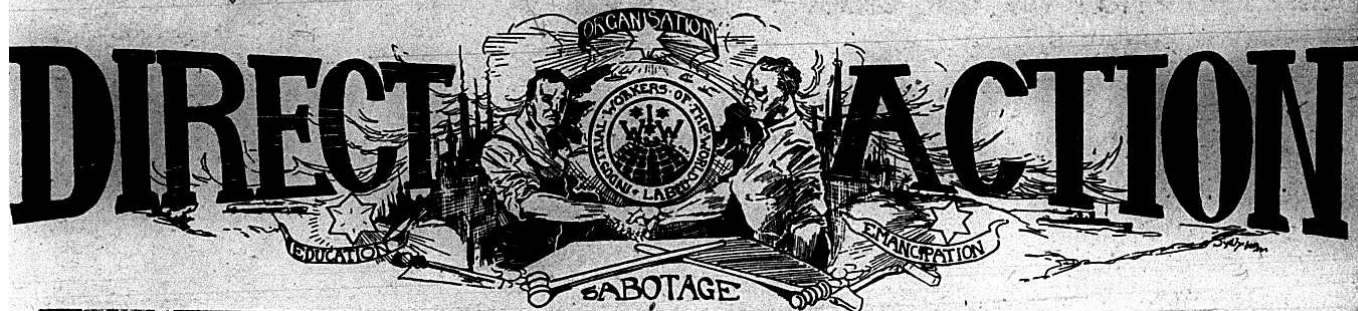


One Big Union For the International Working Class



VOL. 2. NO. 47.

Registered at G.P.O., Sydney.

SYDNEY, NOVEMBER 27, 1915.

ONE PENNY

American News.

The General Secretary of the I.W.W. in the United States, writes as follows under date October 20th:—

Fellow Worker,—

I have just received your letter of August 27th with money order for 10.00 dollars, 4.63 dollars in payment of literature that you have received and the balance for assorted Italian literature.

It is good to get such an interesting letter and to learn of the steady progress the I.W.W. is making in Australia. You have got the movement started there on a solid foundation, and every loyal member added to your membership will make you just so much stronger. The clean, clear cut propaganda of "Direct Action" should make it the best liked paper by the working class and the worse hated by the politicians and capitalists generally in that country. Working men who want to do something for themselves will find the road to freedom by following the lead of "Direct Action." That you have made such splendid advance in the last twelve months is evidenced by the remarkable success of your printing plant. Your country is so situated that capitalism has not yet got a strangle hold upon the workers such as it has in this country, and the workers there should take more readily to the agitation. Organisation is their only protection, and their only means of emancipation. Things are improving for the I.W.W. in the United States, also members are paying up their back dues; defunct locals are reviving again, and organisation is going on in different parts of the country and in different industries. At present we are making headway among the coal miners of Pennsylvania, where the Polish and Italian members are waking up and organising. The Agricultural Workers' Organisation Local Union 400 has grown steadily, has now over 1600 members and job control in at least the State of North Dakota. The business element, politicians and farmers, are howling about the demands of the I.W.W. Wages have been increased from 1.50 and 2.00 dollars a day until now the minimum is 4.00 dollars, and separator men are getting as high as 8.00 dollars with board and lodging. We are threatened with next year's harvest season. Press statements emanating from different parts say that they are going to bring up black labor from the South; others say that they will bring war widows over from Europe to do the harvest work, but in any event, they will have the I.W.W. to contend with, as we have no barriers to either sex, color, creed, or nationality. Our fellow workers went into the harvest field this year as hobos and bums, riding underneath the trains, on the bumpers, inside and on top of box cars, but they are now contemplating a special train to bring them back to Minneapolis, Minnesota, where they are going to have a blow-out, a smoker, and a general meeting of the union to outline their course for the winter months and the coming season. Some of them are going from the wheat field into the corn harvest, potatoe digging and fruit picking; others will make their way into the lumber districts.

We made a remarkable showing before the Board of Pardoners in Utah on



OTHER SHELLS KILL WORKERS—THIS KILLS MILITARISM—

LONDON "HERALD."

behalf of Joe Hill. Over one hundred thousand petitioners were represented by telegrams, letters, and petitions. An appeal was made by able counsel, but the Board denied a pardon or commutation. We then took the matter up with the Swedish Minister at Washington, Hill being a Swedish subject. The Minister appealed to the President of the United States, who requested a respite, which was granted until the 16th of October. On the 16th of October the Board of Pardoners met again and refused to do anything. The trial court has again set the day, November 19th, when Joe Hill shall be shot to death.

Chas. Cline has just been tried for the third time, again found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment. We will try to get the verdict reversed by the Supreme Court.

The Governor of California has refused to consider a pardon for Ford and Suhr, saying that as long as the Industrial Workers of the World practised and threatened sabotage, he would listen to no one in their behalf. Lawson, who is a member of the Mine Workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has been released on 35,000 dollars bond, eventually I think his case will be dismissed.

Schmidt and Caplan, also members of the American Federation of Labor, went to trial in Los Angeles, Cal., on the 4th of October, since which time their chief counsel has died. I fear now that it will go hard with those boys. We also have another member, a James Schmidt, in jail at Aberdeen, South Dakota, who will go to trial in a few days. He killed a brakeman in self defence who was shooting at him.

See that you have had troubles of your own with many free speech fights, but that you have been successful in winning them all. The situation at Paterson, New Jersey, is growing tense, and it seems that we will have to establish the right of free speech. This opposition we regard as an evidence of our virility.

Industrially speaking, things here are in a chaotic condition. All available factories have been changed from their usual process, and are being used to manufacture ammunition and materials of war for foreign countries.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours for Industrial freedom,

WM. D. HAYWOOD,

General Sec.-Treas.

The Living Wage.

R.I.P.

The "living" wage, the standing boast of the so-called labor movement, the great achievement of twenty years' political action, has been swept off the board by Arbitration Court Judge Heydon.

It will be remembered that in February of last year he gave to Australia his famous pronouncement that £2 8s per week was ample for a slave his wife and kids, to exist upon. With characteristic fairness, Heydon directed the chairmen of wages boards to increase or decrease this wage in accordance with the purchasing power of the sovereign.

Now all is changed, however. The purchasing power of the sovereign has decreased to such an extent that even on Heydon's own calculation, the weekly wage of £2 8s should now be increased to £3 3s. The consequence of granting such an increase Heydon now describes as quite beyond "his powers of provision," and he tells us, no doubt with a severe tug at his heart strings, that he is obliged, though with "extreme reluctance," to cancel his instructions to wages boards. Heydon feels so cut up about the matter that the "Sydney Morning Herald" was unnecessarily cruel in informing him that it knew as much all along, and that he had no right to interfere with what it calls "the inexorable laws" between capital and labor.

So this is where the arbitration principle, so loved by labor leaders, has landed the workers. Heydon's decision means in effect that the workers have no right to live if they are not content to accept a wage which the "inexorable laws" of supply and demand bring forth. If the price of commodities had decreased, side by side with a demand for labor, one wonders what Heydon would say and what the attitude of the "Herald" would be, if the workers refused to accept a monetary reduction in their wages on the ground that it is not the purchasing power of the sovereign, which should be considered but, the "inexorable laws" so beloved of the "Herald."

Heydon's hypocrisy and the "Herald's" bluntness illustrate better than any words the contempt of the capitalist class for present day methods of unionism.

In an overstocked labor market advantage must be taken of the opportunity to reduce wages below the subsistence level and increase profits accordingly; and organized as the workers are they are incapable of resisting. Wages boards and courts are handy institutions for preventing the workers bettering their conditions at times when competition for jobs is less keen, but when conditions produce an abundance of slaves, then to hell with the living wage and such humane balderdash.

The I.W.W. is a strong opponent of arbitration, and has previously congratulated Heydon as being one of those who is helping consistently to destroy that principle. If his latest views on the subject do not open the eyes of the workers, we despair of ever being able to do so.

DIRECT ACTION The Trust Busters

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"The Danger of Over-Indulgence"

WORKERS MAKE YOUR MASTERS!

"It is wonderful what people can do without if they are forced to do so," remarks Sydney "Herald," in its leading columns of 19th inst. "When they are not forced," it goes on to say, "the task is much more difficult of accomplishment, for it requires a much greater amount of moral fibre to be sparing when necessity does not drive."

These weighty words of wisdom were prompted by the "Herald's" anxiety for what it calls "Public and Private Economy." It is to be hoped the workers will consider and act upon such obvious truths. There is no reason in the world why those people whose welfare the "Herald" has at heart should not be forced to do without many, if not all, of those good things of which the workers deprive themselves. This will obviate the necessity on the part of those for whom the "Herald" speaks of subjecting their "moral fibre" to the unusual and unaccustomed strain of "going without."

The kind of moral fibre, the scarcity of which the "Herald" regrets, would appear, by the way, to be deplorably lacking in the proprietors of the "Herald," one of whom died some days ago leaving a fortune of half a million to encourage the "Herald" in its preaching of the moral and Christian virtues, but not one shilling to public or charitable institutions. It might have been thoughts of this fortune, and its danger in vitiating the moral fibre of the recipients in tempting them to extravagance, that prompted the leader writer to remark that "It has been indeed obvious for some time to careful observers that so great was the production of this country, and so great consequently were the accumulations of wealth, that there was a danger of over-indulgence and a softening of the fibre of the people." "The war will do some good," he adds, "if it neutralises this tendency."

"The people," no doubt, have every sympathy with this point of view—especially that great portion of them who are trying to make ends meet with the present price of commodities, at a wage which was at best perilously near the starvation line. Over-indulgence and "softening of the

Attorney-General Hall proposes to spend £400,000 in a scheme to wipe out small bakers and establish a State monopoly of bread. Hall intends to "retain the services of smart active workmen and weed out the older employees, who probably could not be trained out of their old grooves." (Vide press report). The "smart and active" are to be paid ten shillings a week extra, but what is to become of the labor displaced, bread-cart drivers, bakers, etc., we are not informed.

The Labor Party is out to "down the Trust" and the Government of New South Wales is, we are told, giving certain alleged powers to the Federal Government for that purpose. And yet here we have the "Trust-busters" going in for a monopoly scheme with the identical object in view as all other trusts we have ever heard of, namely, the economising of labor.

Hall boasts that he will be able to sell bread a penny a loaf cheaper, but all Trusts-in-the-making advance similar excuses for their existence. The boast is absurd, however. Material factors such as a drought and a rise in the price of wheat, and economic and financial forces, such as the necessity to raise revenue to pay interest on ever-increasing national debts, may compel Hall and his associates to do the same thing with their promises of a "cheap loaf" as they did with their promises of cheap tram fares.

It is all one to the workers, in any case. When the ingenuity of the State Labor Government Trust makers, on the one hand, and the Federal Labor Government Trust Busters on the other, has exhausted itself in reducing the price of bread by a penny a loaf, and such popular dishes as tripe and cod to a reasonable figure, an equally ingenious Arbitration Court Judge, with the backing and support of both Governments, and to the intense satisfaction of exploiters, generally, will fix the workers' "living" wage accordingly.

Meanwhile, the slaves displaced by trustification, whether of State or other origin, will compete with their fellows in other fields of industry, thus intensifying their dependence and increasing their servility towards Arbitration Court Judges, politicians, and other "friends of the worker."

The moral is: Trustify your Labor Power in the One Big Union, and make the World dependent upon You.

"Is the Enemy Getting our Wool?" was the title of an article in the "Telegraph" a few days ago. To judge by the "Telegraph's" leading columns, he would certainly appear to be getting "our" goat.

Every copy of "Direct Action" sold is a kick at the boss. Get subs.

Push the sale of "Direct Action." The boss loves it.

fibre" (perhaps the "Herald" means the spinal column) would be distinctly out of place in a class whose right to exist on the planet at all depends on their physical fitness to produce an abundance for others to consume.

However, as "necessity does not drive" the "Herald's" friends and admirers to the practise of either public or private economy, and as these people do not seem to be overworried by the danger to their morals of over-indulgence, the war itself being a sort of side-show for pandering to their ambition and extravagance, it is to be hoped that the workers in the future will be more humane and bring a little necessary pressure to bear upon them. Humane, because it is a biological law that where "necessity does not drive" and the struggle for existence becomes unnecessary, deterioration and extinction are the result. And however would human society get on if the "accumulators of wealth" were to kick the bucket through over-indulgence?

T.G.

"Expenses of public function in honor of the Honourable A. C. Carmichael, during his stay in London—£335 19s 3d." is an item that is looming large in the public eye for the past few days. The Government of New South Wales has to foot the bill, and why shouldn't it? What are governments for in any case? When Carmichael went to London it became necessary for him to address some of the financial lights for their advisers on the question of raising a loan, and who can perform this function better than a Parliamentary Labor member who is prepared to guarantee that the slaves he "represents" are willing and eager to produce the necessary surplus to meet the demands of the dividend fends.

If the Agent-General who improvised the beano deemed Carmichael's talents in this direction worth 335 quid for a half-hour's "spiel"—why more power (and "honor") to the honorable Ambrose as a labor representative. The labor fakir is worthy of his hire and a good "blow-out" now and again. What do the workers practise "economy and efficiency" for, if not to provide hundred quid dinners for the politicians and the "better" classes?

WAR PROFITS.

SEQUEL TO THE BOSSES' PATRIOTISM.

During the recent South Wales coal strike the capitalist press throughout the British Empire let itself go in frenzied denunciation at the action of the "disloyal" and "unpatriotic" colliers. If some of the capitalist newspapers had their way, and if coal miners were people who could be done without, they would have advocated the shooting of every collier on strike as a warning to similarly inclined "traitors." How dared the miners demand a few shillings more per week when the Empire was in danger? Was not the war specially ordained by a divine providence so that coal owners and other unscrupulous profit mongers might make fortunes out of the flesh and blood of their slaves.

The following statement of profits of some leading South Wales firms, taken from an English publication, shows better than all arguments how much these frenzied walls over the "Empire's danger" were worth, and incidentally, also, it serves to show why capitalists and their press want war:—

	£	£	£
coal export			
Profit, last year.	Aver. for three years.	prev. years.	War profits.
Spillers and Bakers, flour millers	367,000	140,000	227,000
Powell Duffryn Colliery Co.	422,000	252,000	130,000
Lambert Bros.	142,500	77,000	65,500
Tredegarr Iron and Coal Co.	157,000	113,000	44,000
United National Colliery Co.	160,000	100,000	60,000
Great Western Colliery Co.	101,000	90,000	11,000
B. Davis and Sons Colliery Co.	219,500	180,000	39,500
Burnyeat Brown and Co. Colliery Co.	133,000	100,000	33,000
Ebbw Vale Coal and Iron Co.	156,000	100,000	56,000
A total of £666,000 in one year is the value of the patriotism of this bunch of hypocrites.			

A woman named Maria Black was sentenced to death in Melbourne on 18th inst. What is the good of going to Belgium to look for "Cavell" and other atrocities. Murder is murder whether it is done by soldiers or by "the law."

By Howison E. Hoover.

The masters, as in days of old,
The slaves of Toil in bondage hold;
And so they climb an endless hill;
Upon the masters' slave treadmill;
And every bright or cloudy morn,
When rings the bell or toots the horn,
The toilers crawl from shacks and dens,

To tread the mill in wage slave pens.
And thus Toil's flesh in constant pain,
Is racked upon the endless chain

Of "Go to work"

To earn the cash

To buy the food

To gain the strength

To go to work," etc.

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

The faster toil hits up the speed
The more he keeps for Shirk and Greed,
The more compounds the misery
Of all who toil in drudgery;
The more he wins their snarling scorn

Who Samson strength have from him shorn;
The stronger fortifies their right;
To bring upon him curse and blight;
The more his nerves sear on his brain
The curse of that unending chain
Of "Go to work," etc.

That chain conducts us in the mine,
Shanghai us on the salt sea brine,
Enslaves us in diseased sweatshops,
It drags us on through sewer slops;
Snatches our sons while young and frail
And turns them villains, on crime's trail;
It hurls our daughters prostitutes
As offerings to gilded brutes;
The Toiler's path of shame and pain,
It is the racking, endless chain—
Of "Go to work," etc.

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

It's tread, it's toil from youth to age

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

It may be sport and relished fun
For those who feast and shirk and shun,
But for the flesh racked out in pain,
Which wakes from dreams to tread again,
Or falls in fitful sleep to tread
Away the life which toil has sped;
It is Inquisitorial Hell
For famished souls too dumb to tell
The tortures of the endless strain
Of flesh racked on the endless chain
Of "Go to work," etc.

GLASS BOYS' STRIKE.

A strike of Glass Boys in the Glass Bottle Works, Waterloo, occurred on Tuesday of last week. About 400 workers were involved; although the boys numbered only 200 the works were unable to carry on without their assistance. Many of the so-called "boys" are really young men, 18 and 19 years of age, some even older, and the company considers seven bob a day an ample wage for this class of labor. What was Providence thinking about to give such a thing as a stomach to boys of 19 in any case?

The boys were not members of a union, and consequently were turned down by the Trades Hall officials. One Ronnfeldt, secretary of the Federated Glass Founders' Society, heroically volunteered to come to their aid. He agreed to "organise" them on one condition—that they should return to work forthwith. Whatever would the bosses do without their union secretaries? To the credit of the workers, however, they turned down this scabby proposal.

Ronnfeldt's anxiety for the boys' welfare (?) may be judged from the fact that the manager of the works admitted that it was costing the company 50 tons of coal per day to keep the furnaces hot while the strike was on.

Many acts of trade union treachery can be traced to more trifling causes than the price of fifty tons of coal.

HARVESTERS!

Members striking out for the harvest fields should arm themselves with a supply of Subscription Cards for "Direct Action."

I. W. W. Preamble.

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

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

We find that the centre of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working-class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working-class upheld only by an organisation formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto: "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword: "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working-class to do away with Capitalism. The army of production must be organised, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when Capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organising industrially, we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Craft Union Subtlety.

Our Standpoint.

Will Joe Hill Die?

In the "Westralian Worker" of October 29, appears a report of a lecture delivered before the Leederville branch of the A.L.F., by A. H. Pantan, secretary of the Shop Assistants' Union, on the subject of Industrial Unionism.

Pantan gives some interesting facts and figures with regard to the state of unionism in the West. He says:—

"As the unions of this State are typical of the best of Australia, I intend to deal with the system as it affects us here in the metropolitan area. There are about 67 unions in the metropolitan area, including Fremantle and Midland Junction, representing about 10,000 unionists. These unions employ 27 permanent secretaries and organisers, whose salaries are approximately £5,830 per annum. Forty partly employed secretaries receive about £988 per annum, whilst the rent of offices amounts to £2,800, making a total of £7,568 per annum. Add to this the amount expended in books, stationery, printing, postage, meeting rooms, travelling expenses, etc., and you will get some idea what the present method of industrial organisation is costing some 10,000 members per annum. The question of expensive administration alone is one which should set the rank and file thinking, and not only is the method expensive, but it is causing a great deal of dissatisfaction amongst unionists."

And again, further on, he informs us:—

"Another disadvantage of our present method is the necessity of several secretaries and organisers going over the same ground. For instance, at the State Implement Works we find representatives of the A.S.E., the Australian Engineers, Boltermakers, Moulders, Plumbers, Painters, Clerks, Coach, Car, and Rolling Stock Employees, whilst a building such as the new post office necessitates a visit from the secretaries of the Masons, Bricklayers, Carpenters, Plumbers, Plasterers, Painters, Builders, Labourers, and Tip-drain Drivers."

Mr. Pantan does not believe that the A.W.U., with its motto of "One Union One Ticket," can solve the problem of industrial organisation, as a mass organisation which takes in all and sundry, irrespective of the industry they may be working in "can never be an industrial union, and admits that the I.W.W. hold the key to the situation so far as the theory is concerned."

Pantan's "objections" to the I.W.W., however, is shown in the following:—

"If I thought the theory of the I.W.W. was within reasonable reach, I would not hesitate to throw in my lot with them, but when I think of the amount of education required, the apathy of the rank and file and the selfishness of the leaders of the present craft union, I look upon the I.W.W. theory as a theory only."

Put in another way, Pantan's logic amounts to this: The cure for craft unionism is Industrial Unionism, but as Industrial Unionism is only a theory, it is therefore no cure. Imagine a patient who refuses to take the physician's prescription to the chemist on the ground that the doctor's diagnosis, and his deductions therefrom, were only "a theory."

Mr. Pantan shows his inconsistency when he propounds his own scheme for industrial organisation, which is practically on all fours with that put forward by the I.W.W., only that he desires existing organisations to remain as a nucleus for the new method. But what about the "amount of education required the apathy of the rank and file and the selfishness of the leaders," etc.? Will all these obstacles disappear like magic because "one theory" is adopted instead of another, or does Pantan want to build up the One Big Union without education, without removing the indifference of the rank and file, and ignoring the selfishness of officials? If the latter is such a factor, where is it most likely to be met with? Inside the "nuclei" which he

wishes to utilise for his purpose, or in an organisation which sets out to educate the working class and to galvanise their apathy into action, not with the aid of the selfishness of craft union leaders, but in spite of it?

Mr. Pantan holds that the I.W.W. method is impracticable. Could there be anything more impracticable than endeavouring to promote Industrial Unionism by retaining the organisations referred to in his lecture as a nucleus of an industrial union? All members of the Engineers, Boltermakers, Moulders, Plumbers, Painters, Clerks, etc., are not employed in one, but in numerous industries. In any industrial scheme of organisation worthy of the name, a member of the Engineers, for instance, should hold a card of membership in the industry in which he worked and not in the Engineers as such. What then becomes of the Engineers as a nucleus of an industrial Union?

Pantan's reasoning is one more illustration of the subtleties to which Union officials will resort in order to protect themselves from the coming storm, when that apathy of the rank and file, which they pretend to deplore but which, with few exceptions, they do nothing to remove, disappear before the logic of I.W.W. propaganda.

A.W.U. OFFICIALDOM.

AT INNISFAIR, N. Q.

T. Healy writes:—

The outcome of the propaganda distributed among the slaves at Goond Mill, and the patriotism to capitalistic interests displayed by the officials of the A.W.U. in their recent refusal to sanction the intended direct action of the workers to force concessions and create better conditions, has forced a recognition of the fallacy of assisting to perpetuate such an unfruitful organisation.

When the slaves were preparing to attack the exploiters, the officials of the A.W.U. held aloof and refused to unite, but directly they realised the possibility of losing the membership contributions, as numbers of the workers have since joined the I.W.W., they were greatly in evidence, wildly clamouring to the slaves to disbelieve in the I.W.W. and its truths. "Don't read its literature," they urged.

They apparently fail to realise that the reign of stupidity and superstition has ceased to exist, and the era of rationalism has arrived where reason takes precedence over leadership. They fail to realise the futility of endeavouring to stop human thought.

If they wish to survive as officials, it behooves them to cease to endeavour to dominate, and to realise that they are subservient to the intelligence of the masses.

ESSENTIAL ITERATION.

(By William Mellor.)

To say that Solidarity is the peed of the hour is to utter a platitude of the worst kind. And yet the workers have not yet realised fully that many a truth is contained in the veriest of platitudes—hence their inclination to complain of the agitator's "damnable iteration."

Personally, I feel that the message of Industrial Unionism has got to be preached in season and out of season, wars or no wars, until at last the dispossessed begin to act. Only by the creation of blackleg-proof Industrial Unions can freedom from wage-slavery be reached; only by becoming imbued with the ideal of Control can the workers hope to enter into their own. Skilled and unskilled, highly-paid and lowly-paid, all are members of the one class, fighting in the same war, sure of victory if united, certain of defeat if disorganisation continue.

—London "Solidarity."

Alderman Warner, a member of the Waterloo Council, and a member of the Socialist Party, was recently sentenced to a period of imprisonment for running foul of the police while addressing a public meeting in the Sydney Domain. The Full Court of New South Wales has since cancelled Warner's aldermanic "honors" on the ground that he was a "criminal." This is another victory for the advocates of political action. That the workers should waste time and money in returning men to Parliament or public bodies when Courts have the power to remove them from their position for infringements of capitalist law, is surely farcical. Probably political actionists will tell us that the law and the police, and the legal machinery of capitalism generally, should be respected. This is quite logical from the Laborites, standpoint, but what about our r-revolutionary "comrades"?

LITERATURE LIST.

Capital: Karl Marx, 3 vol., 8/- per volume.
Ancient Society: Morgan, Bound, 6/-.
Value, Price, and Profit: Marx. Bound, 2/-; paper, 6d.
Evolution of Property: Lapargue. Bound, 2/-.
The Militant Proletariat: Lewis, Bound, 2/-.
The New Unionism: Tridon. Paper 1/8.
Sabotage: Pouget. Bound, 2/-; paper, 1/-.
One Big Union: Trautman, Paper 6d.
Sabotage: W. C. Smith, Paper, 3d.
Sabotage: E. G. Flynn, paper, 3d.
I.W.W. History, Structure, and Methods: St. John. Paper, 3d.
Revolution and the I.W.W.: Pease, Paper, 3d.
Eleven Blind Leaders: B. H. Williams. Paper, 3d.
Political Socialism, or Capturing the Government: Nelson. Paper, 3d.
War: What For (Cartoon). Price 3d.
Revolutionary Unionism: E. J. B. Allen. Paper, 2d.
Why the A.W.U. Cannot Become an Industrial Union: Alex. George. Paper, 3d.
Industrial Efficiency and its Antidote: T. Glynn. Paper, 2d.
I.W.W. Songs: Paper, 3d.
Summary of Marx's Capital: Hazel, 2d.
The Diesel Motor: Frankenthal, Paper, 1d.
Industrial Unionism: St. John, 1d.

ADDRESSES OF I.W.W.

LOCALS.

Adelaide Local No. 7—Secretary-Treasurer, S. G. Drummond, 43 Charles-street, Unley, Adelaide, S.A.
Sydney Local No. 2—Secretary-Treasurer, F. J. Morgan, 330 Castlereagh-street, Sydney, N.S.W.
Broken Hill Local No. 3—Secretary-Treasurer, E. J. Kiely, Palace Buildings, Sulphide-street, Broken Hill, N.S.W.
Fremantle Local, No. 5—C/o W. Johnstone, Burlington Hotel, Pakenham-street, East Fremantle, W.A.
Boulder Local, No. 6—Secretary-Treasurer, F. H. Lunn, Lane-street, Boulder, W.A.
Brisbane Local, No. 7—Secretary-Treasurer, J. J. Burke, "Mimi," Cribb-street, Milton, Brisbane, Q.
Melbourne Local, No. 8—Secretary-Treasurer, R. Power, 243 William-street, Melbourne, V.
Tottenham Local, No. 9—Secretary-Treasurer, A. S. Graham, Umang-street, Tottenham, N.S.W.

NEW ZEALAND.

Auckland Local, No. 1—G. Phillips, Secretary-Treasurer, Kings Chambers, Queen-street, Auckland.
Christchurch Local, No. 2—E. Kear, Secretary-Treasurer, Madras-street, Christchurch.
Wellington Local, No. 4—H. F. Wilson, Secretary-Treasurer, 4/5 P. Josephs, 2 Willis-street, Wellington, N.Z.

The case of Joe Hill, a member of the I.W.W., in the United States, is attracting considerable public attention there, according to latest mail advices. Hill was charged with murder in the early part of last year, and was subsequently convicted and sentenced to death. His conviction and sentence was the signal for a shoal of protests rolling in from all quarters of America to the authorities of the State of Utah, where the trial and conviction took place.

It was known that the evidence against Hill was of the flimsiest nature, and that a "frame up" against him on the part of the Utah authorities, because of his activity in the I.W.W., was the sole cause of his arrest, became apparent at the trial, when all the principal witnesses for the prosecution flatly contradicted, on the most important points, the evidence given at the preliminary hearing.

Hill had reason to suspect even his own attorneys of being part and parcel of the conspiracy against his life, by their refusal to cross-examine the witness on the contradictions referred to, and wished to dischaige them while the trial was in progress. The Judge, however, refused to allow him and retained the attorneys "on his behalf" (?) in spite of his protests.

October 1st of this year was the day originally fixed for the execution, but the militant workers of the United States flooded the press and the authorities with protests and a demand for a new trial. At last moment, a reprieve of sixteen days was granted, and a "Board of Pardons" instituted to enquire into the demand. The sentence was endorsed, and November 19th set as the date on which Hill was to face his judicial murderers. Whether the crime has been consummated, next mail from America will let us know.

Below will be seen a letter written by Hill on 30th September, the day before that which he believed to be his last. No man who would perpetuate a cowardly murder could be the author of that letter. It is significant to remark, by the way, that the Swedish Minister at Washington has expressed his belief in Hill's innocence (Hill is of Swedish nationality) and has interceded on his behalf to President Wilson.

Judge O. N. Hilton, one of the most noted lawyers in the United States, has voluntarily interested himself in Hill's case, and after a new trial was refused, addressed the following letter to the Board of Pardons—
To the Board of Pardons of the State of Utah, Salt Lake City, Ohio.
Gentlemen,—

Assuming that your reasons for denying clemency to Joseph Hillstrom are correctly set forth in the public press this morning, and for the purpose of showing that they are not founded on either the law or facts in the case, but are intended to and do delude and deceive the public, I respectfully make the offer to publicly discuss the facts at any time in any City in the United States with any member of your Board, or all of them; such discussion to be before the date assigned for his execution.

I make this request to afford an opportunity to refute, as I feel I can, among other things, the false, wicked and cowardly aspersion on his character—that Hillstrom has heretofore committed any crime or that he has now, or ever has had, any criminal record—now for the first time so bravely urged as a sufficient justification for taking his life.

This matter, as you all must realise, is one now of national, if not international importance, and has excited intense interest from New York to San Francisco; and I would be, as the attorney for this condemned man, of "meaner stuff than men are made of" if I did not, in the brief time of life now allotted him, challenge you and each of you to the proofs!

I am only anxious and determined that if Hillstrom is judicially murdered, the people of this country—the great jury to whom we must all go at last—shall fully understand just where rests the full measure of responsibility for "the deep damnation of his taking off."

Any communication will reach me addressed to this city.

Very respectfully,
O. N. HILTON.

Denver, Colorado,

October 7th, 1915.

The following is—Hill's letter, above referred to:—

Utah State Prison,
Sept. 30, 1915.

Ben Williams,
Care Solidarity,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Friends and Fellow Workers: "Job's Law" has given me his last and final order to get off the earth and stay off. He has told me that for of times before, but this time it seems as if he is meaning business.

I have said time and again that I was going to get a new trial or die trying. I have told it to my friends; it has been printed in the newspapers; and I don't see why I should "eat my own crow" just because I happen to be up against a firing squad. I have stated my position plainly to everybody, and I won't budge an inch, because I know I am in the right.

To-morrow I expect to take a trip to the planet Mars and, if so, will immediately commence to organise the Mars canal workers into the I.W.W. And we will sing the good old songs so loud that the learned star-gazers on earth will once and for all get positive proofs that the planet Mars really is inhabited.

In the meantime I hope you'll keep the ball rolling here. You are on the right track, and you are bound to get there.

I have nothing to say about myself, only that I have always tried to do what little I could to make this earth a little better for the great producing class; and I can pass off into the great unknown with the pleasure of knowing that I have never in my life double-crossed a man, woman, or child.

With a last, fond farewell to all true rebels and a hearty thank for the noble support you have given me in this unequal fight, I remain,
Yours for International Solidarity,
JOE HILL.

P.S.—I have written down for publication, the facts about the case AS I KNOW THEM. I want you to get the truth.
JOE.

SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

For

"DIRECT ACTION."

Enclosed please find P.O. for 4s. for which please send "Direct Action" for one year to the following address:—

Name.....

Address.....

Fill it in NOW!

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL No. 6.
HALL, LANE ST., BOULDER,
W.A.

Wednesday Evenings, in Hall—Class Meeting.
Friday Evening, Boulder Post Office—Propaganda Meeting.

Saturday Evening, Kalgoorlie—Propaganda Meeting.

Sunday Morning, 10.30 a.m., Hall—Business Meeting.

Sunday Afternoon, Keane's Goldfields Hotel, Athletic Club, at 2.30—Lecture.

Sunday Evening, Boulder—Propaganda Meeting.

Good Library at Hall. All Reds are invited to dig in and make Industrial Unionism the Topic of the Day.

F. H. LUNN.

ADELAIDE READERS

Can obtain copies of "Direct Action" and Industrialist Literature from Charlie Russell, bootmaker, Gibson-street, Bowden, Adelaide, S.A.

Coming Trouble in New Zealand.

According to the daily press, a new strike movement is mooted in New Zealand. The cable states that the waterside workers, miners and seamen are very dissatisfied with the failure of the Arbitration Court to raise wages commensurate with the rapidly increasing cost of living.

The workers of New Zealand have not been doped to the same extent with politics as their Australian brothers, and consequently are more prone to rely upon their own power than the swarm of political hoodlums, who are as plentiful, although more unsuccessful in "Gods-own," than they are in the bigger island.

The twenty years of arbitration, which followed the great '90 strike, built up the spineless "master class" unionism, whose lack of courage and initiative gave to New Zealand the title of "land without strikes." It is difficult to ascertain whether politics or arbitration are more conducive in side-tracking the activities and objects of the unions.

The revolt against arbitration took tangible form in New Zealand, when the miners, in 1908, decided to rely upon organisation and their own power in preference to accepting the charity of a high court judge. In 1912 the miners of Waikato refused to be lowered by engine drivers who had been financed by the mining companies to form a scab union of engine-drivers. The intention was, of course, to separate the powerful union of mine workers into a dozen small unions, which would advantage the employers, so that they might introduce the old time competitive contract system, which had been abolished by the advent of the miners industrial union.

The strike lasted over six months. Over £24,000 was collected from the miners in New Zealand and Australia, and various other unions. Strike pay was paid, no child went hungry. All the time the strike continued, miners in Huntly mined coal for the scabs in Waikato, railway men carried police and scabs to help to break the strike. Over sixty of the most militant men were gaoled at Mount Eden, Auckland. Union scabbies broke the strike, in spite of the contributions that showered in to the strikers. Cash cannot win strikes, the craft union can lose them.

The strike was smashed. The miners' union hall was rushed by drunken scabs, and police, early in November, during which Fred Evans, an engine-driver, was killed defending the property of his fellow-workers.

In 1913, the lessons of that strike proved to the miners and waterfront workers that solidarity and general action was more likely to win lasting results than the old method. Several small strikes occurred in Timaru, a waterfront port, Blackball, Ngakawau, and Denniston Hill, all mining camps. General discontent brought the matter to a head in October of that year. The shipwrights in Wellington, and the miners in Huntly, struck simultaneously. Other unions, seeing the lessons of Waikato, struck in sympathy with their fellow workers on the water fronts and mines. In less than one week all the coal miners had the mines tied up, and all the wharves of any size or consequence were deserted by the workers. The lessons of solidarity had taken their root in the mind of the workers in those industries. In Auckland the strike was general in all industries, but it was more of a sentimental movement, and its effects were nullified by the Labor politicians who did not miss an opportunity of telling the workers how much better a Socialist or Labor party would be than a Liberal or Tory party.

The weak point in the 1913 strike was the failure of the seamen to respond immediately to the call of the men of the mines and the waterfronts. This was not due to any lack of militancy among those men, but due to the union officials of the seafaring organisations. There is no in the length and breadth of Australia a bunch of officials of labor organisations who are more devoted to the interests of the robber class than those of the Seamen's and Fire-

men's Union. Another weak point in the armour of the N.Z. working class was the railway men's organisation, who had not only been fed on arbitration, but also hypnotised by superannuation and political influence.

The same men who cheered at strike demonstrations went back to work, and fired engines which carried the scab, and that even more despicable cur, the special constable, who ultimately broke the strike. And lastly the ignorant country worker, who, unorganised even into a craft union, played upon by the tripe of the cow country paper went townwards to teach the overfed satiated strikers that they were acting against the best interests of their country in taking a holiday at the beginning of the busy season.

Notwithstanding the influx of the army of scabs and scab police, the workers carried on a strong fight. Coal was imported from Japan, Australia and South Africa. It was handled by scabs from scab ships and turned over to scab railway men for transport to the different centres.

The strike ultimately failed. It was defeated by the usual misunderstandings among the workers. Yet I remember vividly that morning when the strike was declared off, when I was cleaning up my cell in the Terrace Gaol, in Wellington, I heard the waterside workers' band strike up the "Marseillaise" down the town, which was followed by the vigorous cheers of the wharves as they marched back in a solid body to the wharves that had left seven weeks before. Spirit like that can not be defeated by losing strikes. Even the political reactionaries could not divert the solidifying movement which began after the strike was over.

"Billy Banjo" went into the Manawatu district to spread the message of organisation among the agricultural workers. The movement is developing, and in a short time the men who broke strikes will be the men who will be winning them. Others of the men who were displaced by scab labor on the wharves took to the cocky district to look for the necessary crust. Many a special constable wonders how things happen unluckily on the farm—since the strike. The men who came on the wharves to scab are being educated, and recently the one-time scab element on the Wellington wharves refused to work night work on the wharves.

The gospel of the I.W.W., of sabotage and Direct Action, are having their effect. Although the Massey-Ward Government have stopped I.W.W. papers from going into New Zealand, we know that the work goes merrily on. It is but a matter of time before the flare will start in God's own country again.

The solid work of the past two years will prove the efficiency of a militant virile organisation of the working class, that cares not a damn for Masseys, Wards, or that pooh bah of New Zealand, the Employers' Federation.

The working class learn to fight by fighting. They learn to win by losing, and noting the experience. The only way is by the direct method. Give the miners, waterfront workers, and seamen the support of the railway men, and the help of the agricultural and pastoral worker, and the workers must win. Solidarity is the silken thread that makes a working class invincible. It is the factor that makes all things possible, that marks a mile stone in the struggle from subjection to ultimate triumph.

Prior to the 1913 strike, the employers of Wellington complained that the workers on the Wellington wharves were working 15 per cent. slower than in 1908. The sterling fight of the uncompromising minority who refused to smudge their principles with a tinge of politicalism, has more than borne fruit. New Zealand is at present, according to Mr. Riggs, a Labor conservative of the old school, a country that is far behind the other parts of the British Empire.

We hope to see the workers on strike from the North Cape to the Bluff. And we will see as far as possible that the long distance scab antics of the union officials in this

Miss Pankhurst On War.

Approximately a thousand people assembled in the Protestant Hall, Castlereagh Street, on Monday evening last, the attraction being Miss Adela Pankhurst, or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say, Miss Pankhurst's views on wars in general, and the present European war in particular.

Although Miss Pankhurst laid bare the underlying causes of war, and spoke of its horrors in a manner which held the close attention of her audience, her solution of the problem did not seem to be quite clear. The formation of a Women's Peace Army with a view to introducing the principle of arbitration into international disputes may be a praiseworthy object in itself, but one fails to see how such an organisation, with an international Arbitration Court thrown in, is going to remove the fundamental economic motives underlying all wars of the capitalist regime.

If the war has its real origin in the fact that the workers of modern nations receive only a portion of their product, and that those who appropriate the surplus must build up armies and navies to uphold and, if possible, increase their respective shares of an ever narrowing market, logic would suggest that the only solution is for the workers to "expropriate the appropriators."

Miss Pankhurst's view, however, would appear to be that war, though an inherent evil of the commercial system, can be eliminated by appointing a set of supermen and superwomen, who presumably will be free from the baneful influences and poisonous environment of capitalism, to adjudicate on the division of the spoils between the ruling class and hand down perpetual international peace to still exploited workers.

Our view is, of course, that when the workers learn to protect their economic interests, they will not need the assistance of 20th century Messiahs to prevent their slaughtering each other; and until the necessary knowledge has been imbibed we won't have much faith in this "save us by arbitration" business; in any case.

In so far as Miss Pankhurst exposes the economic causes of modern warfare, however, she deserves the support and assistance of militant workers. When those causes are understood the future lays with the working class itself, and not "in the hands of the gods," arbitrationists, politicians or others.

Threats of direct action, without resorting to it, on the part of the engineers employed on the Railways have been sufficient to bring the Commissioner over to their point of view. According to the press report, the paymasters at the Eveleigh workshops have been instructed to pay the rates demanded. "Constitutional" methods would appear to be getting into disrepute even among conservative crafts.

country are nullified when the call goes in New Zealand. The performances of our new Premier, Mr. Wm. Hughes, will not occur again.

The last strike cost the employing class of New Zealand a fine penny. Not content with the costly victory, they piled the whip of victimisation and hunger, making even the conservative worker adopt the deadly methods of the wooden shoe. The next strike will cost them about twenty times as much; in fact, we hope that it will cost them every cent of surplus value that they have purloined from the workers. Carry the strike on to the job, and make every day a strike for the control of the job, and a day nearer the time when the boss will get into copper-riveted overalls and hobnail boots.

Workers of New Zealand, although we are barred from your country, and your slavery, we wish you luck, and will help you to kick on this side of the Tasman.

TOM BARKER.

Glasgow Tenants Strike.

Take Direct Action.

The following is from the "Glasgow Weekly News," of October 2nd. It shows how the victims of landlordism in Glasgow were acting just about the time our local "Rent Payers' Association," composed chiefly of laborite and socialist politicians were killing the landlord with hot air resolutions.

GLASGOW TENANTS' STRIKE SPREADING. PARTICK FAMILIES STAND FIRM FACTOR PELTED WITH PEASE-MEAL.

The Glasgow tenants' "strike" is spreading like wildfire.

Districts as widely scattered as Shettleston, Parkhead, South Govan, Possilpark, and Cathcart are affected by the determination of the householders to resist the increased rents demanded by the factors.

Now the suburb of Partick has joined in the feud. The increased rent which the factors wish to collect range from one shilling to half-a-crown a month, and recently the rebellious householders who adopted a defiant attitude were served with notices to quit their dwellings, unless they were prepared to stump up the increase demanded. The householders, however, appear determined to stay on in their homes and pay the old rent.

Hozier Street, Rosevale Street, Thornwood Avenue, Clyde Street, and Crawford Street are the thoroughfares mostly affected. In the first two there is a great display of bunting which arrests the attention of the passer-by.

One huge Union Jack in Rosevale Street is particularly noticeable. The "man in the street," anxious to know the reason for this display, soon gets his curiosity satisfied by the notice which is stuck up in all the windows of the tenements that there is a "rent strike against increases. We are not removing."

BOTH SIDES FIRM.

The factor is determined that the increases shall be paid, even if he has to resort to law. Acting upon their organiser's advice, the tenants sent postal orders to the factor for the value of the rent under the old scale. When calling on some houses to return them, the factor met with a hot reception. He was pelted with pease-meal and chased from one of the streets by the irate women. As one onlooker remarked, flour seemed to be going cheap down Partick way that day.

Meanwhile there is a calm before the storm. It takes three or four days before the warrants for eviction can be obtained from the Sheriff Court. The tenants, however, are not by any means going about this "strike" in a half-hearted manner. They appreciate the old motto that "Union is Strength," and acting upon this they have banded themselves together into a surprisingly solid body.

A "Weekly News" representative dropped into one of their meetings in the Trades Hall, Anderson Street, where the "strikers" were being addressed by Councillor Izitt and several of their leaders. Though they were there on serious business the women were quite cheery, which showed they were fully convinced that right was on their side. They were told that a deputation was to march to the Municipal Buildings next week, and one woman inquired if they were getting a piper to lead them!

"BATTLE" OF PARTICK.

One of the speakers characterised it as scandalous that at a time like this when so many women were so full of anxiety regarding their kith and kin fighting for their homes in a foreign land they themselves should be threatened with eviction and thrown into the street. The irony of it. But they had the power in their hands.

If a Sheriff officer tried to evict any householder—they would do all in their power to prevent it. They were fully determined on that. Supposing the factor were successful, they would see to it that that par-

Jots and Jolts and Jars.

The Labor Party celebrates its jubilee this week. "Light refreshments are to be served to loyal unionists and their womenfolk at the Town Hall. Anything strong might get the slaves thinking of £335 dinners. And then, Christ knows what might happen!"

"Mr. Fisher has placed his private residence at St. Kilda at the disposal of the Defence authorities."—New Item. As Mr. Fisher can't very well use a house in St. Kilda, Melbourne, and Park Lane, London, at the same time, his "patriotism" will no doubt be appreciated at its true value.

Still another "demarcation" squabble. The A.S.E. in the Randwick workshops have been on strike over a week because of work being done by others to which they deemed themselves entitled. The craft unionist is apparently so fond of the "privilege" to work that he will starve himself rather than forego it.

State Socialism in the Northern Territory would not appear to be any different to private capitalism. For weeks the hotel employees have been on strike for better conditions, and a Labor Government that can raise millions in a week to shoot the workers of other lands can't find the few bob necessary to meet their demands.

The General Secretary of organised scabbery has added another to his long list of laurels. The Bottle Boys' strike at Waterloo, referred to elsewhere in this issue, has been "settled" at the instigation of Mr. Kavanagh, who is going to get their grievances adjusted on a conciliatory method. The boys are settled all right.

The Gas Employees' Union held their annual picnic last week. As usual, the bosses were present, and toasts were enthusiastically drunk by the slaves to their success. The bosses responded by a huge gurgie (no, not giggle, Mr. Printer) for the "success" of the Employees' Union. Unionism of this kind deserves success.

A particular house was never "let" again. Councillor Izitt said it was a disgrace to the country that factors should increase rents just now. Because some 4000 houses had been taken up by Belgian refugees, and that large number of munition workers from England, Canada, and even Denmark and Norway had to be housed, it was no reason why factors should ask for increased rents.

Yet they declared that houses were scarce and thus had to do so. Such an action was enough to hinder recruiting. A man would think twice before enlisting if he thought that his defenceless wife would be thrown into the street in his absence. The Councillor advised them to stand firm. It was their only salvation.

STRONG FEELING IN PARTICK.

The feeling in Partick is very strong and deep. By the end of this week it looks as if the 130 resistors will be increased to 500. Some of the householders affected are making good wages in the shipyards, but it is stated that they form a small percentage of the whole, a large number of the men's wages having remained the same as before the war. Further, the head of the house in a number of cases is a soldier, and it takes his wife all her time to make ends meet without having to pay the increase demanded. Much curiosity is evinced as to how the factor will fare in his endeavors to evict the "strikers," but the latter, for their part, have little fear as to the result.