

# DIRECT ACTION



VOL. 1. No. 7.

Registered at G.P.O., Sydney.

SYDNEY, JUNE 15, 1914.

ONE PENNY.

## MODERN CAPITALISM.

### How it Batters and Fattens on Child Labor. Workless Adults, Why Your Sweated Children?

One of the most serious problems that has ever faced the working class is that of the unemployed. It affects the entire class, skilled—so-called—and unskilled alike. It is a problem that must be dealt with in an intelligent manner, or our energy will be wasted. To cope with it we must know how it came to be—its cause. This implies a working knowledge of economics.

The workers, as a class, have only one thing to sell, that is their power to produce wealth; the capitalists as a class would have nothing to sell if they did not buy the wealth-producing energy of the workers and apply it to the natural resources and machines of production. They do so, however, under three conditions first, that the workers reproduce the equivalent of what they receive before they are paid their wages, secondly, that they replace the machines as they are worn out with new ones; thirdly, that they produce a surplus above the amount required for their keep and that necessary to replace the machines. This is appropriated by the capitalists as their share for doing nothing; in turn the amount we receive is determined by the amount which is required to keep us in normal working condition. Again, as our power to produce is increased, the time required to supply our wants decreases; our power to create surplus products that go to the capitalists is enhanced, which means that fewer workers are required to supply the economic wants of society, and a greater number of workers are doomed to beg, borrow, or steal for eat they must. It must be obvious to all that as the machine reaches a greater state of automation, even fewer men will be required, which means that the unemployed will continue to increase, and our position will become ever and ever more insecure. It is mere folly to expect that capitalists are going to help us out of the difficulty. It is to their immediate interests to have a huge unemployed army standing outside the factory gates as it speeds those employed to the limits of physical endurance. It must always be borne in mind that the capitalists are out for profits, and if they cannot find a market for the surplus product of labour, they refuse the workers access to the means of production.

The automatic machines that have made their appearance in many shops will soon be installed in all industries. They have entirely abolished the skill and brawn formerly required, and which could only be supplied by fully developed adults with the necessary training. The capitalists are now in possession of machines which embody

the skill formerly required, and the adult may be replaced by the child. It can truly be said that just as soon as we produce a modern machine and install it, the back door is open for us to walk out, and the front door opens for our children. A sad state of affairs, but true, nevertheless. Child labour intensifies the unemployment problem. Its increase is a living condemnation of Trade Unionism; notwithstanding the fact that it has opposed the introduction of child labour, this has grown until to-day juveniles are employed doing the work of millions of adults. Do not think that this state of affairs is going to be altered by anyone but the workers themselves. There would be no child labour or poverty stricken adults if the workers knew their own economic importance. In a word, we supply the world's wants and are foolish enough to permit those who do no useful work to take the product of our sweat, cull it over, and throw us the scraps.

Fellow-workers, we have been considering the masters' interests too long, and leaving our own to their "generosity," which, of course, has resulted in their taking the lion's share. Just so long as the workers make "peace at any price," they may be assured that it will always be at their expense. When we show a compromising attitude the employers take advantage of it and make their own terms. Unite as a body, realising that the workers have interests in common, and that the conditions of the individual are determined by the conditions of the entire class. This is the only method of taking the children out of the sweatshops and placing them in the schools.

By shortening the hours of labour thousands who are now homeless because they can't find work; would be able to establish homes.

Industrial Unionists do not simply say that a reduction of labour is a permanent solution of the unemployed problem. If we stopped at that, it would mean that in a very few years the machines would be improved to such an extent that thousands of workers would again be unemployed and in the same position as previously. We mean to increase the power and efficiency of working-class organisation, and have the workers educated to such a degree that they can permanently solve the labour question—that is, to take over the natural resources and the machines of production, and control them in the interests of those who toil.

J. B. KING.

## Our Standpoint.

Speaking to the Society of Artists, Premier Bill Holman informed his audience that "Australians had done well on the material side, and the question now was whether they would develop into a race which should produce great works of imagination, or whether they were to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water."

Government slaves, under the benevolent auspices of Holman and Co., who are receiving even less than the "living" wage of £2 8s. per week, are just now having their imaginations fully developed in finding a way to make ends meet.

A High School will shortly be built on the site where Darlinghurst Gaol now stands. "There is a sort of poetic justice," says the "Herald," "that where once malefactors paid the penalty of their misdeeds, young people will soon be hard at work equipping themselves to play a useful part in the battle of life." Few of the children of the workers attend High Schools. It is a queer sort of "poetic justice" which ordains that the real malefactors of present-day society should educate their progeny on the spot where human beings suffered and died because of a denial of the elementary principles of justice itself.

The exploitation of man by man is the fundamental basis of all crime.

## OUR OWN PRESS.

We have it Now. Will You Help to Keep it Going?

To All Australian Local and Wage-Workers.

**Fellow-Workers,**

Sydney Local has at last succeeded in its efforts to instal an I.W.W. press for the printing of our paper. This was a vital necessity if the movement in Australia is going to make good. While our paper was being printed by outside establishments we were obviously handicapped not alone from the financial point of view, but in the expression of clear-cut revolutionary principles.

A heavy instalment has been paid on the press but we are still in debt to the extent of about \$50. Do not leave this burden on the shoulders of the active members of the Sydney Local. The press is yours as well as theirs; and the sooner this debt is paid, the sooner we will see "Direct Action" appearing as a weekly.

Industrial discontent is rife throughout Australia; strikes are becoming more frequent and more necessary, and an industrial revolt on a large scale may occur at any moment. It is absolutely essential, therefore, that we should be free to plan the principles of the "One Big Union," its tactics, and its aims, before the workers when these upheavals take place.

An unfettered press is the best weapon for educational propaganda. With the number of members in our locals, as well as those members at large in outlying districts, there is no reason why this debt should not be paid off within three months.

We are opening a Press Fund with the next issue. What is to be your contribution towards it? Don't all speak, but act, at once. Anything from a fiver to a shilling is acceptable. Let each and all prove their sincerity to I.W.W. principles by establishing the first revolutionary press south of the equator.

THE EDITOR.

In an article on boy immigration the "Herald" remarks that, "By removing these lads from the slums of a congested English city to the wheat-fields or dairy farms of New South Wales, we are performing a service not only to the boys themselves, but to both England and Australia."

The "Herald" would perhaps suggest making a start with the slums of Sydney and Melbourne, if it did not know that the Australian lad knows something of the exploiting propensities of the average Australian cocky.

The sudden liking for juvenile immigrants, on the part of the capitalist press, is to be accounted for by the fact that, nowadays, the average adult "pommy," having imbibed some of the teachings of militant industrialism at home, is not quite willing to be the same "lamb for the slaughter" as formerly.

WHY is it? That when hundreds of thousands of workers are killed annually in the mines and Industrial Hells of capitalism it is called Progress? That when millions are slain in wars of aggression and robbery, it is called Glory? That when the "Empress of Ireland" is accidentally sent to the bottom of the ocean with a thousand people, it is called an Appalling Disaster?

BECAUSE if the press would portray the murderous tendencies of the capitalist system as vividly as it depicts the horrors of shipwreck, capitalism would not last a day.

## NATIONALISATION.

### What it Means. What it Leads to. How the Boss Saves his Face.

The most marked thing in modern society is the development of scientific labor-saving machinery. Mechanical revolutions are taking place with ever-increasing rapidity. The day of handicraft and factory production has gone, and in its place we have manufacture, where not only the product itself, but the very machine which produces it, are made by machinery. The modern machine eliminates all forms of skilled labour, and performs, with little or no supervision, the most elaborate functions.

As forms of production of various kinds become obsolete and outgrown, they are cast aside relentlessly as newer and more modern processes take their places. When wireless telegraphy becomes perfected the present telegraphic wires and apparatus will be rendered useless and obsolete; in a few years the world's coal mines will gradually close, as the cheaper and newer motive power, oil, takes the place of the coal.

food supplies, and all other industries should be run upon similar lines, so as to eliminate waste and overlapping, and he sometimes hints that the workers can by a series of long-winded purchases flounder their way out of wage-slavery.

Now, the whole is always greater than the part, and as the workers receive one-fourth of their product in the form of wages, how is it possible for them to buy back the whole product? It is quite impossible, as a moment's reflection will show.

Therefore, when we see Labour Governments operating on money borrowed from private sources, it does not obviate the fact that in the last analysis the capitalist class are still the essential interest drawing owners of the nationalised industries.

There is no hope for Labour in these schemes, neither is there any advantage to the workers employed in such industries.

Everybody is cognisant of the fact that the State is practically the worst employer in Australia. Look at the conditions on the N.S.W. Tramways and Railways, or out in Mr. Griffith's State Brickfield, at Botany, where the recent strike took place.

The State makes a hell for every worker employed by it, in placing its time-servers and toadies in the desirable positions of authority, by systems of pimping and espionage, while superannuation schemes and sliding wage-scales are used to sap and demoralise whatever militant spirit there may be amongst the men.

When the workers do summon up courage to make demands, they are told by governmental figure-jugglers that the industry is not paying, and that if they still insist—"well, they will have to close down."

It is no consolation for the worker to know that the State exploits him now, in the place of his former capitalist employer.

The State mine at Runanga, N.Z., has killed more men than any other mine in the country. The brickfield strike in Sydney, the municipal employees strike at Leeds, the national strikes on the French and Italian State railways, are further proofs that State ownership is a farce and a fraud.

Briefly, working-men, there is no hope for the working-class in State ownership, and there is but one way left. ONLY ONE. That is to take charge of industry by Agitation, Education, and Organisation.

The masters of industry are the masters of bread, they are still so if they are drawing their dividends under State ownership. Let us organise to control society by organising to control the job. That is the only way to Freedom.

Therefore, men and women of the working-class, the only hope of emancipation must lie in the economic education of the workers, which will result in that most advanced and powerful concept of working-class thought and action—ONE BIG UNION.

"They who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

TOM BARKER.

A sensation was caused twelve months ago, when the S.S. Niagara, on the Vancouver run, dispensed with 27 firemen; oil, instead of coal, being used. Only nine firemen are now employed to look after the burners.

But now the U.S.S. Co. are talking of adopting the new internal combustion engines which do away with the necessity of the boilers and the remaining nine firemen altogether. Firemen, miners and boiler-makers are displaced, and the ships will have a greater cargo-space.

The capitalist class are aware that old forms of production are being superseded, and therefore they look round for possible purchasers so as to protect themselves against loss. They find salvation in Labour parties, State socialists, and other people who believe in nationalisation and municipalisation schemes.

Many of these people sincerely believe that such schemes will benefit the workers, and tell them so to such good effect that the workers return them at election time to the control of the Parliamentary machine. The N.S.W. Government is typical of such parties. They recently spent quite a lot of money (borrowed, by the way, from foreign money-brokers), in starting a State brickfield, which is already out of date, owing to the development of concrete as a cheaper and more durable substitute. At the present time they contemplate the purchase of the Lithgow ironworks which, also in the near future, will not pay the interest on the purchase, never mind a profit to the Government. Not only does the State pay interest on the real capital value, but in most instances they have to pay interest on a very large amount of watered stock, which is thoughtfully floated by the capitalists before disposing of it. Now, this is good business for Mr. Capitalist, for he has palmed his unprofitable and useless industry on to the State; his interest comes in regularly year by year, and he is saved the worry of managing the industry and trying to calm the troubled waters of industrial discontent.

The State Socialist points to the post office, and tells the workers that

The Commissioner for Income Tax informs us, per medium of the press, that "these are exceedingly prosperous times."

You know whom he means, workers. Take the tip, and try and have some of the prosperity come your way.

Some people are jubilant just now because a "Double Dissolution" of Parliament has taken place. If this meant that politicians were doubly dead and damned, all intelligent workers would join in the cheer.

# Direct Action



ORGAN

Of the

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

(Australian Administration).

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Editor: Thos' Glynn.

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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 CASTLEREACH ST., SYDNEY.

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

## Coalminers Isolated

### How "Billy's" One Big Union Fights.

Three thousand coal miners are at present on strike on a few collieries in the Maitland district because they object to working the afternoon shift. The object of a strike, we believe, is to stop the production of a certain commodity in order that the bosses may be compelled to grant certain demands rather than suffer a greater loss by the stoppage of production.

In face of this self-evident proposition, we find the Union leaders fearfully alarmed lest there should be any extension of the strike either in the Newcastle district or the South Coast. Mr. Willis, secretary of the Employees' Association in the latter district, has taken pains to assure the capitalist press that he felt sure the miners in the South Coast would follow no such "insane policy." Mr. D. Watson, president in the North, has also given evidence to the Hard Labour Government that the strike would be confined to its present dimensions so far as he was concerned. So we find a repetition of the fiasco which took place in the South Coast a few months ago, when the miners there were left isolated in their struggle and starved back to work, while their brethren in the North were working at break-neck speed in order that the coal barons, whose interests are interwoven, north and south, would not suffer through curtailment of production.

There is nothing very remarkable about these facts. They illustrate the usual method in which the workers of Australia, on the advice of incompetent or treacherous leaders, fight their battles and lose them. Nevertheless, the strike has a few interesting features. It has followed close on the heels of the launching of the great "one big union" Federation, at the baptism of which so much hot air was wasted on the necessity of closer organisation for the purpose of fighting "huge aggregations of capital."

Prominent Trade Union leaders, such as Mr. Kavanagh, informed the public that the object of the Federation, in their opinion, was to ensure industrial peace and prevent strikes. Mr. Kavanagh and his kind, who did not happen to be introduced to this latest meat ticket proposition, knew their own type too well to imagine that the scheme could have any other object than that of systematising the scabbing propensities inseparable from the organisations which they lead.

Up to the present the 3000 miners in

## Who said Sabotage? Modern Strikebreakers.

### How the Bosses work the Trick.

Mention the little word "sabotage" to the workers, and how the capitalist press yelps. According to evidence before the Interstate Commission the practice of sabotage has been reduced to an exact science by the piano manufacturers of Australia.

One of the methods adopted of sabotaging purchases has been to sell Australian manufactured goods labelled with the names of German firms. Oh, those "patriotic" bosses!

The "Herald" informs us also that this method of sabotage (of course, the "Herald" does not use a word of such ill-porport) is extensively practised by other "business" people. Goods of purely Australian make, we are told, are frequently advertised as the "best imported."

Sabotage is "good business" for the bosses. When practised by the workers in an endeavour to better their conditions, it is "violation of the rights of property," "outlawry," "sedition," or any other name that will be efficacious in placing those who advocate it behind the walls of a capitalist dungeon. The capitalist saboteur is allowed free to follow his bent of fraud, plunder and spoliation. The more successful he is over his fellow saboteurs, the greater are the "honours" conferred upon him by capitalist society. He is fed, applauded, knighted, and heralded as a great captain of industry. When he adds insults to injury, prostitute scribbles belaud his action as a "noble gift to charity," politicians and statesmen tremble at his frown and hasten to assure him of their loyalty to his "laws," and their zealous regard for his interests; black-coated gentlemen in churches will, for a "trifle," ask the Almighty to prosper and guide him, presumably to make his sabotaging more easy and successful; and the workers, themselves, the victims of his crimes, will go on their knees and thank the same God for having generously sent somebody on this earth to plunder them.

We invite our readers to study a pamphlet on Sabotage, a first instalment of which appears in this issue on another page. If the editor of the "Herald" calls at this office we will present him with a copy for nothing.

Newcastle are left to fight their own battle to the same degree as if this fake federation had never been thought of. It is true that workers are to be asked to subscribe to the support of the miners on strike, but this form of "assistance"—so-called—has been in vogue ever since strikes became a necessity.

Another "peculiar" feature is that while ballot-box advocates have been ceaselessly telling us what Parliamentary action is superior to industrial action, Minister Cann who, in conjunction with his colleagues, control the Parliamentary machine, has informed a deputation of miners who asked for Parliamentary interference, that it was simply a question of whether the miners themselves were strong enough to enforce their demands.

Both Cann and his colleagues know full well that the miners in Maitland, isolated as they are in this struggle, are fighting a forlorn hope. If the coal miners of Australia were so educated as to recognise that this is a fight of their class against the organised forces of capitalism, that every ounce of coal produced is making victory for their fellow-miners more remote; if coal-lumpers tied up every port in Australia by refusing to place scab coal in the bunkers of steamers; if firemen and engine-drivers paralysed the railway arteries of the country by seeing that the coal which they used is produced at the sacrifice of working-class solidarity, the bosses, the press, and the politicians would take a different view of the afternoon shift. Such an exhibition of solidarity would do more to unify the forces of labour, and strike more terror into the hearts of the masters, than all the hypocritical oratory of Mr. Hughes, and all the hard-earned "tannets" that Billy Rosser will collect from his scabby organisations from now till doomsday.

According to the cables, the latest convert to State ownership is Lord Milner, of South African fame. We do move.

The Labour Government of New South Wales is rapidly breaking all records in the gentle art of strike-breaking. By this, it is not meant that we expect an opposite tendency from any government under capitalism, no matter how constituted. The Labour Government, however, has shown such respect for the interests of the employing class, and has served and is continuing to serve those interests so faithfully, that it is worthy of our special admiration.

After McGowen had issued his now famous manifesto to all "loyal citizens" to rally to the defence of the Gas Company in Sydney, and to take the place of the gas-workers on strike; after ferry-men, slaughtermen, railwaymen, ironworkers, etc., had been fined for daring to jeopardise the profits of their masters; after Labour Minister Griffiths had locked out workers at Redfern and ordered railwaymen who refused to transport scab material back to work under certain pains and penalties—one would think that a record of this kind in the short space of a few months, would be sufficient to convince even the most suspicious employer, of the Labour Government's zeal in protecting "private enterprise," in other words, the profits of Fat and Co.

Labour Ministers, however—our treacherous, scabby, flag-waving, jingoistic Labour Ministers—would seem to desire that there should be no possible doubt left in the minds of Boodle of their absolute loyalty to the existing economic system, and their determination to crush every symptom of discontent in its victims. So the coal miners' strike afforded them their opportunity. This gang of political sycophants, by the way, secured their soft billets and the plums of office owing to a strike amongst these same miners a few years ago. They induced the workers to believe that such a thing as leg-irons and tyranny would be impossible under a "labour" regime. And now we find Minister Estell, "one-time plain Jack Estell and fellow-miner to those at present on strike, taking the foremost part in concerted endeavour of employers and politicians to make the miners bend their backs to the lash of the coal barons. Such is the gratitude of the politician, be he ex-worker or ex-striker.

The doings of the Labour Government of New South Wales should, indeed, serve as a warning to the working-class, not alone of this country, but of the whole world. The capitalist State, no matter by whom its institutions are manned, must function as the protector of the economic system which gave it birth. "The law must be obeyed" cry all politicians, without exception.

In the cases under notice "the law" has been placed on the statute book by the Labour Government, and placed there, so they inform us, "in the interests of the workers themselves." Workers are so blind, of course, that they will go on week after week and month after month disobeying a law which is "in their interests"—it is only the politician who really sees what is good for them.

"Direct Action," right now, wishes to inform Holman, Estell, Griffiths and Co. that one of the objects of its existence is to educate the workers so to organise that they will one day be in a position to pass "a law" that all traitors to their class shall get short shrift at the nearest lamp-post.

There is hope of reforming the criminal, the prostitute, and even the ordinary scab, therefore we do not believe in punishment, as a rule. But the kind of individual who gains the confidence of the working class, and when freed from the cares and anxieties which are the daily portion of the average worker, turns round and not alone betrays the workers' interests but adds to their burdens, is a prostitute so low, a scab so vile, that the law of self-preservation will eventually compel the workers to treat such atavistic abortions as they would treat a mad dog that would bite the hand that fed it.

When wharf labourers received an increase of wages the other day, the masters and their press raised the usual cry that the industry could not afford it, and they would be obliged to "pass it on." Mr. E. E. Smith, one of the owners in the shipping company of that name, died recently leaving an estate sworn at £22,770. Oh, you "unreasonable" wharfies!

## THE ENDLESS CHAIN.

By Howison E. Hoover.

The masters, as in days of old,  
The slaves of Toil in bondage hold,  
And so they climb an endless hill;  
Upon the masters' slave treadmill;  
And every bright or cloudy morn,  
When rings the bell or toots the horn,  
The toilers crawl from shacks and dens,  
To tread the mill in wage slave pens  
And thus Toil's flesh in constant pain,  
Is racked upon the endless chain  
Of "Go to work  
To earn the cash  
To buy the food.  
To gain the strength  
To go to work," etc.

The more one struggles to produce  
The more he will his wage reduce;  
I'll competition of the strife  
Will pit against the man his wife;  
Against each other they will speed  
Until their children pit their need  
Against the twin—the game of pelf  
Where Toil's own blood dilutes itself—  
And thus around Toil spins again  
Upon the damning, soulless chain  
Of "Go to work," etc.

The faster toil hits up the speed  
The more he keeps for Shirk and  
Greed,  
The more compounds the misery  
Of all who toil in drudgery;  
The more he wins their snarling  
scorn  
Who Samson strength have from him  
shorn;  
The stronger fortifies their right;  
To bring upon him curse and blight;  
The more his nerves sear on his  
brain  
The curse of that unending chain  
Of "Go to work," etc.

That chain conducts us in the mine,  
Shanghai us on the salt sea brine,  
Enslaves us in diseased sweatshops,  
It drags us on through sewer slops;  
Snatches our sons while young and frail

And turns them villains, on crime's trail;  
It hurls our daughters prostitutes  
As offerings to gilded brutes;  
The Toiler's path of shame and pain,  
It is the racking, endless chain  
Of "Go to work," etc.

The foetus in the mother's womb  
The racking chain begins to doom;  
And from the mother's breast is torn  
In life by hellish greed and borne  
Away from all that makes man smile  
To all that's cursed, and damned, and vile;  
And from the infant's first-drawn  
breath  
We speed old-young conscripts to  
death  
In torture, misery and pain  
Upon the system's hellish chain  
Of "Go to work," etc.

It's tread, it's toil from youth to age  
To earn a non-supporting wage;  
It's slave and crawling from morn to  
night  
And fight our fellows for the right  
To frazzle nerves until they feel  
The brute inquisitorial steel  
In flesh like myriad needles prick,  
Their red-hot points piercing the  
quick,  
Until the flesh quivers with pain  
Upon the brutal, endless chain  
Of "Go to work," etc.

't may be sport and relished fun  
For those who feast and shirk and  
shun,  
But for the flesh racked out in pain,  
Which wakes from dreams to tread  
again,  
Or falls in fitful sleep to tread  
Away the life which toil has sped;  
It is Inquisitorial Hell  
For famished souls too dumb to tell  
The tortures of the endless strain  
Of flesh racked on the endless chain  
Of "Go to work," etc.

## 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 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 everyday 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. Treas. with Initiation Fee.

A troubled correspondent writes to the daily press enquiring "how to deal with an Empire Day flag, whether it should be "broken" or "unfriled." An important question of this kind should really be submitted to Lord Roberts, Billy Hughes, Senator Proctor, or prominent Imperialists of that type.

# SABOTAGE.

By Walker C. Smith.

No theory, no philosophy, no line of action is so good as claimed by its advocates nor so bad as painted by its critics. Sabotage is no exception to this rule. Sabotage, according to the capitalists and the political socialists, is synonymous with murder, rapine, arson, theft; is illogical, vile, unethical, reactionary, destructive of society itself. To many anarchist theorists it is the main weapon of industrial warfare; overshadowing mass solidarity, industrial formation, and disciplined action. Some even go so far as to claim that sabotage can usher in the new social order. Somewhere between these two extreme views can be found the truth about sabotage.

Three versions are given of the source of the word. The one best known is that a striking French weaver cast his wooden shoe—called a sabot—into the delicate mechanism of the loom upon leaving the mill. The confusion that resulted, acting to the workers' benefit, brought to the front a line of tactics that took the name of SABOTAGE. Slow work is also said to be at the basis of the word, the idea being that wooden shoes are clumsy and so prevent quick action on the part of the workers. The third idea is that Sabotage is coined from the slang term that means "putting the boots" to the employers by striking directly at their profits without leaving the job. The derivation, however, is unimportant. It is the thing itself that causes commotion among employers and politicians alike. What, then, is Sabotage?

Sabotage is the destruction of profits to gain a definite, revolutionary, economic end. It has many forms. It may mean the destroying of raw materials destined for a scab factory or shop. It may mean the spoiling of a finished product. It may mean the destruction of parts of machinery or the disarrangement of a whole machine where that machine is the one upon which the other machines are dependent for material. It may mean working slow. It may mean poor work. It may mean misdirecting packages, giving overweight to customers, pointing out defects in goods, using the best of materials where the employer desires adulteration, and also the telling of trade secrets. In fact, it has as many variations as there are different lines of work.

Note this important point, however. SABOTAGE DOES NOT SEEK NOR DESIRE TO TAKE HUMAN LIFE. Neither is it directed against the consumer except where wide publicity has been given that the sabotaged product is under the ban. A BOYCOTTED PRODUCT IS AT ALL TIMES A FIT SUBJECT FOR SABOTAGE. The aim is to hit the employer in his vital spot, his heart and soul, in other words, his pocketbook.

The consumer is struck only when he interposes himself between the two combatants.

On the other hand, sabotage is simply one of the many weapons in labour's arsenal. It is by no means the greatest one. Solidarity action is mightier than the greatest acts of a few. Industrial class formation gives a strength not to be obtained by mere tactics. Self-discipline and co-operative action are necessary if we are to build a new social order as well as destroy the old. Sabotage is merely a means to an end; a means that under certain conditions might be dispensed with and the end still gained.

Sabotage will sometimes be misused, flagrantly so; the same is true of every one of the weapons of labour. The main concern to revolutionists is whether the use of sabotage will destroy the power of the masters in such a manner as to give the workers a greater measure of industrial control. On that point depends its usefulness to the working class.

### II.

Sabotage is not a form of action brought forth from French conditions. It dates back to the earliest days of human exploitation. It is born of class struggles—of man's inhumanity to man. From serfdom to wage-slavery the enslaved class has instinctively tried to render less to the master than was expected of it. This unconscious sabotage shows the irreconcilable antagonism between capitalist and labourer, master and slave.

Sabotage was not formerly baptised as a word to describe a formula of social struggle until the Federal Congress of Tolson in 1897. Open advocacy of the idea, and conscious sabotage in place of instinctive action, began in France about this time. It had been preached in England and Scotland for many years before under the name of "Ca' Cannay." This phrase of Scotch origin meant "Go slow," or to be more literal, "Don't hurry up." From a publication, "The Social Museum," in 1889 the organised dockers of Glasgow demanded a ten per cent. increase of wages, but met with the refusal of the employers, and the dockers had to acknowledge defeat and return to work on the

old wage scale. But before the men resumed their work, their secretary of the union delivered to them the following address:—

"You are going back to work at the old wage. The employers have repeated time and again that they were delighted with the work of the agricultural labourers who had taken our places for several weeks during the strike. But we have seen them at work; we have seen that they could not even walk a vessel, that they dropped half of the merchandise they carried, in short, that two of them could hardly do the work of one of us. Nevertheless, the employers have declared themselves enchanted by the work of these fellows; well, then, there is nothing left for us but to do the same and to practice Ca' Cannay. Work as the agricultural labourers worked. Only they often fell into the water: it is useless for you to do the same."

"This order was obeyed to the letter. After a few days the contractor sent for the general secretary of the dockers and begged him to tell the dockers to work as before, and that they were ready to grant the ten per cent. increase."

Balzac, writing three quarters of a century ago, gave a good illustration of sabotage in describing the bloody uprising of Lyons in 1831.

"There have been many things said about the uprising of Lyons, of the republic cannonaded in the streets, but no one has told the truth. The republic seized the movement as an insurgent seizes a rifle.

"The commerce of Lyons is a commerce without courage; as soon as an ounce of silk is manufactured it is asked for and payment made at once. When the demand stops, the workers are dying of starvation; when they are working they are barely earning enough to live upon. The prisoners are more happy than they.

"After the July revolution misery reached the point where the workers were compelled to raise the standard, 'Bread or Death'—a standard which the government should have considered.

"The republicans had felt out the revolt and they organised the spinners who fought in double shifts. Lyons had its three days. Then everything became normal again and the poor went back to their dog kennels."

"The spinners who had until then transformed into useful goods the silk which was weighed to them in cocoons, laid aside probity. They began to grease their fingers with oil. With scrupulous ability they rendered the correct weight, but the silks were all specked with oil. The commerce of the silk manufacturers was infested with greasy goods, which caused a loss to Lyons and to a portion of the French commerce."

This action, as Balzac points out, was nothing more than the workers taking revenge for having been the victims of bayonets when they had asked for bread. But sabotage is something more than simply the equivalent for oppression received: it has an economic foundation.

### III.

There exists a labour market in which the wage workers sell their power to perform various tasks asked of them by the purchasers—the employing class. The labour power of the workers is a commodity. In selling their merchandise the workers must sell themselves along with it. Therefore they are slaves—wage slaves. In purchasing goods from a merchant one receives an inferior quality for a low price. For a low price—poor products. If this applies to hats and shoes, why not equally to the commodity sold by the labourer? It is from this reasoning that there arises the idea: FOR POOR WAGES, BAD WORK. This thought is a natural one even to those who agree with society as it is now constituted. To those who do not look upon the wage system as a finality, and who have come to regard the employers in their true light—as thieves of the labourer's product—the idea of sabotage commends itself most strongly.

Economists have shown that the wages of the workers are not determined by their product. Wages are simply the market price of the commodity called LABOUR POWER. Wages are not raised or lowered as the productivity of the worker ebbs and flows. They are conditioned upon the supply and demand, the standard of living where the wages are paid, and the relative strengths of the organisations of the workers and employers. Not many wage workers have studied the deeper economists, but the ditch digger knows that when he has finished the ditch upon which he is at work he must hunt another master. He instinctively slows up. Self-preservation is one of the first laws of nature. His action has value from a class standpoint, for either more ditch diggers must be employed to complete the work within a given time, or else there is less competition in the labour market for those extra days he labours.

(To be Continued.)

## Trades' Unionism.

### Why it has Proven Useless.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century great skill was necessary to apply the tools to the natural resources of the earth, and fashion them into useful articles, and long apprenticeships were required before proficiency was attained.

Upon this skill was based the structure of Trade Unionism, which was the only logical form which could arise from the craft or skilled form of production; consequently Trade Unionism was then most scientific and effective.

With the advent of machinery into the industrial arena, the days of the skilled were numbered. Every new machine which is placed in the mills, mines, and factories, embodies not only the labour of the workers, but also a certain amount of their skill. As the machines become more and more perfect, the skill necessary to use them is constantly diminishing, and it is only a matter of time before all skill will completely disappear.

As I have said before, Trade Unionism was based upon the skill which was formerly required to use the tools of production; but as skill is being displaced by the machine, and an ever-increasing number of the workers are unskilled labourers, the foundation is being taken from under it, therefore it must be thrown on the scrap-heap and something more modern must take its place.

Owing to the fact that the workers

have hung on tenaciously to this obsolete form of organisation, Trade Unionism, instead of being beneficial, is now detrimental to the interests of the working-class, insofar as it keeps them divided into hundreds of little unions, when, to fight the trustified organisation of the employers, they should have only one union. With the workers in the same industry divided into, perhaps, a dozen unions, when one union goes on strike, the other workers remain at work, thus scabbing upon the strikers and defeating them. This "union scabbery" is inseparable from Trade Unionism under modern conditions.

A review of the strikes which have taken place in the last ten years will convince the unbiased reader that Trade Unionism has outgrown its usefulness, and now only exists upon the traditions of the past and the conservatism of its members. Despite the hard and bitter fights which they have put up, despite the suffering and privation which always results from a badly organised strike, the militant workers have met, and are meeting more and more as time goes on, with defeat. In many cases they have gained that they are not sufficiently organised; but in few, if any cases, have they been wholly successful.

The concentration of capital which is constantly going on everywhere must be met by a like concentration on the part of the workers, to protect their labour-power, and sell it to the employing class as dearly as possible. The only way to defeat a trust is by creating a stronger one. At the present time there are 1338 Trade Unions

in Australia, each acting independently, fighting its own battles, and being beaten by other unionists and who will say that "One Big Union," as advocated by the I.W.W. would not be immeasurably more powerful than 1338 small ones.

Trade Unionism has proven in hundreds of hard-fought battles that its machinery is obsolete and rusty; it must be replaced by the machinery of Industrial Unionism, which is the organisation of the future, and is destined to make possible a freer, nobler, and happier life for all who toil.

F. J. CALLANAN.

## Broken Hill Activities.

Broken Hill Local is still to the front, carrying on active propaganda. —flow-workers Carter and Anthony every Sunday evening are engaged in spreading the gospel of Industrial Unionism, assisted by Fellow-worker Bryant, who recently arrived from the holy city. Our meetings are being well attended, and results in the shape of increased membership, especially during the past month, have been particularly gratifying. All of which goes to show that our message is gradually getting hold in the Barrier as elsewhere.

We are, of course, meeting with the usual opposition from Craft Union officials and would-be politicians, but such opposition is, in itself, a justification for our existence.

Literature sales and sales of "Direct Action" are also making progress.

The non-union era is still being carried on by the Craft Unions. They are enforcing membership without attempting to teach what Unionism really means, for the very good reason that they do not know themselves. By compelling workers to join the various crafts, however, increases can be made a financial boost given to some useless political party.

On May 10th another slave was murdered on the altar of capitalism, and again on May 23rd still another victim was claimed by the dividend-mongers of this industrial hell-hole. Well might the poet exclaim on the workers' behalf:—

"There's never a wise blown sky-ward now,  
But we're buried alive for you.  
There's never a wreck drifts shoreward now,  
But we are its ghastly crew.  
Go, search for our dead by the forges red,  
In the factories where we spin;  
And if blood be the price of all your wealth,  
Good God! we have paid it in."  
Get wise, fellow-slaves, and organise in such a manner that you will be powerful enough to put a stop to this murderous system of exploitation. One Big Union of the working class is the need of the hour. Join the I.W.W. and help us fight your own battle and ours.

A. O'M.

## "Our" Ironworks.

Hoskens and Co., whose ironworks are about to be sold to the Government, are most generous people. They do not want cash in payment, but will be content with Government bonds. The slaves employed in "our" ironworks will also be expected to be content because they will be deprived of the product of their labour in the shape of interest instead of profits, as hitherto.

This is what the sophistry of politicians calls going a "step at a time." It is certainly a further step in the direction of securing the boss's well-being. It relieves him of the necessity of giving even that "directive ability" which is such a vital factor in production if capitalist economists are to be believed.

The "directive ability" of Hoskens will henceforth be represented by interest-bearing bonds upon which Hoskens and his posterity will live happily for ever and—until the workers wake up.

It was once proposed that the slaves of ancient Rome should be distinguished by a special dress, but the proposition was abandoned because their number was so great that to reveal to them their strength would be to place the city at their mercy. The moral is: Workers, realise your power.

## Stock Literature

We have the following literature in stock:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

