

# DIRECT ACTION



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ONE PENNY.

## “Educating” the Worker.

### Professorial “Arguments.”

Professor Atkinson, University teacher of Economics to the Workers' Educational Association, an organisation which has such "intellectuals" as Mr Wm. Hughes and Judge Heydon on its lecture platform in Australia, delivered the first of a series of lectures, under the auspices of that body, at the Trades' Hall a few evenings ago.

The subject of the address was "Industrial Unrest." The Professor gave a short resume of industrial history in leading up to the subject matter of his address. In dealing with the Industrial Revolution which began in the 18th century, Professor Atkinson informs us that it was not the introduction of machinery, but the introduction of power, which produced unemployment. "An evidence of this," he states, "is the charge levelled against the early railway that it would displace the horse; of course horses were not required for the same purpose, but a vastly greater number of horses were used in other ways." It would seem that unemployed horses, according to Professor Atkinson, are part and parcel of the unemployed population.

To say that it was not the introduction of machinery, but the introduction of power, which produced unemployment is merely a Professor's method of displaying "knowledge." If Professor Atkinson can think of power without machinery or machinery without power, so far as the production of wealth is concerned, and demonstrate that one without the other constitutes a problem of any kind worthy of consideration, he is certainly something in the "economist's" business.

"The real effect of the introduction of machinery is to increase the demand for labor, because the demand for the product is increased," he argues. If this were really the case, and the proposition is absurd on the face of it, the Professor approaches the question from the point of view of a man who believes that unemployment in itself constitutes the social problem, instead of being merely part of it. The problem in that case would be easy of solution. Digging holes in the earth and filling them up again, or listening to "intellectual" idlers giving lectures on economics to workers, would be at least two ways out of the difficulty. The real evil—and this is the "social problem," Professor—arises from the fact that one set of unemployed who own everything deny access to the means of production to another set who own nothing.

In view of the marvellous development of machinery during the past three quarters of a century, one would think that the unemployment problem would be a thing unknown, if, as Professor Atkinson contends, the real effect of machine production is to increase the demand for labor. But, of course, everybody but a Professor can see that the problem has grown side by side with the introduction of machinery, grown to such a degree that the capitalist class are at their wits' end to discover some method of concealing its real cause from those whom the problem most vitally affects. The W. E. A. is a case in point.

"The social problem is known to-day as the unemployment problem," the Professor goes on to say. "Machinery is responsible for some of the social problem, but it is not responsible for creating unemployment." This is not very lucid, but one must attribute the inconsistency

to an overweening desire to help the workers to a clearer understanding of economics. It is only a professor who is privileged to call blundering statements of this kind a "scientific" lecture.

"Of the causes of the immense booms and depressions, there is still an acute difference of opinion among economists," said the lecturer. Not a doubt of it. They are paid to differ. The worker, however, has a hazy notion that when a boom is on he is to be speeded to the limit of physical endurance in order to supply the social demand. The same boom, as to the cause of which the Professor is dubious, produces in its turn the inevitable over-supply, with the resultant depression and unemployment. According to Professor Atkinson, "certain movements" have followed these booms and depressions. They affect the marriage rate and the banking rate; foreign trade, registry offices and churches; the phenomena have even manifested themselves in the consumption of beer and other food-stuffs. "And," he adds, "it is from these parallelisms that we must get the causes of the unemployment problem." How that word, "parallelisms," must have impressed the W.E.A. students with the professors' vast knowledge of economics.

Now, one cannot suppose that the Professor is so lost in the clouds, and so utterly ignorant of the mundane affairs with which he is supposed to be dealing, that he does not know that if the worker becomes unemployed through the "consumption of beer," it is because a more sober slave has been found to take his place; therefore the actual number of unemployed is not affected. Indeed, if one were to follow the Professor's "method" of reasoning, and look at unemployment as at evil in itself, the conclusion would be that the consumer of beer is in reality a benefactor, in so far as he provides employment for those engaged in its production. As for the other "certain movements" referred to, while they may be affected by unemployment to say that the CAUSE must be found there is the height of even professorial absurdity.

"The problem is part of the price we pay for the enormous expansion of commerce in the nineteenth century," said the Professor, as if the class for which he speaks were really affected by sight of the unemployed "stiff" whom they have plundered and exploited.

The "enormous expansion of commerce" is merely a polite term of the Professor's for the rapacious maw of the god, Profit. This god takes no account of human beings and human suffering in his mad desire to reach out for loot. To speak of "remedying" a system, as does Professor Atkinson, which permits the rapacity of the few, by virtue of their ownership of the means of production, to be the guiding principle in economic affairs, is equivalent to expecting the leopard to change his spots.

No, my dear Professor, figs don't grow on thistles. But don't worry your weary soul about the "remedy." Unemployment is not going to be solved by dialectical humberg. It will be solved by the "ignorant," "unwashed," mob; the working-class, whom you and your class despise. Is it not Tolstoi who states that the peasant in revolt is infinitely wiser than the learned philosopher who apologises for his chains.

T. GLYNN.

## I.W.W. VICTORY IN PORT PIRIE

The fight for free speech waged by the I.W.W. in Port Pirie, has been won. The "authorities" who set the law in motion were for once compelled to recognise an authority and a power greater than themselves, the power of working-class solidarity. The fighting spirit, and the unswerving devotion to principle which characterises members of the I.W.W. the world over, were something which the "powers that be" had not estimated in their calculations.

The following letter, written from Port Pirie in the thick of the fight, is illustrative of the spirit, the joyful enthusiasm, with which members of the organisation enter into a conflict of this kind:—

"We were having a hell of a grand fight in this old town. When the fellow-workers of Port Pirie sent out their "S.O.S." for help. We came by rail and boat, on bikes, tired legs and blistered feet, to show to the world that our solidarity was not a vain empty boast, and to demonstrate by precept and example that an injury to one was in reality an injury to all.

At our next meeting the police tried to ride us down with their horses, but we beat them every time, accompanied by roars of applause from the three thousand workers who constituted our audience.

When those who were summoned appeared in the "sacred" court of justice, they refused to kiss the dirty old book of capitalism. Chunks of I.W.W.ism were heaved at the J.P. on the bench, and his call for "silence" greeted with a hilarious and hearty laugh. Law and Order has got hell here this week. We flout their law, slang the police, and tell the working-class that the Law is the Boss and the workers are the "ordered." If they organise on I.W.W. lines we will soon alter the old order of things.

The police took six more names last night, but that won't damp our spirits. They can gaoil us or trample our faces in the dirty streets of Port Pirie, but they can never take from us the militant spirit that permeates the breast of every member of the Industrial Workers of the World. We will fight this fight with passionate devotion to our principles, and we mean to win, irrespective of the sacrifices to be made.

We are hoboes and scamps and tired tramps,  
But we love our Union well;  
Our spirit won't fail, we will die in goal,  
And smile in the flames of hell.  
—TOM McMILLAN.

Almost simultaneously with the arrival of the above letter, telegraphic news from the scene of action informed us that the Mayor, who was apparently the Boss's tool in this case, had given instructions to the police that no more prosecutions should be instituted.

At time of writing, rebels in Pirie had begun a fresh agitation for the release of those already imprisoned.

## War in the Domain.

### Labor Government Hirelings Answer The Bosses' Call.

#### Sydney Prosecutions.

Once again the I.W.W. has justified its existence in Australia by reason of the fact that its members are being marked down for police persecution at the instance of the hirelings of the master class.

This time the tool of the masters who figures prominently in the limelight is Mr. Maiden, Government Botanist, who has, for reasons best known to himself, attempted to suppress the sale of I.W.W. papers and literature in the public Domain on Sunday afternoons. This is not the first time that Mr. Maiden has taken upon his shoulders the censorship of public morals, for he has expressed himself on a former occasion to a committee of the I.W.W. that if he had his way, what he calls the "inflammatory propaganda" of the organisation would be entirely suppressed. Our quarrel, however, is not with Mr. Maiden, but with those whose obedient catspaw he is, the employing class of this country, and the scabby Labor Government which is so eager on all occasions to do their dirty work.

Before this reaches the hand of the reader, several members of the I.W.W. will have appeared in Court to answer the heinous charge of disobeying the dictates of the "powers that be" in circulating the principles of the organisation by selling its literature. The usual result of Police Court prosecutions may be looked forward to, for justice is as scarce for the worker in a capitalist Court as water is in hell for the legal thugs of capitalism.

Seeing that the Labor Government of this country is so utterly lost to all sense of personal honesty and public decency, that they summons and punish those very Unionists who voted them into the plums of office, it is no cause for surprise that the I.W.W., to whom no such debt of gratitude is owing, should be persecuted in a similar manner.

It is just here, however, that the "great" Labor Government is making a huge mistake. The Trade Unions of this country for the past twenty years have placed such implicit faith in the infallibility of Parliaments, and have sunk themselves so deeply in the mire

of politics, that if the average member were told by the Holmans and the Fishers that physical torture with the lash was appropriate punishment for striking, so soundly is he hypnotised that he would bare his shoulders without a murmur and say "thank you" after the performance.

But right here we wish to remind scabby Holman and his traitorous colleagues that when they attempt to strangle the I.W.W., they are dealing with an organisation that is suffering from no delusions of that kind. And when they endeavour to suppress our literature or our opinions, instead of being meekly submissive, we are going to retaliate with all the tactics and all the resources at our disposal.

If the Labor Government and their capitalist masters have not yet learnt what those tactics and resources are, we are going to teach them in the bitter school of experience. Future developments in this case will determine the tactics to be adopted. Meanwhile, if it is any consolation to the employers and their political henchmen, we have much pleasure in informing them that since they initiated their campaign our literature sales in the Domain and elsewhere have been more than trebled. Further, that we hereby challenge the employing class and their political, judicial and legal vampires to do their damned and vile work in any damned and vile manner they may choose.

The I.W.W. principles and those who propagate them will be remembered by emancipated and grateful workers when the very names of politicians and policemen, judges and magistrates, and all the host of parasitical leeches who batten on plundered toil, will stink in the nostrils of all justice-loving men and women.

Selling literature in the Domain is merely a skirmish in the greater battle before us. All rebellious slaves are invited to watch developments. With your assistance victory in these skirmishes, and in the greater conflicts to come, is assured. But with or without it, we can make victory so costly to our enemies that defeat would be welcome to them in comparison.

Suppress the I.W.W.! Too late, my masters! Too late!

Indications point to the fact that the master class, and their political henchmen of all parties in Australia, are now thoroughly alive to the danger which besets their interests by the growth of the I.W.W., and its propoaganda. Henceforward, the organisation will have to fight every inch of the way. The fight in Sydney, referred to in another portion of this issue, is merely a continuation of the war on the I.W.W. begun at Port Pirie. But the Law and the police, and the master class who stand behind them, will yet eat humble pie in Sydney, at the hands of the I.W.W., before this fight is over.

Congratulations to the rebels of Broken Hill, Adelaide and Pirie, on the victory gained. But do not rest on your laurels. Sydney may need you, and if it does, we know you will respond.

It is rumored that the local branch of the S.D.P. in Auckland has purchased all the timber from the Exhibition. It is to be used to provide further planks for their platform. Wood and sophistry are the main constituents of labor politicians the world over.

# Direct Action



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## "INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY."

The "Sydney Morning Herald" has discovered a new prodigy "in a student of political economy from Copenhagen," named Mr. W. Borberg.

The "student of political economy from Copenhagen" has some very interesting things to say on what he calls the "science of work." As Mr. Borberg, according to the "Herald," has spent the last three years travelling in Europe, America, China, Japan and New Zealand, he must certainly be some authority on work. Comfortable Pullman cars and the palatial environment of the modern ocean liner in which "students of political economy" generally travel, are ideal places from which to study the subject.

Says Mr. Borberg, "There had been a great amount of time spent by scientists on almost every subject, but man in his relation to work, with a view to getting the best out of a worker, had not been studied as much as the importance of the subject warranted."

The students of political economy of the type to which Mr. Borberg belongs, have all along of course directed their intelligence and energy towards exploiting the brains of genius with a view to perfecting mechanical appliances, but now that they have "discovered" that the human machine still remains a factor in production, they are directing their efforts towards perfecting him.

Perhaps, by the way, Mr. Borberg would prefer to use the pronoun "it" in this connection, because in the eyes of this "student of political economy from Copenhagen," the worker is merely considered a cog in the machine of production, and of course, of less importance than the machine itself. In common with other cogs in the machine, the worker, according to the "industrial efficiency" philosopher, is to consider himself part of the machine only. So long as the usual amount of "grease" (and dope) required to keep him in working order is forth-

coming at the proper moment, he is to be but an animated cog, mindless, soulless, without human feeling, human frailty or human hope. Indeed, Mr. Borberg's sense of efficiency was quite outraged, so he tells us, when informed by the manager of a great industrial concern in the United States, that these human cogs were so unconcerned about his "science of work," that they had the cheek "to drop dead at their machines on account of heart failure." The "student of political economy from Copenhagen" appears to be quite upset because science has not yet been able to throw any light on the problem of how human machines can be brought into the world without hearts and other little failings of that kind.

Up-to-date capitalism in the United States, however, according to Mr. Borberg, and to his intense satisfaction, has got over this difficulty by only employing those who most nearly approach this state of perfection. As for the others who do not come up to the required standard, well, what does it matter about a useless cog or so, anyhow. Millions of them are yearly scrapped with ease.

The Taylor and Gilbreth scientific system of management, Mr. Borberg informs us, "has been described as a refined form of sweating those who do not know it." These latter, of course, are the sweated workers who foolishly complain. What can an over-sweated cog at the modern "efficiency system, know about the "science of work," in comparison with an intellectual Ajax like "a student of political economy from Copenhagen."

"We are all vitally interested in this science of work," argues Mr. Borberg, "wherever you have industrial inefficiency the community has got to pay for it."

The "all" and the "community" are the class to which he apparently belongs and for which he undoubtedly speaks. The only "science" of work that interests this class is the science of how to work others. As for the "community," that vast portion of it which goes to make up the human cogs in this monstrous industrial machine of capitalism, has nothing to lose. They receive nought but the necessary amount of oil to keep them in physical trim. The "organically unfit" to whom Mr. Borberg refers in another place, also, it is admitted, constitute a fair proportion. But their share of what the "community" may lose can only amount at worst to some few soup-kitchens, goals, workhouses, and asylums.

Mr. Borberg hopes that the workers through their Unions will interest themselves in this efficiency campaign. "Direct Action" echoes the wish. The result of their study will scarcely be that which the "student of political economy from Copenhagen" would desire.

T. GLYNN.

## ORGANISATION AND WHY.

Organisation has always been the determining factor in the progress of the human race. The unionism of the units of a race or class to gain a common end is an instinct which has always spelt victory for those who have united.

The whole structure of capitalist society rests upon the power of the master-class to keep the workers in subjection. The exploitation of the proletariat by the employing-class through the ownership and control of industry is based upon the economic force of starvation, which is

wielded by the master-class. As it is in the industries that we are exploited, then it is there that we must exert our force to counteract that of the employers. This can only be done by an industrial 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."

A study of history reveals the fact that any concession which the oppressed have ever wrung from their oppressors has always been gained by direct action upon the cause of their oppression. The lesson to be learned from the past is that it is only by solidarity that we can accomplish anything; and any action other than that by the workers themselves is futile.

Think for a moment of the foolishness of a general who would send one regiment at a time against the united forces of the enemy. To do so would be to court failure. Yet, that is exactly what craft-unionism means under modern conditions. Trade Unionism is not organisation, since it divides the workers into as many parts as there are trades, thus making common action impossible.

It is only by solidarity that we can ever free ourselves from wage-slavery and the poverty and suffering which are the result of exploitation. Divided we would be defeated, but a united working-class is invincible.

The capitalist class are organised industrially and internationally. They realise that the trend of modern progress towards greater and still greater trustification of industry, consequently of organisation, and they have kept pace with the march of the labour-displacing and skill-displacing machine. The working-class on the other hand have retained the old forms of organisation which have degenerated into institutions of scabbery. If we are to progress, and we must, whether we like it or not, then these obsolete methods of craft unionism must be cast aside, to give place to Industrial Unionism.

Industrial Unionism for the first time in the history of the world wipes out all those racial prejudices which for centuries have divided the workers. It embraces all who toil, whether skilled or unskilled, regardless of creed, colour or sex. The One Big Union means in a few words, the welding together of the workers, first into a union of the particular industry in which they may be employed, and thence into a powerful organisation of the working-class, international in its scope, based upon the struggle which has for thousands of years raged furiously between the ruling class and those whom they ruled.

Such an organisation is absolutely necessary for the emancipation of the working-class, and if they are to carry the coming revolution to a successful conclusion.

Recognising that the interest of all workers are identical, the I.W.W. seeks to organise them without division, and with this feeling of solidarity permeating their ranks, they will march forward to the consummation of that grand ideal, the World for the Workers.

Hardly less important that organisation is the question of tactics, and here, as in everything else, the I.W.W. is scientific and modern. Discarding the starvation strikes of craft-unionism as useless, they replace it with the well-organised General Strike. In the armoury of the Industrial Unionist is that most scientific of weapons, S.A.B.O.T.A.G.E., which is explained fully on another page. There also are to be found the "irritation" strike, that is, a series of short strikes for the

# The Race Soul Call.

By COVINGTON HALL.

Hear me, ye who sit in purple splendour 'round old Mammon's throne!  
Hear me, all ye sons of Moloch, ye who make the race to mourn!  
Hear me, too, ye tinselled marshals leading their embattled slaves!  
Hear me, too, ye pand ring statesmen, guarding where their black flag waves.

Hear me, all ye hireling teachers, all ye priesthoods who have sold  
Truth, the Itoly Spirit, and have turned Love's glowing words to shrine;  
Hear me, all ye house of Mammon, all ye who bend at Moloch's shrine;  
We, the workers, soon are coming in a fury all divine.

Heart aflame, and by love driven, nation parted now no more,  
We are gathering for the battle that the seers foretold of yore;  
From all peoples we are coming, far and wide the world around,  
And the right shall not be ended till the last slave's freedom's found,  
There shall be, when we have finished, for the children home and hearth,  
And the songs of happy mothers shall be heard throughout the earth;  
There shall be no fallen women, there shall be no broken men,  
There shall be no homeless outcasts on the broad earth's bosom then.

All the steel that now surrounds you naked-handed we shall break;  
All the laws that now protect you, these as nothing we shall make;  
All the words of your false prophets, until you shall be as dust,  
And the spiders seal the temples where your stricken idols rust.  
All your gilded, glittering savagery our hands shall sweep away;  
And the maidens you have ruined shall demand of you their pay.  
All your monstrous art shall perish from the earth's insulted plain—  
All your recking, hovel cities shall go back to hell again!

There shall be no king above us, there shall be no slave below;  
There in Labour's Grand Republic, only freedom shall we know!  
We are gathering, we are coming, far and wide the world around;  
Truth, the north-star of our legions; all the world our battleground.  
Arming, coming in love anger, marching forward by its light,  
Coming, coming, hungry-hearted for the long-expected fight,  
Coming, coming from our thraldom, coming victors over all,  
We have heard the World Will speaking, We have heard the Race Soul Call!

## 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 every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organising industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

## How to Join.

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

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

Name  
Occupation  
Industry  
Street Address  
City  
State

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

To Local Union No.

Initiation

By

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

purpose of dislocating the industry in which the strikes are taking place. And also the "Go slow," or lazy strike, which means a reduction of the amount of work done until the boss comes through with the demands. These are but some of

the methods of the modern rebel in the everyday struggle with the master-class, which are destined to destroy little by little the citadel of capitalism and rear in its stead the Industrial Commonwealth.  
F. J. CALLANAN.



# SABOTAGE.

By WALKER C. SMITH.

One of the repressive forces of capitalism, the militia, can be made useless by the extension of the use of sabotage. One saboteur can make business toys of the entire equipment of a company. When a trainload of soldiers are dispatched to a strike scene, where they always act in the interests of the employers, the train can be sabotaged. In Parma, Italy, for example, the farm labourers struck. Soldiers were ordered to the scene. The engineers refused to pull the train from the depot. Volunteers to man the engines were secured from the ranks of the soldiers. When these scabs entered the cab they found that some vital part of each engine had been misplaced. They were forced to walk to Parma. Bridges disappeared in advance of the line of march. When the weary and disgusted troops arrived at the scene of the agricultural strike they found that the strikers had won and were back at work.

Realising that the railroads are the arteries of commerce the capitalists of this country have practically purchased the engineers by a high wage and the establishment of an aristocracy of labour. But a few rebels are bound to creep into their ranks. Even if every one of them remained a traitor to the workers by being loyal to the employers, still they could not escape sabotage. A bar of soap in the boiler would keep the soldiers at home or else force them to march to the strike. If this were not possible, there are water tanks where the tender must be filled and the saboteur can "Let the Gold Dust Twins do the work."

In case of wars, which every intelligent worker knows are wholesale murders of workers to enrich the master class, there is no weapon so powerful to defeat the employers as sabotage by the rebellious workers in the two warring countries. Sabotage will put a stop to war when revolutions, parliamentary appeals and even a call for general refusal to serve, are impotent. But, as stated before, sabotage is but one phase of the question. Anti-military and anti-patriotic agitation must also be carried on.

## VII.

Sabotage is a mighty force as a revolutionary tactic against the repressive forces of capitalism, whether those repressions be direct or through the State.

"It is guerilla warfare," is another cry against sabotage. Well, what of it? Has not guerilla warfare proven itself to be a useful thing to repel invaders and to make gains for one or the other of the opposing forces? Do not the capitalists use guerilla warfare? Guerilla warfare brings out the courage of individuals it develops initiative, daring, resoluteness, and audacity. Sabotage does the same for its users. It is to the social war what guerillas are to national wars. If it does no more harm than to awaken a portion of the workers from their lethargy it will have been justified. But it will do more than that; it will keep the workers awake and will incite them to do battle with the masters. It will give added hope to the militant minority, the few who always bear the brunt of the struggle.

If one glances at the methods of national warfare to-day they can see the tendency toward the abandonment of close formation in battle, the appeal to individual action in times of conflict, the adoption of uniforms that match natural surroundings so as to allow secrecy of movement, the use of smokeless powder, and other devices that are the natural equipment of the guerilla fighter. The saboteur is the sharp-shooter of the revolution. He has the courage and the daring to invade the enemy's country in the uniform of a "loyal," that is to say—subservient, worker. But he knows that loyalty to the employer means treason to his class. Sabotage is the smokeless powder of the social war. It scores a hit, while its source is seldom detected. It is so universally feared by the employers that they do not even desire that it be condemned for fear the slave class may learn still more its great value.

Indeed, it can be seen that the masters are powerless in the face of this weapon. In the realm of production the masters do not enter except by indirection. The creation of wealth is the work of the wage slave class, and every tendency of this class is toward sabotage.

The time clock has come as a sign that the boss recognises the instinctive sabotage that is universal. In many establishments there is even a time clock in front of each toilet, with a time limit for the toilets to remain inside. But where is there a factory that has not its saboteurs who show their class solidarity by ringing in time for some of their fellow workers? In many establishments the time clock has an unaccountable habit of getting out of order and so costing the firm more than the amount of labour time saved otherwise. As a check against the spread of sabotage the employers have paid their writers to tell tales of how success in life is sure to attend the worker who does not watch the clock and who endeavours at every opportunity to save money for the employer. But there are more and more of the workers who are coming to see that any saving that is made is not reflected in their pay envelope but simply means larger profits to those who are

already getting the bulk of the good things of life. They also know that where one might possibly forge ahead by being a "boss-lover," the same line of action on the part of the whole force would reduce the number of employees needed and probably result in their dismissal. Knowing this they are scornful of Elbert Hubbard's veiled preachments against sabotage.

Those who denounce sabotage as "unfair" are also seen to be supporters of the kind of unions that notify the employers six months in advance of a strike thus allowing them to procure scabs or to stock-pile so as to have material with which to supply the demand for goods while the workers are starving. The same moralists also hold that it is wrong for miners to call out the pumpmen on strike because the mines would flood, ignoring the fact that such action would quickly bring the employer to terms.

## VIII.

The warfare a flank movement is always feared by each of the opposing forces. In the social war sabotage is the best kind of flank movement upon our enemy—the employing class. An actual instance will serve to illustrate the point.

On an orchard farm in the State of Washington a disagreement arose over the conditions of the job. A strike took place. The I.W.W. members among the strikers immediately telephoned to the local union in the nearest city. When the employer arrived in town looking for a new crew he was rather surprised at his speedy success. Full fare was paid for the men and the railway train was boarded. At the first stop, about two miles from the city, the whole crew deserted the train. They were all members of the union. Returning to the city the farmer picked up a second crew. He arranged to have them pay their own fare, same to be refunded upon their arrival at the farm. This crew went through all right and worked for a while under the farmer's direction. Thinking the strike was successfully broken the employer finally busied himself with other matters for the rest of the day. Next morning upon visiting the work the farmer was surprised to find that 1000 young trees had been planted upside down, their roots waving in the breeze as a mute evidence of solidarity and sabotage. No further argument was needed to convince the farmer of the "justice" of the demands of the original crew.

This instance also shows that sabotage is not always an individual tactic. It oftentimes develops into mass action. Slowing up on the job is the most frequent form of mass sabotage, but a commonly related incident shows one of its other forms.

A gang of section men working on a railroad in Indiana were notified of a cut in their wages. The workers immediately took their shovels to the blacksmith shop and cut two inches from the scoops. Returning to work they told the boss: "Short pay, short shovels."

Every cut in wages is met by a decrease in efficiency on the part of the workers. It remains for the militants to show that mass sabotage can be used to counteract the decreased wages that do not appear in terms of money but arise from the higher cost of living. When this is plain to the workers it will be a step for them to use sabotage as a lever by which to raise wages, and in the hands of the most rebellious as a means to destroy profits utterly. For the piece workers other methods of sabotage must be used. They, naturally enough, are not interested in diminishing their product. Sabotage can be used in the quality or upon the materials and tools. It is useless to try to give all the different methods that are capable of being used. Each line of work dictates its own methods.

The one point must ever be borne in mind, however, that sabotage is not directed toward the consumer. The reason for sabotage is to strike a blow at the employing class profits, and that is the thing that must always be uppermost in the mind of the saboteur. But take a theatre strike, where patrons are fully aware that a boycott is on, and the consumer—the playgoer—is then considered an ally of the employer and therefore to be treated as an enemy. The motion picture operators, especially in Chicago, have used sabotage to good advantage to clear the houses of unfair patrons. They simply dropped some vile smelling chemicals upon the floor during the performance and then made a quiet and speedy exit. The audience generally followed the example within a short time. This method was used only after an extensive boycott of the theatre in question had been advertised.

It is quite natural that the employing class try to have it generally understood that sabotage means poisoning soup, putting ground glass in bread, dynamiting buildings and the like, so the revolutionists must at all times emphasize on the point that sabotage is not aimed at the consumer but at the heart and soul of the employing class—the pocket-book.

To Be Continued.

## CAPITALISM AND MURDER.

The capitalist press is giving columns of hypocritical bunkum to the murder of a parasitical tyrant with the title of the Archduke of Austria.

Over 200 miners were murdered, buried alive, in a coal mine in British Columbia a few days previously, and the same sheets that pretend to be appalled over the shedding of blood, noticed the incident to the extent of a line or two. Of course, these unfortunate miners were not blue blooded parasites, only red blooded workers.

Tearful pictures were drawn of the orphans who were left, as a result of the murder of the Archduke and his wife. The greater part of a township was left widowed and fatherless as a result of the "accident" in British Columbia; but as capitalism has a superfluity of wage-slaves, its press has no tears to waste over trifles of that kind.

The children of the Archduke will be well cared for; fed on the best, petted and pampered, educated in the best of schools, and brought up in parasitical idleness like their ancestors before them. Their lives are freed from the sordid cares which are the daily portion of the slaves of capitalism, old and young.

The Governor-general of Australia

sent a message to the effect that Australia was plunged in grief over the Austrian affair.

The holocaust in British Columbia was not considered worthy of "His Excellency's" august attention. Wage-slaves, the scum of the earth, dead or alive, why should they disturb the reflections of titled idlers by getting killed—or killing others.

We have not seen any evidence, by the way, of the grief referred to by the G.G. The Australian workers, like workers the world over, have too much to worry about on their own account without being troubled with the "cares" of "royal" parasites. They have cared for that class some centuries too long.

## OUR OWN PRESS.

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

To All Australian Locals 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-out revolutionary principles.

A heavy instalment has been paid on the press but we are still in debt to the extent of about £25. 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 place 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.

You will find a Press Fund open in another column of this 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.

## Stock Literature

We have the following literature in stock—

One Big Union, An Outline of a Feasible 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, Ettor and Ciovanitti Case, The Lawrence Strike, And what is the I.W.W. Price 3d.

The I.W.W. It's 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. Ettor. 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 600 words if possible.



"MAD MULLAHS" AND BLIND ALLEYS.

It is marvellous how irrational some ballot-box revolutionists become when discussing the I.W.W.

A N.Z. paper on exchange, for instance, belches forth at "the Mad Mullahs, who advocate, throwing the ballot box to the place where Pat Hickey consigned agreements some years ago."

Now, it does not necessarily mean that the ballot box is useful because the majority of Radical workers in N.Z. or any other country, deem it to be useful. Majorities are very seldom right, and the Labour movement itself, is by no means an exception to this rule.

Peter Kropotkin is an anti-Parliamentarian, and I don't think that anyone, who has read the valuable works of the eminent Russian scientist, would call him a Mad Mullah, just because he has no use for the ballot box.

The I.W.W. bases its organisation upon the fact that all social questions have been, are and will be settled by might—that is, while Capitalism exists.

The reason why the ruling class are so powerful is because they have control of the industries, and jobs, and consequently exercise control working class, who, from necessity, must sell their labouring power to this ruling class.

The reason why the workers are in this position is due to the fact that they have not organised their commodity, Labour power, so as to monopolise it, and eliminate the fratricidal competition for jobs.

If the workers are organised industrially, as the I.W.W. advocates, their control of the job must be reflected in the field of politics.

How, in the name of conscience, politicians of a so-called working class variety are going to make any difference to the workers industrially is a thing I can't understand.

The I.W.W. takes up the non-political attitude, because it is first and last an economic organisation. It claims that it has the most logical and scientific form of organisation at present before the workers, and furthermore, by organising into One Big Union, we are building up the structure of the new Society within the shell of the old; and laying the foundation for carrying on production when Capitalism shall have been overthrown.

All Governments in modern society exist for the purpose of protecting private property, and the interests of the propertied class, and whether the politicians are Socialists or Conservatives they can only safeguard and perpetuate the system. The political Socialists cannot prove that they will be any more effective or useful on the Parliamentary benches than the Labour Parties in Australia have been.

Can these working class politicians agree upon a definite line of action? Some of them have Henry George on the brain. Others have waded through the first page of "Wage, Labour and Capital," or read the reference to the graduated land tax in the "Communist Manifesto." Single Taxers, State Capitalists, State Socialists, municipal milk reformers, Lib.-Labs., in a dozen little sects, each squealing that they alone are infallible.

The Church with its warring sects is now a non-entity; the political working class parties have taken its place. Municipalisation and nationalisation are exploded bogies, they are merely safeguards for the Capitalist, who continues to obtain 5 or 6 per cent. from obsolete and outgrown industries, while the workers in those industries are placed, if anything, under a more tyrannical master.

As for the real red revolutionary politician, when he gets his majority, what is he going to do? De-

clare a revolution? Not a bit of it. His Premier will have his policy laid down for him by the Governor, like it happened in Tasmania the other day.

If the Premier doesn't agree, the Governor just deposes him, that's all! and snuffs the Party out. The ballot is a fine "weapon!"

The Governor is no small cheese, as the Sydney Press pointed out recently. He can depose Ministers, declare martial law, call the army to colours.

He is the figurehead of International capitalism, behind him are trained the guns of the British Navy, behind him are the insistent grasping claws of the moneylender, who wants his "ten per cent" regularly on the National Debt.

The "people's government" consequently is a mockery; Democracy, a superstition; the ballot box, so much wood; the Initiative, Referendum, and the Recall, food for amusement.

To look at that forlorn sight, the German Social Democracy with its servile trade union voting machine, and its strategic position, it has not even obtained a Saturday half-holiday for the workers of that country up-to-date.

Liebrecht was right when he foresaw German soldiers chasing quixotic politicians out of the Reichstag.

But the average politician dances to the tune that the ruling class play. Victor Grayson has few followers these degenerate days. Socialist politicians taking oaths of allegiance to parasitical kings, is not a very enticing spectacle, but is quite consistent with the statement made a while ago in the American "Century Review" that the Socialist Party is rapidly becoming the most conservative bulwark in the nation.

"The emancipation of the working class must be determined by the workers themselves," said Marx. And the I.W.W. re-echoes that sentiment.

Industrial organisation, on revolutionary lines, is the road to Freedom. One International Union of the working class, united and intelligent, will overthrow for ever Capitalism, and the class Parliament.

We don't want leaders, pleaders, nor bleeders; we want revolutionists. The ballot box is unnecessary, because the control of industry lies in the Chambers of Commerce, and the Stock Exchanges of the world.

Direct action is the way to Freedom! Unite!

TOM. BARKER.

I.W.W. Prosecutions.

In reference to the article appearing on our front page as to "War in the Domain," just as we go to press the result of the cases has reached us.

The "beak" wished to know from the half-dozen accused whether they would give an undertaking to refrain from the objectionable practice of circulating I.W.W. literature.

Naturally, the polite request was refused.

The Court showed its appreciation by awarding those concerned with a fine of 16s. with the option of having seven days at His Majesty's expensive boarding-house at Long Bay.

Time to pay was asked for, and considerable anxiety was exhibited by the prosecution as to the inclination of the accused to pay fines either now or in the future.

When the members of the I.W.W. pay fines at the behest of a Labor-Capitalist Court, the public may expect that the "insanity" of the organisation, of which they have heard so much, is really a fact.

Mr. Maiden and the Labor Government may flatter themselves that this is the conclusion of an unpleasant incident.

We wish to say for their information that it is only the beginning of the struggle.

THE BOSSES' BRAINS.

Their Part in Industry.

(By P. Rolie.)

Notwithstanding the small numbers of that section called the employing class, and in spite of the negative part played by that class in the actual work of producing the great mass of material wealth, we still find the opponents of Industrial Unionism and the professors of capitalist economics continually confronting us with the worn-out, nonsensical statement that the "directive ability" of capitalists, in other words the bosses' brains, justify to entitle them to take the greater part of the good things produced by labour. What does this "directive ability" really amount to?

If we abandon the revolutionists' standpoint, for the moment, and concede that superior brains should receive superior reward, how much truth is there in the claim that the "upper" class furnishes the brain labour of industry, and thus renders great social service? Very little. Will anyone of average intelligence submit that the coalmine owner or shareholder who seldom or never sees the mine, but spends his time hunting, maintaining or living a gay life abroad, gives so much brain-power towards the running of the mine as to entitle him to ten times as much as the mine-manager and twenty to thirty times as much as the working miner, whom he employs to direct and run the production of coal? Assuredly not.

That is only one illustration, but it applies, in a general way, to all the industries; that is to say, the employing class as a whole do next to nothing that is really useful. Certainly, many of the capitalists exercise considerable brain power, but only in contending with each other for the surplus product of labour, and in devising methods of further exploiting labour.

In the earlier stages of capitalism the boss frequently helped, personally, in the production of commodities; he often had his coat off to work, and, in so far as he was a producer, he was entitled to something. To a much lesser extent that kind of boss survives in the smaller workshops to-day, but he is a type that is steadily disappearing. The more capitalism develops and the bigger the industries grow, the less useful the boss gets. All the tendency is to eliminate him as a useful factor; and the process of elimination, even in Australia, is nearing completion.

The capitalist proper produces nothing and he should get all he produces.

The "brain work" of the capitalist, who seeks to increase his wealth, consists of entertaining notions that certain industries pay well. He gets professional advice and assistance; consults lawyer, stockbroker, engineer or technical expert—he pays for the use of someone else's brains. He pays for this brain work out of his capital, which is product stolen from labour.

If the capitalist invests in some existing or going concern the necessary "directive ability" is already there, otherwise it would not be a going concern.

If he establishes a new concern he engages "directive ability" in the shape of manager and under-managers, technical experts and foremen. Even most of this hired ability would be unnecessary under a properly organised system.

In a large industrial plant to-day the general manager is usually one who keeps an eye on the market, endeavours to successfully compete with rival firms and tries to interpret the demand and gauge the supply accordingly. Under an

Industrial Democracy he would be replaced, where necessary, by the statistical expert.

The works manager of to-day generally supervises the actual work of production. His business is usually to promote efficiency, or to speed up, and wrest more profit out of labour. He might be replaced, where necessary, by the technical expert, who would in no sense be a boss. It would be his business to have a better general knowledge of the industry than the workers in the different departments, and the workers' business would be to have a better detail knowledge than the general expert.

Capital employs a huge army of non-producers; an army that will be abolished when Capitalism is abolished. Lawyers, stockbrokers, advertisers, policemen, business sharks, politicians, yellow journalists, soldiers, etc., etc., as well as a vast number of retailers who split up and increase the work of distributing commodities.

A section of this army is employed to help the capitalist to take the biggest part of what labour produces. Another section is engaged in deciding, bulldogging and generally hypnotising the working class so that the robbery may go on. Another section is there to whip, clout or shoot the work back to work when he revolts. All this army is living off "surplus value" or unpaid wages. It is a parasite army.

Yes, the boss certainly uses brains, but they are not his own.

An alert and growing minority of working people are well aware of the value of the boss's brains, so they reject the "directive ability" dope. They call themselves revolutionary industrial unionists, but they are not different to the rest of the workers except that they have taken the trouble to examine the foundations and the workings of the present system. The Industrial Unionists conceive of a future Industrial Democracy, in which the workers shall collectively own and operate the industries—the machinery of production—and distribute the social, or total, product among the workers only. To realise this ideal we workers have a rough road before us, but we will get there. To-day the workers are gathered together into large groups in the carrying on of the world's industries. The Industrial Unionists take those groups as the foundation outline of a fighting organisation which will aim deliberately at the overthrow of the present ruling class. This organisation is the industrial union, in which the workers gather and weld themselves regardless of trade, craft or other distinctions. It will gather strength and grow and will repeatedly hurl itself at capital, sometimes gaining a victory, sometimes suffering temporary defeat, but always gathering more strength and returning to the onslaught, wrenching more and more product and power from the capitalist class, until, finally, in a moment of triumph, it will be the ruling class. But it will only be a "ruling" class for a moment—just long enough to make sure of victory. Then it will abolish classes altogether, and let the erstwhile capitalists come into the industries—to work. In other words, the workers, organised in the revolutionary industrial union, will get rid of the boss and his "brains."

PRESS FUND.

Table with 2 columns: Name, Amount. Includes W. Thompson, C. Dickie, R. Smith, L. Attreed.

FROM SOUTH AFRICA

Trials of a Rebel.

INTERESTING LETTER FROM Fellow-worker Goldstein, who recently left Sydney for Boerland, says in a letter to members:—

"No doubt it will not surprise you that I had a deal of trouble in trying to land at the Cape, due to the fact that several police pimps who were on board gave in a report prejudicial to my landing in South Africa. The boat arrived in Cape town, Sunday, March 24th, at 12 o'clock in the afternoon, when one of the Immigration officers handed me a note stating that I would not be allowed to land as I could not parse properly. I was to be sent on to England with the boat at seven o'clock.

Luck was in my way, however. The rebels made a hue and cry which resulted in enquiries being made at the Immigration office. It was then discovered, on the admission of the Chief Immigration officer, that the reason of my prohibition into South Africa was because I was supposed to be a "dangerous agitator," and had come to S.A. to kick up a shindy. Anyhow, after some interference on the part of the Labor politicians, I was allowed to land.

I immediately held a meeting at which I denounced political action and advocated industrial organisation on the lines of the I.W.W. coupled with Sabotage, which went well to an audience of some 1500.

I was not left in peace, however. Not only was I intimidated by the police, but the masters in Cape town boycotted my labour energy. Nothing left for it then but Jo'burg. Luck was in my way again, and I struck a master on arrival there. The gospel of Industrial Unionism, however, had to be propagated, and I strolled along the Market Square the next Sunday evening wherein the Labor Party were speaking. Stating that I was a representative of Labor from Australia, I was given the platform. I gave the audience some samples of the doings of political Laborism in Australia, and concluded with an appeal for Industrial Unionism and Sabotage. Some of the audience wanted to mob the politicians at the conclusion, and gave me an invitation to address them on the following Sunday evening, which I accepted at once.

There are prospects of forming some sound Locals here, and I am going to do my best in that direction."

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A bunch of subs. have arrived from Waitua, S.I., which is a sign that the Direct Actionists are getting in the dope. The I.W.W. will have an organiser down that part of the world before Christmas comes again.

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.