

DIRECT ACTION

VOL. 2. NO. 49.

Registered at G.P.O., Sydney. SYDNEY, DECEMBER 11, 1915.

ONE PENNY

“Atrocities”.

By Massage.

We read in the papers every day, “German atrocities.” At every workshop, tram car, street corner, we hear people talking about German cruelties. Apparently they either forget, ignore, or are amazingly ignorant of the “Sydney atrocities” that take place every day. A bootmaker commits suicide, being out of employment eleven weeks, and unable to get a master. A young girl at Annandale follows suit, and left a note saying, “The world was too hard for her to fight.” A young woman at Darlingtown takes poison. Having two children, she found it impossible to support them. The bourgeoisie class of Sydney are responsible for those three lives. If they are not buns of the worst kind, what are they? One man and a woman found floating in the harbor the following week. For the same reason, I suppose: No work, no home.

Men have been sent to jail for wickedness with their own daughters. Hundreds, nay thousands, of girls sell their bodies for bread. Not a week slips by without one reading of cases of assault on little innocent girls. Men sent to jail for talking anti-conscription; and there is no need to mention what a hellish time we gave poor old Childley. An old man, 60 years of age, kicked to death by three soldiers; a young sailor kicked to death the following night; a soldier sent to jail for assaulting a little girl at Granville.

A soldier sent to jail for eighteen months for a disgusting offence—interfering with a boy soldier at Liverpool camp. A soldier committed for trial for murdering his own brother; a soldier charged with assault on a 14-year-old girl at Liverpool; a woman murdered in the park near the railway—a stick was pushed through the lower part of her body; a Chinaman murdered at Waterloo—a bottle was forced through the lower part of his anatomy.

For those two last-mentioned crimes I cannot find words sufficient to give expression in condemnation of those Australian “Huns.” It would be impossible to name all the “atrocities” that have taken place in Sydney during the last few months. Too many; take up too much space. This is only a small list.

To the Editor of the “Herald,” the Editor of the “Sunday Times,” to Billy Holman, to every patriotic, pious, popinjay, I say emphatically, without hesitation, aren’t we “Australians” nice, kind, loving, extraordinary sympathetic people? But what brutal barbarians the Germans are!

NEXT SUNDAY’S LECTURE.

NEXT SUNDAY,

MRS. E. PAUL

will Lecture on

“WOMEN AND PEACE.”

at the I.W.W. HALL, 330 Castlereagh Street.

Orchestral Selections.

QUESTIONS.



(On November 19th last, Joe Hill, an active I.W.W. propagandist in the United States, and composer of revolutionary songs, was executed in Salt Lake City on a trumped-up charge of having murdered a scab.)

HILL: BAH! THE MURDER OF MY BODY AVAILS YOU NOTHING. YOU CANNOT MURDER IDEAS!

“OUR MEN.”

The “Loco. Record,” the organ of the New Zealand engine-drivers, is responsible for the following brilliant working-class gem:—

“It would be impossible for this union to take part in any conference which erects a stone wall against conscription when it is proved to the hilt that the army is starved for the want of volunteers. It would really mean that we would be assisting in the murder of our comrades at the front. We are not going to do that. At any rate, we candidly say that conscription must be enforced if our men fail to enrol.”

Apart from the traitorous aspect of a Labor organisation which supports Conscription, the antithesis of working-class movement stands, the “Loco. Record” would appear to be of the opinion that the way to stop murder is by perpetrating it.

This valiant patriot, who is paid by the workers to look after their interests, believes (?) that he can best do so by sending them to face the bayonets of the workers of other countries, who, no doubt, are the victims of the same kind of treachery. “Our men must be forced if they

fail to enrol,” is about the richest thing on the Conscription question we have heard from a working class source so far. “Our men,” mark you! Seeing that the human abortion responsible for this piece of impudence is himself still somewhere in the neighbourhood of 13,000 miles from the trenches in Europe, his anxiety about “our men” failing to enrol will be appreciated, no doubt, by “our men,” at its face value.

The rank and file of the Engine-drivers’ Union ought to take their editor and damp his carcass in the nearest horse trough. A so-called “representative of labor,” who talks as he does, would smell all the better for a little cleansing.

OBITUARY.

Fellow-worker Tom Anthony died recently at Broken Hill as the result of a strain while at work on the mine. All rebels at the Hill will deplore his loss, as he was a fearless fighter in the cause. A good educationalist, he always showed himself willing to promote the propaganda of One Big Union and direct action.

BAND FUND.

The following subs. have been received for the above fund:—

D. Goldstein	£5 0 0
Donation from Local	18 0
H. Petersen	10 0
A. Franks	5 0
J. Attred	2 6
J. Smithers	2 0
F. Carroll	2 6
T. O’Connor	3 0
P. Buckley	1 0

Those desiring to sub. should send in their contributions at once as it is intended to procure the instruments at an early date.

G. WASHINGTON,

Band Sec.

The ‘Bonus’ Bait

GOOD “BIZ” FOR THE BOSS.

The Melbourne correspondent of the Sydney “Sun,” writing in last Sunday’s issue of that paper on Industrial Efficiency, tells us that in England under what are known as the Rowan and Weir systems of “scientific management,” “though the workman may increase his wages he cannot lose money under the system.” Under the Rowan system the worker who finishes his job in less time than that stipulated by the boss, “is entitled to a bonus or premium, varying in amount with the time saved.”

A most attractive proposition for the worker, this. Only do a little more than the boss thinks humanly possible, and then he rewards you with a bonus on your ability to scab on the unemployed. From the boss’ point of view it is most satisfactory to have a number of the latter watching for a job in case the slave employed does not come up to the required standard.

“If a worker,” says the “Sun,” “does a 100-hour job in 75 hours he saves 25 per cent of the time allowed, and in addition to the 75 hours at his ordinary rate he gets 25 per cent. of 75 hours—183 hours pay—in addition.” Truly an alluring bait. By scabbing his own job, and reducing the labor time from 100 hours to 75, the boss reaps the advantage of 61 hours wages, while the worker robs himself of that extent for the purpose of “saving time.” If this principle were adopted throughout the whole of industry the time so “saved” would very soon be gratuitously presented to many of the time savers, so that they should have ample opportunity on the street corner of philosophical reflection on the attractions and allurements of the bonus system.

In any case, in our experience we have seldom met a boss, and certainly never one of the shrewd, “scientific,” speeding-up fraternity, who will set a task to the worker where there is a possibility of reducing the labor time stipulated by him by 25 per cent.

If such a case does accidentally occur, the boss concerned will take fine care that the time stipulated is lowered at the first opportunity. The worker who does a 100-hour job in 75 hours is cutting the throats of his class and adding to his own ultimate economic insecurity. He is setting up a standard of speed which those “employed side-by-side with him, or subsequently, will have to maintain, and the “100-hour” job would very shortly be called the “75-hour” job—on which no doubt a “generous” minded employer would be quite pleased to give a bonus to the energetic slave who could reduce it to 65.

Our advice to workers is to make all 100-hour jobs last 200 hours, and if possible 201. By so doing they increase the demand for labor, thus absorbing the unemployed army which is the greatest menace to working class welfare, and which the master class use as a lever in all their speeding up and “efficiency” systems.

Make the job last, if you don’t want to join the unemployed.

DIRECT ACTION The New Politics Education The 'Herald's' Plea For Peace



WEEKLY
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"Excess Profits"

ASQUITH SCORES A LABOR "VICTORY."

"The excess profits of the rich have been taxed fifty per cent.," is the excuse of Asquith and Co., when calling upon the workers to make further personal and monetary sacrifices for war. "Excess profits" is delicious. The capitalists' profits at all times have been made by plundering the workers of four-fifths of the product of their labor. The term, excess profits, would therefore imply that the war has caused this robbery to increase; and the workers are expected to applaud the statement that 50 per cent. of this "excess" is appropriated by the Government. The capitalist class shows its "patriotism" in being content with their ordinary profits, together with fifty per cent. of that which the sacrifice of human lives by the million brings into their treasuries.

Truly a wonderful piece of statesmanship "reasoning," to be cabled 12,000 miles in order to encourage the patriotism of the working class. The workers who go to the war zone give their all. Their dependents whom they leave behind are called upon to put up with a more intense exploitation, so that an increasing rate of profit may be ground out of their lives.

If the 50 per cent. appropriated by the Government were used for the purpose of ameliorating the social conditions of those whose labor produced it, Asquith's argument might bear some semblance to reason but when its sole object is to relieve other exploiters from the necessity of showing their "patriotism" in putting up with increased taxation, Asquith's appeal that the "burden on all classes should be gladly and joyfully borne" is a rich commentary of his estimate of the intelligence of those whom he was addressing.

Those, by the way, according to the cable, were "Labor delegates who have great affection for Mr. Asquith, and who rose up and greeted him with a remarkable demonstration when he entered the Hall."

A "Colonel Ward, M.P.," was one of those affectionate "Laborites," "Assistant Minister" Arthur Henderson, who presided, was another. Other "Labor delegates" also affectionately outshouted over their friend and "fellow-worker."

Labor! "What crimes are committed in thy name!"

The serpents you have taken to your bosom would seem to have infected your blood with a poison that means death to your social and industrial aspirations.

"Delegates of Labor," embraced by Asquith, are hideous monstrosities, that should be banished from working class folds like a leprosy disease.

In discussing industrial unionism, many of the workers (especially the Australian working class, who are so steeped in Parliamentarism) can not understand how the I.W.W. proposes to do without the ballot box.

To understand the psychology of the working class, we must recognise that the average worker looks upon ballot box activities as a real gain to his class. He will proudly point to the Chartist and to his fore-fathers, and say, "See how these men fought for the right to vote"; am I to give up that right?

The I.W.W. does not say that the workers must not vote at Parliamentary elections; but that such voting is of no use to the proletariat in the great class struggle.

Moreover, that politics is not confined to Parliamentarism. If we industrialists are to discuss this question with our fellow workers in an intelligent manner, we can only do so by getting down to first principles. All questions social or otherwise are a matter of knowledge. Science is classified knowledge. Wherever we discover uniformities in nature we create science. A competent biologist can take the bone of a living or extinct animal, and with his knowledge of osteology, he can describe almost exactly the animal. Give a mechanic the vital part of a machine, and he can describe the machine for you. Push this analogy into sociology, the science of society. Give a student of sociology the custom of a particular people, and he can at once give you many of their customs, and also their probable place and stage in human development. Of course, it will be understood that in such a complex matter as human affairs, we cannot predict with the same degree of certainty as we can in the more exact sciences.

In fact, as Herbert Spencer pointed out, it is the function of science, to enable us to foresee with certainty. This much, however, we know in sociology, that all customs change, with the method of production. The economics of a system is the basis of that social system. Because a few men own the earth, those few men are the real politicians and rulers of the earth.

When all men own the earth, all men will have to take their part in the administration of social affairs. I must reiterate that politics are not necessarily confined to Parliament. In fact, the working class of the world have no say in any Parliament of the world. In Australia, where the workers have their "own politicians," the workers of the trade unions are continually holding begging deputations to these same politicians. This is just the reverse of what the Labour voters would have us believe. "Put Labor men into Parliament, and we workers will tell them what to do," cries the ballot boxer. "Get to hell out of this!" says Minister Underwood, of W.A., to the unemployed, and "put your swag up."

The I.W.W. proposes to seize the earth, and to administer the products of the earth in the interests of the working class of the world.

This industrial administration is going to be the new politics. The new politics will be the result of a new method of production. If any one is further interested in the new politics, then let them read and study the structure and constitution of the I.W.W. If any worker thinks that industrial unionism is going to deprive him of his vote, he should study the constitution of the I.W.W.; then he will find plenty of opportunity for voting, not for parliamentarians, but in the management of industries. As Vincent St. John has fitly said, "The I.W.W. expresses itself politically at its conventions and business meetings."

The structure of the I.W.W. is so complete that arrangements have been made for the workers to be able to discuss and vote upon any particular and peculiar problem that does not concern the whole of the workers in any given industry, but in any shop or district, by the formation of shop and language branches, and with district councils, etc.

Voting in the new politics, would not be confined to a certain portion of the adults, but to every man, wo-

"That the world exists for the education of man, is the only sane solution of the enigma."

—R. W. Emerson.

How are you going to get all the workers into one big union? is a question that is often asked the I.W.W. By education, is our answer.

Education is the laws of life that makes for man's improvement and happiness.

Education is the knowledge of how to live, of how to act towards our fellow men. How is it that an educated man is so much a more agreeable companion than a boor or a bone-head?

Because he knows how to act towards his fellow men, and most of all, he has noble and useful ideas of how we ought to live. We must not confuse education with instruction; a man may be instructed, and yet not educated. A man may be instructed in any branch of science, trade, or business, and yet not know how to use this knowledge in the interest of all men. Many of the men to-day, who are looked upon as educated men, such as lawyers, doctors, politicians, and university professors, are only instructed boneheads, or at the best, pedantic snobs.

The kingly science of all, the knowledge to which all other science must be made subservient, is the knowledge of how to live. It is a sad and obvious fact that the people of this country or any other so-called civilised country, don't know how to live. In spite of all the pomp and ceremony of grave and learned bishops, in spite of all the glitter and show of Parliament, the highest cardinal, or the Prime Minister "Billy Hughes of Australia," can not give the people of Australia such a noble, useful and educated idea, as the humblest I.W.W. man can, namely, that all the means of life must be held in communistic ownership.

It is the function of the I.W.W. to educate the workers of the world into right ideas concerning the economic relationship of the workers of the world. Remember the dynamic force of an idea. The particular idea that the I.W.W. wishes to educate the workers in, to permeate the working-class with is, a world-wide revolt of the working class of the world.

This revolt to take the form of the working class seizing (violently if necessary), all the means of production and administering them in the interests of the working class.

This form of society would lead to a cultured and happy civilisation.

This is a world of natural law. Events don't just so happen. The workers can never be emancipated without first being inspired and permeated with new ideas. That is why propaganda, free speech, and a free press, is such an all-important factor in the exchange of ideas, that we call education.

If you look upon the I.W.W. label, you will see the words placed in their right order. First, education; second organisation; and finally, emancipation.

An educated working class can free themselves; an uneducated working class can only stop in slavery.

M. SAWTELL.

Industrial Efficiency on the job means prolonged holidays at both ends of the social scale. More holiday jaunts for the boss, and compulsory eight-gazing on the street corner for the working stiff.

man, and child working in the fields, factory, or mines. Much misunderstanding concerning the I.W.W. would be cleared away if the workers understood at all times that the I.W.W. is something more than a propaganda party. "Moreover, the I.W.W. propaganda is directed to the real proletariat, the jobbers, the homeless, the product of our present-day civilisation, a being who has no interest in life, save that of destroying the state of society in which he is living, the men and women to whom Marx addressed his message, "Workers of the world unite; you have the world to gain, and only your chains to lose."

M. SAWTELL.

"Many thousands of the flower of our manhood are giving their lives to preserve inviolate the freedom and integrity of the wonderful Empire to which we belong, and those who for many reasons are unable themselves to go into the fighting line should surely be willing to make their financial resources available and provide the sinews of war, more especially in view of the fact that no sacrifice is entailed, but a sound investment made."

The above is an extract from the prospectus issued by the Federal Government with regard to the second issue of the War Loan. The "Sydney Morning Herald" also informs us that "if looked at simply as a gilt-edged investment, the issue is a highly attractive one"; yet, strangely enough, a day or two later, in a pathetic plea for "industrial peace" in its leading columns, the startling announcement was made that "the so-called capitalist is being relentlessly mulcted at many points to carry on the war."

It is difficult to understand how an overt which brings a "highly attractive, gilt-edged" proposition to the doors of our "so-called" capitalists is going, at the same time, to "relentlessly mulct" them on anything, unless it be a little extra overtime in raking in the shelds.

But we must charitably assume, however, that the "Herald's" anxiety for industrial peace is the cause of its little inconsistencies. Anything which savours of industrial strife is likely to hinder the constant flow of blood-stained lucre into the coffers of those whose interests the "Herald" so zealously safeguards.

After our capitalists, "so-called," are "relentlessly mulcted" to the extent of a 4 1/2 per cent. on a gilt-edged security,—with a half-year's interest thrown in for practically nothing—the "Herald" calls upon the working class to imitate this exemplary example, and says "they are surely bound to complete their devotion and sacrifice by suspending industrial trouble while the war lasts."

Of course they are bound. And if they are so lacking in moral sense as to be unable to see that the God of War and his plundering lieutenants are entitled to their "devotion and sacrifice," the last drop of their blood, the last ounce of their energy, "the last man and the last shilling,"—why, Asquith and Hughes, and the rest of the "Herald's" pet cronies, whose advice it commends to the workers' attention, will see to it that they are "bound"—bound in a manner that will no doubt prove to be to the complete satisfaction of the "Herald."

"Christmas is upon us," remarks the "Herald," with touching anxiety, "and peace and goodwill are being denied by strike after strike."

As long as the workers manifest "Christian peace and goodwill" is a wholesale endeavour to murder and slay, so that profits may accumulate in the hands of war lords, food exploiters and financiers, capitalist hypocrites, through press, pulpit, and platform, unctuously proclaiming its benediction.

"Bless you, my children, while you right in each others' blood for my advantage and edification, but challenge my right to exploit and I will blast you body and soul, to eternal damnation."

Capitalism is eternally plundering, crucifying and destroying. The Christian motto of peace and goodwill is a damnable peace of hypocrisy, zealously inculcated so that Christian slaves may be meek and servile. The "Peace" which marks the trail of capitalism across the globe has been marked by murder, fire and oceans of blood; while the "goodwill" of the exploiting class in all countries, under every flag, has shown itself towards their slaves, in the brutal disregard of all principles of humanity.

The "Herald's" plea for industrial peace is a wasted effort. Capitalism breeds and perpetuates disorder and violence. Social, industrial and international peace can only be established when the workers of the world unite and put the modern advocates of peace and goodwill to useful labor.

IF GOD RULES.

"We plough the fields and scatter
The good seed on the land";
Then priests begin to chatter
Of "God's Almighty hand"
If "God" would do the ploughing,
And put the seed in too,
We would not mind allowing
Whatever praise is due

If good things around us
Do not depend on work,
Then trust the Lord, and
Thank the Lord,
All men can "shirk."

"God only is the maker."
Of all things near and far;
He makes the wayside flower,
He makes bronchial catarrh.
"The winds and waves obey him.
By him the birds are fed";
And yet sometimes poor people
Drop dead for want of bread.

If good things, etc.

No thanks to thee, "O Father!"
If things are bright and good;
Thy storms, thy droughts, thy earth
quakes,

So oft destroy man's food.
Priests call this "over-ruling,"
And say that "God knows best,"
When rain spoils half a harvest,
And lightning blasts the rest.

If good things, etc.

—By "Eleeo" in "The Freethinker."

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 centreing 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.

The Enemies Within.

At a time when the British Navy dominates the trade routes, when the German mercantile flag has been swept from every ocean, we have seen food prices steadily mounting until the purchasing price of the sovereign has fallen to fifteen shillings as compared with prices before the war.

Wheat and flour have risen 46 per cent.; coal, 60 per cent.; sugar, 43 per cent.; and meat 20 per cent. Hunger has stepped in, aggravated by intense suffering from the cold, which all unsaturated bodies are in no condition to resist.

The German army must also have tea, and English merchants have supplied it without restriction from the Government of Britain. We have sent to Germany 20,000,000 lbs. of tea, with the result that the price of tea to the English worker has risen 3d per half pound. Can we marvel that our work-people are dissatisfied?

Tea is a stimulant to German troops, supplied to them by patriotic British merchants, and the Government takes no steps to intervene.

Who is to blame for this fattening of our enemies at the expense of the poor?

The magnates of Park Lane care nothing for the miseries of the millions, whose daily bread is shortened, by financial jugglers out to make money. During the last six months of 1914, the importation of flour into England increased by 112,000 tons, yet the price of flour rose 25 per cent.

Large quantities of food are deliberately held off the market in order that the price may be artificially enhanced.

Coal is produced in abundance in Great Britain, yet it is at famine prices. The supply is in the hands of "rings," the big coal men make the profit, and with their ill-gotten gains will purchase "Birthday" honors later on. Coal delivered in London at 16s per ton before the war is now delivered at nothing less than 40s per ton.—Wm. Le Queux, in "The Deadly Peril."

The difference between political and direct action is well illustrated by the bye-election at Merthyr, Wales, where one Stanton, a Socialist, has been elected. The capitalist press congratulates Stanton on his "victory," where a few weeks ago it was condemning the strikers, who ultimately elected Stanton, as pro-Germans. The "political wing" is certainly a fine thing for the boss.

"PUT UP THE SWORD."

The Literature Secretary of Local No. 2, Sydney, has a stock of Miss Pankhurst's book, "Put Up the Sword" on hand. Miss Pankhurst has been the object of much hostile criticism from the patriotic reviewers, who have been howling for her internment for her frank and lucid explanation of the causes of war, and her exposure of the inevitable evils that result from militarism. The book is a triumph of compilation, argument, and logic. Every working man and radical should read the book, which has been compiled, and printed entirely in Australia. Every one of its 232 pages are full of information, most of which is sedulously ignored or hushed up by the bought press. The first edition is nearly sold out, therefore an early application is necessary. The Sydney Local sold over 140 copies during the past week, on their terms of "Take the book for a week, keep it clean, read it, and if you're not satisfied bring back the book and we will return your money." There has not been one returned to date.

The price for paper-covered copies posted to Australia or New Zealand is 2s 9d, post paid. Address: Literature Secretary, Box 88, Haymarket P.O., N.S.W.

TO FRENCH COMRADES.

Camardé français desire entier en relation avec des camarades anglais allemand, ou-éviens parlant français s'écrit au journal.

Tramway Union 'Policy'

"Fares, please," sends along the following to "Direct Action," which might be read by tramway men to their advantage:—

"Follow Worker.—The executive of Tramway Employees' Union have declared their 'policy,' which, if returned to office, 'will improve the industrial conditions of the service.'"

1. "We favor legal and constitutional methods of redressing our grievances as against the tactics of the I.W.W. socialists and red ruggers, who favor strike, direct action, and sabotage."

2. "We subscribe to the Labor Party's policy of Arbitration, etc."

Well, if our tramway follow-workers accept the above as a policy, which is going to solve any industrial proposition of the present day, either their mentality has suffered a serious set back, or that spirit of serfdom and servility which we usually associate with the early to middle ages must be re-asserting itself in their midst. We know that according to the ethics of the master class, any and every means by which the workers assert their rights, except by the course laid down by the master class dictation, is "illegal and unconstitutional. Any benefit which has ultimately come to the workers, has had to be gained in the first place by 'illegal methods,' viz., by the workers display of their might on the industrial field, and what ever the gains have been, has been in proportion to the scientific organization that display has demonstrated against the master class.

Was it not by illegal methods the tramway men cured the overloading evil, whilst the "legal" method availed little or nothing? Was it not by "illegal methods" the tramway men forced the hand of the powers that be, by threatening them with the spectacle of a proved slaves through the city, whilst the good old legal and constitutional 18 month old supplication with extended palms at the feet of a political parasitical pet known as a Minister for Labor (who was treated with contempt and scorn. This is part of a policy which is going "to improve the industrial conditions of the service," all to be brought about by a few wriggling specimens of jelly-backed trade union Messiahs. Their next revolutionary statement, "We subscribe to the Labor Party Policy of Arbitration," is as equally nauseating, and toad like, and if they substitute policy of degradation in its place, it would dispel any mistakes which may arise, because when we hear the term arbitration, we tend to confuse it with what is known as justice; and, seeing that Arbitration is a foster child of the great Labor Party, whose watch word is justice to the worker, one naturally ad-opts a certain leniency toward that term. We see a political pet appointed adjudicator to settle and adjust claims between the two investors of capital, one, whose capital is represented in wealth and the ownership of the means of production, the other whose capital is represented by his bodily power, and profit producing ability only.

Now to any sane and level-minded person, it would appear that what is binding on one should be binding on both, and any privileges given should be shared in an equal manner; but not so to these time serving wardens in the plutocratic interests, because to that investor whose capital embodies the ownership of the means of production, is granted an unlimited power to exploit that wealth to its utmost capacity, to exact the greatest amount of surplus values—that exploitation can bring about.

But in the investor whose capital is represented in bodily power and energy, no such powers are granted. On the other hand, he is bound down for a certain period, to render his services for a stated and fixed sum, exploitation of his capital is denied him as being "illegal and unconstitutional," and such sum as he receives being below the subsistence level, that whip of subjection, semi-starvation, is continually held over him by the master class to keep him a willing and obedient slave. Such is the dispensation of so called justice which is delivered to the worker, by those working class politicians, the Labor Party, backed up and supported by slave leading, sycophantic trade union officials.

While the workers pin their faith to the existing institutions of capitalism, they must ever remain victims of the system. The Arbitration Court is one more superstition which shall soon pass into the limbo of things forgotten, for, like all other superstitions, once human experience has shown its absurdity, it becomes impossible to revive it.

The workers must learn to look to no external force for their economic salvation. Beliefs of this kind must go by the board in the economic field, just as they are fast disappearing in the religious sphere. Craft unionism and parliamentarianism perpetuate those beliefs. The I.W.W. attacks and confounds them. One Big Union of the working class will sweep them into oblivion and establish economic justice on the basis of human reason.

The Failure of Arbitration

The discontent of the Craft Unions with Arbitration Awards is becoming a daily feature in the labor world. We have been told for some years that Arbitration Courts were established for the purpose of guaranteeing all workers a "living wage" and protecting them against a too keen competition in the labor market. Not a very high ambition for a so-called labor movement, but, nevertheless, plainly one which Arbitration Courts have failed to achieve. The reason is not far to seek. Just as economic conditions generally are reflected in the political and juridical institutions of capitalism, so an arbitration court award is but the reflex of the economic power the workers concerned wield.

The Arbitration Court is not a working class institution, but the offspring of modern day capitalism, which fears the danger of working class discontent gaining cohesion and intelligence. It is by the laws of its being compelled to move within the circle which the laws underlying the capitalist mode of production prescribes for it, and has been purposely established to prevent working class organization "making laws" on its own account to supersede the economic and legal code of the exploiting class.

While the workers pin their faith to the existing institutions of capitalism, they must ever remain victims of the system. The Arbitration Court is one more superstition which shall soon pass into the limbo of things forgotten, for, like all other superstitions, once human experience has shown its absurdity, it becomes impossible to revive it.

The workers must learn to look to no external force for their economic salvation. Beliefs of this kind must go by the board in the economic field, just as they are fast disappearing in the religious sphere. Craft unionism and parliamentarianism perpetuate those beliefs. The I.W.W. attacks and confounds them. One Big Union of the working class will sweep them into oblivion and establish economic justice on the basis of human reason.

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.

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Subscribers who do not receive their "Direct Action" regularly and promptly, are requested to write to the Manager, and give particulars, so that he may take steps to get the matter remedied.

Trade officials. To such intellectuals as these anything which is of a revolutionary nature, or tends to be industrially educational to the workers, is anathema, to be mouthed and raved as being "I.W.W. tactics, red rag and social iam," to be derided as illegal and unconstitutional, and out of all respect for Law and Order.

But their yelping will soon cease; arbitration has proved an ignominious failure; it has met its Waterloo, and in its place the workers are seeking that more powerful and scientific method, Industrial Unionism, which alone will give the workers that share to which they are entitled, the full value of that which they produce, thus heralding the birth of economic freedom "which is the historic mission" of the working class to achieve.

War and Religion

By "Ajax."

The part played by religion or those who profess to speak with Divine Sanction in the present war is worthy of the notice of thinking people. In the first place if we are honest we must admit that this is not a war of ideals. It is sheer clerical hypocrisy to pretend we are fighting for the ideal of Christianity as opposed to the materialism of Nietzsche and Haecel. This upheaval is a war for trade and class domination. This Christian church never played an important part in trade, neither did it ever succeed in converting the ruling class of any country to its mysticism and slavish philosophy.

In Feudalism, although the church's power was very great, military ends or priestly intentions, to a greater degree decaying sacerdotalism, favors on the capitalists of to-day, even if the expansion of trade necessitates a slump in religion. This explains why the world witnesses the extraordinary spectacle of the clergy of churches claiming to be inter-national, taking up a national trade attitude on the war. The Catholic bishops of France are certain that right is on France's side while the Catholic clergy in Germany appeal to the same God for the victory of the Fatherland. The attitude of the clergy of other denominations is precisely similar.

Orthodoxy is as impotent in industry as it has proved in trade. The church while making a show of denouncing social evils has never stood up to industrialism and denounced it as the devil; still less have the clergy a word to say against the social anti-Christ of trade. There is much lip service to a crucified redeemer, but not a whisper about the crucifixion of Labor on the tree of exploitation.

The truth is that Christianity has not practiced anything compatible with the "Brotherhood of Man." Rather in effect has it been the religion of war, persecution and all unrighteousness. Thus we find the ministers of him, who preached peace on earth and goodwill to all men, "on recruiting platforms singing 'Nearer My God to Thee.'"

The priest class has always been active in the support and fomenting of war. In fact the priest caste has been in need of war. Locally we notice the ludicrous spectacle of parsons encouraging recruiting on week days and holding services of intercession for peace on Sunday. It is thuswise that the debacle of vowserism is made manifest, yet even unto the ungodly!

However the war goes, the workers are up against the fetish of trade. The people will have to fight this "vampire of exploitation," which, during peace and prosperity, causes more misery, maiming, disease and death than the engines of war. It is not so much English navalism or Prussian militarism, but trade competition which is responsible for the war.

Before this economic fact the decaying power of ecclesiasticism is impotent. Indeed the war is yet another witness to the refutations of Christian philosophy and the cant of creeds. This war more than any other clearly proves how subordinate are military ends to industrial needs, and incidentally how subservient the clergy are to traders' interests.

Perhaps the dire effects of the war will enable people to see clearer the causes and the remedy for all this barbarism. Trade, the despot and industrialism the slave-driver, will stand out as the destroyers of human life. To-day trade is sacred and human, life cheap; perhaps to-morrow it may be different. Even Christians whose ideas are in the melting pot will give over thinking metaphysically while living industrially, and understand that war is one of the evils of a soulless and brutalising commercialism.

It is possible that after the war a new religion will arise on the ruins of crumbling creeds, a new ideal and ethics that are born of economic needs and social consciousness. People will be less mystical and more social in their ideas. Such platitudes as to whether "the Holy Ghost is consubstantial with the Father!" will give place to the far more important question: Whether the upkeep of a parasitic priesthood is compatible (or consubstantial) with an intelligent democracy.

Broken Hill

Fellow-worker Rancie, who was sent to Broken Hill some weeks ago by the general organisation, and who was clapped in goal by the authorities for a month, almost immediately on his arrival, writes under date 21st November, 1915:—

Fellow Workers,—I was released from His Majesty's Palace in Broken Hill on Friday, 19th November, and am once again at liberty, but it seems as if it will not be for long, if I hang around this quarter any longer.

You no doubt have heard from the Local about my arrest and imprisonment, but I will give the facts as they actually took place, and the sequel to the rumpus.

Myself and three others were wandering our way home on the Saturday evening, after my arrival here, when a policeman walked over to us, pushed one of the boys, and said: "Go on, get out of this!" I turned round and said, "What's the trouble?" when one of the police said, "That's him!" I was immediately arrested, run down to the lock-up and charged with assault. On the following Monday morning I was given a month without the option of a fine. All the things which happened 18 months ago during the unemployed rumpus were brought up in court against me.

Anyhow, I did the month, and the morning I was being released, the senior warder said to me, "If you do not want to come back here, you will leave Broken Hill. So sure as you're a live man, you will be back again if you hang around."

The next day, down the street, a policeman pulled me up, and said I was found in Broken Hill after 48 hours, several charges would be put against me.

The authorities evidently seem to want to get rid of me, and have been using some strong threats against me if I stop here.

They are wise enough not to get me on a political charge, or anything connected with the organisation, but on some trumped up charge which will bring the organisation into disrepute.

A soap boxer or two is urgently needed at Broken Hill, so if any one could be persuaded to come this way good work could be done.

In an address to the Institute of Journalists on the war, Billy Hughes says: "We must take off our coats to this job, and we must not only pull them off to fight, but to work." Billy and the push he was addressing take very good care to leave the fighting and the working to somebody else. Both have always prostituted their brains in scheming how to work the other fellow.

Asquith tells us that the British Expeditionary Forces were raised to maintain "the public law of Europe." In view of Saturday night's riots, one other function of the soldier would seem to be to break the public law at home.

Perchance we shall hear less of spiritual life and more of economic salvation. The masses want a heaven here and not a harp in the realms of fadeless light. No new saviour will be necessary; no sacrifice or idolatry in the new order, for economic salvation does not demand ceremony and symbolism, but rather the taking down from the cross of class slavery of Labor, who for centuries has been crucified between two thieves, the priest and the capitalist.

With the abolition of class slavery the cause of war and priestcraft is at an end, and militarism and sacerdotalism will be relegated to the barbaric past to which they rightly belong.

Too long have clerics talked glibly of ethics and salvation while acting on the side of exploitation and social sin. It is high time a religion of deeds took the place of creeds from which the essence of social righteousness has long since departed. Then and not till then will we be within measurable distance of the goal that a spiritualised anarchist of Nazareth was reported to have preached—"The kingdom of heaven on earth."

The Perils of Philanthropy

Frank P. Walsh, Chairman of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, in a striking article in a San Francisco paper, recently dissected Rockefeller's philanthropy and its motives. The following are some extracts:—

Mr. John D. Rockefeller recently favoured the people of the United States with his views concerning great philanthropic foundations, notably his own, and on efficiency in philanthropy. The article was striking, because it expressed the views of the world's richest man, who is also the world's greatest philanthropist, and because it can be considered an adequate statement of the philosophy that seeks to justify our existing economic and industrial regime, and the relation of the great foundations thereto.

The wisdom of permitting a man to accumulate huge fortunes has often been challenged. From the knowledge I have gained in my work as chairman of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, I go further and challenge the wisdom of giving public sanction and approval to the spending of a huge fortune through such philanthropies as that of the Rockefeller Foundation. My object here is to state, as clearly and briefly as possible, why the huge philanthropic trusts, known as foundations, appear to be a menace to the welfare of society.

Th Arbitrary Power of Wealth.
The possession of an enormous fortune means arbitrary power over the lives and destinies of other men. Nothing is clearer than that the world's striving for democracy is now expressing itself in the economic field, even more than in the political field, and we are fast coming to realise that the forms of political democracy avail nothing when the lives of the many are controlled by the few who wield arbitrary economic power.

So, at the outset, thinking democrats resent the very possibility of philanthropy on a huge scale, because this philanthropy is predicated on the possession of enormous fortunes, and, therefore, of arbitrary power over men, women, and children.

Even if the great charitable and philanthropic trusts should confine their work to the field of science, where temperament, point of view, and economic theory can not enter, many of us should still feel that this was work for the State, and that, even in the power to do good, no one man, or group of men, should hold the monopoly.

But when a great foundation, with a rapidly growing fund of more than 100,000,000 dollars enters the economic and political field, no such fundamental objection need be admitted in order to convince thoughtful men of the possibilities of danger that lie in such an enterprise.

Exploiting Workers to Subsidise Scientists.

Let us take the Rockefeller Foundation, the most active of all, to illustrate the potential danger of such institutions to democracy in America. Mr. Rockefeller is taking money obtained from the toll of thousands of poorly nourished, socially submerged men, women and children, and spending these sums, through a board of personal employees, in such fashion that his estate is in a fair way not only to exercise a dominating influence in industry, but, before many years, to exact a tribute of loyalty and subservience to him and his interests from the whole profession of scientists, social workers and economists.

There are literally thousands of men in these professions, receiving subsidies, either directly or indirectly, from the Rockefeller estate, who can not take any step toward effective economic, social and industrial reform without running directly counter to the interests of these beneficiaries.

No sensible man can believe for a moment that research workers, publicists and teachers can be subsidized with money obtained from the exploitation of the workers without being profoundly influenced in their points of view and in the energy and enthusiasm with which they

might otherwise attack economic abuses. And there can be no question that the income of the Rockefeller Foundation comes, in large part from the exploitation of wage earners.

Where the Money Comes From.

It should be remembered that the Rockefeller Foundation, in protecting its own hundred millions of securities, will give similar protection to the vastly greater fortune still held by the family in purely private ownership. The list of the securities held by the Foundation contains the names of most of the corporations in which the family fortune is invested. In a day when society sees it as a burning wrong that one man can levy tribute on the right of millions of other men to live and to work, Mr. Rockefeller could find no better insurance for his hundreds of millions than to invest one of them in subsidising all the agencies that make for social change and progress.

The wealth of the great foundations is wealth created by the many. Even were those directly concerned in its making accorded a decent wage and a voice in determining their conditions of employment, the surplus should still be available for the work of scientists and scholars in such form that these devoted men could pursue their studies for the benefit of mankind without wearing the uniform of Rockefeller and the others. Already there are thousands of eager young scholars and scientists who know that some day, for the sake into the retinue of the foundations. It will become increasingly bad form for a man engaged in social betterment work to speak ill of Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Carnegie and the other men who have amassed fortunes in industry, and the universal instinct of self-justification will inevitably lead them to seek excuses and justifications when the cry of exploitation or of tainted money is raised.

But, to my mind a still greater menace to industrial democracy appears upon the horizon. Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., declared in a public statement, that in the industrial department of his foundation he was securing the co-operation of many labor leaders in his effort to bring about "permanent peace" in Colorado. Will not the same glamor of great power and limitless resources, which has attracted diplomats, statesmen, and educators, make its appeal to these men?

PROPAGANDA AT COOLAMON.

W. Beatty writes from Coolamon under date 6/12/15:—

On Saturday night a meeting was held here by six I.W.W.'s, with permit from the heads, at which F. W. Stewart addressed a mixed audience the pure I.W.W. gospel to the attentive crowd, and drawing many intelligent questions, also making good paper and literature sales; all the papers and most of the pamphlets were sold. They tell us that working conditions have improved a lot here since the strike that was lost two years ago by the A.W.U. The improved conditions are: Wages from 8s to 10s per day, more 8s than anything else; hours from 10 to 11, per day; some farmers and most chaff-cutters finish at 4 p.m. Saturday, and some cutters at 1 p.m., so there is still room for improvement. Men are not too plentiful, but not scarce enough to send wages up.

An A.W.U. organiser was present at our meeting, and was challenged to debate by Stewart, but did not take up the gauntlet, telling one of our members privately that he had great respect for anyone who would risk preaching industrialism up here, and so did not wish to hinder (?) him.

If members are handy next Saturday, another meeting will be held, so a wire will be sent for more papers, with the money following.

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

More Trouble

Thus "Otus" in the Maoriland Worker of November the 24th:—

In a recent issue of "Direct Action," Tom Barker rather amusingly complains that, while that paper has been shut out of N.Z., "The Maoriland Worker" is allowed to publish. In the first place, —JS Tom's paper shut out? (We rather think that it's anti-Socialist ferociousness somewhat pleases Fat.) In the second place, does it follow—and it must, if there is logic in Tom's contention—that, because "Direct Action" has not yet been suppressed in Australia, the Australian employers favor its propaganda? An angry note is struck because we remarked that the anniversary number of Solidarity was much above the ordinary I.W.W. standard of journalism. Tom says that journalistic standards don't count. We differ. Labour demands cleanliness. Cleanliness in our press is just as desirable as in our persons. Quite recently "Direct Action" devoted a column and a half to the work of telling a newspaper opponent (certainly a reprehensible scribbler), in effect, that his mother was a jail-bird and a prostitute, and that he was a male "white slave," etc. We would suggest to friend Thomas that he might leave the heaving of bricks alone for a period and get busy living down his disastrous climb-down in the lower court over that anti-recruiting poster."

I am often in trouble with "Otus." Not that he is a bad fellow, although he and I have graced (a good word that) in company with four other, a prison cell in the Terrace Gaol, Wellington.

And in those days I disagreed with him upon the question of politics. I disagreed with upon the question of taking money from the employers, and then pretending that you are out for the destruction of the system that keeps your paper going. My article was quite clean, and "Otus" being the man on the "Maoriland Worker" who is responsible for the editorial side, could have published the article in question to show the bad logic that I am charged with using. The people in New Zealand, taken on the average, are just as capable as "Otus" of forming an opinion. The fact of getting "Direct Action" is merely a sign that the I.W.W. gets the paper through in spite of the restrictions, and in greater numbers than before.

As to my alleged climb-down in the lower court, I have yet got to know what mistake I made on that occasion. He also refers to an anti-recruiting poster. I didn't print an anti-recruiting poster. The poster was to stimulate recruiting among the parsons, politicians, capitalists, etc. I am patriotic enough to send every parasite out of the country to the trenches. Or perhaps the disastrous back-down was due to the fact that the boys got legal advice for me, and I became thereby through some mysterious mode of reasoning a Parliamentarian. Anyway, it is evident that many New Zealand unionists, who, by the way, are just as competent to judge as "Otus," didn't observe the mysterious back-down, and sent along in the vicinity of £30 to fight the case.

Anyway, "Otus" has the "Truth" report of the matter, and I hope that he will publish the same just to show the people of God's Own where I baulked. And a little news for "Otus," the employers of Australia haven't got enough kick to stop "Direct Action." We have both feet on the shore here, and we are not getting off.

And a parting shot to my old friend of the Terrace, and the '13 strike, I would remind that all his life he attacked the Labor Party in Australia, from the Socialistic standpoint. He was goaded by them and then driven out of the country. And then arriving in New Zealand, he joined the Social Democratic Party, which is exactly what the Labor Party was when it was in opposition in this country. And he ran as a candidate as a "revolutionary Social Democrat" (ye Gods and little winks!) with municipal milk-tins as a temptation to "class conscious voters."

As to bricks, when I am throwing some round, I expect a few to my corner, because I have been in gaol with

Innisfail, Q.

The propaganda of the one big union has received marked success during the sugar season.

In the mills and among the cutters enlightened slaves have been preaching the truths of industrial organisation, with the result that the A.W.U. ticket is being replaced by that of the Industrial Workers of the World. The fallacy and hypocrisy of the old traditions; creeds, nationality, and craft unionism, are clearly observed in the barbarous slaughtering of each other by the deluded workers and in the calm acceptance of present poverty and degradation.

On Sunday last, by invitation from the workers of Goondi Mill, Fellow Workers Jackson and Henry lectured in the dining room. Both speakers received a splendid hearing. The words of truth coming from the speakers seemed like food to a hungry body. Fellow Worker Jackson dealt largely on the fallacy of the A.W.U. realising the desired one big union, showing clearly that it will be nothing more than a loose linking of scab unions, basing his assertions on the facts of our daily life, past and present.

He earnestly urged the workers to awaken to the truths surrounding our social position; demonstrating that it was owing to the lack of such education, the producing class allow themselves to be burdened with parasitical legislators and union officials, together with the religious hypocrites, who assist in perpetuating the capitalistic robbery. He urged a recognition of the fact that industrial organisation should be linked up into six branches only, and that they should be all united in a class, in order to gain the necessary force to bring about a state of society more in keeping with the standard of reason.

—T HEALY.

EFFECT OF THE WAR.

Professor Ludwig Schleich, one of Germany's greatest surgeons, has spent some months at the front, and also a considerable time in charge of a military hospital in Berlin (says the London "Daily Chronicle"). He now publishes some of his impressions, and his remarks hardly bear out the glowing descriptions of wounds and mutilations bravely borne, and of cheerfulness and carelessness joy shown by the young German soldier released from the firing line.

Professor Schleich speaks of a strange, almost awful, look in the faces of those who come back. They are still willing soldiers, some of them eager to get back to the trenches, but the more highly civilised a man is, the better educated, the deeper his feelings, the more does he bear that indelible something in his face, the sign that he has seen terrible things.

Physically these soldiers may be hard as iron, "physically they are not intact." The officers nearly always develop an uncanny, marble, staring look, as though they had been accustomed to gaze unshudderingly at all the terrors and desolating orgies of destruction, as though they had been obliged to witness this with unblinking eyes, and finally felt that their eyes had become a mirror of the horrible. It is as though a claw of a demon had seized their faces, and made their eyes sink deeper into their hollows. They are all changed, says Schleich, they have all seen the head of the Gorgon in the Region of Night, they have all been beaten by the pincers of the iron bird of Destiny.

A wonderfully "civilising influence" is war.

ADELAIDE READERS

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

potential Prime Ministers who carry a portfolio into their "little peter" with them, Anyway, cheer-ch, "Otus" keep amused. Life is short.

TOM BARKER.

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.
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Why the A.W.U. Cannot Become an Industrial Union: Alex. George, Paper, 3d.
Industrial Efficiency and Its Antidote: T. Glynn, Paper, 2d.
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Summary of Marx's Capital: Hazel, 2d.
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Thursday, Propaganda Committee Meets.
Friday, 8 p.m.—Propaganda Meeting at South Melbourne Market.
Saturday, 8 p.m.—Educational Lecture at Hall.
Saturday, 8 p.m.—Propaganda Meeting at Flinders Park (Tarra Bank).
Library and Reading Room Open every night. Working-class Papers on sale. Industrial Union Literature on sale. All rebels are asked to blow along and make themselves known. All slaves will be welcome.

J. LAWRENCE,
Secretary-Treasurer.

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