'An Injury to One an INJURY to All.'



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March 3rd, 1917. ONE PENNY. SYDNEY.

I.W.W. in Cobar

Due no doubt, to the grand advertisement given to the Industrial Workers of the World, free gratis, by the capitalist press, politicians and pulpiteers, in every part of the country, interest and a general desire to understand its ideals, principles, and tactics, is easily discernable. is easily discernable. In Cobar, because of the sincerity and pluck of a few individuals, the sincerty and place of a technical size local will soon appear, impelled by the desire for a greater and fuller freedom to carry on the work of education and organisaso ably grounded by a few. the 1st saw the the first I.W.W. man mount the Ist saw the the first I.W.W. man mount the box publicly to proclaim the rights of the working class, and the I.W.W. policy for dealing with vested interests, and Pat O'Connell himself saw with some surprise that the young spirits of Cobar were willing and eager to listen and learn what this organisation—which had so often been de-clared by capitalistic crawlers, and scabs, and lying newspapers, "a criminal organisaoften been in their own defence, and were satisfied that the I.W.W. stood for the best interess of the working class

But this was not to be stood for by the mine managers and pannikan bosses, who decided that between themselves, the police, and the Mayor, not to say anything of a J.P. or two, Mayor, not to say anytning of a J.r. or two, that the L.W.; must be brutaffy beaten and bludgeoned out of town. Picking a night when about half a dozen of the boys were about to start a peaceful meeting, they commenced their Amercian tactics. Dare, one of the speakers, 'was knocked to the ground, and either with a boot or "knuckleground, and either with a boot or knuckie-duster" given a broken 'jaw. Another attacked by the mob of boss-lovers, ram for shelter into a chemists's shop; from there he was pulled by one of the N.S.W. police force, pulled by one of the N.S.W. police force, and thrown into the hands of the mob again. A certain rag shop keeper near handy to the scene of the brutal assault, was urging, in company with the police, that the mob should do for these peaceful educators of the working class. Good unionists in Cobar will probably know after this, that wearing apparal can be procured cheaper elsewhere. It parel can be procured cheaper elsewhere. It has been asserted that members of the F.M.E.A. were connected with the business, but to the library of t brutal business, but to that the Secretary has pub-licly given an emphatic denial, and proof is forthcoming that the affair originated in the office of the Great Cobar Mine, and it will be well for the originators to remember that one of the mottoes of the I.W.W. is "We one of the mottoes never forget." If never forget." If those who don't agree with the arguments of the Industrial Workers of the World would reflect and try and combat them, I am certain that the platform is always open to them. However, due to matters coming to a head, I was sent as delegate from headquarters to find out why the trouble started, and am pleased to be able to report.
that the boys are now more determined than ever to carry on the good fight against any odds, and plant the flag of Indstrial Unionism in the far West. Saturday night in Cobar saw a large and enthusiastic audience roll up to bear myself and George Kerr, the Broken Hill delegate, on the Defence and Release Committee, put the case for the I.W.W. and the D. and R. Com.

A collection of over £4 and good sales of pamphiets and papers was made. In response to the call for a meeting of members and in. tending members, over fifty young bloods put in an appearance, where it was decided form a propaganda local of the T.W.W., form a propaganda local of the T.W.W., and application was made to the G.E.B. for a charter. Fellow Worker Jack Hamilton was

charter. Fellow Worker Jack Hamilton was appointed Secretary-Treasurer, and L. Dare to the position of Literature Secretary. Stick to the good work you have so well started boys of Cobar, and you will, with the rest of the workers of the work, live to see the parasites on the backs of the workers so to work, and true happiness, with a social system that is sane, in the Industrial Democracy.

R. J. FARRALL.

long days of suspense,
And ever more as WORKERS, ORGANISE:

FELLOW WORKERS!

Members of Your Class

are still Lying in JAIL.

Shall Virile Fighters **ROT IN SILENCE?**

What is Your Answer?

THE WARNING.

Unionists should particularly re-member that it is likely Australia is now going to feel the financial and nic effects of the war.

—Mr. Beeby.

There's a look of horror on the faces of the poor,
And a spectre looming in the days ahead,
Another load of misery the workers must

endure,
A round of sleepless nights and nameless.

Overhead the dark clouds gather, and evil signs portend

The coming days of woe and care.

When bloodless lips shall whisper, "Will the horror never end?"

And loving souls shall perish in despair.

Is the dismal days approaching, as the grue-some monster nears And trembling workers feel its cold em-

brace,
You will see their fond hopes dying in the
crush of haupting fears,
And the look of anguish on each pallid

Yet above the laugh of madness, as the

strugge grows intense,
A voice in protest will arise,
You will heed its blessed teachings in the Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and

Given to redeem the human mind from error, There were no need for arsenals and forts.

To sit in silence when we should protest Makes cowards out of men. The human race Has climbed on protest. Had no voice been raised

Against injustice, ignorance and lust, The inquisition yet would set the law, And guillotines decide our least disputes, The few who dare must speak, and speak again

To right the wrongs of many. Speech, thank God,

No vested power in this great day and land

Loud disapproval of existing ills: May criticise oppression and condemn
The lawlessness of wealth-protecting laws, That let the children and child-bearers toil To purchase ease for idle millionaires. Therefore, I do protest against the boast Of independence in this mighty land, Call no chain strong which holds one rusted

Call no land free that holds one fettered slave, Until the manacled slim wrists of babes Are loosed to toss in childish sport and glee.

Were half the power that fills the world with

-Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

Brisbane.

The Brisbane local is making itself felt gain, and making headway. Headquarters again, and making headway. Headquarters have been procured in the Russian Association Rooms in Stanley Street in a comfortable well-seated room. Meetings take place on Tues-days, business meeting one week, educational the next

On Friday last, a meeting was held in the Market Square. The speakers were Fellow-Workers Barker, Madorsky and Henry (chairman). There was a large audience, and "Direct Action" and literature sold freely. These meetings, if held regularly, will soon get good and effective results.

get good and effective results.

The literature sellers did good execution on Saturday night at a meeting of the Defence Committee in the Square, over nine dozen "D.A.s." and 40 copies of the "Speeches" being sold. Other matter was sold at the butchers' strike meeting, and at the Memorial Service to Mrs. Emma Miller in the Trades Hall on Sunday night. The I.W.W. will

soon grow here.

Mildura.

Mildura, Victoria, is a picturesque township, situated on the banks of the Murray river. Here the exploiter, having grabbed all the land, plants every year a prolife crop of grape vines. About the middle of February grape vines. About the middle of February the fruit, being ripe, anywhere in the vicinity of 2,000 slaves gather here from all parts of the continent. They come on foot, with beavy swags on back, on bikes, over long, dry, sandy roads; in beats up and down the river, or the railways. The cheap boarding and lodging houses of the town gather them in; the banks of the river are lined with them; men, women and children, living under a few feet of balloc; and all are patiently waiting for one object—the harvesting of the ripe fruit crop. ripe fruit crop.

Our great A.W.U., the boss cum officialy controlled A.W.U. last year, entered into an agreement with the boss, binding the slaves agreement with the boss, binding the slaves to serve their masters for the magnificent wage of 9s 4d per day for the period or the war, and 6 months after. Well, the slaves are on the point of revolt. Everywhere, one hears outspoken condemnation of the "honorable agreement" and A.W.U. officialdom. This dissatisfaction only needs directing into proper channels; and cocky's "sweet dream of peace" is o'er.

of peace" is o'er.

Keeping in mind our motto: "There should
be on peace so long as hunger and want are
found among millions of working people," a
few members of that "criminal organisation"
(vide parasite Pring), the I.W.W. are doing
their little best to arouse the slaves to domand a greater portion of the fruits of their labor

To this end we are getting off some stickers calling upon the slaves to demand 12s 6d a calling upon the slaves to demand 12s 6d a day. We are getting among them, and quickening discussion. A bunch of LW.W-ites last year broke the ground in this town, so the fight should be easier this season.

But we are few in numbers (only three being here so far). Therefore, we call upon all foot-loose soapboxers and rebels generally, who love a scrap to roll up their swars.

ally, who love a scrap, to roll up their swags and make Mildura their object. Come and make Mildura their object. Come on, fellow-workers, surely some of you must be tired of the city's grind and sweatshop; come join us among the grapes (they are good esting) and you will be well rewarded. It is worth coming a few hundred miles to see the last of the graph of worth coming a tew numbered miles to see the look of dismay that will o'erspread the face of Mr. Cocky when he hears that his precious agreement is in danger.

The fare from Sydney to Melbourne is 25s; from Melbourne to Mildura per rail about 35s.

if you pay it.
Roll up, comrades, and give us a hand; even
if we lose the strike, the propaganda, and release agitation, we get in will repay us hand-

Yours, etc.,

TOM O'CONNOR.

Direct Action



OFFICIAL ORGAN
of the
INDUSTRIAL WORKER;
THE WORLD. WORKERS OF

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Unemployment.

A SHORTER WORK DAY. THE REMEDY.

Once again, Australia is face to face with the very serioius problem of unem-ployment. The out of, work army has continued to grow, and the position is now very acute.

now very acute.

In this young country boundless natural resources are yawning to be exploited; stupendous wealth lies buried under the soil awaiting to be unearthed; climatic conditions and everything else that goes to facilitate production is at that goes to facilitate production is at hand; yet, despite all, a large UNEM-PLOYED ARMY roams the land, and

PLOYED ARMY roams the land, and hunger and want ery out in despair. Strong, healthy, able-bodied men, with the blood of life coursing through their veins, yearning for activity, are now tramping the country in search of a

The Federal and State Governments having put into operation what they call "retrenchment," has had the effect of throwing THOUSANDS OF MEN OUT throwing THOUSANDS OF MEN OUT OF WORK.

A deputation from the Labor Council

A deputation from the Labor Council of Sydney waited upon Mr. Holman, Premier of N.S.W., a few weeks ago and produced statistics to show that there were no less than 10,000 men out of work in New South Wales.

The casual worker, who is never more than 24 HOURS AHEAD OF 1T, has not too much time to think over his troubles before he is right "tap against it."

If it were the men alone who suffered, things would not be so serious, but THOUSANDS OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN are forced to go hungry and shiver with cold through circumstances over which they have no control.

over which they have no control.

The student of political economy knows full well that unemployment can NEVER be permanently abolished while the present system of capitalism lasts, and even in so called prosperous times, an un-

even in so called prosperous times, an un-employed army exists.

But a great deal can be done to alle-viate distress and keep the gnawing demon of lunger appeased.

The only PRACTICAL WAY of deal-ing with this very serious question was suggested by Mr. Holman a few weeks

we do not wish to enquire what idea "Bill" had at the back of his mind, but amongst other things he said: "If the unions would accept a shortened week

unions would accept a shortened week such as we had during the Broken Hill crisis, when the mines closed down, we would be prepared to ADOPT SUCH A SCHEME with a yiew to a more equitable distribution of work."

If the working class as a whole has any concern for the PRINCIPLES OF UNIONISM and believes in the idea of working class solidarity, it will get busy RIGHT AWAY and put into operation a SHORTER WORK WEEK which will help to absorb the hungry out of work unionists, and make things better for all. The bringing into being of a shorter

unionists, and make things better for all.

The bringing into being of a shorter
work day, will mean immeasurable benefits to the toilers, and bring them a step
nearer the day of final emancipation.

By a shorter work day the toilers have
everything to gain and nothing to lose.

Less hours of toil per day will mean a stronger, healthice, and better race.

But some wise economist or hoary headed individual will come forward with the time-worn argument: "If we work less hours we will get less pay." The foregoing argument is here. foregoing argument is by no means un-common, but the user of it shows himself to be a total blank upon working class economics, and very dull as regards his-

When the war started and several of the important mines in Broken Hill shut down, the miners adopted the system of working a week and spelling a week. It is a fact that most of the miners in Broken Hill made MORE MONEY when they were working week on and week off than they did when they were working constantly. The blunder they made was when they let themselves be dragged back to the old condition and

hours.

The wages of the working class as The wages of the working class as a whole, are based upon the cost of subsistence. The working class get no more in wages than what will buy the bare necessaries of life and allow them to rear a family. If the workers cannot get enough to buy the necessaries of life, they will DETERIORATE and not be able to do their work as formerly.

The capitalists to-day want competent and expert workmen, and they will be unable to get them if they do not pay the workers enough on which to live.

If the working class were to take it in-

to their heads to work no more than TWO to their heads to work no more than TWO HOURS A DAY, and the master class wanted their labor, the bosses would be forced to give their slaves enough to keep them mentally and physically fit, or they would be unable to perform their

Look where one will, go where one likes, and he will always find that the workers who work the longest hours are workers who work the longest nouts are always the lowest paid and work under awful conditions. On the other hand, where the workers are found working the shortest hours, there will be found the highest wages, and, relatively speaking, highest wages, a

With less unemployed competing for jobs, the workers are in a position to force MORE WAGES AND BETTER CONDITIONS from the boss. When there is a large hungry horde looking for toil, wages are kept down to the LOWEST POSSIBLE STANDARD, and working

rossible Standard, and working conditions are generally rotten.

The working class in helping to reduce the number of out of works, by reducing the hours of toil, is performing a VAUU-ABLE service to the whole of the toiling

millions.

With long hours goes short pay and bad conditions; with short hours goes long pay and good conditions.

In face of the foregoing facts, it behoves the working class to WASTE NO TIME, but get BUSY RIGHT AWAY, working and agitating for A SHORTER WORK DAY.

DEFIANT GIRL STRIKERS.

When Judge Collingwood of Detroit, Mich., passed sentence on Martha Bain, Anna Hoffman and Celia Okrey, three striking cigar-makers who had been guilty of violating an injunction that restrained them from picketing a cigar shop where they had been pre-viously employed, he was astonished at the nonchalant and indifferent manner in which nonchalant and indifferent manner in which hey accepted the sentence be imposed. At the conclusion of the judge's imposition or prison sentences, Miss Hoffman said, "I thank you, judge, for your sentence of 15 days." "If I am guilty on the testimony of these scabbers, I am willing to take my fifteen days," was Miss Okrey's challenge to the titles.

"So I get thirty days for striking for a ving wage, eh?" was Miss Bain's defiant re-onnse to the announcement of the judge. Judge Collinwood had been brought in from

Lansing to try the strikers and impose tence, quite a common practice that has been introduced lately, probably to shift the responsibility that might follow a local judge when ould appeal to the workers for re-elec

Five others were brought into court, and found guilty of picketing.

It is alleged that the bosses have instructed the sluggers they have employed to intimi-date the strikers that it is necessary for them date the strikers that it is necessary for them to see that the two general organisers who represent the International Cigar Makers' Union are forced to leave the city if the strikers are ever driven back to work.

Freedom's Martyrs.

During the past couple of years the I.W.W. in Australia has been subjected to a great deal of persecution. It seems that its members can do nothing right. Statements have been can do nothing right. Statements have been made and cartoons published by other mer bers of the community which were quite severe in their condemnation of existing co ditions as any made or published by I.W.W., but these people are still at large—have never,

ni fact, been molested in the signies.

Right down the ages, those who advocated or apported any movement which was considered by the ruling classes as unorthodox, have always been persecuted with a greater or less degree of severity. When mon first discovered signs that this planet was not make the significant was described in the Bible; when they first began to have suspicions that the origin of life and the laws of the universe were not as stated in that book, which was supposed to be the last word in science and morality there was always the danger that expressing such views punished most severely in the highly humane way they had in those day of proving most conclusively to a man that he was entirely

changed. In this age of reason and enlight-enment they still use GAOL AND THE HANGMAN'S ROPE AS ARGUMENTS. Unorthodoxy consists of those things which

tend to diminish the power of the ruling classes. The feachings of Christ were not considered in that light until it was thought that he wished to establish himself King of Jews, whom the Romans had then rewas why He was disposed of, and then it was was why He was disposed of, and then it was that His followers and also the enthusiasm inreased. In their endeavors to establish Christianily as the religion of that portion of the world known to them, they met with the opposition of the pagan priests, who added still more to the list of Christian martyrs, until the Christians, in their turn,

powerful enough to persecute the Pagans, or anyone else who opposed them. Their greatest enemies were the scientists who greatest enemies were the scientists who sought to disprove certain statements in the Bible. Many of these, like Bruno and Gallieo, were tortured and put to death in order to prove that the Bible was right. In commenting on the "arguments" (prison and menting on the "arguments" (prison and torture) used against Galileo, Professor Draper asks: "Must not that be false which requires for its support so much barbarity." This can easily be applied to events of the last year or two. Scientists to-day are the most respected of men. Their work is international and, therefore, great.

But, despite the fact that martyrdom seems But, despite the fact that marryruon seems inevitable for those who engage in the fight for freedom, this is no reason why we should stand by and see mouth-pieces of working class organisations subjected to this treatment. If it were wrong in the past, it is still wrong, and it is our duty to do what over we can to abolish a condition of affairs which permits of these wrongs being done. If we persist in this passivity in the face of such injustice, it is only a matter of time, and a very short time, when it win be our turn. We are not yet out of the wood as has been amply proved, even to the most dense of minds since this war began, and the working class cannot afford to lose sight of this for a moment. Their enemies are Their enem of this for a moment. Their enemies are always alert. They are compelled to be just as we are compelled to fight them. The class struggle is not a thing of yesterday. It was already in existence when, in the be-It was already in existence when, in the beginning of the 14th century, John Bull said
"By what right are they, whom we call lords,
screater than we? It is of us and our toil
that these men hold their estate." They
were fightling and dying for the working class
then, and here, in the 20th century, similar
things occurring. This fight must go on.
It is impossible to stop it until our object has
been attained. been attained.

"WHAT CONSTITUTES A STATE"

What is the State? In theory it means: a Commonweath! But in practice it means: a ruling class, a small number of dominant individuals. The different institutions of the State are used by this dominant class to keep themselves where they are, and to keep those who are not of their class subordinate.

Some of the institutions develop in the uninitiated the desire, and others force the rebellious to look up to, and obey this class. In the present state the workers have renounced the right of thinking with their own brains, and passing judgment on what is right or wrong. They let the pedagogues of the ruling class dictate to them a moral and ethical code, hence, we have the spectacle in Australia of working class champions rotting in prison with long terms of imprisonment for trying to get the workers to think for

Thousands of workers give up their in-Thousands of workers give up their in-telectual freedom, and all their thoughts and actions are put under the guardianship of the capitalistic press, to whose tyranny they are blind and dumb. Their thoughts are pat-tern-thoughts of the class State. Woe to them that think and act differently. Their appeals is lost on these animated phonographs

Any protest against the State, which is the Any process against the State, which is the agent of the ruling class, is a disgrace in the eyes of these State worshipping boneheads. All they want to make them happy is a smile from those in authority. But then, "a from a lord is a breakfast for a fool."

What we call public opinion-that is, that sway the masses—are ideas specially ideas that sway the masses—are ideas specially manufactured for them, and in no way expresses the opinion of the class conscious worker. Public opinion invariably reflects the opinions of the ruling class. The public lets one set of men think for it and confirm the habit of electing and allowing the Government to think and act for it, and honor the opinions advanced as [151]. to limit and act for it, and honor the opinions advanced as infallible revelations. All, therefore, who have the confidence of the masses, will be used by the ruling class to suppress any attempt by the workers to dislodge them from their dominant position.

A class which allows this, finds itself unprepared and defenceless in a crisis, and finds slavery intensified, unless it contains powers of resistance will force an imbecile Government to pay in some respect.

The I.W.W., being the watch-dog working class, is being persecuted by the class State, and most influential member thrown into gaol for trying to show the work the impending class must wake up, think for themselves, and demand their release.

The I.W.W. is the part of the working

class that is alive and awake, and form that rebellious element that is going to resst, whilst the class it belongs to remains in slavery. If recognises that the workers have a full right to the good things of life, and tries to organise them so that they may reach for them, and get them. The way to fight does not conform to the ruling class laws laid down for the working. down for the working class to follow

The ruling class laws are founded on the fact that "Might is Right," the rules laid down for the subserviant class is "be content and resist not evil."

One of the institutions of the State, the One of the institutions of the state, we University, is for the sons of the ruling class; therein they get instruction in the higher branches of art, science, etc. The science of robbing the workers, and the art of keeping the plunder within their class being the most

popular.
This institution let loose on the s such men as parsons who keep before them a moral and ethical code based on a slave philosophy. Physicians who charge excessive rates for curing people from diseases, which rates for curing people from diseases, which go per cent. are preventable and directly traceable to the rotteness of the capitalist system, and the legal profession, which is responsible for lawyers, politicians, judges, etc., try and hammer home the fact that the boss is entitled to keep the plunder. As isvers, they charge like Hell for interpreting laws manufactured by their brethren, the politician, "which have are many loopships. He politician, "whch has as many loop-boles as there are legs on a centipede." As the workers have no large fees, the boss gets all the law. The rest of them learn the most efficient way to exploit the workers indu-trially, politically and socially.

That working men should be thrown into jail for pointing out that "might is right," under the present system, and that an industrial. trially organised working class would be the strongest class in society, with all the might to pull down the rotten institutions of the State, both military and civil, seems to be the most prominent indictment of working class

JAMES POPE.

ELASTIC.

ELASTIC.

Magistrate (who has taken a dislike to prisoner): "Six months at hard labor. Counsel (astounded): "But the statute doesn't permit more than 60 days." Magistrate: "The prisoner broke the law—I'll stretch it!"

The human race is divided into two classes; those who go ahead, and do something, and those who sit and ask, "Why wasn't it dose the other way?"—Holmes.

A PARABLE.

"Now, Jesus spoke unto the people, saying

There was once a very rich capitalist, who had many fine hous nany fine houses, temples, motor cars, vineyards, and corn fields. He had costly living, good clothes, music and ounded by many priests, He was surr avers, counsellors, wives and dancing girls. The capitalist's heart was glad within him, and he spoke unto those around him: Take thy ease, eat drink, and be merry for my slaves will produce much -hereby we can live.

Now, the lives of the slaves were exceeding-They toiled all day in the fields tooses and task masters. Each under cruel bo day when even tide was come, the slaves delivered up all the fruits of their labor to and the capitalist lord saw it was capitalist; Each day the bosses gave the slaves just enough food to live upon, and to toil again in the fields. At times the slaves refused to work. Then, great fear and trembling would come upon the lord and those about him, saying, "If the slaves produce not. how can we eat." Then in great wroth would speak the over lord, unto the bosses: "Go, many of ye, into the fields, armed with and spare not man, women or child; use ye the scourge well."

In great haste the over lord's words were d and the slaves were flogged back to work, with much bloodshed and lamentation. Then the capitalist and those about him would rejoice much, saying: "The strike is over One day in the capitalist council hall rose up with much cunning and spoke thus: "Oh, masters, strikes sometimes are danger-ous to we, capitalists. In the next strike let make unto themselves a graven image called a politician, and the slaves will keep the agreement to even like unto the covenant in the Ark; for I know these people, and they are without guile." And the mastook council among themselves, and saw that it was good.

And this came to pass in the year 1891. So the slaves sent politicians to confer in the capitalist council hall, and to make awards; and the awards became most sacred things is the eyes of the slaves. The rich capitalist treated the politician with much ness, spoke soft words unto him, and did eat After much feasting, the at the same table. politician's hearts grew at ease, and they saw that the dancing girls were fair to look upon. Also much gold passed between the capitalist and the politician, when no man looked. The rich capitalist said to his harsh bosses: "Spare ye not the slaves in the field, we now have the law and agreement. slaves groaned much, but no man heeded

But it came to pass, new slaves came into the field and spoke many strange things. The slaves listened, and marvelled much, concerning this new unionism. After much talk the slaves grew wise and "slowed down," and at eventide each day they delivered up At first the taskmasters spoke unto their lord concerning this matter. The lord's heart was merry with wine; he heeded not, saying: "Use ye the lash wen, and slaves grew wise, and when the bosses used slaves grew wise, and slew a few the lash, the slaves rose up and slew a few taskmasters, and they that were left flew into the capitalist, crying, "The slaves re-volt." Then the politicians took the awards and went down into the field, crying "Peace, peace," but wise slaves laughed rent the fine garment of the politicians, spat upon them and tore up the award, and no elave suffered hurt. Then there was a great joy among the slaves; at eventide they de-livered up no more wealth to the capitalist, but kept it for themselves. Then a great fear and trembling fell upon the rich lord, and that were with him; a weeping walling and gnashing of teeth. Woe. woe. unto us; for our infamy is known."

the slaves saw that it was good, there was much laughter and song; and they said unto the rich capitalist and they that were his: "Remember ye the words of thy were his: own priests: 'lest ye work ye shall not eat'; come now, if ye hunger, into the field with us and work for all. And it was so, and all saw that it was good.

M. SAWTELL.

LIBERTY.

For the Lords and Liars are quaking At the Peoples stern awaking, From the slumber of the ages; and the

Peoples slowly rise, and with hands locked tight together, One in heart and soul for ever, tch the sun of Light and Liberty leap Watch the sun upward to the skies

Towards Freedom.

"O, why should truest worth and genius pine Beneath the iron grasp of want and wee; While titled knaves and idlot greatness shine In all the splendour fortune can bestow?" -Robert Burn

FELLOW WORKER!

answer the above question asked by Robert Burns at a time when poverty was pinching him rather acutely? Do you not think that it is a very lamentabe reflection on man's so-often boasted superiority to the on man's so-ortical bosonic augments. We have brute that those of truest worth in the human family should "pine beneath the iron grasp of want and woe?" How unique our idiocy would appear to the ants and the bees small creatures were possessed of the faculty of comparing our lot with theirs!

Why is it that the men who "drag out their

protracted death in the mines" in quest rich and useful ores with which of the things that make civilisation so convenient, are permitted to indulge only a minimum extent in the conveniences

The men who tend the sheep-do wear the warmest clothing in winter?

Do all the men eat the pure, wholesome, and unadulterated foods that man with his skill and ingenuity can produce in such abundance?

The men who build the palaces a fact that most of them live in insanitary ses in over-crowded areas? Just so And the reason is simply because

world's workers have not yet got control of the economic forces of society. The masterclass understands what economic Their control of e economic forces is key to their mastery of the world. And it is over this control of economic forces that the class struggle wages. This class struggle been going on ever since the when one set of men first k on the mischievous idea of living on days struck on the mischievous labor of another set of men. The interests of these two sets of men immediately ceased to be identical. And herein lies the explathe poignant query that prefaces e. Not until this system of ecothis article. nomic slavery has been supplanted by a system demanding social service for social benewill anything like identity of interests obtain in the ranks of mankind. This strug-gle must go on until the workers wrest from their masters the control of economic forces that is, the machinery distribution, and exchange; and carry on the work of providing society's necessities for the use of the whole of society, instead of, as now, for the profit of individuals, and small coteries of individuals known as companies, combines and co-operations.

This is what must be do

must be done. How to do it is another question.

Man, full of devices!

Surely stratagem hath he for all that comes, -Sophocles.

to end social inequalities has been a subject that has had the consideration of mankind for countless generations. Reformers and deliverers have cropped up like mushrooms all through history to expound their respective panaceas, and then pass and the working-class still suffer hi and the working-class still suffer hideous and unspeakable misery as a result of their oppression, until one almost begins to words of Sophocles, and wonders if man's strategy would ever find him a way out. And the future of the working-class vould look black indeed, but for the fact that dis coveries in the realm of sociology in recent years have unfolded the cause of society's ills.
The cause, as has been stated in the preceding article, is economic. The master-class

THROUGH THEIR CONRTOL OF

A favorite argument of the Socialist is to

are enabled to hold the working-class in their FUTILITY OF POLITICAL ACTION.

the working-class take control of the indus tries of society, they will have practically gained control of the key that will set them at liberty. And the first thing essential if workers would gain control of industry is organisation. Effective, not ... pseu industrial organisation, but a class organisation, but a class industrial at the overthrow isation definitely aiming of the capitalist system of exploitation. This may not be all that will be necessary, but may not be all that will be necessary WITHOUT THIS the working-class achieve no victory, because upon this will upon this or isation on the industrial field the success of the workers in the class war depe is. It is primarily in the indutries that the class war wages; therefore, the first necessity is organisation on the industrial field.

And now we come to consider the struc-ture of this organisation. It will, doubtless, immediately recognised that if our indus trial organisation is to be effective, it will have to conform to the development of the machinery of production, because, as one writer has tersely put it, "unless the structure of the organisation keeps step with the development of industry it will be impossible to secure the solidarity so necessary to success in the struggle with the employing class." While it may be said that great strides have been made in recent years, yet finality has not been reached in the evolution of industrial organisation. Another step must now taken forward. The banding together of the workers according to the INDUSTRIES in which they work, instead of, as now, according to their respective crafts, and the linking up of these industrial unions into NES BIG. UNION is the task that now confronts us. to do this a different form of organisation an at present exists will be necessary, beuse the present form of craft organisation out of keeping with the development of dustry. A structure which will conform ore to the times, and be of infinitely greater to the times, and be of infinitely greater to the times. To do this industry to the workers in their struggle with employing class is as follows:

- The unit of organisation to be the Local Industrial Union. The Local Industrial Union to embrace all of the workers of a given industry in a given city, town district.
- (2) All local industrial unions to be combined National Industrial Union jurisdiction over the entire industry.
- National industrial unions of closely allied industries to be combined into the Indus Departments, to be designated as

Department of Agricultural, Water Products. Department of Mining.

Transportation and Department of Communication

Department of Manufacturing and

General Production.

Department of Construction.

Department of Public Service.

(4) The Industrial Department to be combined into the General Organisation, which in turn is to be an integral part of a like International Organisation, and through into the General the International Organisation solidarity and co-operation between workers of all countries.

This is a general outline of the organisation proposed by the Industrial Workers of the World. This is what is meant by the One This is what is meant by the One Big Union .-

These questions should be given first preferover the worker's thoughts and activi-There is no struggle so momentous fraught with so much promise to the working-class as the class struggle, and the building up of One Big Union is destined to be one of the most important steps that the working class will have ever taken towards freedom. BERT DAVIES

GIRLS PAID LOW WAGES. "The Worker," official newspaper of the In-

diana Federation of Labor, explodes the claim that Fort Wayne offers unequaled advantages female labor. It is stated that most of for female labor. It is stated that most of the factories are working 10 hours and are exploiting the girls with a piecework system. "A number of these plants," continues the "Worker," "have a system of fines for this, that and the other violation of office-made rules, and these fines are deducted from the amounts actually earned by the girls at piecework. Conditions both morally and financially are rotten. There is one salvation for the woman wage-workers—ORGANISATION. Tentative plans for several organisations of girls are now under way, and Fort Wayne may

Women workers have for many long years been enslaved and sweated to an awful extent, but they are now beginning to they, too, must organise if they wis better conditions. Like the men, they only have one hope—that is, to join the One Big Union of the working class. The I.W.W. as the only way out for all who toll in the industrial hells of capitalism,

wages

yet be relieved of the onus of low

UNITY.

THE KEYNOTE FOR HUMANITY.

If the relation of man to man could be, even to a limited extent, grasped by the race as a whole, and gradually form a part of whole, and gradually form a part of outlook, the problems of capital and labor would soon disappear. If man stood side by side, and realised eye to eye each other's wants, we would not have to be continually fighting, or "striking," for just labor hours, for mutual considerations, for living wages. - 10

the absolute unity for life was realised, and if education was built on a sold rock, that taught absolute community of interests. much dualism of life would fade away, and the world would be very more comfortable to live in.

The heart of man to-day, in all the warring nations is torn with doubt and uncertainty. Whilst yearning for peace and good will (as shown by the events of Christmas Day, 1916, shown by the events of Christmas Day, 1916, in the trenches, when enemies gagged their guns, and met in comradeship) men again resumed in a death conflict, brought about by capitalistic forces, which they, poor deluded dupes, do not understand, and of course, not understanding, cannot control it. It is safe to say, that placetains are sent to the to say that ninety-nine per cent. of peoples of the nations at war can give no rational explanation of what it is all about. Each one, however, is convinced that it is Each one, however, is convinced that it is NOT HIS FAULT, and so for SOME REASON ne murdering conflicts must continue.
UNBROTHERLINESS is the INSANITY OF

UNBROTHERLINESS is the INSANITY OF THE AGE, backed up by IGNORANCE, and sooled to its death by the cunning devices of trumped-up LOVE OF COUNTRY.

As a child, I was the daughter of the class who are termed "the well-off," or the "better class," and naturally my stomach had pure foods (not manufactured, adulterated foods), my body had nice soft clothing, and my lying. my body had nice soft clothing, and my living appointments were easy access to water, air, and sun, and plenty of time to indulge in was happy and kept young, but one day, unfortunately, misfortune came my way, and I was hurled amongst the working mass, and was caught in the web of hard labor and long hours, with stary ation wages for recompense. I saw women about me, emaciated, with half-starved bodies, patiently suffering with forlorn, smiling faces; they were brought into the world, young, to drivel in the same conditions. And then i looked at the MAN, the working man, who, in his ignorant indifference, caused these women to suffer so. The woman in me in his ignorant women to suffer so. The woman in incommend to sensitiveness as a female specie, put tuned to sensitiveness as a female specie, put out its left hand in pity to its other woman-kind, and my right hand was lifted, ready to kind, and my 1955 to the strike at the inhuman working ox, called working man, and a hatred in my being surged towards him. But he was dense to working man, and a hatred in my being surged towards him. But he was dense to my contempt and flashing hatred; for he was beaten down to submission, to a density likened to some animals. He had struggled equality and was beaten back and back so for elected men to Parliament and to Unions, with overwhelming expectancy, but the same old story—"sold again."

story—sord again. could never go back to stay and be happy a that class "that takes all." I've seen with that class "that takes all." I've and know the suffering and patience of women belonging to the working mass, and know the surering women belonging to the working women belonging to the working while my body is nourished and alert, I cannot go away to forget.

O workingmen, why are you the to the working mass, and is nourished and my brain

O, workingmen, why are you so dense? Why do you lead so on your feminine specie that is drawn into the web, that your ignor-ance entangles her and you in?

Why do you build palaces and brown stone mansions for other women, while your own women live in hovels and even tents?

O, workingman, who do you use her body for pleasure, and not even pay her the toll in return of decent food, and plenty of it, and comortable raiment and santized shelter? Men! Down the long ages the laws of human solidarity have been broken. You are now facing the results of your idiotic party and reaping what you have sown

Cannot the calamity and failure d ideals of "getting sound statesmen" for your welfare, waken you up to a right conception? Can't you determine yourselves to unite in solidarity "of" yourselves and "for"

The heritage of civilized humanity is to be free men, and have possession of that which they produce. So quit being borses and donkeys, owned and exploited for the benefit of the "few on top."

The keynote of humanity is unity

Workingmen of the world, unite, no take possession of your heritage—the world and the fulness thereof. Why do you fill store-houses and allow surplus of materials go down in ships in the war gamble of the mas-ter class while your wives and little children's stomachs are skimped of proper nourishment? BETSY H. MATTHIAS:

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say that if we only endeavor to organise industrially the capitalist will use his political power to blast our efforts. That our masters can and do blast and destroy attempts to gain political power is amply shown by present happenings. The extension of the life of Parliament, Coalition Government, and the proposal to federate the-ah, hempire examples of how it may be done. But what political power? Political power is one of the outward and most visible signs of the capitalists economic power and the ignor-ance of the masses. If, then, we concentrate the outward and most visit ance of the masses. on, and succeed in educating and organising the workers, we remove the twin of political power rendering it null and and of no value even to an aspiring Socialist. aster can prevent us from organising industrially remains yet to be seen, they can, then there is no hope for us.

Economics.

MONOPOLY PRICES

all through the preceding chapters I imagination, the hear, in reformers crying, "But what about monopoly prices?

In the first place, there never was an ab-lute, permanent monopoly. There are steel mills in China, Japan, Mexico, England and Germany which supply the American market shipping steel rails into California at a lower price than the American mills supply them.

There are still many independent oil comanies in many lands. Automobile servi lectric car lines, aeroplanes, water cours chutes and flumes all infringe upon the rallroads. Whenever the railway charges become more than the traffic will bear the manufacturer removes to another city.

Men may hope to gain permanent complete monopolies, but there is saways the danger of somebody coming forth with a substitute. Some one is always providing substitutes.

No man was ever able to raise the general of a commodity at will, and get that If any man ever held such power, he would have charged an unlimited price for his commodity and immediately assumed world's dictatorship.

John D. Rockfeller may be able to raise the price on oil in certain communities, but he cannot force men to buy at this price. Socalled monopolists are subject to economic laws just as we are wage-workers. No monopolist was ever so great a philanthropist that he did not charge all the traffic would bear at all times. We, see, therefore, that they cannot raise prices at their own sweet

No man eyer held a near monopoly but what other capitalists with money to invest turned over longing eyes upon the Goiden Goose ready to produce a substitute that will

relegate his rival's product.

But there are some very near monopolies in the United States. Some of these, doubtless, are able to see—or exchange—their commodities above their value. A few of these are engaged in the production of food, clothing or houses.

Now it does not mean because a monopolist holds temporary control of a commodity that he will raise the price of that commodity. He will surely seek to lower its value by closing down unnecessary factories and installing improved machinery that will lessen the labor contained in his product. Many nopoly" owned commodities sell at a lower price than they did before they were more opoly produced.

monopoly produced commodity If a monopoly produced commodity ex-changes at its value, under the new method of production, its prices would be lower. Many friends assure me that oil is much cheaper to-day that it was twenty or thirty years ago, before John D. began to build the If a monoplist continues to sell a Octopus. commodity at the same price it exchanged for formerly, he will be able to appropriate greatly increased profits, for its value will

have decreased—perhaps 50 per cent.

But we will take an extreme case to illustrate who pays the increased price where a to illusimaginary Octopus doubles the price of the necessities of life.

Let us suppose that 500 miners are receiving 5 dollars a day working a copper mine in Alaska. Five dols, a day just affords them a comfortable or tolerable, living in Alaska. The man who owns the foods and clothing supply in Alaska at this time has the tempormonopoly—an absolute, temporary mon-y of these necessities. opoly

This man finds he actually can double the prices on these necessities for one season. The cost of living in Alaska rises to 10 dols. a day.

The employer of the miners will be obliged to double their wages if the miners are to receive the value of their labor-power as He will need to pay 10 dols, a day if he expects to have them to-morrow. If the mine owner finds 10 dols in wages will leave no profits for him, he will refuse the increase and shut down the mine; the miners will return South and the Monopolist will find himself without a market. The possibility of such a chas always to be recokned with a contingency monopolist.

is always There the danger

Hilling the Goose that Lays the Golden Egg.
You see how if the price of necessities of
the is doubled, wages will need to follow. life is doubled, wages will need and as wages are increased, there remains less surplus value for the employer to appropriate

The monopolist, in this case, who has e to double the price on the necessities of life and cause our wages to be doubled will have forced our mine-swring

have forced our mine ewants complished this surplus value with him, the portion returned to us in wages is oled, there will be just that much less cour employers to keep. The Joubl unpaid labor for our employers to keep. extra portion paid to us will be paid over to the monopolist.

Spasms.

(By TOM BARKER)

The Brisbane local of the I.W.W. is getting into harness, notwithstanding the Unlawful Associations Act. The Man of Destiny has as little chance of stopping the I.W.W. as he has of improving the solar system, or hurrying up Halley's Comet. And the up Halley's Erisbane local will have a large, growing crowd of enthusiastic industrialists. As soon central headquarters are secured Bana d will boom from the standpoint of the New Unionism.

country-loving Anzac-blathering, shekel-gathering, soldier-feeding patriot sent a large quantity of rotten liver aboard a trans-port for the use of the soldiers. We suppose that it was put aboard, not for financial rea-, but in order to harden up the system constituton of the men who are going to fight for their country. After they survive the poisoned tucker supplied them by ultra patriots, there will be little chance of the Germans succeeding where the home-made product has failed.

We are thankful, for the sake of the empire that the motive that pushed this catsmeat on the transport was that of Good Business. And the contractors ought to be well pleased in knowing that it is only the I.W.W. that advocate sabotage. It may spare them fifteen years. But, surely, gentlemen, such business acumen ought to be rewarded. Messrs. Hughes and Pearce ought to be deputationed House immediately.

Thouse immediately if we suggested that the strong and—

I suppose that if we suggested that the soldiers ought to buy a piece of rope and—well, we might commit a breach of both the Unlawful Associations Act, and the Crimes Amendment Act. And having had a taste of Amendment Act. And having mad a taste or "stir" for criticising the boodlers, who were digging their hands in, on a former occasion, for selling sound stuff I will leave it on this occasion to the Recording Angel, and so will Commonwealth Government.

Victor Grayson, the once-was Socialist, has enlisted. He is going to stop one of Europe's mad dogs. And he takes a sour sling off at dogs. And he takes a sour sling-off at anti-conscrptionists in New Zealand. Victor has taken two years and five months getting his Irish up He also moved in that period from a distance of 80 miles from the front to 13,000 farther. He probably would have gone further, only the Antarctic expedition couldn't find room for him other fallen ideal with feet of clay.

Sydney Hugueriot Fournier has landed 12 months in Maoriland. He is a born fighter, and I know him well. The sleuths found a rifle, cartridges, I.W.W. book, anarchist lit-erature, a bludgeon, a machine gun manual, erature, a bludgeon, a machine and a MAN in his premises. His crime is NOTHING Fournier is of Irish and Ameri-n, and a cadet of one of the can extraction, and a cadet of on noblest (sic) families in Europe. He is university trained man, a ripe scholar, and a turile, determined gatter. And by Hughes' top hat, the Wellington wage workers will soon be asking "Whaffor?" And they can more than clamor.

Kelvin Byrne also got two months. It es. "Slim" is a down will revive old memories. Hoboed the States from Atlantic to ith Tom Glynn, before they slanted for this infernal piece of mud. (arrived decorously in the stoke hole. Old Tom "Slim" stowed away, and got slung ashore at Wellington with a month's recreation to start with on the Terrace. A hundred "Slim" with on the Terrace. A hundred "Slim" Byrnes would be enough for Wall street and capitalism generally.

Old Bill Parker, also of Wellington, caught on Bill Farker, asso of wellington, caught twelve months. If you ever came across a great big heart in a short-sighted, half doubled up wreckage of an under-sized soul case—well, Bill would go one better. I know. I was in gaol with Bill in '13. Bill wouldn't eat gaol tucker; he was a food reformer or something. So the authorities sat down, and Bill sat down. And on the twenty-second day they allowed Mrs. Bill to bring up the day they allowed Mrs. Bill to bring up the old fellow's fruit, olive oil and unleavened bread. Bill ate water for 22 days. And he was as earnest on the job as he was over his backing. He would, fight the biggest man on the wharves who crawled to the boss, get licked, and come back till the fellow was worse than sick of him. If five per cent, of working bullocks were like Bill, capitalism would be a memory, and pretty dim and distant too

Monopoly generally means that the monopolist is strong enough to force other ployers to divide with him a portion of value of our products formerly appropriated by them.

real fight is between the me and the mine owning employer who will do all in his power to "smash the Trusts."

this power to "smass the finance may offer The mine owner inthis instance may offer s 9 dollars a day, and we may try to live n 9 dollars for a few weeks. We will be on 9 dollars for a few weeks. unable to do it, because we will be receiving less than the value of our labor-power.

THE MUGWAMP'S UNION.

Scene: A Union Room full of grave, sternvisaged sons of toil; a few flushed with liquor, talkative and violent.

The chairman rises and raps the table for

Instantly a unionist rises to his feet, and commences talking about nothing in particular: others rise and endeavor to persuade him sit down by shouting loudly at him. Up roar and confusion, five or six on their and everyone talking at once; it is merely on their feet, commencement of the meeting, and signifies

nothing unusual.

The audiencedic comprised largely of bosses (would-be bosses) and their numerous friends, interested in attending the meeting to uphold

sacred rights of private interests. he chairman (after order has at last re-ed): "This meeting has been called to instored): vestigate a charge brought-

nist jumps excitedly to his feet, and begins talking.
Uproar and shouts of "Put him out; put him

The chairman, above the din: "What's that-

The chairman, above the din: "What's that—a point of order?"

First Unionist (on his feet): "A point of order; a point of order!"

Chairman: "What's your point of order?"

Unionist: "My point of order is that I want to know what the charge is about!"

More uproar, and shouts of "Put him out!"

Chairman: "I was going to explain—"

Another commotion. Several Unionists rise

their feet, gesticulating wildly. on the table,

The Chairman raps loudly on the table, nd the general din goes on for some minutes. At last order is restored.

Chairman (commencing again): "This m ing has been called to investigate a charge ing has been called to investigate a charge brought against a member. The charge is a very serious one. He is accused of holding up-to-date scientific view of unionism, and is a danger and a medace to this union, and the meeting has been called to find out whether the charge is true or false?"

The Charges takes with books and reads:

The Chairman take a rule books and reads: ule 303 says that "every member shall en-eavor to maintain eight hours as a day's deavor to maintain eight hours as a dog-labor. The accused has been overheard to lahor

Several bosses jump excitedly to their feet, shouting "Treason!" They are applauded by their numerous friends.

Chairman (above the din): "He is first

accused of attempting to destroy the harmon and goodwill existing in this union betwee the workers and the bosses." the harmony

(Howls and execrations on all sides) The Chairman: "I will now ask the accused to give his defence.

An individual with the bent shoulders of

the student rises to his feet.

Dramatic silence in the room. He upon by the audience with great curio fear, having the terrible reputation of trying

to break up the union as it exists.

He commences speaking:—
"As a member of the "Mugwamps Union I consider it my duty to point out that this union is not properly organised, and its mem-bers are not class conscious, believing as they do that they have interests in harmony with boss, who daily exploits them.'

Chairman (rapping for order): "I must ask you not to use the word "exploit," as it is offensive to the members of this union. re-commences.

Violent uproar. Fists are shaken, and ex-Mugwamps try to make themselves heard

Chairman (after a lengthy interval of noise table rapping and individuals calling points order).
"I must ask you not to use the

'capitalist class'; it is not allowed in

Accused: "I wish to point out to this union that it is being robbed. Rule 303 says that one of the objects of this union is to receive a 'fair day's wage for a day's work." Dramatically, "I want to point 'out that members of the 'Mugwamps Union' are not,

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receiving a fair wage for their toll; in fac y are not receiving a third of what they producing. Wealth is being produced to by the aid of machinery at an enormous they are by the aid of n —ten times in a inery at an enormous nes in abundance to former time -yet, we, the working class, are no better We are receiving no more for o

"The 'Sydney Morning Herald' says that the only way to improve the conditions of the working class is for them to produce more. Now production has increased eno Now production has increased entermously, and is likely to be greately increased in the future. Is it that we, the working class, meabers of the Mugwamps Union, are no better off?

Chairman (rising to his feet): "I cannot low these remarks here; they are offensive to this union; they are really not union mai-

(Murmurs of approval from the audie "We are not here to listen to Socilian.

The Mugwamps are a highly respectable taken
I must ask you to answer the charge."

"I have no harmony with the Accused: Accused: "I have no harmony with the boss. There is no harmony between the spider and the fity. All the wealth of the country could be produced in an hour or two a day. We are held in slavery by an army." parasites

More uproar and confusion.

Chairman : "I cannot allow a member of use the word "parasites." It is offensive to members of this union."

Cries of "Hear, hear," and stamping of

Accused: "Very well. I will conclude by saying that this union, as it exists, is useless as a fighting weapon of the working class, it exists to uphold the present system—" Uproar!

'(Loudly)—the present system of robbery and betrayal to uphold the greed of exploiten and to keep the working class in subjection

Loud uproar and voilence.
Accused sits down.
Chairman (rising): "The accused has not exonerated himself. He has made charges against this union. This union that gets us so much work by preserving harmonious relations with the employers. It has alway been the policy of this union to stand well with the employers. This union is highly with the employers. This union is highly respected. The 'Sydney Morning Herald' says that it is one of the sanest and soundest in the country. The accused

rious and violent organisation—the I.W.W.
"We must have harmony. (Hear, best).
I say harmony, at any price. (More applause). This meeting finds the accused guilty and sentences him to attend every business meeting of the 'Mugwamps Union' to hear how they conduct their business." Accused: "Mercy." Curtain.

WYATT JONES.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. peace so long as hunger and want are for all the good things of life.

Between there among millions of working people

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

We find that the centring of the manage ment of industries into fewer and fewer has makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in tindustry, thereby helping to defeat other 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 em-

These conditions can be changed and the is These conditions can be changed and the in-terests of the working class upheld only by so-organisation formed in such a way that all is-members in any one industry, or in all indu-tries if necessary, cease work whenever a strik-or lockout is on in any department theref, thus making an injury to one an injury to all. Instead of the conservative motto, "A far-day's wage for a fair day's work." we must

day's wage for a fair day's work," we inscribe on our banner the revolution watchword: "Abolition of the wage systematics was a second to the wage systematics with a second to the se

It is the historic mission of the class to do away with capitalism. The a production must be organised not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, bet also to carry on production when capitalists shall have been overthrown. By organisist industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the parties the old the new society within the shell of the old

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