

**One Enemy, the Employing Class**

# DIRECT ACTION

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SYDNEY, MAY. 1, 1915.

ONE PENNY



## Direct Action

## Unemployment.

## Might is Right



OFFICIAL ORGAN

Of the

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF  
THE WORLD.

(Australian Administration).

Office—330 Castlereagh St., Sydney  
Australia.

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330 CASTLEREACH ST., SYDNEY.GENERAL HEADQUARTERS—  
164 W. Washington St., Chicago,  
Ill., U.S.A.AN EARNEST APPEAL TO  
PATRIOTIC BONEHEADS.

(By "Message.")

"If you are patriotic, and believe in warfare, your place is right at the front." "Oh, you were rejected by the military authorities as unfit? Too old, or bad eyesight, eh?"

But there are more ways than one in doing anything, and where there is a will there's a way. Don't lie down and die just because your masters cast you aside as an unfit bullock market. I suggest that all boneheads who were rejected from themselves into one big organisation, and demand the right to go and fight for the old Empire.

The capitalist press will back you up and advertise you free of charge, and open up funds for you. People will cheer you. You are sure to be thousands strong in a few weeks. Having such weight your voice will be immensely powerful.

You'd create a sensation and win easy, sure, and a few more boatloads of intellectual degenerates would be dumped out of Sydney.

If this idea fails, stow away on all boats leaving for the old Dart. If you are caught in the act—why, the skipper and passengers would stick to you like glue. Just tell them how anxious you are to fight for our freedom. I can just imagine I can hear the cheers that greet you.

If everything fails, go down to the Domain and tell the people you were anxious to fight for your country, but was not allowed to do so. "Now I intend to cut my throat, because I feel I must spill my blood for my darling old country."

I.W.W. men and Socialists all over the world are compelled to fight against the laws of the country, and very often have to serve long terms of imprisonment, just for what they believe in.

Now, you patriotic mugs, if you are anxious to go to the front, why don't you fight against the laws that debar you from going. The reason I make this appeal is because I am anxious to rid the country of every mug, and leave the intelligent men behind for the One Big Union propagandist.

The Wharf Labourers, Coal Miners, etc., have refused to work with Germans. Now, there are a great number of German firms in Sydney who employ a large number of men. Why don't you refuse to work for German masters, eh?

No! You are too work-thirsty to do that. Oh, Mr. Simple, you are strong in the arm, but thick in the head.

ITS CAUSE, EFFECT, CURE; AS DIAGNOSISED, OBSERVED,  
AND PROPOSED BY THE I.W.W.

(Leaflet No. 15, issued by I.W.W. Local Union #6, Detroit, Mich., U.S.A.)

Fellow Workers: Most likely the idea you have formed about the Industrial Workers of the World is the result of misinformation received from other sources than the I.W.W. itself, or perhaps you arrived at a wrong conception by looking at our movement from a standpoint prejudiced from the start and by a method of reasoning faulty to the end.

The purpose of this leaflet is to state briefly facts concerning you as a wage worker; to explain the cause, effect and cure for unemployment of men knowing how, willing and anxious to produce wealth for society as a whole, and who in return have only the "right of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" on a scrap of paper, without the time and means to actually enjoy them as individual citizens. We trust to your common sense to give this leaflet the consideration it deserves in hopes of directing you towards the road of economic freedom and independence from boss rule.

## PRESENT DAY PRODUCTIONS.

Farm land, to a large extent, and in a greater measure, raw material for manufacture, as well as finished products, are owned and controlled by a class other than wage workers.

Production is engaged in to supply markets. A normal market means that farming, stock-raising, and the wheels of industry are going at full speed, to supply the demand. A dull market is followed by a reduction in capacity-production. No market means the banking of fires in the boilers; building operations cease; the raising of farm products receives a set-back; and to cap the climax, the cost of living goes up. The amount and quality of production is gauged, not by the desires and demands of the great mass of people, but by their ability to pay for foodstuffs and other goods and leave a profit to the capitalist class. The workers, compelled to work for wages, are, by virtue of that fact, only able to purchase goods of quality and in quantities within the limits of their wages.

## CAUSE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

The foregoing, being correct, leads to the fact that capacity-production is unable to continue (it has never been in existence, in reality) after the purchasing power of the working population has reached the limit. When such is the case, first in one industry, and as a logical consequence in other lines of production and in transportation and distributing agencies—until the circle has been completed—the fundamental cause of involuntary unemployment becomes apparent. In proportion as production becomes curtailed some workers are laid off for a definite period, while others are discharged, or the working time is shortened, leading, in many cases, to complete shutdowns. Unemployment thus becomes general.

Another contributing factor is the intensity with which industry is carried on to-day. The mental and physical strain imposed upon the workers, due partly to competition for markets among employers, partly to meet the demand for lower priced goods, and mainly to the weak or non-resistance of the workers as a whole, is the reason for many workers becoming disqualified to hold jobs on account of their inability to follow the pace set by the bosses' standard. The middle-aged, but still efficient, according to normal standards, must give way to the young and strong when it comes to securing and holding a job.

The most glaring fact, however, is that the workers as a class have neglected to organise and adapt such labor organisations to the changes that have taken place in producing, transporting and distributing commodities. Machines introduced have not saved the employers the hiring of worker. The machine, therefore, becomes the greater displacer of human labor, extending even into the domain of exclusive brain workers. A blessing in itself, the machine owned by the bosses becomes a means of increased exploitation and its attending misery for the workers.

## EFFECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

The greater the number of workers in search of employment, the smaller the pay, with the inevitable result of a lessening purchasing power of the employed, and with hardly any purchasing power on the part of the out of work. The jobbers, in their endeavour to land jobs in order to exist, are compelled to enter a wage-cutting competition with the employed, which is fostered, encouraged and taken advantage of by the bosses.

The ability, power and spirit of the employed workers, to demand and fight for more pay, a shorter workday and generally improved shop conditions, becomes menaced if not made impossible by the presence and actions of unemployed unaware of the causes of unemployment. The jobless in their quest for work are willing, at least for a time, to accept and submit, without manifest opposition, to the pay, length of workday, and shop rules of the boss.

Prolonged unemployment has also a demoralising effect upon the efficiency of a man as a worker, as well as upon his character, if induced to accept public charity. Many strikebreakers, scabs, company suckers and stool pigeons are recruited from the ranks of despondent, weakened and ignorant of the unemployed army of workers.

## THE CURE.

If lack of jobs is the cause of unemployment and its attending evils, it logically follows that a job for everybody in need of it must be secured. If the amount and quality of production are governed by the purchasing power of the consumer, it naturally follows that the desire and consequent demand for more of the best things of life—in other words, the attainment of the highest standard of living possible to-day—would make unemployment itself less. Since the machine is being used as it is to-day, to do away with so many jobs without lightening the toil or shortening the labor time of the workers, to offset this there must be a general reduction of the hours of labor. This would give employment to those who lost their jobs through the introduction of this so-called labor-saving machinery. Since the manifold efficiency schemes, intended to exact greater speed from the workers, result in a premature breakdown of workers that form a large percentage of unemployed, a slackening of forced speed and general opposition to any and all driving processes would deprive the human scrap pile of fresh material. Since it is true that the motive in capitalist production is profits and not the supplying of the needs of the people, it points to the only conclusion—that of producing for use, and that the ownership, control and management of all industries and their supplementary supporting institutions, must be assumed by the workers as a class, to eliminate the useless and reorganise the necessary.

## THE MEANS.

To accomplish the abolition of unemployment—in reality only in effect of the capitalist regime or boss rule—education general, technical and aiming at the promulgation of working class ideals and aspirations, is essential. "For the wealth producer, enough and the best of everything is just good enough." Education that leads to the formation of One Big Union of workers against the combined forces and agencies of our bosses the world over—in fact, a Union of the Workers of the World.

Organisation—The workers must organise their union in a manner that is in keeping with the Twentieth Century methods of production—Industrial Unions (I.W.W.) versus Industrial Combinations. An organisation without bars to wage workers of any description. Unions whose members can act on and off the job to reduce hours of work, increase pay, create better shop conditions, and make such provisions that will reduce unemployment during slack times to a minimum. Last, but most important, however, is for the union to wrest control of the system of production and

Might was Right when Caesar bled upon the stones of Rome,  
Mine was Right when Joshua led his hordes o'er Jordan's foam,  
And Might was Right when German troops poured down through Paris gay  
It's the Gospel of the Ancient World, and the Logic of To-Day.

Behind all Kings and Presidents—all Governments and Law,  
Are army-corps and cannons—to hold the world in awe,  
And sword strong races own the earth and ride the Conqueror's car—  
And LIBERTY has ne'er been won except by deeds of war.

What are the lords of hoarded gold—the silent Semite rings?  
What are the plunder patriots—high-pontiffs, priests, and kings?  
What are they but bold master-minds, best fitted for the fray;  
Who comprehend and vanquish by the Logic of To-Day.

Cain's knotted club is sceptre still—the Rights of Man is fraud;  
Christ's ethics are for creeping things—true manhood smiles at "God,"  
For Might is Right when empires sink in storm of steel and flame;  
And it is RIGHT when weakling breeds are hunted down like game.

Then what's the use of dreaming dreams that "each shall get his own"  
For countless votes of meek-eyed thralls, who blindly sear and moan?  
No! A curse is on their cankered brains—their very brains decay:  
Go! Trace your fate in the Iron Game, is the Logic of To-Day.

The Strong must ever rule the Weak, is grim Primordial Law—  
On earth's broad racial threshing floor, the meek are beaten straw—  
Then ride to Power o'er foemen's neck, let NOTHING bar your way:  
If you are FIT you'll rule and reign, is the Logic of To-Day.

You must prove your right by deeds of might—of splendour and renown,  
If need be, march through flames of hell, to dash opponents down—  
If need be die on scaffold high—in the morning's misty grey,  
For "LIBERTY OR DEATH" is still the Logic of To-Day.

Might was Right when Gideon led the "chosen" tribes of old,  
And it was Right when Titus burnt their temple roofed with gold:  
And Might was Right when Bunker's Hill to far Manila Bay,  
By land and flood it's wrote in blood—the Gospel of To-Day.

"Put no trust in princes," is a saying old and true,  
"Put no hope in Governments," translateth it anew.  
All "Books of Law" and "Golden Rules" are fashioned to betray,  
"The Survival of the Strongest" is the Gospel of To-Day.

Might was Right when Carthage flames lit up the Punic foam—  
And when the naked steel of Gaul weighed down the spoil of Rome;  
And Might was Right when Richmond fell—and at Thermopylae,  
It's the Logic of the Ancient World—and the Gospel of To-Day.

Where pendant suns in millions swing around this whirling earth,  
It's Might, it's Force that holds the brakes, and steers through life and death  
Force governs all organic life, inspires all Right and Wrong,  
It's Nature's plan to weed out man, and test who are the strong.

—Ragnar Redbeard, in "Might is Right."

## The I.W.W. Preamble.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organise as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the 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.

its management, from the employing class.

Such a union, even when comparatively small, will be instrumental to rouse interest, compel the workers to a consideration of their forces, promote solidarity on the job and create a fighting spirit born of intelligent discontent. In the same measure, as such a union grows in number, with an enlightened membership, and thus build strong character in the individual, the forces of the labor-skinners become weaker. Conscious strength of the workers spells weakness for the bosses.

Fellow workers, enough has been explained in this leaflet to set every thinking worker to thinking some more. Read it to your wife, to your shopmate or friends. Talk it over. Argue about it. Condemn, praise or find fault with it. Let us know where we agree or are wrong, for only through concerted action can we ever hope to improve our lot as workers. Before united action is possible, we must have a common understanding.

If you are not yet disposed to come and join the union, read more on the I.W.W. The best and most instructive papers are "Solidarity," in the United States, and "Direct Action," in Australia. The two can be obtained from the Literature Secretary, I.W.W., 330 Castlereagh street, Sydney, for 8s. per year, post free, 4s. for six months, and 2s. for three months. Sample copies on application.

If you like this kind of leaflet and can afford to contribute towards getting them printed for free distribution, do so. Come alive! Be a doer. Join the I.W.W., the union that will bring home the bacon, and that will give you in reality "more daylight" in which to enjoy a life worth living.

AUTOMOBILE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 18.



# May Day, 1915. To the Members. Industrialism. Melbourne. Free Speech Fund.

Once again the day of labor militant is with us, the day of working class unity, proletarian solidarity.

In reviewing the events of the past year, we can well assume that the vanguard of the working class army—the Industrialists—are growing in number and in influence.

The gigantic European conflict has taught many of the sentimentalists of yesterday a sharp lesson. It has borne out the argument of the I.W.W., viz., that talk, and milk and water reformist parties play no part in resisting and nullifying the machinations of the entrenched plutocracy. Nay, more. We see them traitorously betraying the very class they claim to represent, by acting as bell wethers in recruiting working class fodder for the guns of the ruling class.

The International has collapsed. It only existed in a world of platitudes. Based upon bourgeois sentiment, the moment it had an opportunity to prove its worth, it collapsed like a house of cards. The fiery revolutionary intellectuals became recruiting sergeants for the spectre of soul-devouring war. To-day, the working class are asked to resurrect such an International by men who ought to know better. The bourgeois Socialists refuse to see the lessons of the campaign; the lessons attached to the master class disregard for the "people's representative" governments.

The only International that is worth while is not the one that collapsed beneath the squabbles of Czar and Kaiser, of rival steel-kings, but that of the International Industrial Union—the I.W.W. Economic organisation in the productive plants of the earth, an international working class union, one union card, and solidarity, alone will prevail in the stirring days to be.

From the I.W.W. in Australia we send out the hand clasp to the toilers in the world's industries, to help lay the foundations of the new International, based upon the Economic Interpretation of History, Surplus Value, and the Class Struggle. Instead of dabbling with the institutions we shall smash from without. The slums and eyecores of capitalism—the church, the parliaments, the law, and the craft unions—must be relentlessly attacked and destroyed. The ground must be cleared and the foundations laid by the working class, based upon the iron logic of the class war, based upon the common chains of the slave class, and upon their growing and virile power.

May Day, 1915, has seen the end of the old and the outgrown. It also sees the rise and the development of the New—the working-class—organisation. Before the year ends we hope to see the Industrialists formulate some plan for securing international solidarity in the future.

As far as the labor struggles of the past year are concerned, we have but slight knowledge to go on as far as Europe is concerned. The censor has taken good care of that. In England, almost daily there are tremendous disputes—beginning to show themselves. The miners and transport workers are taking advantage of the situation to obtain a greater share of what they produce. All over the British Isles there have been strikes and rumours of strikes. The military autocracy have found in the despised worker a far greater problem than the German in the Belgian trenches. And shall we ever let the memories of Johannesburg, Llanelly, Featherstone and Liverpool fade from our minds? Shall we forget amid the fanatical flag waving and belching guns, our enmity for the gluttonous and power-drunk rulers who have shot and starved and spit upon our class from Nanaimo to Madras, from Stornoway to the New Zealand Bluff? And shall we fear their Iron Heel? Their speeding up? Their goals? Their whips? Nay, for again as May Day we send our ringing cry of defiance at our taskmasters once again around an awakening world.

Again, we turn with refreshed courage and determination to wage war on capitalism, and to carry the message over the sandy Australian plains, over the snow-capped mountains of Maori-land, through the islands of Asia, into the modern factories of China and Japan, ay, that and more will we do.

We will not pause until the blood red banner of the One Big Union waves proudly from the plants of production, when the chains of slavery are rung to the dead and unremembered past.

Unhindered by capitalist concepts, and morality, we shall build upon the

Well, fellow workers, here's the May Day issue. I think that you'll agree with me that she is something for the I.W.W. to be proud of. The only pity is that "Direct Action" cannot be converted at present into a permanent eight page paper. Still, however, it is just as soon as some of the apathetic and dilatory membership take a tumble to themselves. We must, at least, have another five or six hundred circulation. That ought to be easy, seeing that we gained 1000 in the past five months.

Of course, being an optimist, I promised you a weekly paper in May, but that was on the condition YOU did your bit. And YOU were a little slack, or perhaps you thought that "good old George" would do it. Now I want to see the subs rolling in, and the bundles climbing up. The production of the paper depends upon the Press Committee, the sales and subs depend on the membership.

Another thing I want to touch upon is the weary way in which some locals send in their accounts. They should remember that the paper company and the linotypers don't exist on air, and are not blessed, or rather cursed, with the patience of Job. Besides, accounts climb up to a formidable height when not paid regularly. Nuff said.

Now as to literature, we have £140 worth on hand, and we want to sell it. It becomes an eyesore after a while, standing in the cupboards. We want it converted into cash, fellow worker. We have bills to meet, so it's up to you.

The A.W.U. has got quids for their old rag, a thing that may never become a fact, we ask you to support a press that is a fact, not by donations but by selling and pushing the paper, and literature.

Now, a few suggestions, we want a weekly, and separate quarters for the Press; we want to clear off the debt of £70. By WE I mean the I.W.W. Now I suggest to locals that they follow Boulder Local's example, and start a "Press Fund," and follow up Sydney's lead in running an occasional social or concert, and direct the profits to the I.W.W. Press. I must impress all members that it is due entirely to the Sydney Local that the Press is a fact. They found the money for starting it, have paid rent and light bills, and on the top of that they paid it. For every copy of the paper that they sold. Now it's up to the Locals to waken up, and seeing that Sydney Local has generously turned over the Press to the organisation to get busy and show their appreciation.

Now to this issue. I asked for increased orders from locals, but met with little response. Now the Committee is sending increased orders, as the cost is almost double, postage more than double. On that account we ask the Locals to pay 1d. for every copy of this issue, and to be speedy with payments. And make the issue an advertisement for the paper. Talk "Direct Action," push and sell it. Come out of your shell.

Now I've got all the cold water off my chest, and dressed a few lumps off your hides, I'll conclude with the old capitalistic axiom "Get on or get out."

—THE EDITOR.

## NOTE.

Correspondents are requested to write as legibly as possible, and on one side of the paper, as it facilitates getting the paper ready. The Editor regrets that he is not in a position to answer all letters owing to the amount of work to be done. In future, all correspondence will be acknowledged in the columns.

only logical lines, "the new society within the old." And understanding the lessons of the past, we shall as industrialists treat as futile and useless, outbursts of bourgeois sentiment which term themselves as "International socialists," and strive in an outworn rubbish heap for reforms and municipal milk tins.

In every English speaking country has the I.W.W. established itself. It is scarcely ten years old. But it grows, expands. It has science and history on its side. It HAS the goods.

Rally to the standard, ye of the vanguard, and swear ye all, that whether it be one milestone or a thousand, ye will not hold back until your class have conquered.

—TOM BARKER.

Scientific, philosophical, and technical terms cannot be properly understood without a certain amount of study, reflection, and mental effort.

Frankly, we of the I.W.W. do not expect the workers to understand what the industrial organisation of the workers of the world really means without some mental and anxious effort.

First of all, we must be organised to win. In all labour struggles, the workers, when they have lost, have either been starved back into submission, or the fear of want has played a great part in the workers' defeat. The workers must be fed. In the past, when one section of the workers has been on strike, other workers have come to their assistance with money. In the future the workers will have to help their fellows, not with money, but with FOOD. All the wealth, trade, commerce, and business of the world goes through the workers' hands. Yet the workers direct all this wealth away from their own class. The toilers watch their own fellow-workers die of starvation.

Now, the toilers will have to learn to direct all the wealth of the world to the working class. Strikes are the result of a disorganised working class. If the workers were organised, there would be no need to strike. But the workers learn most of their lessons from turmoil, the logic of events.

Suppose the slaves working on the Golden Mile decided to strike. Without industrial organisation, or by relying on arbitration unionism, they would fail miserably. If industrially organised, however, this is what should happen—the workers would go slow on the job, and sabotage.

If the mine owners met these tactics by a wholesale sacking, and by just keeping on enough scabs to man the leases, the strikers would take a holiday on full pay. The edict would go forth, "Pay No Rent!"

Then we would place our hand on the subdivision, or the national industrial union, in the department of General Production, in which the shop assistants were organised, and say, "Serve all the strikers with food, and take 'no money.'" Then we would turn to the Civil Service Department of the One Big Union, and say to the subdivision in which the postal workers were organised, "Send only labour wires," etc. Sabotage all master class letters, wires, and communications.

Again, we would turn to the Transport Department of the One Big Union and say, "Haul no scabs, or delay troops, derail trucks with guns on," etc.

To the butchers and bakers we would advocate, "Cut off the capitalists' food; don't serve their houses." To the electricians, "Cut off the bosses' light."

To the municipal workers, "Cut off the bosses' water."

At all our meetings and public demonstrations we would advocate the feeding of the strikers. The wealth of the world belongs to those who produce it, the workers. All the food and clothes in the shops and warehouses belong to the working class. Don't be fooled and misled by the names of private firms on the windows and over the doors. The workers must and shall be fed.

Don't be ruled, and fear the law. The law is just as great a superstition as "hell fire." Fear is always and everywhere the result of ignorance and error. The workers fear capitalism because they don't really understand it. A bit more agitation, education, and action will dispel that fear. The capitalists and their apologists, the trade union leaders and labour politicians, counsel the workers to "Pay" for goods. But we workers have already paid for everything, because we produce all. To produce really means to pay. The workers must be so organised into One Big Union, and its different departments and subdivisions, and so permeated with the spirit of revolt, as to carry on the necessary industries of the world, and also to feed their fellow-workers, in spite of the capitalists and their law. The I.W.W. must be an illegal and an "in spite of movement." Such is what I conceive to be an interpretation of the term, "The industrial organisation of the working class."

M. SAWTELL.

"Workers of all countries, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain."

Owing to bad weather two or three of our propaganda meetings had to be abandoned, consequently the opportunity of disseminating "Direct Action" amongst the slaves has been limited to an unfortunate degree. Now that the cold, frosty nights are not far distant we are arranging for a large number of indoor meetings, and if this proposition materialises some good work will surely be accomplished.

We have received a challenge from the bugus I.W.W., otherwise known as the S.I.P., to debate our anti-parliamentary attitude. It is a case of the glowworm seeking advertisement by challenging the electric light. "Nuff said."

I hear rapacious monsters played the game of starving the slaves into acting as cannon fodder so low and so long that they have now to fall upon other resources to keep up the spirit of patriotism. But it's all of no avail, Mr. Fat! The slaves are now not so intoxicated with that desire for murder. They are turning their attention to their own affairs. Marching troops up the street hardly draws a small crowd now.

F. W. Rancie has returned from his short vacation, and is now performing his duty on the box as well as ever. Evidently his compulsory retirement from the field of the revolutionary movement, short and all though it was, has benefited his rebellious spirit.

We are looking forward to a visit from an organiser. We have opened up some good ground for him to travel over, and more time is needed to put our case more clearly. This could be done by an organiser, who, of course, will have all the time needed.

## OBIT: LORD ROTHSCHILD.

Death has taken away one of the greatest thieves of modern times, in the person of Lord Rothschild. As a stealer of birthrights, he stood well in the forefront of the profession.

In a knowledge of the various tricks that enable the capitalist to defraud and humbug the working class, the family of Rothschilds were trained from their youth up, hence their control of a vast amount of property accumulated at the expense of the public.

Impelled by motives of policy, Rothschild gave away sufficient of the products of his thefts to gain for himself a reputation for charity, a charity that was really sarcasm.

The sins of the fathers in the case of capitalists descend on the workers even unto the third and fourth generation after them, and the hoard of wealth left by Rothschild is a lever in the hands of his descendants, enabling them to keep the unfortunate public in a position—that facilitates further, and continuous fleecing, continuous, as long as the workers' brains can be prevented from seeing through the gigantic confidence trick that robs them of all they produce and slaughters them to suit their master's convenience.

J.E.J.

## Combinations.

"Solidarity" is the official organ of the I.W.W. in North America. It is full of strike news, tactics, and interesting articles on Industrial Unionism. No industrialist can afford to be without it. It ought to have a circulation of at least 2000 in Australia. It will be posted from this office for 6s. 6d. per year. In conjunction with "Direct Action" the two will cost 8s. per year posted.

"Golos Truda" is a Russian industrialist weekly published in New York. It contains favourable articles on the I.W.W. Every Russian worker should read it. The yearly subscription is 6/6. In conjunction with "Direct Action," the two papers will be sent for one year for 8/ to any address in Australia.

"Il Proletario" is the I.W.W. Italian weekly published in the U.S.A. It will cost 6/6 per year posted, or 8/ in conjunction with "Direct Action."

Address, Lit. Secretary, 330 Castlereagh Street, Sydney, N.S.W.

Already acknowledged, £7/15/10; Anon, 1/1; E. Coombes, 3/; C. Wendler, 2/6; Anon, 3/; Member, 2/6; T. McMillan (Wodgar), 10/; Total, £8 17/10/4.

Payments to date.—Forwarded per F. W. Lane for Free Speech Committee, £1/12/; J. B. Wilson, £1; D. Grant, £1; F. W. Williams, 7/; F. W. West, 7/; F. W. Zimmer, 10/6; F. W. Wilson, 7/; F. W. O'Brien, 7/; F. W. Kester, 3/; W. Goldsmith, 5/; A. Brown, 3/4; meals at 9d. 3/; D. Nord, 3/; J. Williams, 5/; J. Wilson, 3/; S. West, 3/; M. McCool, 10/; Total expenditure, £7/12/6. Cash in hand, £1/5/4/4.

T. BARKER, Secretary.

Mr. Meagher, late president of the N.S.W. P.L.L., and Speaker of the State Parliament, declares himself as a revolutionist, and states that the only hope of the working class is a gigantic union of the working class. The I.W.W. must be making some impression these days. The only trouble will be when we are allotting Mr. Meagher his position in the O.B.U. But probably by that time the boss will have ceased to have any use for Parliament, even as a side-track, and turned over the surplus value to the patriotic fund.

## BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON SALE.

(All the works published below, although not officially endorsed as a classic by the organisation, can be obtained from the Literature Secretary, I.W.W., Local No. 2, 330 Castlereagh Street, Sydney. Cash must accompany all orders.)

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# Why the A. W. U. Cannot Become an Industrial Union.

By Alex. George.

Now that the One Big Union idea of the I.W.W. and its scientific methods of industrial organisation are being accepted by the militant majority of the Australian workers, there has arisen a gang of craft union fakirs and political opportunists, who realise that, with the further growth of this new and virile labor union, their power as privileged, social parasites, is doomed, along with their comfortable positions and fat salaries, also to still further use the workers as voting mules, and to swell their political war chests, they are attempting to further mislead and delude the workers of this country by declaring that they, the fakirs, also are attempting to build up One Big Union, therefore, there is no necessity for an outside movement to do so.

Chief among these are the officials and politicians who comprise the ruling body of the A.W.U. They are declaring through their press and on the platform, that craft unionism in this country has outlived its usefulness, and, henceforth it must give place to industrial unionism as outlined by the A.W.U.

Let us examine this fake, Industrial Unionism, as outlined by this movement.

Up to no less than two years ago the A.W.U. was confined solely to the pastoral industry, but recently several craft unions in various other industries amalgamated with it and lost their identity as distinct crafts. Among these were the A.W.A. of Queensland, representing mine-workers, construction workers, and workers in the sugar fields and mills; the R.W.U., representing the agricultural and farm workers of New South Wales; the U.L.U., which organised the construction laborers of South Australia; the Carriers' Union of Australia, representing the country carriers who own their own teams and employ men to drive them; the Queensland branches of the A.M.I.E.U., representing workers in the meat industry (the branches of this organisation in the other States have not yet decided to come in); the Timber Workers' Union of Queensland, along with several other smaller craft unions. Many other craft unions throughout the continent are taking or about to take, a ballot also, in regard to this amalgamation.

Now, before the A.W.U. decided to launch out in their amalgamation, they first of all saw to it that they were within the law in their new form; in other words, they were agreeable to amalgamation, provided they got the consent of the master class, which they obtained.

Only the other day a squatter cited a case to the High Court, asking for the cancellation of the A.W.U. under the Arbitration Act. One of the reasons given for this demand was that the A.W.U. had certain rules in its constitution which conflicted with clauses in the Arbitration Act, or were against the law.

The Court reserved its decision on getting a guarantee from the union that certain rules, named by the Court, should be omitted, or altered, at the first meeting of the executive. The capitalist class can now rest assured that they have nothing to fear from the legal association, which has clearly demonstrated to the workers of this country that they will, and have accepted a form of unionism as laid down by the High Court, the law interpreters of the master class.

Within this union there are two score or more awards or signed agreements, each one expiring on a different date, which therefore prohibits these workers from acting effectively together when one section rebels against their conditions.

Here are a few instances to show that, although workers in different industries are in the one union, in reality they are divided section against section in just the same manner as the old autonomous crafts.

Shortly after the war broke out, the A.W.U. men employed in the Hampden-Cloncurry copper mines made an agreement with the boss, whereby they were only to receive half-pay for working full-time, until the company could realise on its ore, then they would get the other half, i.e., provided there was enough profit left over after storage and other expenses were deducted.

The A.W.U. registered this scabby agreement in the Industrial Court, in spite of the fact that it aroused great opposition by a big part of the mine workers of the north, who realised that it was a cunning attempt on the part of mine boss of the north to cut wages during and after the war.

This conclusion has now been fulfilled; for only a few weeks ago competent coal miners were engaged to work in the Mt. Mulligan coal fields at the magnificent wage of 11/8 per shift; 13/6 per shift was the ruling wage in that district before the war.

Cardross copper mine, in the same district, also re-started lately, but got the miners to accept the 48-hours week, despite the fact that 44 hours constituted a week's work in that and practically every other mine in the far north for some years; but, thanks to the ignorance of the slaves and the spineless and weak-kneed executive of the union, they are about to lose even that.

Let us now look into a few more of this union's awards and agreements.

Last year an award was obtained, and signed for five years, on behalf of the workers engaged in the sugar fields and mills of Queensland. The C.S.R. Company, which controls practically the whole of the sugar industry of Australia; took no notice of it, excepting to pay the rates while crushing was on, but just as soon as it was over, they cut the rates down to 8s. per day.

No stand was taken by the union against this, except stating that they would test the matter in the Court some day.

The C.S.R. even went so far as to charge their workers 2s. per week rental for the privilege of sleeping in their disease-stricken huts, even though there is a law on the Statute Book of Queensland which lays it down that the employer must supply his slaves in the sugar industry with good accommodation free of charge.

But then the C.S.R. is the law, and the servile A.W.U. agree to abide by their mandates. Anyhow, what was this agreement but a license to scab for five years on the rest of their fellow workers in the same union. Shearers and shed hands, construction workers, agricultural workers, and so on, each with their separate award or agreement, and each expiring on a different date.

None of these workers in any of the industries are allowed to strike, or to make any move against the exploiting class

without getting the consent of first, the district, then the branch, and at times the head executive. And, as the union is committed to a policy of arbitration, at any price, and exists to improve the relations existing between boss and slave, it will be evident that the workers who are unlucky enough to come under the grasping paw of this corrupt movement, will not get this consent, as in all cases they are politicians, or men with high hopes of entering the legislative halls of the capitalists.

While there is a steadily growing sentiment in favor of revolutionary industrial unionism among the rank and file, the politicians have bound it hand and foot and transformed it into a huge electoral machine. Their main purpose is to prevent strikes, and, when they do occur, to help the Government in breaking them.

They are bound to take this course in order to protect themselves, their funds and property. The A.W.U. is recognised by the laws of the land as a legal association of workers, who threaten no immediate harm to the ruling class; it has pledged itself to "same," constitutional and peaceful methods of settling disputes between any section of its members and their employers. In the big shearers' strike of 1902, when the men were winning in 70 per cent. of the sheds, the Government of N.S.W. issued an injunction to restrain the A.W.U. from holding scabs in strike camps. To disobey the injunction would have meant the confiscation of funds and property, as well as the forcing of the politicians, who were then commencing to fasten themselves on to this one-time militant movement, into the Bankruptcy Court, which meant to be passed out of Parliament.

This course was not to the liking of the leaders, so they paid a big indemnity into Court, called the strike off, and sent word to the sheds that the men were to go back on any terms they could arrange with the squatters.

Practically the same thing occurred in the sugar industry on the Northern Rivers of N.S.W. last season, where the men struck against the C.S.R. Co. to compel them to pay the same rates as was being paid in Southern Queensland. They succeeded in tying the industry completely up, when our good old Hard Labor Party threw its injunction at the A.W.U. to restrain them from aiding and continuing the strike. It had the desired effect, and the union called the strike off on being promised a Wages Board to settle the case.

Take the strike of the Port Darwin workers of nearly two years ago, who struck against the Federal Labor Government for higher wages and shorter hours. The branch executive in Townsville were appealed to for financial and moral support, but they sent word to the Darwin men to go back to work and refer the case to Arbitration, otherwise they could count on no help from the union. As was expected, they went back defeated.

Everyone has heard of, or read, the famous Rural Workers' log, which has been drawn up for a number of years as a demand to the Arbitration Court for higher wages, etc., for the harvest and agricultural slaves. Before the commencement of last harvest, Gen. Secretary Grayndler withdrew this log, stating that, on account of the war, it would be unjust to the cocky if an attempt was made to put it in force; that the A.W.U. did not desire to harrass the cocky during such "trying" times, and that the workers could make their own terms individually with cocky.

Of course it must be borne in mind that a big part of the A.W.U. members is composed of cockies who follow up shearing, road-making, etc.; during the time that they are not engaged sowing and reaping their crops. Therefore Grayndler was simply acting in the interests of his own class, the cocky element, who have most to gain by joining this union.

The same applies to the A.W.U. carriers, who, in many cases, own a dozen teams, and employing workers to drive them. Here we have fellow-worker Bill Brown, the slave in the same union and attending the same union meeting as fellow-worker (I don't think) Smith, his boss. This should be conclusive proof that the A.W.U. endorses the old conservative craft idea that the working class and the employing class have everything in common.

It is to be observed that this amalgamation scheme has no constructive basis, that the workers are not scientifically grouped according to industry, but are thrown together into a mere mass organisation; therefore to call it industrial unionism is to only substitute a pleasant for an unpleasant name. Its methods and ideals are those of the reactionary and conservative craft unions; its immediate demands a fair day's wage for a fair day's work; its ultimate "ideal," the State ownership and control of industries.

We industrial unionists want none of their State-owned and controlled industries. We know that under a Government of these autocrats, backed up by their ignorant followers we would be placed in a more humiliating and tyrannical slavery than is our lot under capitalism to-day.

This decadent union has spent about £20,000 on arbitration cases during this past few years; its members have gained through these channels nothing worth mentioning. It has drawn from its funds and placed in the coffers of the political labor movement, thousands of pounds, yet not long ago the Labor Government of N.S.W. refused to place on the Statute Book an amendment to the Shearers' Hut Accommodation Act asked of them by the union. Not that it would have made any difference to the bush-worker's tin huts, even though passed, as the A.W.U. have not the necessary power on the industrial field to enforce the one already on the Statute Book. No, they leave that part to the hirelings of the capitalist class, in the shape of police.

The A.W.U. extorted from its members during this last few years somewhere about £100,000 by a levy for the purpose of starting a Labor Daily newspaper in Sydney. Last year the conference found that funds were not coming in fast enough from other unions, so they put on another 10s. levy, mark you, without even a ballot being taken. However, owing to I.W.W. propaganda, the response to the levy was none too good in several districts.

The latest news from the Labor Daily states that they only have enough funds to pay the manager's salary, and that its publication will be delayed for a year. Good! that means another levy, which should make their deluded members realise the way they have been fooled. We Industrial Unionists sincerely hope that this literary abortion will never see the light of day.

The organisation has a huge army of highly paid officials and organisers who receive a minimum salary of £6 per week. Organisers' mere ticket peddlars they are, whose chief duty is to travel throughout the country per motor bike, paid for out of the union funds, getting names on the electoral roll, and slinging tickets at old and young who will throw them a pound from their dirty paw. In fact a big percentage of its members is composed of "cockroach business men, publicans, cockies, drovers and the rest of the riff-raff that comprise the undesirable middle class.

Still it refuses to enrol within its ranks all Asiatic workers and natives of the South Sea Islands. Yes, an A.W.U. cocky or carrier is too respectable to belong to the same union as a rebellious Asiatic worker, who is up against the boss on the job. It denies the class struggle, the real fundamental basis from which the One Big Union idea is built.

One of its leaders, Frank Lundie, stated when addressing a public meeting of workers in Denmark, S.A., that the A.W.U. was not out to interfere with the employer in his control of industry, but only to bring the "bad" employer up to the level of the "good" one. Hell! what a diabolical insult to the slave class, to classify the class who rob us of the wealth, which alone our labor creates, as "good" and "bad."

It should be scarcely necessary to mention that these leaders are not working from a premise of class solidarity on the industrial field at all, but are out for, a huge mass, arbitration and parliamentary union, which will be, and is now, controlled by a powerful bureaucracy of unscrupulous politicians.

It is no improvement on sectional craft unionism, and if it develops, as its leaders desire, it can but help to cast the working class of this country deeper down into the economic mire into which they have already fallen.

No, fellow-workers, Industrial Unionism cannot come from the A.W.U. nor from any or all of the existing craft unions, no matter by what process of transformation or amalgamation they may go through. No, even though they may adopt revolutionary preambles or constitutions. The United Federation of Labor in New Zealand which put up such a poor fight just over twelve months ago is a fine example of this latter type of organisation as showing its impotency to fight the battles of the workers when up against the industrially organised capitalist class.

The U.F. of L. was launched primarily as a protest against the principle of compulsory arbitration; yet, in order to prevent itself from being completely smashed up by the capitalist class, at the end of the strike practically the whole of the unions in the Federation registered in the Arbitration Court. Just such another organisation is the C.G.T. of France, which has been regarded of late years as being the most revolutionary in the world.

It had been carrying on a propaganda against militarism and preaching "insurrection rather than war" for years. Yet, when the crisis came, it willingly answered the mobilisation order and practically turned itself into a military organisation in order to fight back the invading Germans. To most Industrial Unionists their action came as a great surprise; yet, when we look into their form of organisation and know the different shades of opinion represented there, an explanation for their queer conduct can be easily found. In structure, it stands for sectional unionism, or the loose amalgamation of (on paper) craft unions.

It has not organised the workers according to industry, thence into the One Big Union of all workers, has emphasised tactics chiefly, and cared little about the structure of the organisation. Within these autonomous craft unions there are half a dozen heterogeneous elements, whose divergent views have had to be harmonised in order for the movement to retain its membership.

There are the parliamentary socialists, opportunists, anarchists, pure and simple craft unionists, those opposed to the general strike, and also the Industrial Unionists. Herein lies the true cause of their failure; these divergent views cannot be harmonised; the experience of the I.W.W. in its formative stage proved that.

The C.G.T., like the A.W.U., was out for a huge organisation, without, firstly, the necessary education of its members to the true principles of Industrial Unionism as well as economics. It now makes its exit from the industrial field of France, damned and cursed by every Industrialist, who had hopes that when the crisis came it would live up to its reputation as a fighting union and put up some showing at least, to prevent the war. After the war is over, the Industrialists have to break away and re-organise the workers from the outside on a clear-cut revolutionary programme, just as the I.W.W. is doing in every British speaking country in the world to-day.

Industrial Unionism in every country in the world necessarily implies the destruction of existing craft unionism from the outside. To return to another phase of the A.W.U., quite recently the Meat Industry Union of Queensland decided to amalgamate with it, provided they retained their identity as a union, just as before. This means that an A.W.U. member may toil at outside work around meat-works, but if he wishes to get a job inside, he must first of all join the Meat Industry Union by paying the difference in price between the two tickets. Members of the Meat Union are engaged for jobs at the Trades Hall, and have first preference. Therefore, where does their One Big Union fit in here?

Contrast this reactionary and bureaucratic movement with the high expression of scientific Industrial Unionism as outlined by the Industrial Workers of the World. It aims to organise the workers by industry, thence into the One Big Union of all workers, nationally and internationally for the purpose of gaining immediate demands, such as higher wages and shorter hours, and finally, securing the ownership and control of industry. It endorses no such a fallacy as "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work."

We start from the premise that labor produces all wealth, then labor and labor alone is entitled to that wealth, and no wage, however big, is good enough for the wealth producers. It is organising the working class into a great labor trust, international in scope, just as the capitalists are organised to-day.



# Trade Union Messiahs.

The methods adopted by the Messiahs of the trade union movement are varied. Like the Creator, they move in a mysterious way their wonders to perform. The heavens burst, and the earth trembles at their cries of "Solidarity means victory," "United we stand, divided we fall," etc. They delight in the blare of trumpets and the display of gaudy, colored banners, well-knowing that such an exhibition of martial blare will arouse the curiosity of a large number of down-trodden toilers and convert them into jingo-filled fanatics.

All this is but an exploitation of the altruistic barbarism of man, an appeal to the superstitious instincts inherited from our savage ancestors, who loved empty pomp and glory. Once the desired effect has been produced by this appeal to primitive passion, the trade union despot swoops down upon his prey, and, in the name of "solidarity" and "unity," affixes the trade union label. Then the worker, having passed his examination—or rather, having paid his entrance fee into one or the other of the existing trade unions—flashes his card with more pride than is assumed by the peacock when flaunting his tail in the sunshine.

Like the peacock's glory, the modern trade unionist's virtues are all outside show. Scratch the surface, and the wonderful appearance of solidarity vanishes. Before more than a passing glance, the marvels of trade union organisation fall to pieces, as does a mummified body on the introduction of fresh air. Attempt to reason with the unionist, and you will discover that his logic does not roam beyond the confines of his weekly contribution. His very individuality is locked up in the safe, to be found at the meeting-room of his union.

If we attempted to record the number of times union men have blacklegged on other union men, not to mention the times they have scabbed on their own union members, we should require volumes that would fill a library. The railwaymen, the miners, and the dockers, have had every opportunity of testing their weapon—trade unionism. That it has failed is clear to all rational minds. It now behoves the worker to consider most earnestly the best and quickest way of ridding himself of his incumbency. For years it has been nothing but a will of the wisp. The conclusion entertained by all students of the social question has been condemnatory of its policy. I have not the least hesitation in asserting that trade unionism leaders can be nothing other than opportunists.

Let the workers should rise up in arms against their leaders, and charge those responsible, I would ask them to look to themselves, and it will be there that they will find the root of the trouble. All the resolutions of condemnation and protests are either dictated by ignorance or actuated by a desire to serve the interests of the capitalists. The more the workers learn to know where their power lies the more will they strive and battle for the amelioration of their present day conditions. With the structure in collapse, will be swept aside also the force of capitalist interests, and a new reconstructed society, based on the control of the powers of production, by the producers, will assure to the inhabitants of the world that peace, that pursuit of happiness, that plentifulness in material and intellectual requirements needed to establish the perfect harmonious co-operation of all members of society for the most harmonious and beautiful life on earth for all who live.

W. LIPSCOMBE.

## WHY THE A.W.U. CANNOT DEVELOP INTO INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

Right where we work is right where we are robbed; it is there, then, that we must organise, so as to put the screw into the boss, right where he puts it on us, i.e., in the industries of the world—on the job. The I.W.W. is not recognised by the masters' laws as a legal association, knowing that if such were the case it would be a clear recognition that it threatened no immediate harm to the ruling class. The I.W.W. knows that a union which is not revolutionary is of no use to the workers.

The new unionism debars no worker from membership, no matter what creed, nationality or color he may be; only bosses or exploiters of labor are debarred from membership. It refuses to meddle in conciliation and arbitration, signs no agreements with the master, thereby dividing our forces, but we make our own in so far as we have the necessary economic power to compel the capitalists to live up to them. They are merely truces for the time being, to be broken by the workers at the first opportunity.

All so-called immediate demands, such as a general six-hour day, limitation of child labor, factory legislation, etc., are not to be obtained and enforced by asking parliamentary "labor" parties to accomplish them for us. These reforms can only be effected by the industrially organized working class themselves, making their own legislation in the union hall and compelling recognition of same by the capitalists on the industrial field.

After the workers have, by their pressure from without, enforced these on the industrial arena, Parliament, no matter what party be in power, then places the measure on the Statute Book; it only legalises that which the workers first of all accomplished themselves.

The position is strictly debarred from admittance to our ranks, so are the small trading and business classes. No chance, then, here for this undesirable element to twist the organisation into a programme of compromise.

It is a proven fact that when people, whose economic interests are diametrically opposed, unite in the same organisation, the interests of one class or the other must be compromised in order to obtain harmony in that union; and we invariably find in such movements that it is always the interests of the workers that is compromised, and the real source of ruling class power lost sight of.

The I.W.W., unlike the A.W.U., was not organised of any man's brain, but was organised from the bottom up, as a result of changes in the mode of production brought about by the higher development of capitalism, as exemplified by trustified industry. It is the concrete expression of the spirit of revolt against economic oppression. The organisation is not placed in the hands of a powerful executive board; its programme ensures individual, local, national and international working-class initiative, unity and solidarity in order to take and hold the world's industries for the world's workers.

It throws injunctions from the courts to the waste-paper basket, has no funds for the court to seize, as contributions and dues are just sufficient to cover organisation and administrative expenses. We know that concessions from the capitalist class are not to be gained by the union having a big treasury, but on the contrary, a union possessing a big banking account becomes conservative, and will take no action on behalf of its members on the industrial field, that will endanger the loss of its funds. More control of industry and the complete abolition of the wages system is only to be obtained by the solidarity of the workers, coupled with the use of scientific "illegal" weapons of fighting the bosses, such as irritation strikes, sabotage, and the general strike.

Officials are reduced to as few as possible, and are only paid a wage, which generally corresponds to that paid the laborers to-day. They have no power to govern the movement, knowing if such were the case, it would be but the recognition of another authority, and we could not have a really free association of intelligent workers, so long as officials controlled our actions.

Industrial unionism primarily stands for the education

# Michael Bakounine. in 1868.

But we can leave these poor dotards to their impotent dreams and ridiculous Utopias. The present belongs to the bourgeoisie, the future is for the workers. Let us think of the great preparations for the coming day.

What is needed to bring about the final liberation of Labor! Two things, two inseparable conditions. The first is the true and practical solidarity of the workers of all countries. What power on earth can resist this gigantic combination! This must, therefore, be realised. All oppressed and exploited workers of the world must clasp hands across the artificial boundaries of the political States, and thus destroy these boundaries; they must unite for the common cause in the single thought of justice and solidarity of interests; all for each, and each for all. For the last time the world must split itself into two camps, into two parties; on one side, Labour to equal conditions for all, the liberty of each through the equality of all, the conquering Justice and Humanity—the revolution; on the other side, privilege, monopoly, dominion, oppression, and exploitation.

The second condition, inseparable from the first, is knowledge. Not the bourgeois knowledge adulterated, metaphysical, legal, political, economical, pedantic and dogmatic, which is taught at your universities; but the true human knowledge, founded on the positive perception of the facts of nature, history, and society, and guided by nothing else but reason and sound common-sense. Knowledge is power. The workers, therefore, need solidarity and knowledge. To develop these two fundamental conditions of their victory, is not this the main object of the organ founded by the Latin sections of Switzerland! It is the duty of every one to help in this work, and I will be proud and happy to give what assistance I can.—"Egalite," December 19, 1868.

of the individual worker, then taking him into the organisation. By so doing, we are securing an intelligent and reliable membership of men and women, who have a clear knowledge of what they want, and how to get what they want; who recognise that "an injury to one is an injury to all," and set up to it, too, as has been demonstrated many times in this country, even though the I.W.W. is still in the propaganda stage.

The I.W.W. is more than a labor organisation; it is the embryo of the future society which is being built up inside the old; its purpose is to organise the workers in exactly the same departments of production and distribution as will obtain in the new society. It is frequently stated by A.W.U. enthusiasts that the Industrial Workers should not attack the A.W.U. in its new role, but work in harmony, so as to lead it from the path of reaction on to that of militancy and progress. In other words, to convert it into an I.W.W. Oh, no, "borers from within," that does not appeal to us.

In every country in the world where it has been attempted, it has proven a waste of time and energy, and the method to be unscientific. However, we are not really opposed to the A.W.U. and its amalgamation schemes, but, on the contrary, desire to see it develop to its fullest capacity, for we know when it does, it is as far as existing unionism can go, and will also show to the working class of this country that it is powerless when up against the great aggregations of international capital. The complete abolition of all power is what we are fighting for, not the creating of a new and, perhaps, more tyrannical one, in the shape of an industrial oligarchy of labor. Industrial evolution brought the A.W.U. into being; it was justifiable and of great use to its members during its earlier career, but now evolution renders it useless and paves the way for the newer and better unionism of the I.W.W.

## WOMEN AND THE I.W.W.

Perhaps the most revolting feature of modern capitalism is its subjugation and consequent degradation of women. And it is a singular fact that the advanced movements of our time show a common failing in dealing with the women question. We have reached a stage in economic development when man's dominance in industrial activity is seriously threatened by the influx of women in the labor market, with its resultant lowering of wages and standard of living. If this intolerable state of affairs is allowed to proceed much further, unlooked for events are going to happen. Instead of concord and harmony amongst the sexes, there will be enmity and antagonism. To obviate this difficulty is the chance of the I.W.W.

It is known by all alert observers that women are the hardest to organise. From time immemorial they have been the plaything of man; they have that shyness that comes of long and forced seclusion from public affairs. Temperamentally, she is different to the male, for in that alone do we find one of the greatest obstacles to female organisation.

Capitalism, however, treats her without any scruples; it forces her to be a wage slave and makes her submit to all the indignities of male domination. But in being a wage slave she stands exactly on the same plane as man—in relation to the employing class, that is, as slave to a master. The I.W.W. stands for the abolition of "wage slavery," the cause of women's degradation, since the only natural thing for her to do is to join the I.W.W. Now, as I said before, there are great difficulties in the road.

One of these is her antagonism. To say that it is foolish and wrong does not get over the difficulty. It is a blur on our relationship, and must be eliminated.

The working class have everything to gain by acting in unity with their sisters. There is a common battle against adversity, and they should act in unity when fighting against a common foe.

The I.W.W. is the right organisation in the right place, and manifestly its function will be to cement the affinity of sex; it is imperative that it should do so, necessity demands it, and last, but not least, human welfare demands it.

One attribute which I think women in a great cause possess more than men is that of enthusiasm. The militant suffrage movement proves the truth of that statement. And seeing that the I.W.W. demands enthusiasm and determination of a high order, the incoming of the female element would be an acquisition, the germ of which could never be calculated. There are certain wants and desires that are common to both sexes to combine for the gratification of those wants is the only rational and natural action for them to take. Whether they will do that, the future alone will tell. We cannot with any degree of certainty foretell the future—Unknown things are in store for us.

There is no man or woman living with such foresight and imagination as could be equal to the task of prophesying the ultimate destiny of the human race. What we do know is that there are certain forces operating, the use we are going to make of them.

## WHAT I BELIEVE.

I believe that men who work all day long, and don't know what for, are fools.

I believe that to work 2 hours a day is quite sufficient, because a plute doesn't work at all, and lives in opulence.

I believe that the village blacksmith whose muscles "stand out like iron bands" must have a brain as dull as iron.

I believe in "free beer," because attending church is free. Both, it seems, are potent factors in bemuddling the worker.

I believe in robbing the boss while he is not looking, because he robs you while you are looking.

I believe in leading the simple life, because I have to.

I believe that a fair day's wages for a fair day's work is not, because a labor politician gets a fair day's wages for feathering his own nest.

I believe that "brevity is the soul of wit," since I will conclude.

NIL DESPERANDUM.

## LETTER.

A letter containing dues card, addressed to F. W. Jim Gray at Mildura, has been returned to headquarters. Will F. W. Gray please send his new address.

and the benefits that will accrue to us will depend on the intelligence of the working class. By that will we be able to judge the progress of the race towards a greater and better life.

NIL DESPERANDUM.

## SUNDAY MEETINGS.

The meeting in the Domain, Sydney, on Sunday afternoon last was a great success. Many of the P.L.L. delegates were present, and a few of the shining lights of the Trades Hall. Much literature was sold, and the papers also went with a swing.

At night a large meeting was held at Bathurst-street, where the audience was addressed by F. W. Grant, and Jones (P.L.L.). After the meeting was over the crowd marched to the Hall singing their songs.

F. W. Glynn addressed a crowded meeting in the Hall. The lecturer outlined crisply and clearly the basis of modern society, and stressed the utter impotency of Parliament and other institutions, in emancipating the working classes. F. W. Mrs. Sullivan was in the chair. Questions terminated a memorable day's propaganda.

## TOTTENHAM.

As we go to Press, a communication has been received from fellow workers at Tottenham, who have sent to the General Office for an application form for a charter, so as to make a start on a solid basis for the propaganda of the ideas of the I.W.W. In hundreds of places the propaganda is going ahead, and in a few months the I.W.W. will be developing into the constructive phase.

## REPORTEER.

Minister Cann, a Labour Party big gun, came out of the P.L.L. Conference the other day. He was accosted on the step by an I.W.W. man selling "War! What For?" The ponderous politician snapped, "A young fellow like you would be better on the end of a rifle."

And swift came the retort, "And a damned parasite like you on the other end of it!"

## EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION.

### Justifiable Assassination. Mr. Meagher's Sentiment.

Mr. Fitzgerald, the newly-elected president of the Political Labor League, entered upon his duties at yesterday's meeting of the conference. The retiring president, Mr. Meagher, in handing over control of conference, expressed his thanks to the delegates for the honor that had been conferred upon him. He regarded the presidency of the Political Labor League as the blue ribbon of democracy. He congratulated Mr. Fitzgerald upon his election. The new president was a man of experience and tact, and he felt satisfied that the business of the league would be safe in his hands.

There was an enormous field for propaganda work among the organized workers. It had been said that revolution was but evolution hurried up. He was himself a revolutionist, by peaceful means if possible. He could not, however, look at history without realising that in the struggle for progress and freedom force had to be met with force if necessary. He believed that judicial murder could justly be met by assassination in certain cases. He believed he would see the day when the craft of unions would disappear, and the workers would speak with one voice through one great labor organization. Figures recently compiled showed that the male workers over 21 years of age in the Commonwealth numbered 971,000, while only 477,000 were in the unions. Of the 216,000 women workers over 20 years of age only 20,000 were unionists, giving a total of male and female workers of 1,187,000, of whom only 497,000 were enrolled in unions. "The Sun."



# The Human Drift.

LABOR OMNIA VINCIT, LABORARE EST ORARE.

"This that they call Organisation of Labour is the universal vital question of the world; it is the problem of the whole future for all who will in future pretend to govern man."—Thomas Carlyle.

By Ajax.

In this essay an attempt is made, by the use of charts and explanatory notes, to show the human drift. Our five tables; historic, psychologic, generic, economic and social (whatever their imperfections), contain in brief the gist of ponderous technical volumes, which the average worker has neither the time nor inclination to study. In the short essay it is only possible to present a brief synopsis in our effort to show the worker his position. The chart method has the added advantage that it is useful for reference. Table one needs no introduction.

Labour	Trade	Prigat	Military	Chieftain	Date	Society
Apasthetic Slavery	Primitive Latter	o	ooo	oooo	Pre-historic	Savage
oo	oo	oo	oooo	oooo	No data	Lower Barbarism
oo	oo	oo	oooo	oooo	800 B.C. to 900 A.D.	Higher Barbarism
oo	oo	oooo	oooo	oooo	10-30 to 1400	Lower Possessional (Feudalism)
oo	oooo	oo	oooo	oo	1400 to 1950	Higher Possessional (Capitalism)
oooo	oo	oo	oo	oo	1950 to 2025	Lower Socialism (Collectivism)
oooo	oooo	oo	oo	oo	2030	Higher Socialism (Communism)

Letter "o" denotes relative importance.

To enable the student to understand this chart, it should be mentioned that the evolution of the tool of production played a prominent part in the moulding of men's ideas and actions. Under savagery, crude stone and bone tools were used. Barbarism saw the introduction of copper and bronze. Other metals were exploited in the feudal stage, including weapons of tempered iron. Various improved metal tools worked by hand, during this period, were supplanted by machinery under capitalism. Last century saw the rapid rise of iron, coal and steam, which are now giving way to steel, oil and electricity, thus rendering all former tools of production obsolete.

These changes in production had an important bearing on the class struggle. Just as metal weapons enabled the Feudal militarists to carve their way to power through rivers of blood, so in a greater degree machinery helped the capitalists to achieve economic supremacy, a victory gained with frightful slaughter on the industrial field.

Owing to the doctoring of history, it is not easy to determine the exact relation of classes. Europe formerly was split up into states and principalities, frequently at war, and internally torn by class feuds. The different conditions appertaining in neighbouring states and the complex social phenomena of early times renders a forecast difficult. This chart is based upon the history of Western Europe. In Feudalism the military caste were predominant, although the church practically ruled some districts.

To-day, despite the revival of militarism consequent on the war, signs are not wanting that this caste is on the wane. A century ago the priest class had a revival, the Catholic Church gaining in new countries much that she had lost in old lands. It is probable that, under Socialism, militarism in a modified form would linger on for some time. The division of skilled and unskilled labor (an economic fallacy) is rendered necessary owing to the number of intellectuals, engineers, teachers, writers, etc., who, though socially above the laboring classes, are economically in the same category.

The artist is just as much a skilled laborer as the artisan. Already there is a steady drift towards the merging of skilled and unskilled into one class, even intellect and labor is drawing closer, and foreshadows the future consolidation and supremacy of the common man.

We now come to the biology of the homo. The little table below enables the student to form a faint idea of the psychology of society, past, present and future:—

Social stage	Virile	Adolescent	Puerile
Primitive man	Potential	Potential	All
Higher savage	A few	A few	Nearly all
Lower barbarism.	A minority	A large minority.	The rest
Higher barbarism.	A majority	A decking minority.	A few backward types*
Feudalism	The ruling caste and intellectuals		
Capitalism	The upper classes		
Socialism.	The majority		

## GENUS HOMO.

We can roughly divide the genus homo into the stages of evolutionary growth:

The Puerile: Very individualistic. Chiefly concerned to obtain what it can: Weak mentally and morally with little mutual aid. Faith stronger than reason.

Adolescent: Beginning to develop purpose and action. Endeavours to react fully to external relations. Reason struggling against passion and belief.

Virile: Intellect developed. Trying to act with harmonious relationship for all mutual purposes, especially in obtaining economic freedom for themselves. Potentialities of the super-man beginning to evolve.

Genus	Chief characteristics of unit.	Social form.
Puerile	Receptive, low mentality, unable to react.	Savagery and lower barbarism.
Adolescent	Competitive, reason forming, struggles to conform to external relations.	Feudalism and higher barbarism, Lower and higher Capitalism.
Virile	Intellectual, co-operative, mastering environment spirituality superceding animalism.	Socialism, Anarchy.

The psychological development illustrated in table 2 corresponds to the generic evolution briefly shown in table 3.

Generic differences depend upon intellectual growth in man. Specific alterations upon material environment. Acting under the influence of diseased humanity, due partly to abnormal evolution of slave blood, a higher or more virile type generally enslaves a lower one. In early ages blood bonds consolidated mankind into tribes. To-day it is vested interests of allied species that make the class bond and determine the nature of the class struggle emphasised in table 5.

So far we have seen that the slave classes played an apathetic role. Of late years professional liars talk as if slavery was abolished, and human freedom were a living reality. Our next chart shows the position of the worker, past and present.

This chart illustrates the rights of the slave class. Biologically the slave blood was embryonic, immature, adolescent and mature in the four states from chattel slavery onward.

Rights.	Economic	Political	Judicial	Natural	State
None	None	None	None	Barbarism	None
None	None	None	None	Chattel Slavery	Embryonic
None	None	None	Theoretically some	Serfdom	Some
Nominally some	None	None	In theory a little	Wage Slavery	Some*
Rights	Some	Some	In practice less.	Socialism	All

\*Although natural rights under capitalism are seemingly in advance of serfdom, in certain cases they are relatively

less. We read and hear so much about employers and workmen's rights, and there is considerable clap-trap, especially in political circles anent legislation for the workers and the much-boomed concessions to labor, that it is well to see how we really stand. Probably conservatives will take exception and dispute this table. The author doesn't pretend to infallibility, but contends that the natural rights under capitalism have been curtailed. Under Feudalism during normal times no man need starve. Even the serfs held land in common. The rise of large towns and trade ramifications leads to numerous restrictions and laws. Compulsory vaccination, sterilisation, and similar ideas in opposition to natural rights were formerly unknown.

Economically, too, the wage slave of to-day is comparatively poorer and more dependent on the landlord and capitalist. Some Socialists have contended that the negro chattel slave of the Southern States was better off than the alleged free workers of the victorious Northern States of America. It is on record that thousands of slaves begged the planters to take them back. After due allowance is made for the slave blood, it is not likely that masses of negroes would act thus unless they realised the new order was of no use to them.

That the rights of the workers judiciously, when in opposition to other classes, are nil, has been proved time and again.

There is a marked tendency nowadays to attach on exaggerated importance to politics. Even to-day, with all the extensions of the franchise and political tarry diddle, the alleged political power or rights of the proletariat in a few advanced countries is only nominal, in others it does not exist at all.

## STAGES OF HUMAN EVOLUTION.

A comparison with Table 1 indicates clearly what an important part the mode of production plays in social growth.

Historic Stage	Social Form	Authority.
Lower savage	Communitistic family	The best man
Higher savage	Normal gens	Patristic.
Lower Barbarism	The clan	One ruling family
Feudalism	The tribe	One clan
Higher Barbarism	The nation*	One ruling class
Lower Possessional Capitalism	Empire or Allied States.	Joint Government by owning classes**
Lower Socialism	Federated Democracies.	Plebiscite Authority
Communism	International Federation.	Virile mass rule

\*At this stage the blood bond broke up. Union of classes of similar economic interests caused class rule to supercede tribal domination.

\*\*There is still a feud between the landlords and traders through self-interest forces unity against lower classes.

Of course, there was great overlapping in various countries throughout these stages. Each epoch shows survival from the past and embryonic structure of the future. Feudal and commercial Japan existed under the same Emperor. In England, under the Stuarts, the feudal class still ruled, howbeit the country had definitely passed from Feudalism to Capitalism, while embryonic Socialism manifested itself in poor laws and the advent of the Levellers; (Feudalists.) the fact that the Stuarts successfully came again, while the Levellers were easily shown the mentality of the people or slave class was backward compared to the economic developments of the age. Obviously there were too many or the genus adolescent or puerile, and too few virile types.

Volumes might be written on this subject which is practically infinite in its ramifications. Let us hope this chart is sufficient to convey an idea at least of the social position.

These charts should be studied in conjunction, as they are closely related, and each essential in the authors plan which is to illustrate the scheme of social evolution.

## CONCLUSION.

Many and devious are the devices of the ruling class to maintain their power. A prostituted press and parliament, puppets preaching a slave philosophy, brutal bayonets all threatening an industrial or metaphysical hell, backed up by shot and shell, not to mention liars and legalists, are a few of the methods employed. They may fondly hope or vainly imagine that these tactics will succeed in perpetuating plutocratic power. Where ignorance is strong, these methods apparently are victorious, but only for the moment, as these tactics pave the way for reaction. The tend of evolution is against vested interests, as we have already demonstrated.

Every war, strike, famine or crisis helps to put one more nail in the coffin of capitalism. However perverted, stunted, and warped by commercialism, we may be, hard facts educate where cold logic fails to convince. As the mentality of the slave class becomes more virile, exploitation of the poor is rendered difficult. Everything points to the conclusion that the time is near when the majority will be virile types. The moment that happens, there is no force known to science capable of resisting the legions of progress animated with altruistic consciousness. In that day decaying capitalism will fall, never to rise again, mortally wounded by the strong arm of organised labor. Intellect, superstition and misery, can it exist! Why pollute it the ground!

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## STICKERS.

Stickers are one of the most effective propaganda dodges that can be used. The Press Committee have printed a large quantity, which are now on sale to members, and locals. The prices are 2s. 6d. per thousand; 11s. for 5000; and £1 for 10,000. Orders despatched by return.

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## TO LOCALS.

Locals and members are urged to push the paper and literature. We are doing our bit this end. Push the paper in the dough, and we'll settle up what we owe on the plant. We have quids worth of literature on hand—all good—we want it converted into cash. And it depends on you! Are you in?

Who said there was no unemployment in N.S.W.? "At a meeting of the Dalley Labor Council last night 19 persons were nominated for the ballot for the selection of a candidate to contest the extraordinary vacancy in the Dalley Electorate in the Labor interest."—Sydney "Sun."



## Workers! Become Honest.

The last few weeks we have heard a most pitiable cry go up to the gods from the throats of many leaders in the Trade Union Army, and more especially from the leaders of the Builders' Labourers' Union.

It appears that they have been silly enough to spend money in getting an award from the Arbitration Court, and, having got it, they have become still sillier in upholding it against an attack of employers in the Higher Courts, by wanting their substance in grasping a shadow, spending their hard-earned money in support of the people who are always ready to fleece the innocent—the legal profession. Have not the Builders' Labourers' Union recognised that the law was made by lawyers for lawyers, and only lawyers can do anything with it? And have not the Builders' Labourers' learned yet that people who play with fire will certainly have their fingers burnt? Or that laymen, or, better still, labourers, have made another law for themselves, which has been as effective in gaining the labourers their point, as law has been in gaining the lawyers their point?

I had begun to think that the leaders of Trade Unions were becoming an enlightened circle of men, but one more disappointment is neither here nor there. One thing I am convinced of, that labourers have got hold of the greatest lot of middle-headed, soft-brained, weak-kneed, spineless collection of leaders there is in any community. To think how they allow the exploiters to play with them, and take from them all the money they ever had—and have the damned cheek to come round with the hat again for another go at the Bloodsuckers, only the arena has been removed to England this go. They cry and whine that it is an attempt to wreck organised labour, and that we must give them £2000 to carry through this final go.

I was always under the belief that when a fight was removed from one centre to another, it was the idea to find a place or an empire that was neutral, so that the combatants would have a fair go; but in this case of Labourers v. Employers, the employers have chosen the place and also the empire. Fancy going to England expecting to get justice from a Court where one of the leading lights, the Lord Chief Justice, is recognised as one of the greatest thieves of his time! He started as a shopkeeper, a money-bag, couldn't pay. He then became a lawyer, and some years ago we heard of him as a Minister in the British Cabinet. Two years ago he became famous for some swindling in Marconi shares, and a month or two later he was thought to be the most fitted person to hold the position of Lord Chief Justice of England. This is the calibre of the Judges our Builders' Labourers asked us for £2000 to allow them to appear before.

Now to the rank and file. Because your leaders have sold you, have you never thought there was some other way of scoring on your task-masters? Have you never heard of Sabotage? Have you never heard how it has been used for the uplifting of the fallen? Have you never heard of the manner the Builders of Paris used it, or the Wharf Labourers of Glasgow? Well, if you have not, I will tell you how you could use it, and win your fight without wasting £2000, by using some common-sense. Supposing that you as a body decide that from a certain date your members must become honest men, which means you will not encourage your employers to put shoddy material in the mixing of lime or the other substances you have to use, but will say, "Look here! This is bad sand, or bad lime, or bad cement, and we will have nothing but the best material." This must take place on every building where your members are employed. I ask you what will the result be? In a month's time the employers would be at their wits' end, and you would have gone a long way in establishing whatever claim you were putting forward. Give it a go, friends, and send these funkies of officers of yours to see their suits until they have gained some common-sense; and let the Arbitration Court and all other Courts go whence they came, and the snares and traps laid for you by Politicians, whose duty it is not to free you, but to chain you.

Remember, Sabotage! Become honest, and all will be well.

W.P.E.

## If Constantinople Falls What May Happen?

(From the New Republic.)

The fall of Constantinople would materially and promptly change the whole situation in the Near East, is would exercise a tremendous influence upon all the neutrals in the Mediterranean, it might conceivably bring Italy, Rumania and Greece into the battle lines to fill the gap between the Russians and the Serbians, and turn the Austrian flank along the Adriatic and the Alps. But in any event it would pass an immediate sentence of death upon those who now control the warning power of Ottoman. Enver Bey and the handful of pro-German statesmen who rushed their country into a third terrible war before the wounds of two earlier disasters had healed, would infallibly pay the price failure imposes in the Turkish world. With their passing, Russian troops in the Caucasus, British troops in Egypt, would be released for service in Europe. Turkey would disappear from the war, as from Europe.

There remains to be considered one more important detail. It is arguable that when Sir Edward Grey, following the impressive words of Sazonov, spoken at the moment of Russian defeat in East Prussia, asserted that Britain was at one with her great ally in the desire that she should reach the warm water, he did not mean that England would permit Byzantium to be Russia's to have and to hold. But it is wholly unlikely. The probability is that the Anglo-French fleet will reach the city before any Russian force by land, or sea, but does anyone suppose that the Anglo-French flags in Pera and Galata would not give way to the Russian if there came the smallest whisper from Petrograd of the possibility of a separate peace with Berlin?

The truth is that Russia holds the key of the situation. Without her the defeat of the German is not only unthinkable, but the ultimate defeat and crushing of France an immediate consideration. If the Czar desires to go to Stambul he will go. And the world knows that he does desire to go. For

his dynasty, for his nation, the restoration of the Cross on St. Sophia will be a triumph far overbalancing all disasters in other fields. For his allies, such a service to Russia will have an inestimable value in providing a means to pay Russia for the great sacrifices she has made, for bearing the burden of the terrible conflict for the past four months, for giving lives so freely and so unhesitatingly at Tannenberg that Paris might be saved.

There can be no questioning the fact that for their own sakes, for the future course of the war, the allies must now take Constantinople and demonstrate their readiness to assign it to Russia when peace comes, to share possession with the Czar now. Sir Edward Grey could not have meant less, Sergius Sazonov could not ask less, and it is his, not Grey's, to decide.

Nothing perhaps, better demonstrates the fashion in which the world is changing under our eyes almost hourly, nothing more thoroughly emphasises the greatness of the time in which we are living, than the struggle now going on at the western sea gate of Constantinople. After five centuries the sands of the Ottoman are running out, the Eastern question, which for two centuries has kept the world by the ears, is approaching a final liquidation, and dimly, through the fog of the tumultuous present, it is possible to perceive a time when Russia may fulfil the forecast of the great Napoleon, may dominate continental Europe, with one hand on the Dardanelles and the other on the mouth of the Vistula. All this British statesmen see, have long seen, but they had to choose between the Russian and the German, and wisely or mistakenly they have chosen the Slav, and must henceforth abide by the consequences of their decision. The sailing orders of the fleet before the Dardanelles may come from Paris and from London, but Paris and London hereafter get their marching orders from Petrograd.

FRANK H. SIMONDS.

## Reasons For Ignoring Parliament.

A great deal of time is taken up by the various working class organisations in discussions regarding the real and definite attitude we should adopt in order to further the progress of the workers' movement, and, more important still, to hasten its progress. Without wasting any time by reviewing the Trades Union movement in its earlier stages (which we must agree was far more satisfactory many years ago owing to the mode of production than it is to-day, owing to the same cause), let us confine our investigations to events of the present, which have evolved out of years of agitation and hard struggling.

Trades Unionism, I venture to say, admitted its defeat and its futility as a movement alone the very day it sent members into Parliament House, and looked to those members for aid. Now, what is the result? The various State Parliaments have at different periods been conducted by a majority of members who were selected by working class organisations, and by virtue of that fact they are known to us as the Labor Party. Even the supposed-to-be all-powerful Federal Government has periodically been graced by a majority of Labor members.

Now, for the fruits of our efforts in sending them there. Where have we advanced from? Where have we arrived at? Or have we gone forward at all in a manner which we could boldly and without hesitation say has justified our action in seeking Parliament as a means towards that end? I make bold to say we have not.

Let it thoroughly known here that we are dealing with parliamentary action alone. As for the other influences—well, we will catch them up later on. We saw, and we know, that years ago the Trade Unions were able to cope with the encroachments of the master class but the time came when they failed in their mission and sought Parliament as a remedy. Now, surely we ought to expect some good gains to the working class as a class if Parliament is such a formidable institution as it is claimed by its advocates to be, knowing and bearing in mind that we have had a Labor majority in the Houses on several occasions.

My study of parliamentary action forces me to the following conclusion, that—first, no enactment of Labor legislation has benefited the workers as a whole, without it also benefited the capitalists as a whole; and, further still, had it not benefited the capitalists, the attempt of such legislation would have proved abortive and futile. I refer to such measures as the Old Age Pensions. Secondly, where isolated cases of increased wages, etc., have been gained, and the influence of Parliament was sought with that end in view, such increases, etc., were only then gained after a hard battle and a severe agitation on the part of the unionist concerned, and that Parliament therefore merely sanctioned the increases, etc. Thirdly, the number of instances where increases have been gained in the manner just mentioned are easily counter-balanced by the large number of instances where increases, etc., have been gained by absolutely ignoring Parliament and fighting the master directly, thus proving most conclusively that there is no absolute necessity to use Parliament.

I challenge contradiction to those statements. Not on any account do I deny the usefulness of Parliament, because of its consisting of opportunists, schemers, and political scoundrels, etc. It may be a fact that some are not of that type of individuals, though the majority are. What I am denying Parliament for is that it can only function in accordance with the strongest demands made to it from outside sources. Consequently, realising the enormous potential power possessed by the workers, that abstract labor power which alone carries on society, why should we not consolidate our forces into one force, and enter into an everyday conflict against the parasites of society, instead of such a humdrum, tedious, and totally useless indulgence of rainbow chasing, such as parliamentary action is?

I have yet to learn where the real necessity of Parliament lies as a working class institution. The most ardent of its advocates admit its uselessness without an economic organisation! Quite a revelation. They have thrown away their case absolutely in regard to political action.

"An economic organisation! What for?" "Oh," comes the rejoinder from my opponents, "to tell us what to do, and when we legislate a certain mea-

sure—an economic organisation will maintain and enforce it." "But how does that stand?" That is straight away bestowing greater powers upon the economic organisation than upon the political one. Hence, why should we waste our time fighting in the north and in the south, thus dividing our army, when a fight in the one place will bring victory?"

"Oh," they say, "we are not dividing our army; we are strengthening it all the more." But when we delve into the matter, we can easily see that such is not the case. Parliament is an institution wherein all the strongholds of capitalism record their functions. Such matters as Religion, Taxation, Commercial Laws, Banking, Militarism, etc., are about the most prominent features of the time it occupies. Nobody could suggest that any of those items are of a working class order. Yet we know that the workers, owing to their ignorance of economics, are led astray by the false belief that they are concerned in some way in those matters. Disaster is their lot straight away, inasmuch as they cannot agree upon a definite policy in regard to any of these or the many other items which come before Parliament. These sort of items do not alter, or make better, or advance their material interests. Consequently, this, coupled with their economic ignorance, shatters all thoughts of solidarity on the political field, and as a result we witness so many changes in names of Governments which succeed at election time. This fact was revealed to the late T. Price, of South Australia, who was held up to us as being one of the greatest Labor men ever in Parliament. When his party was defeated at one period, he said, "Well, politics is a see-saw game; we cannot please everybody, we must accept their ruling. There are too many side issues in politics, and no Government can expect to reign for ever. And it is a fact."

On the other hand, we can look to an industrial union for what we fail to find in politics. Most workers will agree upon such matters as higher wages, shorter hours, better sanitary conditions, etc. The only trouble just now lies in getting them to separate these matters from others that didn't concern them, and to organise in a form in which they can demand them.

We know that owing to so many side issues, so many different royal regulations, etc., we cannot hope to get solidarity and to maintain it for long in politics, but ordinary events point to the fact that we can get solidarity and hold it on the industrial field. Another point must be brought to bear. Who can say that Parliament has got to stay with us as a means of bettering our conditions? Nobody. It does not follow that because we have tried it for so long that we will and must continue to do so in the future. On the contrary, we can notice a general inclination on all sides to disregard Parliament, and to substitute in its stead a method of face to face or direct action. The majority of the advanced agitators have declared Parliament to be a mere superstition. They have propagated their ideas wherever possible, and have cleared the scales of superstition from the eyes of a number of workers. As a result numerous instances of direct action being used by members of unions whose policy is arbitration, etc., can be quoted.

The A.W.U. sometimes finds cause to act in such a manner, and that organisation is the greatest parliamentary nest-egg existing. A lot more unions, too, have seen fit to do likewise. And the spirit is growing. Hence, if individual unions realise that by a combination of forces they will succeed to a far greater degree to improve conditions by taking direct action, it must follow that their predilection for such a slow and useless bogey as parliamentary action will die out.

Such trifles as Old Age Pensions, etc., will then be scorned, because the very cause of such things are bad economic conditions. Better those conditions, and no pensions, etc., will be needed. Indeed, when we examine it carefully we can see that such a measure as the one mentioned is beneficial to the capitalists, because it is only a bribe handed out to side-track the slaves into the belief that a lot more can be got out of parliamentary action, and thus their attention is drawn right away from the all-powerful Job Organisation.

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