

There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today. -- Spies.

DIRECT ACTION



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ONE PENNY.

Say, Mr Block!

Why do the working class need an INDUSTRIAL UNION?

Because the trade unions cannot effectively cope with the organised power of the employing class. The employing class have an international union, the workers are brought together into small craft unions. The employing class are scientific, the craft organisations are obsolete, and ineffective.

What happens in craft union strikes?

One union goes out on strike to better their conditions, and all the rest working under separate agreements keeping on working, supplying the employers with goods, and thereby defeating the strikers.

What is the basis of craft unionism?

Tool production, which specifies that the worker of one tool has nothing in common with the man who uses a different tool, and the identity of interests of the workers and their masters.

Are those bases sound?

No, machinery is embodying the combined skill of the tool and the skilled worker, displacing the skilled worker, and rapidly hurling them into the ranks of the unskilled. When their skill is embodied in the machine, their organisation, the craft union as it is dependent on the tool and the skill, there remains no need for its existence, and therefore it dies. There is no common interest between the slave and his driver, the baron and his serf; or between the worker who produces and does not get, and his employer who gets but does not produce. In short, there "can be no peace so long as hunger and want is to be found among millions of working people, while the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life."

Why should the working class organise internationally?

Because capitalism is international. Being international, it uses the workers of one country as scabs to defeat the workers of another country engaged in a wage fight. The N.Z. miners were defeated by South Japanese, and Hindoo miners in the recent strike, just the same as the Maitland miners are being defeated by the other Australian miners who are working overtime to supply the coal that otherwise would have been mined at Maitland.

Does INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM mean mass unionism?

No, INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM means the scientific welding together of the workers into Industries, so that instead of the old motto of a "Fair day's work for a fair day's wage" being upheld, the new mottos the "Abolition of the Wage System," and "An injury to one is an injury to all" can be enforced. Each worker belongs to the department in which he is a wealth producing factor, and consequently the whole power of the department, or all departments if necessary, can be used to obtain justice for any section of the working class who have a grievance. The working class are now automatically organised for industrial purposes, and the aim of the INDUSTRIAL UNIONISTS is to propagate the ideas of the CONTROL OF INDUSTRY by the working class in their own interests as a class, and not as mere machines, producing by their collective efforts all that keeps the ruling class in luxury and idleness.



NEUTRALITY.

St. Peter: "Whereas the nations of Germany, France, England, Russia, Turkey, Japan and Serbia are engaged in a world war, and

"Whereas these nations have been asking Heaven to participate in, and to aid them in their just and glorious fights to overthrow the wrong and to maintain the right—

"It has been resolved by Almighty God, the Ruler of Heaven, that Heaven remain strictly neutral during the present crisis. Angel guards will patrol the frontiers of our dominions, and combatant trespassers will be promptly interned in accordance with international law."

Then INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM means economic Freedom?

Certainly, fellow-worker, Freedom can only be obtained by power, and power must take a tangible form. The control of industry by the workers can only be achieved by CONQUEST. The necessary factor to all conquest is superior POWER. Industrial Unionism IS power.

At one of our propaganda meetings a slave actually rebelled against certain politicians being in the Labor Party. He quite indignantly denied that all politicians were dishonest. However, in time this same slave will become convinced that honesty in politics is as scarce as humanity in war; and that if it did exist, its effect would be equivalent to the failure of King Canute to check the flowing tide.

The legal lights cannot make up their minds to allow the Wages Board to increase wages. They did not hesitate when considering the increase in the price of gas.

Sydney Notes.

Large meetings were held at Bathurst-street on the 6th, and at Newtown on the 7th. The Domain meeting on Sunday, the 8th., was one of the largest yet held. F.W.'s King, Goldstein, Bryan and Grant addressed the large crowd.

Some of the truths caught Mr. Jabez Wright, the misrepresentative of the Barrier in the Macquarie-street yep factory, amidst ships, and he hopped on the platform and generally done his best to explain that he had a d—d good job. The crowd and Jabez, for a politician, were very good humored.

Mr. Stuart Robertson is also invited down to the same place, and also to come to line with the debate with Fellow-worker Barker at Newtown.

Fellow-worker Reeve addressed a large audience in the Hall on Sunday night on "The Science of the New Unionism." An animated discussion and questions closed a good meeting.

Fellow-workers are reminded that the Reading, Economic and Speakers' Cassettes and the Business classes ought to be attended.

The song book is now off. The supply is limited, so get in early, you Caruso's.

The wives of the men who went down on the A.E.I. cannot get their husband's deferred pay because their benighted hubbies neglected to make a will. As they are only common sailors' wives the Government and its bosses don't care a damn. What does it matter if they have to go on the streets to get a living, they only belong to the working-class.

The new ad-writers association want "truth" and "honesty" in advertising. In that case their jobs will soon be on the bum.

Propaganda Work.

The I.W.W. has taken tangible form in W.Q.A. Australia, a mixed local having been chartered by the G. E. B., at Fremantle.

We extend congratulations to the bunch of militants who have got together to bring the propaganda of the I. W. W. before the working class of the Sunny West. From many sources the editor has heard of the lack of anything like militant unionism, particularly in the timber and mining industry.

F.W. Daly, writing from Boulder City, states that the conditions there are damnable, but also says that the workers are beginning to tumble to the uselessness of the ballot, and the inefficiency of political leaders. This is a very good sign, and with the solid work of F.W. Daly, McMillan, and other Broken Hill militants, active recruiting locals should make their appearance on the Western goldfields at any time.

F.W. Dickie, on his return from Brisbane, states that there is a strong feeling for the philosophy of Industrial Unionism in the ranks of Socialists and other advanced working class thinkers. We hope at an early date to have a strong propaganda local started in Brisbane, and in other parts of Queensland where the rebel clan are giving out the goods.

Solid work is being done in Linda, Tasmania, by a fairly strong bunch of the boys. Reports, literature sales, and papers are very reassuring, and I guess that as soon as F.W. Roonan and his colleagues enlarge their numbers a little more then a local will appear in Tasmania.

In other parts of the Commonwealth members are carrying on active propaganda, and the songs of the Industrial Workers are being chanted around a hundred camps and jobs. The songs are breaking up new tracks for the New Unionism, they are blazing the trail for the economic education of the working class, breaking down the old false idea of respectability.

In Sydney our propaganda is bearing splendid fruit, we are joining up very good material who only want a chance to become active members of the most militant organisation in Australia. By dint of hard work and self sacrifice the membership is building up a publishing bureau that has already done great work for the economic freedom of the workers, and which will perform greater and wider work in the future. Australia must be flooded with literature from end to end. We want cash for paper and linotype. Let us put our shoulders to the wheel. Don't wait for leaders, take the initiative.

The I.W.W. has no use for the hero-worshipper. The hero-worshipper isn't even good catsmeat. Get busy, old son, use your own think box, and take nothing for granted because an intellectual, dinkum or assumed, says so.

We have to get I.W.W. mental dynamite on to every job in this country, I.W.W. songs on to the tongue of every wage stiff, wooden shoes on their feet, and sab cats up their sleeves.

Yes, boys and girls, we are going to get there. Now then, all together, dig in yer toe-nails and we'll have the title deeds in two years.

Direct Action



OFFICIAL ORGAN

Of the

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS—

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

On the 11th of November, 1886,
four men of the working class were
hanged in Chicago.

Their names were Albert E. Parsons,
August Spies, George Engel
and Adolph Fischer. Along the
four more of their colleagues they
were arrested for causing a bomb
explosion in the Haymarket, Chi-
cago, at which a number of lives
were lost.

Seven were condemned to death
after the most shameful farce ever
seen in the so-called Halls of Jus-
tice, whilst the eighth, Oscar
Neebe, was condemned to five
years' imprisonment.

Louis Lingg committed suicide in
his cell the evening before the execu-
tion, whilst the other three, Sam-
uel Feilden, Michael Schwab along
with Neebe were pardoned by
Governor Altgeld.

Less than two years afterwards the
judicial murder of Parsons, Spies,
Fischer and Engels, it was proved
conclusively to the satisfaction of
Governor Altgeld that the men who
had been executed and tried were
entirely innocent of the crime which
they were charged with.

The most likely aspect of the case
is that the whole affair was rigged
up by the notorious Police Chief,
Schaak, along with his staff.

At this time the whole of the
working class of America was in a
ferment, and Chicago was the cen-
tre of the militant spirit. The men
who were hanged, and who will go
down to working-class history as
martyrs, were the leaders of the
great rebellion. "Something had to
be done by the millionaires, the
great railway companies, and their
lackies and watchdogs, the police,
to discredit the movement and to
remove its leaders.

Upon perjured evidence, these
working class heroes were sent to
the Great Beyond with the rope of
shame upon their necks. But as
Spies said "There will come a time
when our silence will be more power-
ful than the voices you strangle to-
day."

Their speeches before the bar
were monumental, and will always
take a prominent part in the litera-
ture of the militant movement of
the working class.

Upon the scaffold they died as
had I'ved-like men. To the last
they heaped contempt upon their

murderers, and died defiant and
uncompromising.

And we of the present day Labor
movement can always bear in mind
that the employing class will go to
any length, even to murder, in order
to protect and maintain their eco-
nomic control of the means of life.
They will violate their own laws,
use agent provocateurs, use the
institutions of the law and authori-
ty to bludgeon and murder. And
they will be well aided by that mon-
strosity, so well defined and hated
by Spies, the Labor politician, who
not only ensure to their masters a
greater security, and to the work-
ing class the bitterness of betrayal
and self-appointed oppressors.

But already the words of the im-
mortal martyrs are bearing fruit,
the I.W.W. is organising the Ameri-
can proletariat, is rousing the
workers from the sleep of misery
and degradation. The master class
true ever to trickery and contempt
for their own own law, are seeking
to strifle the propaganda of the
fighting working-class.

Members of the I.W.W. have
been jailed in Australia by Labor
Parties, in New Zealand they were
treated likewise. Throughout the
modern world the jails are full of
the fighters for Justice. The gal-
lows hangs ever ready to do its vile
and shameful work. Murder is be-
ing done everywhere under the
cloak of law and order. Vagrants
with wigs on their milewed heads
are the arbiters of Right and
Wrong, a loofer in a blue coat is the
King of the pavement.

But nevertheless, let us be of
good cheer. Let us know how to
die. There is the resistless march
of hungry men, the world is ring-
ing with cries of discontent.

Let us laugh in the face of the
discrepits who rule us, and chal-
enge them for the earth, and sweep
them away for ever.

Let us honour our immortal dead
who sleep in Waldheim Cemetery.
Lest we forget! The years of strug-
gle are with us, still we are un-
subdued, unconquerable. Let us move
on, until we are strong enough to
exact a thousandfold from the mur-
derers of our comrades the revenge
that is our sacred and inalienable
right.

Twenty-eight years have gone
since they paid the penalty of being
loyal to their class, and the move-
ment which they aided on its way
and for which they gave up their
lives, is rising like an angry sea and
soon will engulf the tyrants, the
masters and their scaphantic hire-
lings and creatures.

Economic . . .
Discontent.

The discontent manifested by the
wage-workers of all countries with
their present status in society is
the result of a system which allows
the few to control the great
army of the proletariat and appro-
priate to themselves the wealth
which the workers have produced.

Through their ownership, and
consequently, control of the indus-
tries and machines of production of
the world, the capitalist-class are
enabled to control the lives of the
workers, who are forced by the
necessity of hunger to work for
some employer, to produce the com-
modities upon which the existence
of society depends, but of which
they, the workers, receive but a
small part, just sufficient to keep
them in working order, so that they
can create still more profits for
their masters. This system of ex-
ploitation of the working-class can-
not fail to result in a struggle for
industrial control between the two
classes, whose interests are always
conflicting. Through their depend-
ence upon the wages paid to them
by the employing class in return for
their labour-power the workers be-
come wage-slaves. Wage-slavery or
any other form of slavery always
breeds discontent which causes the
strikes and rumours of strikes
which are agitating the capitalistic
world.

The foundation of capitalism is
the wage system, that is the rob-
bery and degradation of the work-
ers. The working-class, by their
combined efforts, maintain a horde
of social parasites who enjoy all the
luxuries which thousands of years
of progress have made possible.

For them are the mansions and
palaces, the motor cars and yachts,
the best of food and clothing, and
all the arts and sciences which re-
fine and elevate the human mind.
For the toiling proletarians there
are only the slums and hovels,
adulterated foodstuffs and shoddy
clothing. He labours in dirty
disease-haunted workshops, and
phthisis infected mines, where his
health is shattered and an ever
growing number of workers are
sacrificed on the altar of Capitalism,
in accidents which are avoidable
where are not safety appliances
more costly than human lives. The
life of the toiler is one long endless
chain of:

Go to work.
To earn the cash.
To buy the food.
To get the strength.
To go to work, etc.

The unending toil and hopeless,
grinding poverty in which the
greater part of the working-class
exists produces that spirit of discon-
tent which has permeated the ranks
of the workers, making even the
most conservative and reactionary
rise in rebellion. It is essentially
a struggle for existence, which can
only end with the extermination of
one of the two classes.

Peaceably methods such as arbi-
tration courts and wages boards
cannot abolish the class struggle
because the interests of the classes
are irreconcilable. Everything that
tends to still further degrade and
humiliate the workers, such as low
wages and long hours of labour is
beneficial to the employing-class,
because it increases the amount of
unpaid labour or profit which they
can appropriate. On the other hand
the natural demands of the workers
for more of the products of their
toil and for a shorter work-day con-
flicts with the interests of the Cap-
italist class as to grant their de-
mands would reduce their profits.
Thus the two must from their re-
lative positions in industry, be con-
tinually at war, and any arbiter
other than force is futile.

The class-war is not caused by
agitators or discontented workers
but by the inexorable law of pro-
gress. It is nature's protest against
man's inhumanity to man, and can
no more be stopped than the tides
or the movements of the constella-
tions.

As the machine reaches a greater
state of perfection industrial discon-
tent increases in like proportion.
As each new machine takes its place
in the industries of the world, it
displaces a certain number of work-
ers forcing them on to the unem-
ployed market to compete with
their fellows. Unemployment is the
economic cause of low wages and
long hours of labour, which invari-
ably creates dissatisfaction in the
ranks of the workers and causes
them to rebel against these condi-
tions. Thus industrial unrest is the
product of industrial evolution and
cannot be stopped or turned aside
by any artificial laws of scheming
politicians.

Rebellion and strife have always
been the forerunners of social rev-
olution. Every form of society must
collapse when it becomes incom-
patible with the prevailing form of
production. Capitalism is rapidly
reaching this stage and the indus-
trial upheavals are the rumblings of
the coming crash. The growth
and centralisation of the machines
of production makes the labour of
the individual useless without the
co-operation of the rest of the work-
ing-class. The dependence of one
industry upon another and one
worker upon the rest of the class
increases with the advance of the
machine. It is obvious, therefore,
that as the system of co-operative
production progresses the present
form of society, that is private
ownership of the means of life,
must be changed to conform with
the new industrial system and co-
operation shall take the place of
capitalism and exploitation.

Intelligent discontent always
spells progress. Contentment
breeds servility, and servility means
degradation and misery. It is only
those who are dissatisfied with the
present, who want something more
than a mere living wage, and are
prepared to fight for it, who can
accomplish anything, for is not "the
peasant in revolt infinitely wiser
than the learned philosopher who
seeks to forge an apology for his
chains."

F. J. CALLANAN.

Haymarket Memories.

A Chant for Parsons, Spies, Engel, Fischer and Lingg.

When comes each year, returning true,
The memoried day November's central decade bears,
In thrills our hearts leap high to name them o'er—
The names that Labor made immortal there;
Those names that from the clock of storied time
And monumental destiny, HAYMARKET toll;
The names that gleamed beneath the lightning flash,
Of martyrdom upon that scaffold bleak;
The names that date earth's latest dawn,
In this new world of Gold's enthroned domain;
The names our modern Memnon greets to-day,
The newborn sun withal,—the ensanguined sun,
That glows from rising splendid ranks,
Of rebels red in symbol of one crimson tide—
The human, cordial tide
Of class-embounded brotherhood!

Again we gather strong in solemn joy,
To greet our dead,—the undying dead in whom we live!
Again we give acclaim
Unto the fallen brave—Fallen, indeed,
In life's brief while, but risen thence,
A tower of might that shall outlast
Time's latest syllable.—

"We are the birds before the storm," they cried,
From out the gibbet's settling gloom;
And from those few faint pinions
What a brood that breeds to-day the storm!
O hearken to the million beating wings
That now from the lowering clouds
Englooming all the mammoned continent,
Resound in whirlwind of unconquerable rebellion!
The sullen, stifled sigh of Labor on the cross,
Uplifted in Chicago's Calvary,
Has grown into a world-tornado NOW,
Rocking every throne to imminent wreck,
In gilded Christendom.

"Go, call the hangman!"
Thus, unto the court, cried August Spies,
"Truth crucified in Socrates, in Christ,
In Bruno, Huss and Galileo, LIVES—
Still lives. They have preceded us upon
The path, and we are ready now to follow!"

The generation passed since Spies inspired
Gave voice defying that imbruted force
That masks behind the Law, has seen
The peaked and hungered files of fellow-men
In Free America, fulfilled
To multi-million marchers, while
Grim Captain Starve commands.

And still the red plague sweeps afar—
The plague of poverty and unpaid toil,
A vaster and yet more vast the winds of Wo
Are marshalling the ranks;
But vaster, too, the impelling, swelling urge
Of war enrouled; and, over all,
In one full diapason grand, O hear
The magic slogan international:—
Unite, O working class of every clime!
With one great Union, strike! O strike,
The shackles from the limbs of Toil,
With folded arms, the while round workers world
At bay, forever blast the reign of blighting Capital!

Already swift declines unto its close
The age of Mammon, palsied, leprous, old,
The age of Man, the marvel Age,
In majesty of Universal labor's brotherhood,
In signalling the dawn. The east
Is crimson with the coming day!

Workers, arise! In every land wage-slaves
Now prone in chains, your chains must fall,
When Toil, awake to its own power,
Strands forth, erect once more and master of its own,
Through all the new-born world,
The realm, unlimited, of human liberty!

—WILLIAM McDEVITT, in "Solidarity."

The I.W.W. Preamble.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common.
There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among mil-
lions 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 ma-
chinery 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 employ-
ing 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 mak-
ing 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 Cap-
italism. The army of production must be organised, not only for the
every-day struggle with capitalist, 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.

Is the I. W. W. Anti-political? Adelaide Doings. Extracts from the Speeches of the Chicago Martyrs.

By Justus Ebert.

One of the first principles of the Industrial Workers of the World is that political power rests on economic power; that is, the control of the means whereby men live, such as their jobs, for instance. The capitalists control the Government of every country where capitalism exists, because they control the land, machinery, finances, etc., on which the people of those countries depend for existence. By means of such control the capitalists are enabled to impose their dictates on society, regardless of governmental or political forms; they rule in monarchial Germany, as well as in Republican America. Consequently, the Industrial Workers of the World teaches the working class that, if it would be a real political power, it must first acquire economic power; that is, it must gain control of the shops, ships, railways, mines, mills—in a word, the capital of the country—through industrial organisation. Before a working class, industrially organised and conscious of its power the government is powerless to proceed in the interests of the capitalists; nay more, it is forced to act against them. This fact is being demonstrated in modern life, in Lawrence, Mass., and England, as will be more specifically shown further on.

More Vote-Getting Not Politics.

Mere vote-getting, or vote-casting, according to the recognised methods, is not politics. A party may poll enough votes to capture State Legislatures, governorship, Congressional and U. S. Senatorial seats; it may poll up a million or more votes for a presidential candidate and enter the electoral college; it may even cause the adoption of serious legislation, on trusts, finances, railways and interstate commerce; it may do all this, as did the Populist party, and nevertheless fail, as did that party; because it lacks economic, that is, real political power. Or, a party may capture mayoralties and municipalities, yet have no power to recall over mayors, aldermen or councilmen who violate the principles on which they were elected to office; it may also act honorably and well, through the selection of men of good principles and character, yet be without real constructive influence, healthy and philanthropic government, all because it has no real political, that is, economic power back of it; as in the case of the Socialist Party. Majorities do not make governments; the financial plutocrats of this country are a minority more powerful than all its voters, because in their economic power, that is their control of the capital of the country; they are its real government.

Political Parties Seek Economic Basis.

That politics and political power are something more than mere vote-getting and vote-casting according to the recognised methods—something more than majorities—may be seen, reflected in the conduct of the established political parties. These parties, of whatever name, all seek an economic basis; they seek to reflect economic interests, without which they have no reason for existence. In the United States, consequently, we have two Socialist parties. Both proclaim themselves to be "the political expression of the economic interests of the working class," though both are mainly composed of middle and professional class elements. Neither of these Socialist parties is an outgrowth of modern working class economic organisation, despite their protestations that they are reflections of working class economic interests. Both refuse to organise the working class industrially to the end that it may evolve its own political agencies and insure its own political domination. Both seek to make the working class economic organisation subordinate to their own political necessities. One opposes industrial organisation on a revolutionary basis, in favor of the reactionary A. F. of L., on the ground of neutrality, in order to secure A. F. of L. support, alliances and votes. The other opposes neutrality and craft A. F. of L. reaction in order to dominate the industrial union movement in the political interests of its own sectarian cult. Both will denounce, praise, cajole, assist and betray labor as occasion demands; they will do anything for labor but get off its back or out of the way of its own sectarian end. Both will denounce, praise, cajole, assist and betray labor as occasion demands; they will do anything for labor but get off its back or out of the way of its own political development. They are illogical, cart-before-the-horse developments, and are only of real value when they cease to be political parties and aid the direct action of the economic organisations of labor—in strikes, etc.—which they are now more frequently compelled to do.

The other political parties are too obviously based on capitalist interests to need analysis. They protect capitalists' interests because the capitalists control them through their economic power. Whether free trader or protectionist; trust or anti-trust, they know their masters' crib and always act in the light of their knowledge. They use the courts, police, militia—in a word, the powers of the State—to aid the capitalists, because the capitalists are the State, thanks to their economic power.

Industrial Union Changes Government.

But these old political parties, like the Socialist parties, also feel the influence of an industrially organised working class; they, too, pose as friends of labor, and, much against their will, are compelled to act in a manner detrimental to capitalist interests. When labor revolts and unites industrially, as in Lawrence, Mass., old party politicians act in ways that expose and weaken the power of capitalism. The President, Senators and Congressmen feel constrained to cause investigations and create situations that are of immense educational value and that otherwise rattle the dry bones of capitalists' legislation in the interests of labor. There is much perturbation, fear and misgiving for the old order and action in favor of the new, not because 2,000,000 votes have been cast against capitalism, but because 22,000 men, women, and children have asserted their economic power through industrial organisation; and are consequently, a political force.

If we for a moment forget "war" much lauded country in order to look abroad, we shall find working class power organised and asserted in a manner that makes capitalist political power a weak and valueless force, insofar as the capitalists are concerned. In the English railway strikes of 1911 such was the power of the strikers that the army officials had to secure permission from them to transport fodder for horses. The English miners' strike now on (March 3, 1912) again demonstrates that government in fact all of society, is paralysed and powerless before an industrially organised working class. Such a class holds not only political control, but also the fate of civilisation in its hands.

Under the circumstances, then, it is no wonder that the English Government supports the miners' principle of the minimum wage and uses all its powers to force concessions from the mine owners favorable to the strikers. If a million miners can force the greatest capitalist Government to act against capitalism, what is there the whole industrially organised working class cannot compel it to do? The industrial union forces changes in government. It organises the economic power of the working class and, in so doing, makes it the political arbiter of society. It is a new political factor, before which the capitalist "powers of state" must eventually give way.

This fact is slowly dawning on the working class. A new conception of political powers and forms is taking possession of their thoughts and aspirations. They see the possibilities of labor controlling society directly, through a democratic form of industrialism; that is, production and distribution primarily by, for and of the workers. They declare that the vote of an organised working class, polled in the union hall and applied on the job, to questions of wages, hours, conditions, etc., is the vote that is most important now both positively and prospectively. It affects essentials at the present time; and is a training for future citizenship; a citizenship which will vote because it owns and controls and will own and control because it is the organised economic power of the land.

These men are organised in the Industrial Workers of the World. This organisation aims to build up the framework of a new society within the shell of the old. It builds on the lines of industrial evolution, through the industrial union form, as dictated by such evolution. In accordance with modern tendencies, it works for the industrial democracy which will eventually take the place of the present financial and industrial plutocracy. Instead of being anti-political, the I. W. W. is the only real political factor in American society to-day.

Join the Industrial Workers of the World! Organise to control industry by and for the workers. This is real politics; all else is fake politics, wherewith to mislead the workers.

The plain speaking about the war that has been indulged in by our speakers, and the appreciation of the same by the large audiences, has apparently got the goat of the master class in the Holy City, for the bulls have been paying particular attention to our propaganda meetings of late and they have been busy with books and pencils taking notes of the speaker's remarks.

A few weeks ago Fellow-worker Kelly had his name taken by a bull with the appropriate name of Crowley, who also attempted to procure the names of other speakers from the above fellow-worker. Needless to say they failed, as the bulls were told to do their own dirty work.

Last Saturday week the bulls attended as usual and when Fellow-worker H. Clarke offered to sell a paper to Crowley, he was told by the "cop" that he did not need a paper, but that he would get Clarke when he got on the box. When Clarke mounted the box he paid some attention to the bulls and told them plainly that the I. W. W. was not going to be bluffed by all the forces of law and order. The bulls made a rush and arrested Clarke and without the suspicion of a smile charged him "with using insulting language to the police." Oh! Hell!

Fellow-worker Mills (a mere slip of a lad) was also arrested and charged "with resisting the police in the execution of their duty," and on the Monday he was sent along to partake of George Vettin's hospitality for one month.

Clarke's case eventuated on Wednesday, and the same old farce resulted in him being convicted, despite the contradictory evidence of the police and a man-herder from the lunatic asylum, and the bull's admission of prejudice, and Clarke was fined £4 or one month. He elected to take it out, but owing to the mistaken kindness of a few friends outside the organisation the fine was paid and Clarke was released after serving two days in gaol. When Clarke searched at the Police Station he had £2 15s. on him, but when bailed out on Sunday morning he was handed back 5s. 6d. and informed that that was all he had upon him when he was arrested. He asked Crowley about the £2 10s. that was missing and in reply he was told that he would be arrested for threatening language.

Although a written complaint has been in the hands of the high Mogul of the police for over a week no reply or acknowledgment has yet been received. Good old law and order.

When being sentenced in the Police Court, Fellow-worker Clarke was informed in a fearsome tone by the antiquated Stipendiary Magistrate that his statements about law and order and the master class was a matter for some serious consideration by a higher authority in the near future, so there ought to be something doing in the Holy City shortly.

On Saturday night, the 24th inst., there were ten bulls present when Fellow-workers Rose and Clarke delivered slashing addresses, which were sympathetically received by a large and appreciative audience.

Fellow-worker Royals has left Adelaide for economic reasons, and the reporting of our activities to me.

C. O'NEILL.

Reflections.

What are we going to do when Blutundgut has finished cutting Europe's throat? What are we going to do with the thousands of maimed and blood-lusted thugs who will encumber the hospitals for months to come? Is the capitalist going to pay the piper? Not much! Listen to the wails of sweet charity gathering up the shiekels so that the exploiter shall escape paying his murder money. "Oh judgement! thou art fled to brutish beasts, and men have lost their reason."

I see red, but it is a capitalist miasma that obstructs my vision; I see red, but it is retribution on Mammon that I claim; I see red, but it is the wail of the widow and the cry of the child that I hear; I see red, but it is the war-mongering press that I want to smite; I see red, but it is the Barricade I want. Oh, ye workers, take arms and smite the

ALBERT R. PARSONS.—"What of Boston to-day? Last winter," said a correspondent of the "Chicago Tribune," writing from that city, 30,000 persons were destitute, and there were whole streets of tenement houses where the possession of a cooking stove was regarded as a badge of aristocracy, the holes of which were rented to other less wealthy neighbours for a few pennies per hour.

"So, too, with New York, Chicago and every other industrial centre in this broad land. Why is this? Have we a famine? Has nature refused to yield her harvest? These are grave and serious questions for us, the producers and sufferers, to consider, at least. Take a glance at the wealth of this country. In the past twenty years it has increased over twenty billions of dollars. Into whose hands has this wealth found its way? Certainly not the hands of the producers, for if it had there would be no need for street-riot drills. This country has a population of 55,000,000, and a statistical compilation shows that there are in the cities of New York, Philadelphia and Boston twenty men who own as their private property over £250,000,000, or about one-twenty-sixth of the entire increase which was produced by the labor of the working class, these twenty individuals being as one in three millions. In twenty years these profit-mongers have fleeced the people of the enormous sum of £250,000,000, and only three cities and twenty robbers heard from. A government that protects this plundering of the people, a government which permits the people to be degraded and brought to misery in this manner is a fraud upon the face of it, no matter under what name it is called, or what flag flows over it; whether it is a republic or a monarchy, of an empire," said the speaker. "The American flag protects as much economic despotism as any other flag on the face of the earth."

The Stars and Stripes in those days floated upon every war as an emblem of the free, but to-day it obeys only the command, and has become the ensign of monopoly and of corporatism, of those who grind the faces of the poor and rob and enslave the laborer. Could Russia do more than drill in its streets to kill the people? But alas! Americans creep and crawl at the foot of wealth and adore the golden calf. Can a man amass millions without despoiling the labor of others? We all know he cannot. American workers seem to be degenerating. They do not seem to understand what freedom and liberty really consist of. They shout themselves hoarse on election day—for what? For the miserable privilege of choosing their master; which man shall be their boss and rule over them; for the privilege of choosing just who are the bosses and who shall govern them. Great privileges! These Americans—sovereigns—millions of them do not know where they could get a bed or a supper. Your ballot—what is it good for? Can a man vote himself bread, or clothes, or shelter, or work? In what does American wage slave's freedom consist? The poor are the slaves of the rich everywhere. The ballot is worthless. . . . Workingmen—we mean women, too—arise! Organise, agitate, prepare to defend your life, your liberty, and your happiness."

AUGUST SPIES.—"I will begin with the words uttered five hundred years ago on a similar occasion, by the Venetian Doge Faberi, who, addressing the court, said: "My defence is your accusation; the causes of my alleged crime your history."

My efforts on behalf of the disinherited and "disfranchised millions, my agitation in this direction, the popularisation of economic teachings—in short, the education of the wage workers is declared "a conspiracy against society." The word "society" is here wisely substituted for the "State," as represented by the Patricians of to-day. It has always been the opinion of the ruling class that the people must be kept in ignorance, for they lose their servility, their modesty, and their obedience to the powers that be, as their intelligence increases. The education of a black slave a quarter of a century ago was a criminal offence. Why? Because the intelligent slave would throw off his shackles at whatever cost. Why is the education of the working people looked upon by a certain class as an offence against the State? For the same reason. . . . The proletarians are doomed to misery and hunger through the labor-saving of our centralised production, whose number in this country we estimate at about a million and a half, it is likely that they and the thousands who are daily joining the ranks and the millions who are toiling for a bare pittance, will suffer peacefully and with Christian resignation their destruction at the hands of their thievish and murderous, albeit very Christian, wage masters. They will defend themselves. It will come to a fight. You are hypocrites; every business man is a hypocrite. Everywhere is mockery, servility, lies and fraud. And the laborers! You feign anxiety about their individuality; about the individuality of a class that has been degraded to machines—used each day for ten or twelve hours as appendages of the lifeless machines.

Now these are my ideas. They constitute a part of myself. I cannot divest myself of them, nor would I, if I could. And if you think that you can crush out these ideas that are gaining ground more and more every day; if you think you can crush them out by sending us to the gallows; if you would have more people suffer the penalty of death, because they have dared to tell the truth—and I defy you to show us where we have told a lie—I say, if death is the penalty for telling and proclaiming the truth, then I will proudly and defiantly pay the costly price! Call the hangman! Truth crucified in Socrates, in Christ, in Giordano Bruno, in Huss, in Galileo, still lives—they and others whose number is legion have preceded us to this path. We are ready to follow.

LOUIS LINGG.—I repeat that I am the enemy of the order of to-day, and I repeat that, with all my powers, as long as breath remains in me, I shall combat it. I declare again frankly and openly, that I am in favor of using force. I have told Captain Sghank, and I stand by it, "If you cannonade us, we shall dynamite you!" You laugh! Perhaps you think, "You'll throw no more bombs," but let me assure you that I die happy on the gallows; so confident, am I that the hundreds and thousands to whom I have spoken will remember my words; and when you shall have hanged us, then mark my words, they will exact revenge. In this hope I say to you: I despise you, I despise your order, your laws, your force propped authority. Hang me for it!

GEORGE ENGELS.—For such a government as this I can feel no respect, and will combat it, despite its power, despite its police, despite its spies.

I hate and combat, not the individual capitalist, but the system that gives him those privileges. My greatest wish is that workingmen may recognise who are their friends, and who are their enemies.

About twelve months ago an explosion occurred in a coal mine at Sengherydd, a great dividend paying concern in Wales. In that disaster 430 poor slaves were killed, and many more injured. Just lately the manager of the mine was charged on seventeen different counts, which were reduced to ten. He was found guilty and fined in £2 24 for "being responsible for the enormous loss of life." Do the slaves of the nations want any more lessons upon "The Value of Life in an overstocked Labor Market?"

"SANS CULOtte."

More Arbitration Jokes.

Heydon's Latest.

The "Sun" recently had a leading article in its columns apropos of the Arbitration fiasco in the celebrated tramway case and referred to the "Serbonian bog" of legal difficulties surrounding arbitration cases in general. The "Sun" suggests an amendment of the law as a way out of the difficulty, its capitalistic-minded editor, either consciously or instinctively, endeavouring to land the workers deeper still in the Arbitration mire.

For years the workers have been floundering in this Bog which has been specially created for their "benefit" by the politicians, in the belief that sooner or later their feet would touch bottom, so to speak. This was one of the great enactments, according to the Labor Party, which was to be made, to alter the simile, the stepping stone to greater achievements; but, alas and alack, with the flood of unemployment brought on by the first economic panic, the great stepping stone has been swept away, and with it, apparently, goes all the other steps created or in the making by Labor politicians. It reminds one of Burns' snowflake: "A moment white, then melts for ever."

Certainly arbitration is in the melting pot just now. And to show how unsafe it is to predict, it has not been brought there by the workers after all, but by the master class and their political henchmen. It served its purpose in a comparatively understocked Labor market of curbing the workers' independence and crushing the spirit of revolt. But as economic circumstances and the need of a crust has shattered whatever spirit of independence and rebellion the workers possessed, there is now no further need for their Masters to surround their profits with a "Serbonian Bog of legal difficulties."

Indeed, the very principle which was claimed to have given birth to arbitration, the principle that workers employed should be paid a living wage irrespective of the state of the Labor market, is now the very principle, the identical excuse, put forward by employers, their politicians and their Courts, for its abolition. The Labor market is so overstocked, they say, unemployment is so rife, that awards must be suspended and wages reduced in order that employers may be enabled to employ more men! For barefaced impudence on the part of employers this takes the cake. And it is, so far, the crowning achievement to a long record of treachery on the part of "our" State Labor Government, for have not this booting crew been the first to set the example in the reduction of the wages of employees in the Public Service, thereby abrogating their own laws.

It has remained for Judge Heydon, however, to put the finishing touch to this latest arbitration joke. Replying to the employees' representative in the Arbitration Court a few days ago, according to the "Herald,"

"His Honor said, the broad, general question was that when a community found itself faced with a very special condition of affairs, with great but uncertain dangers before it, it was time to conceive all its resources. It is a time to reduce expenditure upon matters which waste the wealth of the community, and to increase expenditure, if possible, on matters which create wealth and encourage enterprise."

"His Honor" then proceeds to point out that the "conservation of our resources" was absolutely necessary in case the German fleet should bombard Sydney and Melbourne and demand an indemnity of fifty millions from each city. According to "His Honor," therefore, fifty millions spent upon wages is "wasting the wealth of the community," but a war indemnity of that amount paid to the Germans would "encourage enterprise." In other words, "His Honor" is so true to his class interests, that if money is going from the pocket of one capitalist into that of another,

even though the latter be German, rather than it should be used to provide bread for starving workers.

On the occasion in question "His Honor" further displayed his knowledge of the "dismal science." If a man spends £10 on wine and women, he informs us, the man is absolutely lost to the community, but "if he puts the £10 into the bank it would be of use because the bank would give him interest on it"—that is, "Your Honor," if the Germans didn't loot the bank in the meantime.

Apparently "His Honor" likes to have his joke even at a funeral,—for this certainly should be the funeral of arbitration so far as the worker is concerned.

Heydon means more than appears on the surface, however. He would like the Australian worker to go on believing, that his future economic welfare depends upon the ability of the British fleet to keep away the Germans from Australia; and his little illustration about the £10 is designed to inculcate the belief that banks, etc., are the magic source from which the investing class derive their income, and not from the hide of labour.

Whatever the excuse put forward for the cancellation of awards and the reduction of wages it is all one to the worker. The whole thing serves once more to justify the I.W.W. contention that the workers have nothing to hope for from their craft unions. Their perpetual endeavours through political parties and courts, all tools of Capitalism, to bring a concession here and there are one long series of failures. It is no exaggeration to say that the workers are as economically insecure to-day, and their needs just as dire, as they were in the early days of Capitalist exploitation. In Australia, as in every other country, they are absolutely at the mercy of the financial and industrial gods. Craft organisation has proved so impotent that the exploiters now openly cast aside Arbitration Courts and other safeguards temporarily instituted to protect them from proletarian aggression. They demand the right to plunder and exploit to their heart's content. And they are going to do it if you, the workers, stand for it.

Don't be led away by the specious plea that reduced wages means employment for more men. The boss never employed two workers where one could do the work irrespective of the wages demanded. Don't be fooled by Courts. Don't be hypnotised by politicians. Don't be led into more "Serbonian bogs." Stand erect on the solid ground of Industrial Unionism, for there alone you are safe in demanding.

They are fools who demand what they cannot enforce. That is why Heydon and his class insult you. One Big Union of the working-class can bring demands from Courts, Kings, Kaisers, Gods and Devils.

T. GLYNN.

WHO ARE THE BANDITS.

Bandits! That is what the defenders of the law and order call us. Why? Because while we are teaching our brothers in misery that all should be for the benefit of all, we are also inviting them to take possession of that all.

Who made the land? Did the frock-coated and beloved gentleman who call it their's make it? No; the land is a natural commodity, for the use of every living creature. Who made the houses, the fabrics and all that goes to render life comfortable? Was it the gentlemen we see living in rich palaces and lodged in luxurious hotels? No; all that came from the hands of the poor, who huddle in huts, rot in prison, wither in brothels, and die in hospitals; on the gallows, everywhere in the noon of life.

Bandits! We who want these things are not the bandits.
—R. F. MAGON in "Land and Liberty."

ONE BIG UNION & NO ARBITRATION.

To the Editor.

Fellow Worker.—"Whatever is a great and commanding movement in the annals of history is a triumph for enthusiasts." Fellow workers

McMillen and Daly have been responsible for the introduction of the I.W.W. in to the West. The I.W.W. is going to grow here like wild fire. The workers in the timber industry in W.A. are ripe for revolutionary unionism. The present timber workers' union is the ultimate and logical conclusion of arbitration unionism. The executive consists of seven members, five of whom are politicians. All these said politicians are also farmers; all these labour leaders voted for the penal clauses in the Arbitration Act; and three of these politicians are frequent visitors at Government House.

The directors of the timber combine also frequent Government House, where they meet these labour leaders, drink wine together and propose toasts to the King. Could any evidence be more damning, The late union secretary, Mr. J. B. Holman, M.L.A., used to draw in union and parliamentary salaries £18 a week; Holman's fellow workers averaged fifty bob a week.

With these existing conditions, it ought not be hard to do I.W.W. propaganda in the timber industry. The present secretary at a public meeting in answer to a question of mine, said that "he did not believe in the class struggle." Wonder what he gets paid for? Sabotage can be used in the timber industry with great effect.

All over the world there is a growing feeling of working class revolt—greater than the French Revolution. Moreover, we have this time scientific principles and a conception of universal evolution to work upon. The day that I donned my I.W.W. button I burnt my craft union card; I'd be got damned if ever I join a craft union.

MICK SAWTELL.

THE PEDIGREES OF POLITICIANS.

Watching the antics and listening to the utterances of the average politician during the turmoil of an election, the casual observer is struck by the peculiar cranial development of the candidates, and is filled with an awed feeling of wonder at the profound depths of maternal love. Reflection, however, convinces me that watchful, though misguided, relatives must have blindfolded the mother while the infant imbibed sustenance from the maternal font, until familiarity with the appalling cranial peculiarities of her offspring had dulled the keen edge of horror and quelled her pardonable homicidal impulse. Or that politicians must have been reared by foster-mothers whose itching fingers were withheld from the infant's throat by pecuniary considerations.

Students of heredity and Mendelian theorists point triumphantly to the fact that the insane land-boom of the eighties and early nineties, with its resultant financial smash, synchronised with the mid-wife's attention to many of our budding politicians; but this may be dismissed as a mere coincidence. The two practical jokes of the capitalist class that were sprung on the people of Australia during that period, obviously could not have had any pre-natal influence on either the more mature, or the imported politicians. Others assert that the decrease of infanticide and the suppression of "baby-farming" are responsible for the increasing number of politicians who endeavor to inflict themselves on a long-suffering community. Students of Darwin, again aver that the political hobo's gastronomic proclivities, his acquisitiveness, his faculty for imitation and so forth, are merely a recrudescence of the simian instincts of his ancestors, and afford convincing proof of the scientific soundness of the Darwinian theory.

But who can tell by what strange and obscure workings of Fate they were preserved, and allowed to flourish on the credulity of the workers? And after all, when one considers Nature's niggardly endowment of the ordinary attributes of manhood, the politician can hardly be blamed for forsaking such slow and unsatisfactory methods of getting a living that were open to him, and taking to politics or splicing as an easier, more certain, and essentially a more lucrative profession.

FLANEUR.



Adelaide Activities

Meets every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock, at Oddfellows' Hall, Mooltan-street, off Flinders-street.

Educational classes are held each alternate Wednesday, and all workers are requested to attend.

The fee for membership is 2/6. Dues 1/- per month.

Slaves interested in bettering their conditions should attend our open-air meetings, which are held opposite Co-wells, Victoria Square every Saturday night.

Any further information desired will be furnished on request by

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Important.

Fellow workers and locals are invited to send in reports of activities, news pars, and short snappy articles. Above all, don't send long, windy articles about nothing in particular, as the writers are bound to be disappointed. Anything of a personal nature will not be entertained, although criticism is always welcomed. The first idea of the organisation is to propagate the tactics and structure of the I.W.W., and, therefore, necessarily, this paper will express those ideas primarily.

Should any subscribers fail to receive acknowledgment of their subscriptions the receipt of "DIRECT ACTION" will be equivalent to such. Should any subscriber not receive his paper he should immediately notify Manager, 350 Castlereagh-street. On the expiration of subscriptions the number of the last issue due subscribers will appear on the wrapper of the paper

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CORRESPONDENTS.

- H. (Wellington, N.Z.).—Sorry. Can't open this propaganda paper to discussing individuals. The person referred to will get his gruel from other sources. See "Barrier Truth" of 29th October.
- H. Toovey (Auckland, N.Z.).—Thanks; will use at early date.
- A.C. (Masterton, N.Z.).—Thanks. Will use at early date.
- Flaneur, Sans Culotte, M.S., and J. Daly (W.A.).—Thanks. Good luck!

Belgian patriotism is extremely sacrificing, an "all are one" feeling, you know. An instance, during the run away from Antwerp, boats were used to carry away the poor creatures. Only 25 francs was charged! and those without this amount were left. I think the poor creatures (the workers) were not carried away but blown away, and the rich creatures carried away.

List of Locals.

- Adelaide Local No. 1:—H. Clarke, Secy. Treasurer, 105 Gilles St., Adelaide, S.A.
- Sydney Local No. 2: Tom Barker, Secretary - Treasurer, 330 Castlereagh - street, Sydney, N.S.W.
- Broken Hill Local No. 3:—E. J. KIELY, Secretary and Treasurer, Palace Buildings, Subphide-street, Broken Hill, N.S.W.
- Port Pirie Local No. 4: T. Cherrington, Secy. Treasurer, Ellen St., Port Pirie, S.A.
- Fremantle Local No. 5: Secretary-Treasurer J. O'Neill, Hubbard-street, Fremantle, W.A.

N.Z. LOCALS.

- Auckland Local No. 1: G. Phillips, Secy. Treasurer, Kings Chambers, Queen St., Auckland.
- Christchurch Local No. 2: E. Kear, Secy. Treasurer, Madras St., Christchurch.
- Dunedin Local No. 3: Wellington Local No. 4: H.F. Wrixon, Secretary-Treasurer, c/o P. Josephs, 2 Willis-street, Wellington, N.Z.

This is to notify the membership that A. O'Malley is no longer the Secretary of Local No. 3. All communications should be addressed as above to E. J. Kely.

Literature in Stock.

- Capital: Karl Marx, 3 volumes, per vol. 8s.
- Value Price and Profit: Marx, bound 2s, paper 6d.
- Sabotage: Pouget, bound 2s, paper 1s.
- Militant Proletariat: Lewis, bound 2s.
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- How to Overcome the High Cost of Living: Dougherty, paper 1d.
- Wage-Labour and Capital: Marx, paper 1d.
- Chunks of I.W.W.ism: A.H., paper 1d.
- "Solidarity": I.W.W. American organ: Subscription, 7s 6d per annum, posted: Single copies, 2d.
- "The Voice of the People": The Lumberjack's I.W.W. organ: Subscription, 7s 6d per annum, posted: Single copies, 2d.

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Lit. Sec., I.W.W. Local No. 2, 330 Castlereagh Street, Sydney.

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