W. in your district you may become a member by making application through the post to any secretary listed in the paper.

Do you agree to abide by the constitution
Will you diligently study its principles and make yourself acquainted with its purposes?

Name
Occupation
Industry
Street Address
City
State

The above applicant, having subscribed to the principles of the preamble, and having answered in the affirmative to the questions, expresses his desire to become a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, and is therefore recommended for membership.

To Local Union No.

Initiation

By

Cut this out, fill in. Post to Sec. Trs., with Initiation Fee.

The shrieks of the old bog are but a further advertisement for industrialism, and sabotage. Send in your subs, slaves.

A bunch in Wellington are organising a local there. The I.W.W. is the only organisation that stands for emancipation. Join it, join it.

Shake up the subs., and we'll start that six page paper. Also keep your eyes open for the new literature that is being printed on our new press. Trot over your subs. and cash, and we answer by return of boat.

An immaculate "resolutary" from Auckland is making a frantic effort to capture the prohibition vote at the coming elections. Let us pray, brothers!

The Auckland local has taken a new lease of life owing to the advent of some of its former speakers, who have been away in the cow country introducing new tactics to the scabby cockatoo. The cocky's loss is Auckland's gain. Let her rip, boys, the 'Erald will be pleased.

SABOTAGE.

By WALKER C. SMITH.

IX

"It will be met by the lockout," is another argument advanced against the use of sabotage. That is to say, the employer, finding sabotage in use in his factory, will cut off all of his profits in order to try to save a portion of them! But let a lockout be used and will not wage workers have to be employed as soon as operations are resumed? Will not the employer have to hire the same saboteurs, who have remained unknown to him? If workers are imported, cannot saboteurs get on the job in the guise of scabs?

A little thought on the subject shows that a lockout is impracticable in the face of Sabotage. No employer locks out his force with any intention of keeping them out permanently. The workers must be re-employed. Their lockout experiences will drive home the class struggle more than would a thousand lectures on the subject, and many of them will return to work, as was predicted in the Lawrence strike, "with bitterness in their hearts and emery dust in their pockets." The employers, however, resort to the lockout only when all else has failed. Even when using this weapon they seek to have it appear as a strike, and they launch it at a time favorable to themselves in every particular, and therefore unfavorable to the workers. They hope, by such a lockout, to cause the workers to lose faith in the strike as a weapon; failing of note the fact that workers strike because they must, and not through mere desire. They do not know that no agitator can cause a strike, no writer can call sabotage into use, no social revolution can be created and consummated, unless all the socially necessary elements of discontent are present.

The direct lockout, even when it serves the immediate ends of the employers, is harmful to their class interests as a whole. Even Gompers would scarcely dare preach "mutual interests" to locked out workers. Instead of blaming themselves for having struck, or placing the blame upon inefficient strike leadership, all the hatred of the workers is directed against the employers. Armed with a knowledge of sabotage the workers return to their tasks, more terrible in defeat than in victory.

Nor can the military forces be successfully employed against sabotage. The employers could not long afford to have a soldier to guard each worker. The workers, in fact, would immediately rebel when placed under such espionage. Neither is there any surety that sabotage will not have permeated the army. It is there already and it is growing in favor. Even were the workers to allow the military rule it would simply mean that sabotage would cease for the time being, to break out all the more fiercely the moment the soldiers were withdrawn. The employers well know that their rule rests upon the peaceful acquiescence of the workers. They will scarcely undermine their own foundation by employing soldiers to massacre an entire force when a militant minority use sabotage.

Now that the capitalist class are ceasing even to perform the slight task of nominal superintendence in the industries to which they hold legal title, they are entitled to absolutely no consideration at the hands of the actual producers of wealth. Their withdrawal also means that the slight remaining check to sabotage is being removed.

Eliminating all the obviously master class objections there remain but two pertinent questions from the point of view of the class conscious wage worker: Does sabotage destroy working class solidarity? Will sabotage continue to disarrange industry when the workers have taken possession?

Taking up the two questions in turn it can be shown that sabotage is not a boomerang that will return to slay those who use it.

X

Working class solidarity is simply the result of a consciousness of power. Sabotage, by arming the workers with a weapon which the masters cannot wrest from them, adds greatly to the feeling of strength.

Mass sabotage is in itself a sign of solidarity. The concerted withdrawal of efficiency, by slowing down or other means, is sure to bind the workers closer together. This is true whether they are organized or not. In case they are organized it gives to the workers a greater sense of security as well as additional industrial control.

Individual acts of sabotage, performed to the end that class benefit be desired, can in no way militate against solidarity. Rather they promote unity. The saboteur involves no one but himself and is impelled to take the risk by reason of his strong class desires.

Solidarity between the capitalists does not seem to be affected by their use of sabotage. That they fight each other with that potent weapon is quite evident. That they use it upon the workers is also easily seen. But nowhere can it be shown that there has been a division in the ranks of their fighting organizations, when the workers were doing battle against them, as a result of their use of sabotage.

Various cases of this capitalist sabotage might be quoted. Competitors of the Standard Oil Company often found that legal documents had been improperly executed for them. Rivals of the Sugar Trust had foreign materials introduced into their shipments, and in the fight of Havemeyer against Spreckels the latter's machinery had an unaccountable habit of getting out of order. A Denver brewing company almost ruined a competitor by hiring men to spread the story that a decomposed body had been found at the bottom of its rival's brewvat. But when it comes to robbing the wage workers these capitalist saboteurs are "banded together like thieves at a fair."

Several of the so-called "muck-raking" magazines have been forced to suspend through the use of sabotage. Hampton was killed in that manner by those capitalists who saw their interests menaced. The appeal to Reason has been a sufferer at the hands of capitalist saboteurs who pried their mailing lists and played havoc with the mailing forms generally. Just imagine the effects upon capitalism were the appeal to have its millions of readers apply the same tactics!

Upon learning that "accidents" had happened to fifty thousand yards of cloth, during the trial of Ettore Giovannitti and Carlos Williams Wood is reported to have said "They are beating us at our own game." Surely no one can seriously claim that sabotage in the textile industry has not helped to cement the various workers all the more closely together.

Even were it true that sabotage worked against solidarity to some extent, still it would have to receive consideration as an economic factor. It is sure to remain in use so long as we have production for profit instead of for use. It is co-existent with human slavery. No analysis of the labor movement is complete where sabotage is not accepted as a weapon.

Just as sabotage must differ in each industry so also must it change with industrial development. Should capitalism create an obligatorily to crush out all labor organization the attempt would be met by destructive sabotage. The degree of destruction would depend upon the measure of repression.

But should matters follow their present course, with the possibility of the workers gaining an ever increasing amount of industrial control, then labor's tactics will develop accordingly, with constructive sabotage as the result.

XI

To every positive there must be a negative and in all cases destruction must precede construction. Therefore, there is no absurdity in the term "constructive sabotage."

Sabotage may mean the direct destruction of property. Again it may mean destruction through organized inefficiency. Or as an alternative it may proceed from a greater degree of efficiency than is desired by the employing class. This last is the point toward which sabotage tends when coupled with class solidarity.

The direct destruction of property for immediate individual benefit or to make a gain for a small group is but the following out of the theory of economic determinism. As such no revolutionist can condemn it. The indirect destruction of property for group benefit may also be a class weapon. It may be absurd, but so may any other means of warfare. Like the strike, the fear of its use has as great a power as its direct application. The constructive qualities, in such a case, comes from its power to solidify labour. A consciousness of economic might springs from the knowledge thus gained, that the employers have no force save that given by the labor of the slave class.

As solidarity is produced there grows an added feeling of responsibility upon the organized workers. Gaining more and more the control of industry they realize that ere long the management of the whole of society will rest in their hands. Sabotage, which is sure to be used so long as a slave class exists, will then take on a definitely constructive character.

It is already the trend for sabotage to be directed more against the product than the machine. As the idea of an injury to one being an injury to all sinks in more thoroughly we shall see products sabotaged in a different manner—constructively.

The workers are coming to see that their class is the one to whom adulterated food, shoddy clothing and rotten materials are sold, and by refusing to adulterate products they not only destroy the employers' profits but safeguard their own lives as well. The bakers can gain the same result by putting the best of materials in the bread and pastry as they can by inserting coal oil. The secret refusal of packing house workers to handle rotten meats certainly is constructive from a class or social viewpoint. Yet such actions are as fatal to the employers' profits as is the direct destruction of products. In fact it does mean the destruction of alum in bakeries, of "slunk" calves in packing houses, of "shoddy" in the woolen mills, and the destruction of capitalist property in profits.

The mass of workers are already propertyless. No tie binds them to our so-called civilization. Sabotage, for protection as well as for revenge, appeals to them. They have nothing to lose and much to gain by its use. Their economic condition calls for sabotage as a weapon against oppression. This mass must be impregnated with the ideal of working class control of industry so their sabotage may take on a constructive character. That ideal is already firing the brains and nerveing the hands of thousands of migratory workers.

Without apologizing for sabotage in any form, it can be said that constructive sabotage is destined to be a vital power in the class struggle from now until Capitalism falls and the industries are separated by the producers of all wealth.

XII

With the workers in full control of industry it is evident that all able bodied adults will be required to take part in the productive process. This means an end to classes and class rule; the disappearance of the political state; and the carrying on of production for use instead of for profit. Industrial brotherhood will have ended the terrible civil war in industry and sabotage will naturally cease when the reason for its existence is removed. In an Industrial Democracy, where the productivity of the whole body would be reflected in the life of the individual and the acts of the individual in turn would be a contribution to all of society, it is inconceivable that sabotage would still be carried on. Any continuation of its use over an extended period would show the necessity for another industrial adjustment to secure the real objects of the revolution.

Should the victory of the workers be forestalled by State Socialism, or governmental ownership of industry, it would be a signal for an increased use of sabotage on the part of the industrialists. The governmental tendency to regard a strike of state employees as treason to be curbed by court martial, would be met by a strike on the job through the medium of sabotage. Many of the present congressmen have already stated; that they regard the formation of a labor union among postal employees as illegal, and that a strike would mean nothing less than treason to the government. The postal employees need run no risk of being court martialed or even dismissed from the service. In mass sabotage they have a weapon which may be used in an entirely legal but none the less effective manner. They can obey the rules. The example was given by some Austrian postal workers.

SHORT ARM JOLTS.

After the political reaction there will be a splendid opportunity for the One Big Union to take the field and bump out the double wing outfit into the "Never never."

There has been a big slump in S.D.P. propaganda in Wellington, N.Z., lately. Out of the hundreds of members, that were in the organization three months ago, there are barely a hundred financial members left. Politics was always thus.

Remember that whilst you are attempting to bolster up your craft and retain possession of it, industrial development is fast bringing about the elimination of crafts.

Wage-worker seems better, but don't forget that the term "wage-slave" is arrived at by a scientific demonstration of what you really are.

When work is plentiful, go slow for the good of your health; when scarce go slow to make it last until it becomes plentiful.

The boss tells you, "If a job is worth doing it is worth doing well." Make the boss the job.

The "Right to be Lazy." Take lessons from master.

Don't strive to send a man to Parliament. No MAN would go there.

LIST OF LITERATURE

Capital: Karl Marx, 3 volumes, per vol. 8s.

Value Price and Profit: Marx, bound 2s, paper 6d.

Sabotage: Pouget, bound 2s, paper 1s.

Right to be Lazy: Lafargue, bound 2s, paper 6d.

Militant Proletariat: Lewis, bound 2s.

The Evolution of Property: Lafargue, bound 2s.

The New Unionism: Tridon, paper 1s 8d.

Mr. Block Cartoons: Rilbe, paper 8d.

One Big Union: Trautmann, paper 6d.

I.W.W. Songs: 64 songs of rebellion, paper 6d.

Eleven Blind Leaders: Williams, paper 3d.

I.W.W.: History, Structure and Methods: St. John, paper 3d.

The Revolutionary I.W.W.: Perry, paper 3d.

Revolution and the I.W.W.: Pease, paper 3d.

How Capitalism has Hypnotized Society: Brown, paper 3d.

Song Book: Australian Edition, 15 Songs, paper 2d.

Social General Strike: Roller, paper 2d.

Direct Action v. Legislation: Smith, paper 2d.

Sabotage: W. C. Smith, paper 3d. Economics of Labour: Quelch, paper 2d.

Summary of Marx's "Capital": paper 2d.

Anti-Patriotism: Gustave Hervé, paper 2d.

Economic Discontent: paper 2d.

How to Overcome the High Cost of Living: Dougherty, paper 1d.

Industrial Union Methods: Trautmann, paper 1d.

Wage-Labour and Capital: Marx, paper 1d.

An Appeal to the Young: Kropotkin, paper 1d.

Chunks of I.W.W.ism: A.H., paper 1d.

"Solidarity": I.W.W. American organ: Subscription, 7s 6d per annum, posted: Single copies, 2d.

"The Voice of the People": The Lumberjack's I.W.W. organ: Subscription, 7s 6d per annum, posted: Single copies, 2d.

Look out for "Hunger," a play, by Ben Legere, in three acts. Will be off the press shortly.

Postage paid on all orders of 1/- or over.

PRESS FUND

Amount previously acknowledged: £5 13s. 4d. E. P. Rothe, 4s. J. B., 2s. 6d.

Sydney Local Notice

Monday Night.—Economic Class. Tuesday Night.—Speakers and Reading Class. Wednesday Night.—Lecture in Hall. Thursday Night.—Business Meeting. Friday Night.—Bathurst Street Meeting. Saturday Night.—Bathurst Street Meeting and Parramatta Meeting. Sunday Afternoon.—Meeting in Domain. Sunday Night.—Lecture in Hall. Fortnightly Issue of Direct Action. Up-to-date Library and Reading-Room.

Adelaide Activities.

Meets every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock, at Oddfellows' Hall, Mooltan-street, off Flinders-street. Educational classes are held each alternate Wednesday, and all workers are requested to attend. The fee for membership is 2/6. Dues 1/- per month. Slaves interested in bettering their conditions should attend our open-air meetings, which are held opposite Co-walls, Victoria Square every Saturday night.

Any further information desired will be furnished on request by H. T. KELLY, Secy., 13 Wilcox-street, Adelaide.

Important.

Fellow workers and locals are invited to send in reports of activities, news items, and short snappy articles. Above all, don't send long, windy articles about nothing in particular, as the writers are bound to be disappointed. Anything of a personal nature will not be entertained, although criticism is always welcomed. The first idea of the organisation is to propagate the tactics and structure of the I.W.W., and, therefore, necessarily, this paper will express those ideas primarily.

Should any subscribers fail to receive acknowledgment of their subscriptions the receipt of "DIRECT ACTION" will be equivalent to such.

Should any subscriber not receive his paper he should immediately notify Manager, 330 Castlereagh-street.

On the expiration of subscriptions the number of the last issue due subscribers will appear on the wrapper of the paper

LIST OF LOCALS.

Adelaide Local 1: H. T. Kelly, Secy. retary, Tra. Sydney Local No. 2: C. Reeve, Secy. retary and Treasurer. Broken Hill Local No. 3: A. O. Malley, Secretary and Treasurer. Port Pirie Local No. 4: R. W. O'Halloran, Secretary and Treasurer Ellen Street.

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For DIRECT ACTION. Enclosed find P.O. for 2/- for which send me Direct Action for 12 months at the following address:—

NAME. (Street or P.O. Box) City State (If removed, please mark an x here)

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

E.L.P. (Adelaide).—Cut reports short. Matter all right, but the facts could be got into smaller space.

C.T.R. (Port Pirie).—We have had the head-quarters microscope (J. H.'s eyeglass), on your article, but couldn't read it. Write with ink. F. R. P. Jonas.—Space too limited for religious controversy.

Education as a basis, industrial unionism as a fulcrum, and direct-action as a lever will overturn capitalism.

*Printed and Published on behalf of the Industrial Workers of the World, by John Hamilton, Chairman of the Executive Committee, 330 Castlereagh-street, Sydney.

The Navy's Life.

To the Editor, "Direct Action." Will you kindly publish the following letter? I am working on a railroad construction job at Denman. Things here could not be worse; owing to rain and lost time we are getting less than half time in. The gangers are the worst lot of slave drivers it has every been my misfortune to run against. One, by the way, a few days ago had a misfired shot, and actually docked the men 15 minutes while they were waiting for the hole to be re-charged. The same gentleman (?) sacked three married men who were sent all the way from Cobar by the Government, after letting them work just long enough to pay their fare.

We had a visit from Mr. H. Marris, organiser for the Railway-workers' Union, the other day, and in a speech delivered here, he told us that the workers on these jobs were never better off than they are to-day. I want to know if this gentleman is blind that he can say such a thing. Does he know how a man gets on who gets a job here and can't get tucker? He simply has to tramp. Mr. Marris judges the workers' conditions by his own, and merely shows his ignorance as to the conditions of those whom he is paid to serve. Men are passing here in twos and threes every day looking for a job, and think themselves lucky if they get one under these damnable conditions. We have to walk a mile to work; it is hard to get wood, and the camp is placed in such a position that should the river rise in flood we shall be under water. A man counts himself lucky if he has sacks for blankets and a change of clothing. Those slaves who are thinking of coming this way had better keep away; it will be better for themselves. It is no use the workers blaming the masters for these conditions. We must get wise and organise as a class to put an end to this hellish slavery.—Yours, etc., S. W. BROWN.

Denman, July 2, 1914. (Mr. Sullivan and the other high-paid officials of the Railway Workers' and General Laborers' Association have been too busy lately prosecuting workers who refuse to pay levies to a scab newspaper, to be able to give any attention to the trifles with which our correspondent deals.—Ed.)

WORKERS!!!

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Russian Strikes.

Russia is in the throes of a proletarian revolution. The master class there as elsewhere are tiger-like in their attack upon anything which endangers their material interests. The Russian workers, however, are fighting and dying like heroes. Who says that the working-class cause is hopeless in face of such sacrifice? But, of course, we may expect our political socialist "friends" to deliver us a homily shortly on the futility of violence. Because the ballot has been such a huge success!

Over 500 miners in Maitland were fined a few days ago to the tune of £2000 for simply saying "We won't work." This constitutes a record in the annals of Australian industrial history. Yes, sure; the Labor Government of New South Wales will go down in history as a record breaker in labor legislation and administration. Education, industrial organisation are the powers most feared by the Capitalist class.

The Shorter

Work-day. Its Economics.

The commodity known as labour-power, or the ability to produce wealth, which is possessed by every worker, is bought and sold in a market, just as is wheat or any other article, and like them it is subject to the natural law of supply and demand, and fluctuates according as the labour-market is under-stocked or over-stocked. Owing to this economic law, when there is a surplus of any commodity its price depreciates and, vice versa, long hours of labour, the introduction of newer and more modern machinery, "scientific management," and "speeding-up" always result in glutting the market, the surplus workers are thrown out of employment to compete with those workers fortunate enough to have a job, and reduce their wages, besides making the position of the whole class more precarious and uncertain. This leads to the contention of industrial Unionists that less work invariably means more wages, because it decreases the number of unemployed and reduces the competition for jobs, while wages automatically rise in the same ratio as the surplus of labour becomes employed.

That collection of classes and castes, known as modern Society, demands for its maintenance a certain amount of commodities, food, clothing and shelter which, in turn, require a certain number of workers to produce them. If for any reason the productiveness of the worker increases, fewer workers will be necessary to maintain society. When the productivity of the toiler is reduced, it increases the demand for labour, thereby lessening the number of unemployed, as well as the physical and mental advantage of less labour and more leisure to enjoy life.

Many capitalist economists argue that wages rise and fall as the profits of the employers increase or decrease, and they urge all wage-earners to work harder in order to produce more profit for the boss, which they claim will ultimately benefit the workers themselves. As Karl Marx has proven a wage is paid-labour, while profit is unpaid labour, work done for which the worker receives no compensation. According to the weird theories of these "Professors of a Political Economy," therefore, the more unpaid labour we are robbed of the more we are paid, in other words, the more we give away the more we will have. A diminution in the output could only mean less unpaid labour or profit, which would not affect the workers at all. The more profit the capitalist class receive, their power to crush the organisation of the workers, and still further exploit them, increases in "like proportion. When we shorten our hours of labour we are weakening the enemy, because they will have less money to fight us with, but we are strengthening ourselves through controlling more of our product.

The only permanent increase in wages is by a reduction of hours, though a temporary rise may be gained by organisation, the competition gradually brings it down to normal again. As the machine reaches a greater state of perfection it will certainly displace thousands upon thousands of workers in all industries, which can only mean wide-spread misery and privation, unless each advance in the machine is met by a proportionate reduction in the output, either through shortening the hours of labour or practising the "ca' canny" strike.

What all intelligent workers want is a higher standard of comfort, better wages, and pleasant working conditions, with certainty of employment. These things can only be ensured by a thoroughly scientific organisation, which is powerful enough, not only to continually shorten the labour-time to counteract the more modern inventions, but finally to reduce unpaid labour to a minimum, that is to abolish it altogether, and when unpaid-labour is abolished the reign of capitalism is ended.

There can be no logical reason for working more than is necessary to satisfy the wants of the working-class, all work above that is

Jail for the I.W.W.

Treachery of Politicians.

In connection with the prosecutions instigated against the members of the I.W.W. for selling literature in the Domain on Sunday afternoons, indications point to the fact that several of our members will be in gaol ere this appears in print.

As stated in our last issue, fines were imposed by the Magistrate who tried the cases, and fourteen days' grace were given to each of the accused in which the fines were to be paid.

Needless to say, if the Labour Government waits for its revenue until fines of this character are paid by members of the Industrial Workers of the World, its masters, the British financiers, will have a long time to wait for their dividends. The honour, or the word of a politician, is proverbially infamous, and Mr. Hall, the Labour Minister for Justice, has in this case fully upheld the reputation of his kind.

The same day on which the fines were imposed, Mr. Hall assured a deputation that interviewed him in connection with the matter, that there would be no unnecessary delay in giving his decision with regard to the remission of the sentences. Ten days have since gone by, and the cowardly, two-faced, fraternity who have climbed into pay and office on the backs of the workers have not yet, apparently, been able to make up their minds to face the storm which the I.W.W. is brewing for their benefit when they gaoled members for the circulation of working-class economics.

Whatever the ultimate outcome, however, the laugh remains with the I.W.W. The attempted suppression of our literature has meant a sale and circulation hitherto not thought of by the most optimistic of our members.

The public may shortly expect to see members of the organisation inside the four walls of a prison, while their fellow-workers on the outside are repeating the "offence" openly, defiantly, and challenging interference.

What will Holman and his satellites do? Traitors, we knew they were. Knaves, we thought they were. But is it as mongrels and cowards they will be remembered by the workers of Australia?

A gentleman by the name of Roth delivered a lecture on "Old-Bones" to an audience in the Sydney Museum the other evening. He demonstrated that the bones of the human body, even when burnt in strong acid, left a large proportion of "gelatine." "Now, remembering the fact that the price of meat has gone up," he said, "there is a lot of nourishment in old bones." We may now expect to see every "bone-yard" in the country cornered by the enterprising meat trust. The workers cannot hope to beat the system even by the consumption of old bones, Billy Hughes' trust-smashing antics, notwithstanding.

the purpose of maintaining herds of social parasites in luxury and comfort. Statisticians estimate that two hours work per day for all physically and mentally able men between the ages of 25 and 40 would maintain all workers in a far higher standard of comfort than exists at the present day. If this is true, and there can be little doubt that it is possible with the huge machinery and enormous output which is used in industry to-day, why is it that we still work 8 and ten hours a day and receive in return but the barest necessities of life, the "living wage" of which the Labour Party are so proud. Organisation to shorten the hours of labour is the only organisation which can benefit the working-class.

Education, industrial organisation are the powers most feared by the Capitalist class.

PORT PIRIE DOINGS.

The old saying "that good things are done up in small parcels" would aptly apply to Fellow worker Reeves and his work in Port Pirie. His clear and logical explanations of economics, and the way he has expounded the principles of the I.W.W., has set the slaves thinking round here. During his stay here sixty one new members have joined, and a large batch are coming in next week. The workers have been duped, and are fed up with Parliamentary action, although they have drawn it in with their mother's milk.

Nevertheless, at our open air meetings we attract a large audience, and we never fail to join up a few rebels afterwards, who mostly are, we are pleased to state, young fellows.

We are the makings of a good local here and with the help of our "Mare," and rebels from our locals, we are booming. Reeves holds three propaganda meetings at the smelter gates, as the workers come off shift and thereby has done a good deal of service, especially by his increased sales of literature.

We are endeavouring to bring out new speakers, as Reeves will be going away soon. We are also trying to get a hall of our own, and a library which will mean a further advance towards the educating of the workers of Port Pirie.

With the material that we are now joining up, we are positive that there will be no re-action. L. F. ROBERTS.

Labor in N.Z., Continued from page 1

financed by the biggest employers in the Auckland district, and on whose staff was W. P. Black, a person who sued the "Maoriland Worker" for a large sum to compensate him for a character that had got soiled and grimed.

The capitalist press has been pleased to refer to the new officials as being "studious" and "moderate," a splendid tribute to their uselessness to the working class of N.Z., but nevertheless a eulogy that will not wash with that section of advanced workers who say that "There is nothing in common between the working class and the employing class."

As far as the accomplishments of the "Conference go, they have in their own constitution shown that there is no need for such a federation at all, unless it be, of course, that they desire to follow in "Trust buster" Billy Hughes' footsteps, and confine strikes to their narrowest possible limits. Local autonomy and centralised authority are contradictions of a very glaring type, but at the same time, remarkable instances of the sagacity and perspicuity of the "thoughtful," "studious" delegates. The usual backhander was given to the "irresponsible" by the thoroughly responsible officials, who have never been responsible for anything except dictatorial commands to the long-suffering rank and file. We must congratulate E. Hunter on being the best exponent of industrialism present, and hope to see him in better company before long.

Existing social and economic conditions in N.Z. demand action in preference to politics; industrial unionism instead of Arbitration; propaganda of sabotage instead of sectional strikes, and Men in the place of back-scratchers, hero-worshippers, dead-beats and has-beens.

The I.W.W. is coming into its own in N.Z., despite the screeches of the "N.Z. Herald," the delightful inanities of Mr. Fagan, the painful walls of the "Worker," the vituperations of political sentimentalists. They are but fuel upon the fires of the revolutionary industrialists.

The hybrid, double-winged outfits and brotherly love organisations have been weighed in the balance and found wanting.—Let us urge the real rebellious workers of New Zealand to flock to the banners of the Industrial Workers of the World. Let us declare war upon Capitalism, and leave compromise to the opportunists and plausible liars. And as for that forlorn parody of an organisation, the U.F.L., let us say with Shakespeare—

"Last scene of all, that ends this strange eventful history," "Second childishness and mere oblivion," "Sans eyes, sans taste, sans smell—sans everything." TOM BARKER.