

Boys of the Rebel Clan! Put on your wooden Shoes, and make 1915 OUR YEAR. Down with the Plunder Vultures.

DIRECT ACTION



VOL. 1. NO. 20

Registered at G.P.O. Sydney. SYDNEY, JAN. 1, 1915.

ONE PENNY.

The Northern Territory.

Administrator Gilruth, reporting gloomily on the progress settlement in the Northern Territory, states—"Hardly any of them (the settlers) possessed what he considered to be essential attributes of the pioneer, namely, an unlimited capacity for hard work, frugal disposition, and willingness to live in a most thrifty manner."

Having chased the elusive penny-weight in the Territory for more years than he cares to remember, the writer can speak from first-hand knowledge of the conditions existing there. Without a mosquito-net, sleep is impossible in either the winter or summer.

During certain seasons of the year myriads of a small, but actively aggressive species of March fly renders life almost unbearable. Malarial fever is accepted as one of the unavoidable discomforts of life. And there are other trifling drawbacks, such as the lack of congenial companionship, amusements, society of white women, literature, newspapers, milk, beer, fruit, eggs, butter, and other trifles that the average thrifless person regards as necessary to his well-being.

When not engaged in tours of inspection in his motor-car, Mr. Gilruth has his time fully occupied in entertaining visitors to Darwin, and other social functions inseparable from his office as Administrator.

These duties, and the worry of attending to a large and palatial residence, equipped with every modern convenience for rendering life in the tropics bearable, have hitherto prevented him from devising any remedy for the lamentable lack of adaptability displayed by the ungrateful pioneers, who refuse to make a success of the Hard Labour Party's policy of developing the Territory.

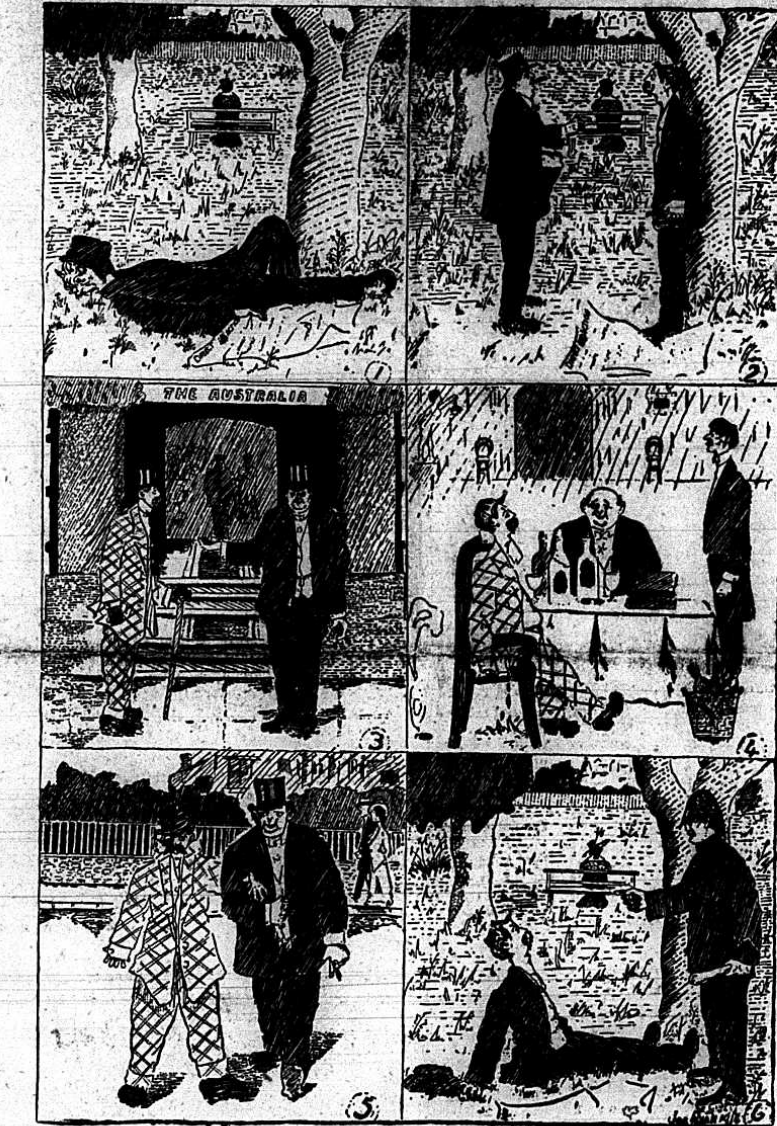
Being an enthusiastic admirer of the Hard Labour Party's policy, and fretting lest their scheme for "settling the vast, unpeopled spaces of the North" miscarry, I hasten to offer the following practical suggestions for overcoming the difficulty.

1. "To create an unlimited capacity for hard work." Establish police stations in the areas that are being settled, and appoint a well-paid and brawny flagellator at each station. The cat and triangle were very useful in persuading recalcitrants in the early days of Australia.

2. To ensure frugality and thrift. Modern scientific surgery, doubtless, could by a slight alteration of internal economy of intending settlers, destroy their craving for an omnivorous, and enable them, to thrive on a purely herbivorous diet.

3. Supply each settler with a "hair drill" outfit, the proprietors of which claim that "two minutes exercise daily will cause the hair to grow in abundance on all bare spaces," and thus obviating the necessity for clothes, mosquito-nets, and other useless luxuries, besides rendering the body immune to the attacks of the pernicious March flies already referred to.

As malarial fever does not attack animals, the germs of malaria, being unable to differentiate between an animal and the frugal,



Mr. Simple's Christmas Adventure.

(1). Mr. Simple, after reading "Direct Action," and seeing the good things of life he is missing, falls asleep.

(2). And dreams that a kind-hearted, rich man comes along, and bids him come home with him for a change of clothing, a shave, and clean-up, etc.

(3). After this, Mr. Simple and his newly found friend visit a fashionable hotel.

(4). After going through 21 courses, Mr. Simple gives the wine socks to such an extent that he addresses the flunkey as "Sir," and biccoughs that the I.W.W. is a menace to society.

(5). Thoroughly soaked, they are wending their way home to Potts' Point for a Turkish bath and a 'thorough freshening up, prior to a good time at the theatre.

(6). When a gruff voice wakes

Mr. Simple up, and he sees alongside him an unfriendly policeman, who wanted to know why he was spoiling the growth of the grass in Hyde Park, and also that he strongly suspects Mr. Simple's having the D.T.'s. After the policeman gave a choice explanation of the Vag. Act, Mr. Simple decided that he had an important engagement at a tea and toast "joint," and hiked.

hard-working and hairy settler, would pass him by.

By following these suggestions, and attending to a few minor details that will readily suggest themselves to a practical mind, such as a scientific enthusiasm for pervers, who persistently strive for better conditions, and the sterilization of undesirable intelligent workers of both sexes; it would be possible, always bearing in mind the necessity for close and constant attention to the muscular

development of the flagellators, to evolve a race of workers that would satisfy even the exigent demands of Administrator Gilruth and the class he represents.

FLANEUR.

A bunch of workers are alive to the one big Union idea at Mornington, W.A., and in a short time we hope to have a propaganda local

in that district driving nails into the coffin of capitalism.

The paper order for Boulder City is now ten dozen, and still rising. The local is growing steadily and the future is bright.

Send in the subs, boys. When we have a thousand, you can have a weekly "Direct Action." But in on your mates, boys. That is the way to get converts.

A Yarn on Work.

There are schemes and counter schemes designed to mislead the workers. These schemes are hatched out by the capitalist class. They see to the administration of these schemes, and laugh up their sleeves when they are successful in misleading the working class.

The capitalists have gained control of those organisations which are supposed to be controlled by the workers themselves, viz., the trade unions. The trade unions teach the workers that they have interests in common with the employers—that capital and labour go hand-in-hand.

The employing class discredit any organisation that threatens their existence by slandering it. They hurl such phrases from their stock as follows: "I won't work," "tramp, thief, undesirable, etc."

But where does the boss work? Does he not live by stealing? Have the capitalists ever been known to do anything other than receive alms? And if uselessness determines the desirability of a person, how are the capitalists going to prove their utility to society?

We, the workers, are taught through our craft unions that to be a worker is to be a dignified person. But how about the dignity that is associated with being carted about in a motor-car? Damn the dignity of labour; let's sample the dignity of pleasure.

What is there grand in a hotel, where workers and bed-bugs dwell? What is there elevating in asking another man for a job? Is there anything grand in sending children into the factories, and strong men on the tramp? What is there grand about a system of society that forces the producers of all wealth—the workers—to starve because they have been too industrious?

To hell with the capitalists and their opinions. Let the workers commence to do their own thinking, act for themselves, and it won't be long before the bosses will be out of commission.

"I won't work" should be the motto of every worker as long as there is a drone in the hive of industry. It would be far better to starve doing nothing, than to work and starve.

Let us analyse the system, so that we may discover some of its beauties. The workers go to work on the first of January, work the whole year, and at the end of December they are no better off. All the workers receive is fodder enough to keep them in trim while they are working. When the bosses are finished with the workers they can starve as far as they are concerned.

Then if the workers are caught without the visible means of support they are run on vagrancy charges, and sent along for a period in the gaols. But the capitalists are always idle, and instead of being sent to gaol they are put to live in palaces.

Work! No, not as long as there is a loafing capitalist in sight. Why should the workers work hard, when hard work means small pay? The man who does the least work is the best paid.

Let all the workers, say in chorus, "We shall never do another day's hard work as long as the world turns on its axis. Let us rest today, to-morrow, and for evermore."

O. L. WAKEUP.

Direct Action

Patriotic. . . .

New Zealand's

The Building of the Machine.

. . . . Boneheads.

Nightmare.



OFFICIAL ORGAN

Of the

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

(Australian Administration).

Office:—330 Castlereagh St., Sydney Australia.

EDITOR: TOM BARKER.

MANAGER: E. A. GIFFNEY.

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

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

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

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS—

164 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.

The Wharfies and the Germans

Now that the Empire is in danger the Sydney Wharfies have risen to the occasion. They have determined not to allow Germans, Austrians or Turks, naturalised or unnaturalised to get a living on the Sydney water-front.

We fail to see any thing to boast about in this business, and the whole matter ought to leave a nasty taste in the mouths of those militant members of the organisation, who refuse to have their opinions manufactured for them by the "Sunday Times" and other inspired organs of vested interest.

It is a reflection upon the intelligence to drive a father off the wharf and to leave his son working there, just because the father was born in Germany. The whole thing is childish in the extreme, and unworthy of men who pretend to be unionists.

It was suggested that they bar all foreigners from the wharves, why not follow the thing to its logical conclusion and bar the "Pommie" and everybody else, who didn't have the intelligence to be born inside the confines of Australia.

Once again we see the curse of craft unionism, with its narrow, prejudiced, and insular principles eating the heart of the working class movement, destroying the solidarity that ought to permeate us in order that we may wage successful warfare against the masters of bread.

As for the statement made by the "Sunday Times," to the effect that the Germans are joining the I.W.W. and using the organisation, we say that it is a lie. But we say further that there is room in the I.W.W. for any worker of any nationality, creed or colour. And we welcome them as the foundation of that International Organisation that alone can weld the workers into the controlling factor on the earth.

TOM BARKER.

As an example of bone-headed stupidity and lickspittle crawl-sonness, combined with a wanton violation of all the cardinal principles of unionism; the action of that conglomeration of political faddists known as the Melbourne Wharf Laborers Union, in denying to several members of their "union" the right of existence, by refusing to work with them simply because they happened to have the misfortune to be born in Germany, stands out conspicuously in the annals of unionism in Australia.

How the boss must smile to himself when he witnesses his slaves snapping and snarling at each other like wild beast, and realises how successfully his agents, in the shape of press, parson and politician, have chloroformed the minds of his slaves, and blinded them altogether as to the really vital issue, viz.—"The Emancipation of the Working Class," and means wherewith to accomplish it—Social and Industrial Revolution.

Now then, you boneheads, rub the rust off your thinking apparatus and ask yourselves a few questions, and don't always depend upon the boss and his hirelings to think for you, and then bow and scrape, and wag your tongue (or should it be tail), and murder your fellow workers in a feverish endeavour to show your master how "patriotic" you are; and also in effect to show him that you thoroughly appreciate his generosity and thoughtfulness in condescending to allow you just enough to exist out of the sum total of wealth that is everywhere produced by the working class alone.

The working class of Australia have no quarrel with the working class of Germany, or any other country.

Both are robbed of the product of their labor by the owning or employing class united inter-nationally.

To secure to Labor the whole product of its industry' is what every intelligent wage-worker desires.

To do this, International Capitalism, which justifies and supports robbery of the workers by the shirkers, has to be abolished.

It will be abolished only when the workers of the whole world, united industrially into One Big Class Union, without any regard to colour, creed, or sex, take over the machinery and instruments of production, and use them for the benefit of the world's workers.

Now, Mr. Blocks, stand up like men, don't let a few honeyed phrases from the boss lead you away from your class, or a bit of rag on the end of a stick cause you to become inflamed like an infuriated bull, with the result that you wreak your vengeance on a fellow slave. Rather get into the fight and use your energy and enthusiasm for the benefit of your class, and show that a thousand times it is better to be a traitor to your country than a traitor to your class.

Remember, then, in the words of Kadison, to reason things out, and you will then say with him that—

Reason my final arbiter shall be,
Blind faith is barred from my philosophy;
No God, nor Christ, know I; My diety
Is man. My creed bows to no fetish,
Neither do I crave
Salvation in a life beyond the grave,
Far better strive mankind on save,
By word and deed.

J. M. BURKE.

Gordon Lee, late of Broken Hill, is requested to communicate with his relatives in Tasmania, as they are making repeated inquiries about him.

N.Z. is blessed with about four political parties, the Reform, Liberal, Labah, and Social Deeneratic Parties.

They have been busy killing each other with their tongues, or, as our working-class leaders term it—"fighting politically."

Of course they have fought out the 1913 strike a few times, and talked of how they settled things, or how they would have settled things.

Accusations were made against the Massey Government by the other job-hunters, who have got their optics fixed on the pie-counter. The Massey herd from Sleepy Hollow resented this, and they met in solemn conclave to pass long and ungrammatical resolutions (just like our dear Social Democrats) against the Opposition-Red Federation alliance, who are making naughty and impious statements against William Rip Van Winkle, and the cocktoos of God's Own Forsaken Country.

The Reform Party, in their resolutions, desired to call the attention of the "country" to the statements of the unholy alliance, which, they say, are only to be equalled by the frothy and drefful speeches made by those notorious Murrican agitators of the I.W.W. species who came over to N.Z., in a Bleriot monoplane, to start the 1913 strike.

We heartily sympathise with the Massey Gument, for it was merely the fortune of war that placed them in office during the N.Z. strike. It would have come off just the same if Sirjoe, or even the Deenercats, were in office. It came off just because it had to, because the conditions were ripe, and because the working-class were completely full of the Arbitration Court and the Employers' Federation, and all their dirty rascally schemes to shackle the workers down hand and foot under the despotism of an organised master-class.

We, of the I.W.W., welcome the sage and tolerant remarks of the N.Z. Junkerdom. We appreciate the lesson that they dealt out to the working-class. We learned that direct action was the master's philosophy, and that the workers to win must retaliate by the same means.

The working class are learning that a baton is more dangerous than a ballot paper, even though it be marked by a very determined cross. The working class of N.Z. are learning that the exponents of Reform, Liberalism, Labour, and last and loudest, the Social Deenercats, stand for the protection of private property and its maintenance.

The Reform Party can rest assured that the I.W.W. has as much respect for them as the other political grafters, and that we would have exactly the same pleasure in seeing P.C. Webb on the end of a No. 5 as we would Mr. Massey himself.

And, further, we say this, that the I.W.W. is going to grow, and grow quickly, because it teaches the gospel of power, of militant economic organisation. And we recognise that in N.Z. the I.W.W. will have to fight the Labour and Socialist politician, as well as the Liberal and Reformer, just like it is doing and has done here in Australia.

But the I.W.W. is not going to worry much about the State; they are content on getting the control of things, not shadows. They are after the possession of the industries, and the control thereof. Power can only be derived from the possession of things, and not from the "forceless votes of meek-eyed thralls, who blindly sweat and moan."

And mark this well, the time will come when the Reformer and the Deenercat will join hands to attempt to set back the greatest movement of the Twentieth Century, the movement that threatens the graft and corruption of the politician, and exposes their lies and shallow reasoning.

Edison, the great inventor, a few years ago made the statement that the time is coming when the world's work will be done by machinery; that by merely pressing a button at a central point the machinery of production will be set in motion, thus freeing the world from drudgery and slavery.

Many I.W.W. men seem to be under the impression that the machinery of the organisation has reached that stage of perfection predicted by Edison; that the organisation can be manipulated by the pressing of a button at the General Office, and that the various parts of the organisation will move into operation, machine-like, without asking the why and wherefore of such action.

These members, when the machine does not work according to their expectations, are liable to be discouraged and quit saying that the workers are a bunch of dubs and that there is no hope of ever organising them.

These members seem to forget that the I.W.W. is at present in the formative stage; that the machine is in process of construction and can be improved only as our experience demonstrates its weaknesses.

The machine we are striving to construct has many functions to perform. It must take the raw workers of many nationalities, with the various traditions and prejudices, due to their various environments, and transform them into wide-awake class conscious rebels. It must take the workers of each nationality and drive out of their minds the ideas of national supremacy and put in their places ideas of class supremacy. It must tear them loose from their belief in a reward in heaven and develop in them a confidence in their ability to create a paradise for themselves in this world. It must shatter to pieces their childlike dependence upon politicians and legislatures and develop in them a self-reliance which will stand the threats and bulldozing of the capitalist and his legal hirelings. It must break down the idea of aristocracy in the mind of the craftsman and make him realise that his interests are identical with those of his unskilled fellow workers.

Our machine must weld all these various elements together into a militant body conscious of its im-

portance in society and determined to make itself the dominant economic force and finally tear away the rotten structure of capitalist society and create a society in harmony with the condition under which the working class makes its living.

If our machine is to accomplish the results for which we are striving we must pay strict attention to every detail of its construction. Who would think of trying to make shoes with a newspaper press? The press, no matter how perfect its mechanism may be, could not bring about the desired result because this machine is constructed for a specific purpose and cannot be used for any other than that for which it is built.

So with our machine of organisation. We cannot expect to wage a successful battle in industry with an organisation which is constructed for propaganda purposes. Neither can we take the industrial union which is built to function on the job in a particular industry, and use it as an instrument for general propaganda purposes.

The propaganda organisation must necessarily be loose in construction, so as to have freedom of motion, and autonomous in its locality, so as to be able to deal with the special psychology of the district in which it functions.

The industrial union must be compact in form, accurate and deliberate in the working of its machinery, with the conditions of the industry rather than of the industry as its guiding force. It is a fighting, constructive machine, which must be ready to respond to the pressing of the button, do its work quickly and accurately making each and every move count as a solid part of the task we are striving to accomplish.

The propaganda section and the fighting constructive section of our machine must work in harmony, each performing its particular task, each playing its particular part in the attainment of their mutual ends.

Is the I.W.W. capable of constructing such a machine? The capitalist, the middle class, the politician, and the craft unionist all say we are not. Let's show them!

—Frank Morris, in "Solidarity."

The I.W.W. 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 centre 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.

Let the politicians of N.Z. snarl, howl, and bark over the bones of office; let them lift up their voices and bay at the moon.

The whip of the driver will be among them to-morrow, for the machines are coming, and with the machine comes the rebel philosophy of the Industrial unionists. The propaganda of job-counter is carried on, until the working class, acting collectively, take and hold the machines.

Make the most of the night, politicians of Maoriland, for the day is coming, the day with its sun of Justice and Freedom, that will sweep away for ever those obstacles of progress and advancement, the politician, and the State.

TOM BARKER.

The Advancing Proletariat.

By Abner Woodruff, C. E.

Continued from last issue.

Two classes among the Romans were continued almost intact into Feudalism, and apparently were strong enough or necessary enough to preserve a great measure of their ancient rights and privileges. These were the classes of merchants and handicraftsmen known as the Guilds Merchant and Craft Guilds. They carried on a certain portion of production for use of their time, and conducted in a great measure the system of exchange then existing. As they grew stronger, they erected cities of their own for the purpose of defense, manufacture and trade; and 57 of these cities, or "burgs," known as the Hanseatic League, maintained a government which was sufficiently powerful to engage in war and dictate terms of peace to the loosely organized Feudal States and Nations round about them.

The introduction of the factory system of production into these cities, with the attendant sub-division of labor in the shop, broke up the craft guilds and introduced a new element into production—the factory owners, or manufacturers—and out of these and the merchant class were developed the Capitalists. Vigorous, resourceful and militant, these led the attack upon Feudalism and called to their banners all the oppressed and dissatisfied in the other classes. Prating of "human rights" and screaming for "freedom," they seized the ancient institutions and either destroyed them, or warped them to purposes of their own. Everything became converted into terms of cash. Money payments settled every human obligation. Even the agonies of injured honor might be assuaged in terms of gold.

The breaking up of the Feudal relations changed the method of land tenure. Many of the serfs became peasant proprietors, while others were transformed into mere farm laborers, or drifted into the factory towns. The handicraftsmen thronged the factories and under the new "divine" (?) right of contract, sold their labor-power at whatever price the Capitalists chose to pay for it. Property in the lands and tools of production still continued. The Wages System was, in essence, another form of servitude, and fiercely aggravated by the fact that the payment of the stipulated wage cancelled all the obligations between the man and his master. The freedom so loudly proclaimed was, for the workers merely a freedom to change from a bad master to a worse one, or at the worst to starve. Realization of Profits was the sole consideration for continuing production. When profits ceased, industry ceased, or the scale of wages went down until there was a sufficient margin of surplus value to induce the proprietor to again open the factory doors.

SLAVE, SERF AND LABORER.

The Chattel Slave and Feudal Serf were, economically, more secure than the Wage Earner. They were never denied the privilege of producing for use. The more they labored, the more powerful and luxurious their masters became. But the Wage Slave may be denied the right to produce. He may be excluded from the lands, tools and machinery of production; and the more productive he is, the more likely is this fate to overtake him: for now he produces to sell, and if production passes the purchasing power of society, production must cease until the relative positions of the supply and demand may be naturally reversed and purchasing begin again. In fact it may even occur that the Master class is forced to feed, clothe and shelter a portion of the workers in order to help reduce the surplus and tide over the workers to such time as production for sale can be profitably resumed.

LABOR-POWER A COMMODITY.
Free trade—free competition in buying and selling commodities—is the basic principle of the Capitalistic system of exchange of private property, and it is but natural that the Labor-power of the working class should also be regarded as a commodity. In fact it is inevitable that, under a system of production for Profit, labor-power should take on such a character and that it should be bought and sold in the open market according to the law of supply and demand for commodities. Nor is it surprising that in a competitive market, where the seller with the greatest necessity for cash fixes the market price, the price of labor-power should always tend to sink to the level of a bare subsistence for the workers; and that these workers with the ability to exist at the lowest standard of living should dictate the terms on which the others may also continue to exist. The whole tendency of the wage system has been to drag all the workers down to the same dead level of poverty. The fact that a certain portion of them still manage to maintain a comparatively decent standard of living is due to certain conditions which Capitalism has not as yet been able to overcome, and not to any intelligently applied powers of resistance inherent in that portion of the working class.

THE SKILLED WORKMAN.

Up to recent times the specialized skill of the craftsman protected him in a large measure against material reductions in his standard of living and, as he regarded his skill as a Property, he naturally accepted the capitalist property notions and attempted to apply them to the crafts. His Craft was his Capital—the means of his life—and any raise in its position benefited him. Anything that threatened the existence of his skill, or his exclusive possession of that skill threatened him. Therefore he joined his fellows in the organization of Craft Unions for the purpose of preserving the crafts and maintaining the standard of living of the Craftsmen. He had a property—a commodity—to be bought and sold in the market, and through his union he felt himself able to control the supply of that commodity and thereby affect the market to his own advantage. He resisted the encroachment of the machine upon the hand tool; he sought to limit the numbers of those possessing skill; and he endeavored to set a slow standard of production among the craftsmen. Contracts, closed shops, limited apprenticeships, high initiation fees and dues, and onerous conditions of membership were a natural result of his property ideas—the supply of his commodity must be limited in order to boost the price. Working with tools that moved only as he applied his own skill and strength to them, and turning out a product that could be identified as the labor of an individual, he thought strictly in individual terms. His craft was supreme, because all-necessary to his individual existence, and so extreme was this individual viewpoint that it was only when jurisdictional quarrels between the related crafts had become unbearable, that a federation of the craft unions was possible.

The craftsman had nothing to do with the unskilled. He looked upon them as inferior beings, and though their condition might sink to the lowest, he was not sufficiently interested in them to feel either sympathy or regret—they must look out for themselves as he did for himself. "It is the misfortune of the craftsman, that, having been compelled to operate in terms of property, the great Human Movement has been lost upon him." His dread has always been that he might become "as one of these," for no matter how great his skill, or how close-knit his brotherhood, capitalism, through machine production, continually threatened the security of his position. Any economic system built upon the Rights of Property is a confiscatory system, and little property disappears before big property. The property of the craftsman—his skill—tends to evaporate. A new mechanical device, a newly discovered chemical process, or a new combination of industrial forces may scatter that skill among the insensate machines, or absolutely displace it. "The whole tendency of skill is away from the individual and in the direction of the group" where, through the agency of machine, it translates itself into mere quickness of action coupled with a mild form of manual dexterity.

Stripped of his Property the "aristocrat of labor" sinks to the level of the common herd. The machine process of production racks the structure of Craft Unionism. Built upon the basis of a transitory property, it cannot withstand the aggressions of the vastly superior property of the Industrial Plutocracy. However, the craft union notion, like many others, dies hard, and we see the surviving craftsmen attempting to fortify themselves by organizing the machine operatives in the term of the crafts. Such organizations cannot be permanent for the property idea is untenable among machine workers. The very soul of private property is its accompanying right of exclusion; and exclusion cannot be practised at the machine—any one can function there. A few weeks of experience makes a machine operator of the common laborer; and furthermore, scientific management and the speeding up process destroy individuality. The loss of individuality destroys all notions of property—cuts the last thread that binds the interests of the worker to the present system.

Craft unionism cannot survive. The development of industry—the perfection of the machine processes—has doomed it. To the machine operative, it is an anachronism—a thing out of date.

The ancient slave and serf classes were not essentially revolutionary, and if they had been their ignorance and isolation was sufficient to prevent any concert of action. Mere physical revolution against an irksome environment cannot be called a revolutionary spirit, and while the slaves and serfs indulged in rebellions, they were usually planless and contained no germ of a constructive nature. At the most some measure of participation in the benefits of the existing system was all they sought. There was no idea of the establishment of a new order of society, which should promote a greater diffusion of culture, and thereby create a better and nobler race. Success upon their part would have meant only social chaos and a recession in the scale of civilization.

Let us now examine the modern laborers and machine operatives in this connection and endeavour to arrive at an understanding of their characteristic psychology, as derived from the common experience of their class.

THE PROLETARIAT.

Unskilled laborers and non-specialized machine operatives are now usually denominated "Proletarians," and by "the proletariat" we mean a class of laborers, possessing neither property nor specialized skill, who sell their labor-power in the open market to the highest bidder, and are able to sell that power only so long as it will produce a profit for the purchaser. The Proletariat is the subject class in modern society—the special human product of the capitalist system—and, to obtain its view of life, we must know how it obtains its living, for, as we have seen by the law of Economic Determinism, "the thoughts and actions of men are determined by the manner in which they make their living;" and "the common experience of a class creates the characteristic mental attitude of that class towards the world in which it lives."

Under the Guild system, the Journeyman worked in the small shop and so long as he was unmarried, usually lived in the house of his master as a member of the family. All the different parts of the process of manufacture were usually carried on in the same place; as for instance, the shoemaker was a tanner also. The completed product was the handiwork of one man—an individual production—and as such, the workman might well take a measure of pride in this evidence of his patience, industry and skill. But the capitalist introduced the factory system of production, and the journeyman, though still working with hand tools, did only a portion of the labor on an article and passed it on to another to do another portion. The completed product was the handiwork of a number of men—a group production—and as such, the workman took pride in it only to the extent that he could trace his own labor in the completed article. Otherwise, it was a matter of indifference to him whether it was well or poorly made. His interest in the whole thing ceased when he received his stipulated wage.

To be continued.

The Advantages of Arbitration.

The following excerpt from the Australasian "Typographical Journal," a conservative craft union sheet, goes to further prove the contentions of the Industrial Unionists that all the money, time, and energy taken up by using the Arbitration Court, is a sheer waste. It might as well have been dumped into the Tasman Sea for all the use it has been. The Arbitration Court has bled the pockets and befogged the minds of the Australian workers, and it has filled the pockets of the parasitical gang of legal luminaries, who are the noblest product of Labor parties and antiquated Craft Unionism.—(Ed.)

The High Court, by a majority, has found that there was not a dispute within the meaning of the Arbitration Act in the famous Tramway case, and the defendant union now finds itself helpless after years of strenuous litigation and much expense. The Chief Justice, in delivering his judgment, made reference to the difficult point of what really constituted a dispute that came within the jurisdiction of the Arbitration Court. Later, Mr. Justice Powers, Acting President of the Arbitration, referred to the High Court's judgment, and announced that the interpretation of that judgment was that something more was needed on the part of a

union than merely making a demand and serving a log on the employers, and persisting in that log demand in order to reach the Court. The Attorney-General (Mr. W. M. Hughes), commenting on the position created by this announcement of Mr. Justice Powers, pointed out the anomaly—that trades unions would thus be forced to strike to reach a Court of Arbitration, which was specially created and designed to prevent strikes. The Judge replied that the Attorney-General had not correctly interpreted his remarks, but adhered to the statement that more than a technical dispute was necessary to invoke the aid of the Court. The Attorney-General, replying again, stated that he was pleased to be informed by the Judge that he had been mistaken, and pertinently asked the President of the Court to just exactly state what action was necessary to satisfy the Court that a dispute existed—a dispute within the meaning of the High Court's interpretation of the Arbitration Act and the Industrial Powers conferred on the Commonwealth Parliament by the Federal Constitution. We have not yet seen the answer to this question. The legal tangle at the Arbitration Court has reached a stage when apparently it will soon be necessary to appoint a higher Court

to interpret the judgments of the High Court.

When delivering a dissenting judgment in the Tramway case, Mr. Justice Isaacs took a broad view of the whole position, maintaining that even if informalities had occurred at the inception, there was not a doubt in his opinion as to the facts, nor as to the endorsement of the whole proceedings by the members of the Tramway Union. He drew the attention of the Legislature to the futility of the Arbitration Court not being able to decide that there was or was not a dispute prior to hearing evidence and making an award. The President of the Court simply had to assume that there was a dispute if the evidence to that end was sufficiently to warrant him in proceeding with the case. The hearing of the Tramways case before Mr. Justice Higgins had lasted ninety-three days, and the time of the Court and of the parties, besides the great expense incurred, had all been wasted, because it was the business of the High Court, and not of the Arbitration Court, to decide the point of whether a dispute really existed. The Tramway Unions have to start their organisation all over again. The Miners' Union were recently de-registered, and had again to start at the beginning because of a small technical omission. The question naturally arises in the minds of printers: "Would not the printers of Australia do well by keeping away from such a treacherous quicksand as the Federal Arbitration Act has proved to be?"

An effort is now being made to de-register the Australian Workers' Union, and it may or may not succeed. There have been several preliminary court cases already, by reason of the plaintiffs seeking orders compelling the defendant (A.W.U.) to produce certain minutes and correspondence. These applications are of course being opposed, and the Court hears argument—and the costs are piling up! Later, the principal case will be heard, and it is safe to say there will be many law points reserved for argument, and probably further appeals. The trouble about all this legal entanglement is that no one seems to be able to guide the unions. The president of the Federated Tramways Union stated that they had consulted their solicitors at every step, and acted on their advice. When asked to vote for registration, take "Punch's" advice to the young man who wanted to marry: "Don't!"—"The Australasian Typographical Journal."

The I. W. W.

(Goldfield Paper.)

Sir,—The letter in your issue of November 24, over the name of Mr. J. Keegan, makes some reference to the I.W.W., its aims and methods. The I.W.W. is the most up-to-date and scientific Labour organisation in the world: for it is founded on the most obvious and brutal fact of our present day civilisation; viz., the class

struggle. Your correspondent refers to the machinery that the unionists have at hand to redress their wrongs. I presume he means either the Arbitration Court or voting. Arbitration is wrong in principle and vicious in application, for there is really nothing for the working class to arbitrate about. The working class produce all wealth, and consequently should receive all wealth. It is one thing to get an arbitration award, the next thing is to enforce it. Awards can only be enforced by the solidarity of the working class: but arbitration unionism does not engender the feeling of solidarity amongst the workers, but breeds scabs and is organised scabbery. As to voting Labour parties into political power; all governments Liberal or Labour—have the definite function to perform of administering capitalism; and capitalism is a social system that cannot be administered in favour of the working class. The ignorance in our present day society of economics and the fundamental facts of social evolution is deplorable. The I.W.W. is not only an educational and propaganda party; it is an effort to lay the foundations of the future society, the industrial democracy. In conclusion, I am authorised by my union to challenge to public debate any Labour politician or prominent union officials, on revolutionary industrial unionism versus craft unionism or direct action versus political Parliamentary action.—Yours, etc., MICK SAWTELL.

"Boring from Within and Smashing from Without."

The Labor fakir has said in his heart, "This subtle machinery of Government has enabled me to taste of the fruits of power, and has obtained better and changed conditions of life for me. I am a tin god in the eyes of the workers whom I so beautifully exploit, but the wage slaves are not content, and I must seek a new means whereby I can gull them. I will now be a Parliamentary Socialist, and will tell them that by "boring from within" I will achieve the end and aim of the sons of Labor." Unfortunately for our friend the fakir, Bill Smith is beginning to get at the bottom of this little game.

The traditional method of the fakir rests on the economic fallacy of economic control centralised in the machinery of government. Direct Action has been prepared by them to the crude methods of the savage, and to several other uncivilised elements. A. M. Lewis has lent considerable weight to this fellacious damn-foolery by attempting to infer that the scientific indirect method of the sociologist Ward means and justifies parliamentary action. He also defends this position in his debate between himself and Tom Mann. Lewis says: "The difference between direct action, which is always static and contributes nothing to progress, and indirect action, which is always dynamic and progressive, is that in direct action between the direct action and the end sought by the action, nothing intervenes, while in indirect action the intellect introduces a third element, which comes between the action and its end, and which is properly called means."

Now, this statement to the Labor fakir means that between ourselves and the commune we must place Parliamentary action as the "intellectual means" whereby our ends might be achieved. The I.W. (White) says, "No! The intellectual means between the people and the commune is solidarity." While the scientific indirect method may be somewhat confusing, the issue is clear, and that issue is that solidarity and direct action are the means and end whereby we shall achieve the necessary reform needed in the overthrowing of the capitalist mode of production. The indirect method, as stated by Ward, and direct action as advocated by the I.W.W., have everything in common, so that the I.W.W. method is scientifically correct. There is no defence for the common catch cries of the Parliamentary Socialist, and out of the mouths of the Labor fakirs shall we convict them.

So much has been written and said on this question, that it behoves all to examine the claims of these teredos of society, these borers from within. After boiling down several pages of flappedoodle-ant everything in general and nothing in particular, Lewis states that the Parliamentary Socialist's objective was the capture of the governmental machinery for the purpose of destroying it. In other words, he proposes to wait round the corner to batter the policeman in order that he might take away his badge instead of his baton; he proposes to leave the real control as it stands, and waste time in destroying an admittedly useless institution. This utterly futile advocacy makes one tired. The Parliamentary machinery is only the merest symbol of the economic control. The history of the institution shows this clearly enough.

The servile, sycophantic members of the Traditional House of Lies have always kowtowed to power, whether it was monarchical or economic. These time servers have ever adopted the Pickwickian attitude. History does not produce one exception. Parliamentarianism is one of those accursed great man fallacies. Carlyle has said, and he should have known better, "History is the essence of countless biographies." Parliament has boosted

the idea for all it is worth. Modern journalism has helped in furthering the crime in the phrases, "Shades of Pitt," etc. Largest benefaction and dispensation are the root ideas of our Parliamentary friends' propaganda. The mythical corn-beef-and-cabbage tree is the gift of our member and his party. Why in hell can't the people do things for themselves, instead of delegating these flunkies of verbosity to take away from them their rights. Rights! that's the unfortunate part; they have no rights to take away. Can they not obliterate this species of bourgeois who mentally exploits them, and at the same time pose as their friends.

To show the futility of economic Parliamentarianism one only has to instance the national debt (the national jim jam who so often occupies the time of the plute press from the printer's devil upwards). Out of the mouths of the Manchester "dismal science" professors they are answered. A sound business does not run into debt. The Hard Labor Party of W.A. and N.S.W. has pawned its top hat and its fancy vest in the frenzied effort to retain power. (Mark that bone-heads.) It sacrifices its probity as a party to retain the emoluments of office; and the Liberals who haven't so much need for the job endeavour to carry on the exploiting business a little more openly. But why does the Parliament run into debt, a debt which falls on the workers. Because it can only exploit the proletariat and cannot take the real control (the economic) from the robbers of society. Its function of pretention defeats its ostensible ends. It is unnecessary to protect the rich, so that it must exploit the poor in order to carry out its function of governing.

One cannot but turn with disgust from this obsolete social machine and examine the situation as it really is. The capitalist owns the means of production, but without the worker his ownership is of no more use than Chopin's Nocturnes are to a gorilla. He has to own the labor power, the only true determining factor of value. The capitalist owns the land, and the land is the means of life, but he must have workmen to produce for him. The Parliamentary function always has been, and always shall be, the protection of property; it doesn't own anything except its asinine voice and deceptive ways. So long as property is controlled, be it bourgeois capitalist or State monopoly, so long will exploitation fall on the heads of some portion of the community. All property must be as free and untrammelled as air; that is the means of production and the means of life.

So let us "smash from without" instead of sinuously "boring from within." Let us organise our units thoroughly, and imbue them with the feeling of solidarity. Let us cast aside those accursed distinctions between unionists and non-unionists which now blind the craft unionists. Do away with all distinctions between employed and unemployed. We are all workers, we of the bottom rung; we, the hoboes, the thieves, the prostitutes, the scabs, the workers. Cast aside this capitalistic morality which makes us shatter those battered relics—the women who sell their bodies. These "poor dumb mouths" need our pity, our love, and our service. To hell with cant! Let each of us throw all aside and resolutely and manfully press forward to the Millennium. Let the historians of the future say with Emerson, that the I.W.W. was a triumph for enthusiasm.

SANS CULOTTE.

There are letters awaiting the following members at 330-Castle-reigh-street, Sydney:—J. C. Watson, Neil White, W. Butler, and W. J. McKellar.

The I. W. W. Tweedledee and List of Locals in W. A. Tweedledum. in Australia.

At last it has arrived—the symbol of discontent and educated revolt.

Out of the world of abstract ideas, it has been transformed into something real and concrete. The pioneer Local has started in Freemantle, and like all great movements we have commenced with a few enthusiasts, but unlike some great movements we are not going to let that terrible inertia of apathy grip us, for it is recognised that to gain numerical and moral strength we must strive with untiring and incessant vigour, so that by our efforts a strong and lasting monument to working class revolt will be built up in this land of great promise.

Already the new gospel is being pushed forward by our fellow workers out in the goldfields. Nineteen members were enrolled by Fellow-worker Sawtell to start another Local in Boulder, which is even better than the work performed by the same fellow-worker when he organised the Fremantle Local.

The workers of the West have been too long deluded by the hypocrisy of the two orthodox political parties. They have taken from the workers what ever manliness they ever possessed. But even a worm will turn.

To me it is patent that the I.W.W. is altogether different from the present organisations—(so-called), who are hopelessly lost in a muddle of economic moonshine and veiled corruption.

The structure of the new rebellious organisation is fundamentally different to that of the craft unions, and the basic difference lies in the objective, for it is here that the great line of demarcation is drawn.

On the one hand we find a mass of selfish and conflicting ideals, while on the other we find that they are not only definite, but dynamic. Between the two there will be incessant conflict, and I say right here that W.A. will have its fair share of the conflict. The battle will be long and bitter, but in the end the more scientific and intellectual body will win. That is the I.W.W.

In conclusion, I hope that the success that has crowned the efforts of the organisation in the chief city of Australia will be reflected in the West, so that we build an everlasting edifice to the glory of the militant proletariat.

N. GIFFNEY.

THE STUPIDITY OF CRAFT UNIONISM.

The timid way in which the craft unionists are allowing their awards to be superseded by the bosses is not very encouraging to an Industrial Unionist; but in some places the suggestion is coming from the Union secretaries and officials.

The secretary of an influential craft union at its last meeting went to considerable lengths to try and get the membership to forego the award rates. They turned it down. In the same union there is a member who has a claim for back time, which is owing for work done at Cockatoo Island two months ago. He placed the matter in the hands of his union, who have failed to accomplish anything for its member.

The craft unions have become merely organisations of dues-payers, and the only return they get is the growl from the secretary when he is asked to justify his existence and earn a little of his screw.

Don't pay into the craft unions. Let them die. Join the One Big Union of the working class.

SLAVE.

There are now plenty of copies of "The Advancing Proletariat" in stock. Every member should read it and apply early. Wholesale, 2/- per dozen; single copies, 3d.

"If Tyranny refuse to spare Or Greed to crush you forge a bolt;

Pray never for the strength to bear,
But for the courage to revolt."

—W. Dyson.

The unemployed workers of this State, begging, hat in hand, for work, were informed by Mr. James Gardiner, a prominent Liberal politician of a particular virulent type, "that there was no obligation to provide them with ideal employment, in ideal surroundings, at ideal wages." And Labor-Premier Scaddan "announced his approval of the stand Mr. Gardiner had taken."

This is of peculiar interest at present, in view of the maledictions hurled at the head of the German Emperor by politicians and others, for disregarding the treaty rights of Belgium. A treaty entered into by the workers of W.A. and the Scaddan Government has amongst its clauses—"The Right to Work," and "The securing to the worker of the full product of his, or her, industry." Mr. J. Gardiner, as a Liberal, has no treaty or compact with the workers, and is running true to his breed by turning the workers down and conserving the interests of the class he represents. But where is the difference between Bill the Blood-stained and the Hon. J. Scaddan, Labor Premier and worker's representative?

And what invisible dividing line separates a "Labor" from a Liberal politician?

FLANEUR.

Adelaide Activities.

Meets every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock, at Oddfellows' Hall, Mooltas-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-wells, Victoria Square every Saturday night.

Any further information desired will be furnished on request by Secretary-Treasurer

R. M. ROSE,
64 Angus-street,
Adelaide, S.A.

Up-to-date Library and Reading-Room

Important.

Fellow workers and locals are invited to send in reports of activities, news pars, 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.

SUBSCRIBERS!

A blue pencil mark through this par denotes that your subscription runs out with the next issue, and a red mark denotes that your subscription runs out with the present issue. If you wish the paper to continue, you should immediately renew.

Adelaide Local No. 1.—Secretary Treasurer, R. M. ROSE, 64 Angus-street, Adelaide, S.A.

Sydney Local No. 2.—Secretary-Treasurer, Reg. McDonald, 330 Castlereagh Street, Sydney, N.S.W.

Broken Hill Local No. 3.—E. J. KIELY, Secretary and Treasurer, Palace Buildings, Spalding-street, Broken Hill, N.S.W.

Port Pirie Local No. 4: T. Cherington, Secy. Treasurer, Ellen St., Port Pirie, S.A.

Fremantle Local No. 5.—Secretary-Treasurer J. O'Neill, Hubbard-street, Fremantle, W.A.

Boulder City Local, No. 6.—Secretary Treasurer, M. Sawtell, 17 Wittenoom Street, Boulder City, W.A.

N.Z. LOCALS.

Auckland Local No. 1: G. Phillips Secy. Treasurer, Kings Chambers, Queen St., Auckland.

Christchurch Local No. 2: E. Kear, Secy. Treasurer, Madras St., Christchurch.

Dunedin Local No. 3:

Wellington Local No. 4: H. F. Wrixon, Secretary-Treasurer, c/o P. Josephs, 2 Willis-street, Wellington, N.Z.

SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

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).

Literature in Stock.

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

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

The Evolution of Property: Lafargue, bound 2s.

Ettor's and Giovanni's Speeches From the Dock: Price, 1/-.

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

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

Mr. Block Cartoons: Riibe, paper 8d.

One Big Union: Trautmann, paper 6d.

Communist Manifesto: Price, 6d.

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

Advancing Proletariat: Price, 4d.

Sabotage: W. C. Smith, paper 3d.

New Australian Song Book: second edition; 32 songs. Price, 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 Hypnotised Society: Brov n, paper 3d.

War! What For? Cartoon: Price, 3d.

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

Economic Discontent: paper 2d.

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

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

Chunks of I.W.W.ism: A.H., Industrial Union Methods: Trautmann, paper 1d.

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

Printed and Published on behalf of the Industrial Workers of the World, by John Hamilton, Chairman of Press Committee, 330 Castlereagh-street, Sydney, N.S.W.