

The General Strike is Greater than any Government



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ONE PENNY

P.L.L. Protest.

Sydney Propaganda.

News and Views.

All In All.

At the sitting of the P.L.L. on Friday of last week a motion, moved by Mr. T. D. Mutch, was carried unanimously, protesting against the imprisonment of Tom Barker and Ken Leslie, and calling upon the Federal Government for their immediate release. The following is the report of the proceedings which appeared in the daily press:—

Mr. T. D. Mutch (A.W.U.) moved: "That this conference protests against the vindictive sentence passed upon Tom Barker, editor of 'Direct Action,' and Ken Leslie, on convictions under the regulations, and looks upon the sentences as a grave interference with the rights of a democratic people, and therefore calls upon the Federal Cabinet to give both men their freedom."

"The mover said Barker had been imprisoned because he denounced the taking of war profits by capitalists. 'And every democrat has done the same, and rightly so,' he declared. 'Contractors are making huge fortunes, and shipping rings are squeezing the life blood out of the people—(hear, hear)—and if he is sent to gaol for this, so should I be sent to gaol. I say the same thing now, and you all ought to say it.' (Hear, hear.) Barker, he said, was not of the Labour party at all, but he was fighting the workingman's fight. (Hear, hear.)

"Mr. C. Last (A.W.U.) said they should protest against the regulations, which took away the liberty of a man to express opinions contrary to the commercial fiends and robbers of the State. 'All magistrates in this matter are partisans,' he said, 'and look through different glasses to those of the proletariat of this country. These are the principles of the Magna Charta of our liberties,' he continued, 'and I am prepared, in defending them, to admit that I am a Sinn Fein of the Labour movement of the State. Senator Pearce, Billy Hughes, and more of them will have to be taught that they are not speaking for the working classes of Australia in the attitude they are taking up. (Hear, hear.) Although I recognise that we have to win this war,' he concluded, 'because we are fighting a German military autocracy, still I recognise that we have an autocracy here also. (Hear, hear.) Judge Higgins recently said that we have not the right to-day to express our opinion, but that is entirely wrong, and opposed to the democratic principles for which we fight.' (Hear, hear.)

"The resolution was carried on the voices, with only one dissentient, and on the suggestion of Mr. Cullinane (A.W.U.) was ordered to be sent on at once to the Acting Prime Minister, 'so as we can have his reply before we separate,' said Mr. Cullinane."

Fellow Worker King desires to thank all those militants in Melbourne for the manner in which they assisted him during his recent visit to that city in giving publicity to the Barker case. It may be invidious to mention names where all were so enthusiastic, but special thanks are due to Bob Ross, of the Socialist Party, and J. J. O'Reilly, of Broken Hill, for the invaluable help rendered.

The result of Barker's appeal appears on another page. Barker is gaol'd. Now is the time to protest, agitate, and act, each in the direction in which the think results can best be obtained.

SYDNEY HEADQUARTERS.

All concerned are notified that the address of the Sydney Local is now 403 Sussex Street, Sydney. Correspondence, however, may still be addressed to Box 98, Haymarket.

NOTICE.

Broken Hill Local notifies that the new quarters are established at 316 Argent Street.

OUR NEW HALL.

The opening of our new hall at 403 Sussex-street for the first public meeting on Sunday night last was a huge success. Notwithstanding that the hall is a good deal larger than the old one, many were unable to gain admittance. Fellow-worker J. B. King was the speaker for the evening, the subject being "The Necessity for Free Speech and a Free Press." King dealt with the subject with particular reference to the imprisonment of Barker, and judging by the reception which his remarks received, Sydney wage-slaves would appear to be waking up at last to the seriousness of the situation, and the lengths to which our masters and politicians are prepared to go in suppressing the few remnants of liberty to which the working class can lay claim.

THE "DOM" MEETING.

The meeting in the Sydney Domain on Sunday afternoon was well up to its usual standard. We have heard no more from the police re sale of literature referred to in last week's notes. This seems a pity in some respects, since the police have never yet interfered with I.W.W. propaganda without giving it an exceptional boost. Grant, who had just returned from Brisbane, was the principal speaker for the afternoon, and gave an encouraging account of his reception from the wage-slaves of Brisbane in connection with the Barker case. Forty dozen "Direct Actions" were disposed of at the meeting, and collection and literature sales were above the average.

THE CONCERT.

Already the Concert Committee is smiling. The annual flare-up which is to be held this year in Sydney Town Hall is an assured financial success. Considering the large expense involved, and that tickets are only a shilling a time, the committee may take credit to itself as being the champion concert promoters south of the line. The programme compares with anything which has previously been staged in Sydney, and everything points to a full house long before "business" starts on Saturday night next. The I.W.W. band will make its first public appearance on the occasion, and will play on the Rotunda outside the Town Hall between 7 and 8 p.m. All things considered, May 13, 1916, will be a red-letter day for the I.W.W. in Australia.

THOSE "STICKERS" AGAIN.

Sirs, I wish to inform you folk that you are parties that should be made to swing on a limb until your tongues rott. When you try and cause trouble by distributing—or even printing—this rott to be stuck on people's windows, etc. Bear in mind, you are worse than Germans, and as for capitalists, what are you but a member of such. You are an employer—and should have a long-handled shovel put in your throat.—"A Britain."

(The epistle quoted above has come to the office of "Direct Action" all the way from Bacchus Marsh (Vic.). Attached was an I.W.W. "sticker," the wording of which, apparently, made our savage correspondent see such strange uses for a long-handled shovel. The sticker reads as follows:—

THE SLOGAN OF THE

I.W.W.:

Dungarees and long-handled shovels for all parasites.

WORK.

for capitalists, parsons, politicians, landlords, and other undesirables.

JOIN TO-DAY.

Neither our correspondent's caligraphy nor his spelling would indicate that he belongs to the capitalist, landlord, parson, or politician brigade. A person who advocates personal violence of this kind, however, is certainly a most "undesirable" character to be at large.—Ed.)

"Class arrogance, of whatever kind, breeds hate, civil war, revolutions; and these are things we do not want in this young country." So says Sydney "Herald" in a sub-leader on May 6. Is the "Herald" getting wise in its old age and warning its supporters of certain consequences to follow? No, it is merely warning the workers of Australia, who, the "Herald" thinks, are making unreasonable demands, that "if a man has labored the reward of his labor should not be taken from him and given to the idle." This is the first piece of humour—surely not unconscious, either—which the writer has seen in "Granny's" pages since he first clapped his peepers on it.

Compulsion has been introduced in Great Britain. No physically fit individual of military age, it appears, is exempt unless—well, unless he may be more useful as a profit-making machine than at the front as a soldier. The Act renders employers liable to certain penalties for having eligible men in their employ unless exemption certificates have been granted, and, we are informed, the police are also empowered to challenge persons in the streets to produce their exemption certificates. "Britons" never, never—Lloyd George in supporting the Bill hotly protested against the idea that the working class was not overwhelmingly enthusiastic over the alternatives indicated above—to starve at home or be killed abroad. Lloyd George has always, of course, been such a firm "friend" of the English workers that doubtless they have taken him into their confidence and informed him that this is the ideal they have always ardently wished for. The workers knew," he said, "they would lose more by Prussian domination than any other class." All things considered, Lloyd George and his cobbers would seem to be taking all sorts of good care that the workers of Great Britain won't have many liberties left to lose if ever the Kaiser and his hosts do cross the Channel.

Referring to the proposed taxation of war profits by the Government, "S.M. Herald" says that if the Government would "secure more of it merely attempts to take a fourth or half than if it attempts to take the whole"—the reason being, we are told, in effect, that if companies have no incentive to make larger profits production will be curtailed. This is illuminating for two reasons; first it would indicate that the boss has no particular moral qualms about "slowing down" when it suits his pocket; and the cries about the "Empire's danger," etc., so potent with many workers when the "slow down" proposition is mentioned, has no particular appeal for HIM. Secondly, this admission by the "Herald" bears out the contention that in this well ordered system (f) of ours production is undertaken for profit and not for human welfare in war as well as in peace. What a high class "patriot" is the boss, to be sure.

"No class can ride rough-shod over the rest of the community, and it is well that this fact—for it is a fact—should be remembered"—"S.M. Herald." The "Herald," we hope, will be given reason to remember it when the conscription issue grows keener.

A cable from Hobart tells us that one Morris Miller, lecturing at the University on "Psychology in Relation to Business," advocated the establishment of a psychological research laboratory. Miller ought to have more sense. If the bosses' psychological motives in business were generally known, anything might happen.

When all the night is horrible with clamour
Of voiceless curses darker than the night,
When light of sun there is not, neither star-
shine,
Nor any beacon on the hill of Right,
Shine, O thou Light of Life, upon our path
way.—
Freedom, be thou our light!

Since all life's ways are difficult and dreary,
And false steps echo through eternity,
And there is naught to lean on as we journey
By paths not smooth as downward paths
would be,
We have no other help—we need no other;
Freedom, we lean on thee!

The slave's base murmur and the threat of
tyrants,
The voice of cowards who cringe and cry
—"Retreat,"
The whisper of the world, "Come where power
calls thee!"
The whisper of the flesh, "Let life be
sweet."
Silence all these with thy divine command-
ing;
Guide thou thy children's feet!

For thee, for thee we bear the cross, the
banner,
For thee are all our battles fought and won;
For thee was every prayer we ever uttered,
For thee has every deed of ours been done:
To thee we press—to thee, triumphant splen-
dour,
O Freedom, lead us on!

Where thou shalt lead we do not fear to fol-
low,
Thou hast our hearts: we follow them in thee.
Spirit of Light, whatever thou shalt show us,
Strong in faith, we shall not fear to see;
We reach to thee through all the waves of
darkness
Of all the days to-be.
—Edith Bland ("E. Nesbit").

BARKER DEFENCE FUND.

The following additional subscriptions have been received:—

Jas. Wilson 10s, A. Freeman 2s, F. W. Dunn 10s, J. Foley 5s, collection Yarra Bank, Melbourne, £3 17s 8d, Melbourne A.S.P. (collection) 13s 2d, Melbourne V.S.P. (collection) 19s, John Sullivan 5s.

Mr. J. D. Fitzgerald, M.L.C., has at last redeemed his reputation. He proposes to do something for the workers—when they are dead. Speaking at the P.L.L. conference the other evening, he advocated giving the City Council powers to go in for the undertaking business in order to provide cheap funerals.

The "Industrial Worker," organ of the I.W.W. in the Western States of America, has re-appeared, strong, virile and militant as ever. Some time ago it ceased publication owing to financial difficulties. Its re-birth is proof that notwithstanding those temporary set-backs, in which our enemies and some alleged friends profess to see the "decadence" of the I.W.W., the principles for which we stand can never die while the class war exists. According to all accounts, the propaganda of Industrial Unionism and Direct Action was never more needed in "the land of the free" than at present. We wish the "Industrial Worker" every success in the fight ahead, and trust that its shadow will never again grow less until it fades before the beacon lights of the Industrial Commonwealth.

The I.W.W.'s have but one country—The World.

DIRECT ACTION



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Barker, Gaoled.

MORE JUSTICE.
JUDGE MURRAY'S SOLICITUDE FOR
THE "HALF-EDUCATED."

On Thursday, 4th inst., Barker's appeal against his conviction in the Magistrate's Court was heard before Judge Murray at the Quarter Sessions. After hearing argument by counsel, the Judge upheld the conviction and sentence, so for the next twelve months Fellow-worker Barker is to be entertained at His Majesty's prison, Long Bay—if the working class of Australia permits it.

It is safe to say that, taking all the circumstances in connection with this case, it stands unparalleled in the history of working class persecution, so far as Australia is concerned. In the first place the cartoon which allegedly prejudiced recruiting, and upon which the charge was based, was allowed to circulate for nearly four months before the prosecution was instituted, and it is a curious fact, to say the least, that the serving of the summons coincided with the time when the whole of the capitalist press of Australia was engaged in a campaign of vituperation against I.W.W. propaganda, especially in connection with "slowing down." Then, again, not a word of evidence was offered in either Court that the cartoon did in any way prejudice recruiting; the prosecutor, in the lower court especially, practically ignored this phase of the case, and laid stress upon the fact that it was a deliberate attempt to create class feeling.

Further, we had the judge in the higher court admitting that no amount of evidence that the cartoon was not in any way prejudicial to recruiting would weigh with him. He, and he alone, was to be the judge of that. So, "His Honor," Judge Murray, according to his own showing, is the champion psychological expert of modern times.

He further admitted that the cartoon, taken by itself, would not be an offence, but when taken in conjunction with a certain paragraph which appeared in another portion of the paper, it was calculated to "influence the half-educated portion of the community." The *par* referred to read as follows:—

"Prime Minister Hughes has offered another 50,000 men as a fresh sacrifice to the Modern Moloch, Politicians and their masters have always been generous with other people's lives."

Now, the lack of bias (?) and ingenuity of a judge, who would take a paragraph in one portion of a paper and connect it with a cartoon appearing in another part to which it did not bear the slightest relation, and to which it no way referred, are characteristic samples of the kind of "justice" served out to the worker in capitalist courts.

The truth of the cartoon which, as already stated previously in "Direct Action," depicted a capitalist glorifying in war and the destruction of human life, so long as profits were rolling in, was not disputed by either Judge or Prosecutor.

Both admitted in argument that in many cases, particularly in connection with Shipping Companies, "unfair" pro-

fits were being made as a consequence of the war.

This, then, is Barker's great offence. For this he is branded as a criminal, deprived of his liberty, and treated as a social outcast. The real criminals and enemies of society, the profit-mongering crew whom he attacked, are safe from molestation by the cowardly political scum who have dragged the name of Labor in the mire; but let a working man cry out against economic injustice, injustice which even a capitalist court dared not dispute, and the "heavy hand of the law," set in motion by the workers' political saviours, is quickly raised to suppress the propagation of truth.

Well, fellow-workers, Barker CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO STAY IN GAOL. It is an insult to the whole working-class of Australia, an outrage upon all working class conceptions of justice. Labor Governments have brought us to a queer pass when it becomes a crime even to protest against exploitation. What next, if we allow this injustice to be perpetrated? Are we going to assert our rights to protest against robbery, to criticise our enemies, and give expression to our ideas, or are we going to bow our heads for good and all before our economic oppressors and political tyrants? One knows what the I.W.W. answer is, and if we could reach the ears of the workers of Australia, Barker would be found "not guilty" before any tribunal from their ranks.

So to hell with the capitalist class, their political tools and judicial lickspittles. Let us have Barker's case before the workers of the country. With them alone lies the power to effect his release. Propaganda, publicity and action are what are now needed. Remember, labor militant is more powerful than courts and prison bars.

The "half-educated" portion of the community, the working-class, at whose lack of perception Judge Murray sneers, will yet show the prostituted courts of capitalism that ITS conceptions of "justice," "right," "law," and "order" are those which must ultimately prevail.

THE IRISH DRAMA.

The announcement in the House of Commons of the shooting of Pearce, Clarke and McDonagh, the Irish rebel leaders, called forth the exclamation, "Huns," from Ginnell, a Nationalist M.P. Ginnell was right. Hunnism, and all that is commonly meant by that word, is not confined to Germany.

The news, by the way, that Jim Connolly was one of the leaders of the rebellion would indicate that the revolt had something more than a mere political significance. The appalling poverty to be found in the slums of Dublin and other cities and districts in Ireland is perhaps unequalled in any other part of our alleged civilised world. Connolly and Larkin may be said to have been the first to make any attempt to alleviate the condition of the workers of Ireland by organisation for their own protection.

The Dublin strike of some three years ago, in some respects the most remarkable in the history of industrial struggles, was the first sign that workers of all creeds in the Emerald Isle were awakening to the fact that if they were to be emancipated from their awful conditions they must act for themselves and not depend upon the sympathies (?) of their class enemies, Carsonites, Redmondites, and others.

What occurred in the streets of Dublin some days ago would have happened at the time of that strike, had the workers then been armed, when defenceless men, women and children were battered, bludgeoned, and shot by the armed thugs of Capitalism.

Certainly there were other factors which contributed to the uprising, but the desperation of a hungry, outraged and exploited proletariat was by no means the least important. For this reason, and in the light of past history, the blood-thirsty deed of the ruling class of Britain—and of Ireland too for that matter—in shooting the leaders in cold blood can well be understood. To endanger property and the existence of exploitation has always been the most heinous of crimes in the eyes of that class, as of their kind throughout the world.

But the working class of Ireland won't forget. And it is expedient, too, that the workers of other countries should note the tiger-like ferocity with which the exploiting class endeavor to drown in blood any encroachments upon their privileges.

The Class War in Ireland, however, has not been extinguished, no more than it has been elsewhere, with the murder

The Ex-soldiers' Future A Reign of Terror.

ACCORDING TO "COCKY."

By OLD EUREKA.

To the Editor.

I read with considerable interest your valuable little paper, and especially your *Mildura* notes.

In April 15th issue, just to hand, Fellow-worker O'Connor has solved the problem of absorbing the returned maimed soldier to the loud satisfaction of the fruit grower. I see visions of an armless man, with two heavily loaded baskets dangling from two hooks, toiling in the gardens of fair *Mildura*, accompanied by a legless man to pull the fruit.

Well, we in Cowland are much concerned about getting test squeezers who will toil early and late for little or no wages. Our wail is loud in the land where cow sits enthroned, and our friends of the press council us to wait for the returned soldier, so we view with alarm *Mildura* coveting both the legless as well as the armless man. We have always taken great interest in the casualty list, as we were promised the legless as the slaves for Cowland. Toiling in the gardens of *Mildura* under the scanty protection of the A.W.U. will be paradise for the armless man compared to the lot of his legless comrade slaving for the Cow Barons and Paspalum princes of the north, and when the time comes to absorb the maimed and helpless we will be found claiming our share.

I do not know the patron saint of the I.W.W., but they will never feel the need of a Christ greater than when they have to toil at the mercy of the men of Cowland. I do not, however, blame any fellow cow worshipping. I blame the worker, who seems content under such a rotten state of affairs, and truly if there is going to be a betterment of their condition, it will only be through their own efforts.

If they listen to us we will tell them to trust in God. It's a poor argument but sufficient for our purpose. Since the worker is content under the present wage-system, is happy in his slavery, feels eased by the exploiter, and rather likes the process, it might just as well be Jones as Smith. I worked and chafed under the wage-system; I looked for the rails, and found them massed against me. One Big Union; but the average worker has a soft feeling for the boss, I saw little hope of his being roused in time to help me, so I joined the master class. But my foothold is slippery, so I barrack and work for the only thing that will permanently benefit my class; therefore, on with the work of education. I do not know whether your organisation is growing or not. One time I used to meet a rebel or two, but have met none now for a year. And as all my cocky neighbours are Tory, I am likely to be converted to that cult.

I will conclude wishing your paper and organisation every success, and I glory at the fact that Tom Barker has been successful in drawing the fire of the master class, as it takes this sort of thing to bring vividly home to the worker to what lengths they are prepared to go.

I am, yours for humanity always,

A. J. H. JONES.

Farmer, Tarce.

MELBOURNE ACTIVITIES.

Local No. 8, 243 William Street.
Monday, 8 p.m.—Business Meeting.
Thursday, 8 p.m.—Educational Class.
Working Class Economics.—T. Turner, Instructor.

Friday, 8.30 p.m.—Propaganda Meeting, Brunswick, corner Sydney Road and Victoria Street.

Sunday—Propaganda Meeting, Yarra Bank.

The rooms are open to all workers every night. All working class papers on file. Good Library. A welcome to all the "disobedient ones."

of a prominent few and the sound of a dozen rifle shots. Every act of oppression but the seed of future revolt. Out of the Irish drama will arise, not alone in Ireland, but in all countries, more clarified ideas of the aims and objects of the working class movement, and the means by which they can be achieved. By Industrial Unionism alone can the armed forces of Capitalism be paralysed. By the use of this weapon only can the working class of all countries, including Ireland, be really free.

T. G.

History affords conclusive evidence of periodic recurrences of "reigns of terror." These have invariably been engineered and operated against the people at times when the spirit of liberty indicated a stage of mental development that gave promise of the mass becoming capable of opposing the oppressive tyranny of rulers.

These epochs of intimidation on the part of Law and Authority are ever coincident with an abnormal rising of the tide of vicious license and brutality of government. At such times the attitude of those who hold the seats of authority is literally, "When I, Sir Oracle, open my mouth, let no dog bark."

At such times every noble sentiment expressed in speech, or by the printed word, stands as a living reproach to the base and despicable action of the powers that be, and must be suppressed by all means and at every hazard, and the scum and dregs of the people are incited to disturb and annoy every group of virtuous and thoughtful citizens who dare, in the spirit of freedom, to question the wisdom and justice of the policy of those who, being public men, should be in the interests of public security, open to the keenest criticism.

The most palpable proof of the rising of a reign of terror is that peaceable citizens cannot assemble in public meeting to discuss the right and justice of any course of public action without being subject to the perils of mob law, and not only is free speech gagged, but the freedom of the press is violated and stamped out. Two journals, as I write, are boycotted for transmission through the post, and the publisher of another is under sentence of twelve months' imprisonment. Can it be that this is amongst the descendants of the brave men who suffered, fought, bled and died for freedom of thought, freedom of speech and freedom of the press? Is it for this dwindling remnant of the full meed of liberty they won and bequeathed to us that we are called upon to fight anew?

If so, let it be so. Let us renew the old-time battle in the spirit of Milton in his contest for the liberty of unlicensed printing, the full value of which is embalmed in the imperishable words:

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."

This spirit of prosecution and tyranny is not, however, void of compensations, the best of which is that it signifies an advance in the intelligence of the people, else there would be no question or challenge of the pernicious acts of governments.

It was this spirit against the rising tide of intelligence and its accompanying desire for more freedom that consigned Defoe to the pillory, there to be pelted with the rotten garbage of the streets by the low and brutal British mob, the same brutal persecution of the freedom of the press that nailed Prynne to the pillory posts by his ears, and when the time of his expiation had passed, released him by the simple process of slicing off his ears, leaving him to walk away with his bloody and mutilated head as a grim testimony to British freedom, of which there is, methinks, indications of a revival on Australian soil in our own times.

Working-class men and women of Australia stand solid as a phalanx for your birthright, freedom of speech. If that be taken from those who never flinch from voicing your wrongs, your claims for justice, who dare the penalties of fine and imprisonment in the true interests of fine and imprisonment in the true interests of those who now carry it in your trust and for your weal, and will be extinguished in the mire of political duplicity. There is no half measure on the road of resistance to tyranny. You must go all the way. Therefore, stand firm behind those who are in the van of the strife for a greater share of social, moral, civil and industrial freedom.

Remember, liberty, and every principle of liberty, can only be maintained by sacrifice and suffering. It was the price of the few liberties remaining to us. As others bore pains and penalties to pass them down to us, so must we pay in kind to pass them on to the sons and daughters of all men.

"For Freedom's battle once begun, Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son, Though baffled oft is ever won."

We are not, and cannot be all speakers and writers, but let very man and woman who is a wage-earner stand in firm moral and financial support of Tom Barker and all others who are the victims of persecution and tyranny.

Workers, stand your ground in the ranks of those who fight for justice and truth, and you need not fear that the word fail will be found in the lexicon of Industrial Unionism.

Industrial Unionism means enough of everything and not too much of anything, including work.

Compulsion.

THE CACKLE OF CONSCRIPTIONISTS.

By Ajax.

A hen that has just laid an egg creates far less fuss than the coterie of conscriptionists who are professedly concerned about the nation's welfare. Presumably those who shriek for slaughter really represent the sweating fraternity. Apart from the personnel of the prominent conscriptionists, which in itself is sufficient to damn the cause, one finds the minister for murder telling a deputation of conscriptionists that "it is doubtful if conscription would enable Australia to send more men to the front." Further, even if conscription were in force, it would take nearly three years to establish the system, and doubtless the war will be decided long before 1919. Again, some military authorities are not favourable to the scheme; this is becoming more pronounced as people begin to realise that this is a war of "brains and machinery," not mere man-power, as conscriptionists infer. That even from a conservative standpoint the conscriptionists have no case, is abundantly evident by the way they try to stampede the public with bluff and bluster.

Lately the public has been treated to the spectacle of alleged representatives of Labor, some at least of whom only a few years back preached anti-militarism and Socialism, now shrieking for slaughter and arrogantly proclaiming that "men must go." There is not the slightest attempt to justify their position or prove their peculiar statements, only threats and insinuations against all and sundry. These saviours of Empire (an imaginary geographical distinction) apparently live well and enjoy themselves, while endeavouring to persuade other people to make sacrifices and fight for their liberties. The attempts to muzzle the press, stifle free speech, and budgeon individuals whose ideas do not harmonise with militarist manias makes it obvious that we require more liberty here, without going 12,000 miles to fight for it.

The point that the workers should clearly understand is that exploitation is the enemy. No matter under what flag and irrespective of what nationality the soldiers may be, who for the moment occupy alien territory, exploitation goes on all the time. Commercialism is cosmopolitan and identical in its operations in all the belligerent countries, killing and crippling the workers even faster than the military machine.

Militarism is only a secondary item. Conscriptionists are really after industrial conscription. Sweeteners do not care one cent for Empire, but are very anxious to conserve their class interests after the war. Such phrases as "dilution of labour," "national service," and "efficiency" show clearly that intense exploitation of labor under militarism is what is wanted. Once that is assured the capitalists in all warring countries can conveniently patch up peace and trade with each other as amiably as they did before the war.

Owing to public ignorance and the political patriotic piffle with which the people have been surfeited, we have been accustomed to look at military matters through the spectacles of prejudice. For instance, if a person tells or orders another man to kill somebody, both the law and public opinion condemn that individual, but if a plutocratic patriot (who is making no sacrifice on behalf of empire and is possibly making money out of war) should order others to their death, then he is an empire builder, a moral citizen, a most important personage whose heart is bleeding for the welfare of the nation!

In a short article one has not space to enter into such questions as the extremely small percentage of members of the sweating fraternity who have enlisted, the repeated reports of merchants trading with enemy countries, the general unpopularity of the war, etc.; but in spite of the censor sufficient has become known for people who have ears to hear.

Above the din and howl of Empire savours the cackle of the conscriptionists is heard. Shorn of its fine phrases and military glamour, their motive stands forth in all its murderous hideousness. They are out for murder and slavery, or both, and no amount of patriotic piffle will hide that fact. These sinister gentry are a menace to the community in general and labor in particular, for conscription is essentially a class measure, entailing hardships on the poor and exemptions for the rich.

The question of compulsion is fraught

with ugly possibilities for the labor movement. Labor was not consulted about the war, yet is expected to shoulder the burden, having everything to lose and nothing to gain thereby. Long before this Labor organisations should have formed a War Council which would decide Labor's attitude on the war, irrespective of what other classes think or wish, and not let a few renegade politicians and conscriptionists arrogantly dictate what the worker shall and shall not do.

Meanwhile the advocates of the organisation of murder should be challenged on every occasion. It is peculiar that the Jingo clique who howl for murder mostly belong to the same crowd who before the war yelled for peace—industrial peace and arbitration—men who held up their hands in horror at the idea of destruction of property, sabotage, and violence. People who pleaded piteously for the rights of the individual when their commercial thieving was questioned, men who denounced taxation as robbery, and turned pale at the press report of a masked burglar in the suburbs; the same hypocritical crew who wax eloquent about the ethics of Jesus Christ, and would deluge the country with blood in the cause of trade. These respectable gentry of the "law and order" type, who decant on "the sanctity of the marriage tie," "the holiness of the home," propose to drag thousands of men from their homes (drive capital out of the country) and send them like sheep to the slaughter, not forgetting to sweat those who are left for the glory of Empire, thus smashing the home, marriage tie, and inflicting poverty and misery on the population.

Before this is in print the universal murder league will doubtless lay stress on the fact that the English Government intends to or has introduced conscription. Whether the people in England accept conscription or refuse to have it is their business. The position in Australia is somewhat different, and there will be no conscription here if Labor decides "We will not have it." No doubt the same lying promises and cunning Hunnish tactics to gradually drag the people in separate sections under the cloyen hoof of militarism will be attempted as in other conscript countries. Australia, comparatively speaking, is already shouldering a heavy military burden, and it is safe to assume that once the conscriptionists, who after all are only a small noisy minority, are allowed to dominate the community they will not rest until everybody is roped in—always excepting themselves—and the ideal of the servile state so bitterly denounced by the world's greatest thinkers, and so dearly cherished by sweaters, is attained.

If they do not wake up meantime, perchance when too late the workers will realise the truth of that old adage:

"Eternal Vigilance is the price of Liberty."

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 allow 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.

Unionists and P.L.L.

Labor Governments are managers of capitalist business. Any other Labor Government would only do what the present is doing.

The workers must realise that the politicians are their enemies, and organise so as to be able to fight the politicians.

The Labor Conference which has just been sitting in Sydney disclosed the fact that there is a growing discontent among the industrial workers with the result of political action. The discontent, it is true, has taken the form of an attack on the Labor Government, demanding a more radical policy on the part of labor politicians.

Very likely the result of the flutter in the political labor dove cots will simply be some sort of reorganisation of the political Labor Party. Possibly one politician will drop out and another will go in; Ministries and executives will be reconstructed either immediately or later. But the Party will remain the same. The industrial workers have not yet discovered that it is not so much their political creed as the composition of their organisation which is at fault. They think that all they need to do is to replace a few politicians by others and pass resolutions as to what the Government is to do. They do not realise that they send representatives to fill certain positions in the capitalist system, and that whether these political representatives like it or not, they have to carry out their task of keeping the capitalist system going.

LABOR GOVERNMENT MANAGES CAPITALIST BUSINESS.

The Labor Government is at the head of the business concern called the State. Obviously these political managers can only do what other business managers can do—namely, see that the industrial workers do as much work as possible, so as to make the public business of the State work as smoothly as possible, and so as to be able to pay the requisite profits to the real owners, the capitalists.

How futile it is for the Labor Conference to pass resolutions condemning the Labor Government for looking well after the interests of the capitalists! Why, if the Conference succeeded in getting new political managers installed in the place of the old, they could only do what the present Labor Government is doing, or if they refused to do so, the capitalists could refuse to place the resources of the country at their disposal.

The critics of the Labor Government do not know what they want. They want the war carried on. They want the capitalist interests preserved. They do not want a different system to what they have. Yet, they are discontented and criticise the Government. The fact is that many of those who take a leading part in the attacks on the Government simply want to take the place of the present politicians and to let everything go on as it did before.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM THE OUTCOME.

The industrial workers have not yet realised that the politicians are their enemies as well as other capitalists. The I.W.W. has been so far successful as to demonstrate to the industrial workers that the Labor Party has been useless to them, but the industrial workers still cling to the hope that some other politicians will be able to emancipate them.

It is a dream! All politicians are parasites, and will do nothing for the industrial workers, but will sicken as much from them as possible of the wealth they produce and give it to the idle classes. The industrial workers have not yet discovered that it is useless to enter into alliance with politicians, and that the only sound working class logic is to fight the politicians tooth and nail to get as much as possible from them.

But the time will come when the workers will realise that their interests lie with their fellow workers, combined into one big union of workers, and not with the politicians, the priest, or the capitalist slave-owner. But it will not come before the workers have had more dire disappointments with political confidence men. On every hand we have politicians with their glib tales as to what they are going to do for the working class.

Workers! Do not believe them. There is only one class which you can believe; that is your own class. The politicians are not working men. If they say so, you know they are only trying to deceive you. Consider them as your enemies, and demand from them what you are entitled to—the world's wealth, and if they do not give it to you, organise until you are strong enough to take it.

H. CHRISTOPHERSON.

Our Growing Press

"DIRECT ACTION."
English. Weekly, 4s. per year. Published by the I.W.W., 330 Castlereagh Street, Sydney, N.S.W.

"SOLIDARITY."
English. Weekly, 6s. 6d. per year. Published by the I.W.W. Publishing Bureau, 112 Hamilton Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.

"A BEERMUNKAS."
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"A LUZ."
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Portuguese. Semi-monthly. Subscription 4s. per year. Bundles of 50 1d. per copy. Address, 699 South First St., New Bedford, Mass., U.S.A.

ADDRESSES OF I.W.W. LOCALS.

Adelaide Local 1.—Secretary-Treasurer, S. G. Drummoud, 43 Charles-street, Unley, Adelaide, S.A.
Sydney, Local No. 2.—Secretary-Treasurer, T. Glynn, 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.—Secretary-Treasurer, G. T. Reeve, 18 South-street, Fremantle, W.A.
Boulder Local, No. 6.—Secretary-Treasurer, F. H. Luna, Lane-street, Boulder, W.A.
Brisbane, Local No. 7.—Secretary-Treasurer, C. E. Bright, Redfern-street, Wooloon-Gabba, Brisbane, Q.
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Perth, Local No. 10.—Secretary-Treasurer, A. Westbrook, Victoria Park, East Perth, W.A.
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Enclosed please find P.O. for 4s. for which please send "Direct Action" for one year to the following address:—

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Fill it in NOW!

Selfishness and The Worker.

(To "Direct Action.")

Your note on the screed, "A Retrospect and a Grown," let the writer off easy; indeed, there was a fear that it was much too mild from your viewpoint, and that it would be interned, in your W.P.B.

To those of us, and we are many, who have been so long accustomed to look to our representatives in Parliament for a closing-up of the difference between those who get much for doing little and those who do much and get little, it is a severe wrench to sever ourselves from old ideas and a rather difficult proposition to adopt new methods which we do not altogether understand. But to progress is an eternal law, and if one means falls another must be tried.

We workers know that under modern conditions we produce much more than our wages will purchase, and that when slack times come along we have to tighten our belts while our exploiters fare sumptuously on our surplus products. We want to know, Why is this thus? and are seeking a remedy.

Trades Unionism has certainly done something to ameliorate working-class conditions; but that weapon has never been made fully effective. There are many voluntary unionists who have but the slightest conception of what unionism means—they are not class-conscious; it is self all the time; there are others who have been forced into unions because of strenuous organisation and the operation of "preference" in and on Government works. And yet there are avowed anti-unionists in almost every class of labor who contrive to get at least some of the benefits without putting a red cent, and are mean enough to chuckle at their own smartness.

The Combination Laws have been repealed for several generations, and propaganda work has been going on all the time, and still there are thousands of wage-earners, even in the most advanced countries who do not belong to unions. If these recalcitrant individuals, who are blind to their own interests, will not at present help their fellows in an attempt to better working-class conditions, what chance is there of organising One Big Union?

But granted that this most sincerely-desired object is attained, the "slackers" and the anti-unionists—unless they prove more amenable to the One Big Union methods than those at present in use—will be a menace to rather than a help towards the solidarity of labor.

There is one other matter. Our friends the enemy have hitherto done most of the law-making, and also strongly influenced that of the Labor Party, and have taken advantage of every point the framers left open to them. There are many cases of attempting to "bluff" on a technically—a "try on" worth while to associated employers—and that action failing have accepted the Judge's ruling in respect to similar cases, even though at times we have thought they were favored in the administration of the law. And the laws of a country, we must remember, have all the machinery of government behind them, both civil and military. You have no hesitation in saying that the "Direct Action" programme means revolution (industrial)? If it is successful in gaining the concessions asked for, then how by other than "Parliamentary action" can those conditions be established?

Those desiring to be enlightened number more than

"TWENTY-FOUR."

(Our correspondent's pessimism with regard to the "chances" of the One Big Union is scarcely justified on the grounds set forth. If there are "many voluntary unionists who have but the slightest conception of what unionism means"—not being class-conscious—it can be traced to the fact that Trade Unionism has not combined class education with organisation. On the contrary, its protagonists, in the majority of cases, advocate views which cut the ground from beneath the reason for organisation of any character—namely, identity of interest between master and slave.

The principle of Arbitration, to which Trade Unionism in Australia has pledged itself, is in itself tantamount to an admission that both sides, Capital and Labor, have certain "rights." Class-consciousness implies the contrary; and if Trade Unionism by word and action fosters and promotes ideas which prevent the development of class consciousness on the part of the workers, it seems to us one of the soundest arguments for its repudiation and the establishment of something more consistent. Lasting structures cannot be built on a foundation of sand, and a working-class organisation, conscious of its class interests, cannot be built up on "principles" which remove the reason for its existence.

The same argument applies so far as those "recalcitrant individuals, who are blind to their own interests," are concerned. It is, again, a question of education; mental blindness cannot be eradicated by an institution

which fosters it. The "selfishness" which troubles our correspondent will, when enlightened, be the best guarantee of working-class solidarity, for surely he will not deny that in their relations with their masters the workers are not nearly selfish enough.

We would remark finally that when the workers gain certain concessions by direct action it is immaterial to them whether they are legally established by Parliamentary action or not. The concrete gain is the important factor, not its legal recognition on the Statute Book. Moreover, the history of the Australian Labor Party has fully proven the futility of Parliamentary action in radically altering economic conditions.—Ed.)

Broken Hill Notes.

Local No. 3 is now installed in its new headquarters at 316 Argent Street. The new hall is a great improvement on the old premises, and will enable us to hold indoor lectures every week-end.

Last Saturday, F. W. Larkin arrived from Sydney, and in the evening addressed a large crowd on the wobbles' corner, where he received an enthusiastic and attentive hearing. At the same meeting a resolution was unanimously passed protesting against the action of the authorities in sentencing Tom Barker for exercising the right of free speech.

F. W. Larkin again addressed the open-air meeting on Sunday evening, after which a lecture was delivered in the hall by F. W. Moyle, subject, "The Power of Labor." The hall, which seats about 200, was crowded to its fullest capacity by an attentive audience. The subject was well handled and its enthusiastic reception augurs well for the future of the I.W.W. in Broken Hill.

A strike took place last week on this end of the Broken Hill-Condobolin railway, now under construction. The trouble was caused by the action of a ganger in dismissing three men for no other reason, apparently, than that they had refused to buy beer for him in town. The men demanded the dismissal of the ganger and the reinstatement of the men dismissed. The local secretary of the Railway Workers and General Labourers' Association, to which most of the men belong, informed their executive in Sydney of what had occurred, and received a telegram in reply saying that they strongly deprecated the action of the local branch in coming out without first consulting their executive. The local branch then applied for financial assistance to the strike committee of the combined unions, which carried through the 44-hours' strike. At a mass meeting of the Combined Unions it was decided to assist them until they carried the strike to a successful issue. The following day (Monday) the strikers' demands were granted, and work was resumed.

May 4th. FRANK F. WARD.

MELBOURNE NOTES.

Since my last time of writing things are living considerably in this town. Paper sales, the best indication of propaganda done, are rising.

Our meetings are well attended and attentively listened to. F.W.'s Kelly, A.M. Wilson, and Farrall addressed a large audience on the Bank last Sunday afternoon. For May Sunday we have organised a meeting, the main feature of which, of course, will be the imprisonment of Tom Barker. Although we recognise the futility of resolutions, publicity is always good. Action is necessary as never before if we are to gain the release of our fellow-worker. Let it ring through the land, that "an injury to one is an injury to all," and let the "Cat" work rapidly, dealing lightning-like punches to the solar plexus of the capitalists' pocket-book.

At our Friday night meeting at Brunswick we had a big meeting, and the speaker, F.W. Farrall, was pointing out the futility of arm'd resistance and the tremendous power of the industrial weapon—the strike—to shake off any tyranny, when he was warned by the police for speaking sedition, and although there was no traffic, his name was taken for obstructing the traffic. We sold out all copies of "Direct Action" and "Solidarity."

The Plutes and their dupes are putting up a great stunt in favour of conscription: petitions are flying in all directions, some little girls signing it up to as many as five hundred times. Wake up, slaves! or these mugs will enslave us more completely than the slaves of Russia.

R.J.F., Corresp. Sec., Local 8.

I.W.W. PRESS.

JEWISH PUBLICATIONS.

M. Kurinsky, 222 Livonia Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, writes that an I.W.W. paper called the "Industrial Unionist" is being published in the Jewish language. All Jewish fellow-workers who wish to subscribe should address communications to Box 7, Station P., Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A. We understand the subscription fee is 6s. a year.

A Double-edged Criticism.

The following paragraph represents Melbourne "Age's" views of Georges Sorel's excellent work, "Reflections on Violence," a work which, by the way, ought to need no better recommendation to working class readers than this self-same capitalist organ's venom being spat at it. However, the genius who compiled the paragraph must have had "The Age" and publications of its kind in his mind's eye when writing, as his criticism of Sorel's work, applied to "The Age" itself and its capitalistic contemporaries, with a few minor alterations, could hardly be improved upon by Sorel himself.

Here is the par with a few minor alterations:—

The mischievous nonsense preached to the ignorant under the guise of economic philosophy by those who live on the working man is well represented by "The Age" (Melbourne: David Syne and Co.), a publication in English by the reactionary capitalist class. The publication is recommended as "the Classic of Capitalism." In a country like Australia, where the only sovereignty should be that of mind, and the only nobility should be that of genius, publications like these should amaze and revolt. Yet here and there they find weak echoes amongst the loud voiced and feeble-minded. The publisher's object is to "ruin the prestige of working class culture," a prestige which up till now has been opposed to the complete development of the principle of the Class War." Like the handful of illiterate fellows who advocate the crawlsome, unmanly creed of POLITICAL ACTION in this country, the publisher's mad expedient for bringing about the millennium is the declaration of a UNIVERSAL WAR and the creation of social ruin. He sneers at all DIRECT efforts to make men prosperous and happy as devices to destroy Capitalism, which according to his own showing quite-deserves the fate. Free discussion demands that works like these be observed, for ideas, however grotesque, that gain a certain following are social symptoms. In Australia, if the worker has time to force his way through the confused jumble of cant words and phrases that make up the large volume, he will experience a feeling of withering contempt, pity, or humor, according to his temperament.

The original reads as follows:— "The mischievous nonsense" preached to the ignorant under the guise of economic philosophy by those who live on the working man is well represented by "Reflections on Violence" (London: George Allen and Unwin), a translation from the French of a work by the revolutionary Socialist, Georges Sorel. The book is recommended as "the classic of syndicalism." In a country like Australia, where "the only sovereignty is that of mind, and the only nobility that of genius," doctrines like these amaze and revolt. Yet here and there they find weak echoes amongst the loud voiced and feeble-minded. The author's object was to "ruin the prestige of middle-class culture, a prestige which up to now has been opposed to the complete development of the principle of the class war." Like the handful of illiterate fellows who advocate the crawlsome, unmanly creed of "class consciousness" in this country, Sorel's mad expedient for bringing about the millennium is the declaration of a general strike and the creation of social ruin. He sneers at all legislative efforts to make men prosperous and happy as devices to destroy Socialism, which, according to his showing, quite deserves the fate. Free discussion demands that works like these be observed, for an idea, however grotesque, that gains a certain following is a social symptom. In Australia, if the worker has patience to force his way through the confused jumble of cant words and phrases that make up the large volume, he will experience a feeling of withering contempt, pity or humor, according to his temperament.

JOHN M. BURKE.

ECHOES FROM THE WEST.

Perth, Sunday, April 23rd. Esplanade meeting a bumper. All other organisations being conspicuous by their absence. The I.W.W. meeting became the one centre of attraction and afforded a rich opportunity for propaganda. Organiser F. W. Reeves spoke, with Mick Sawtell as chairman.

The subject dealt with was "The Road to Freedom," and was clearly and fully treated

to the satisfaction of the large audience. At the close of the address a variety of questions were submitted to the speaker, and received answers in the main, satisfactory to the inquirers.

Mr. Tom Butler, of the A.W.U., under cover of a question, endeavoured to resume negotiations for a public debate with F. W. Reeves. Some consideration had been given to such a proposal some time ago, but lapsed consequent on the absence of Mr. Butler from Perth.

F. W. Reeves finally stated that in any debate he would stand as the fully accredited representative of the I.W.W., and would meet only an equally authorised representative of the A.W.U.

This statement terminated the volubility of the A.W.U. champion, who at once closed up like an oyster.

At 7.30 in the evening F. W. Reeves again appeared in the large hall of the Literary Institute, and dealt ably and at length with a lecture entitled "The March of the Machine," prefacing the lecture with a dramatic rendering of Edwin Markham's fine poem "The Man With the Hoe."

The meeting closed with questions and discussion.

"Direct Action" and literature sales were excellent both afternoon and evening.

M.M.

SYDNEY LOCAL.

Meetings, &c.

Street Propaganda at Bathurst and Liverpool Streets every Friday and Saturday Evenings, at 8 p.m.; also Sunday Evening, at 7.

Meetings in Hall:

Sunday, 8 p.m.—Propaganda.
Wednesday, 8 p.m.—Economic Class.
Thursday, 8 p.m.—Business Meeting.
Saturday Evening—Speakers' Class.
Also Public Meeting every Sunday afternoon in the Domain.

Briefly, the reason for unemployment is that there are not enough jobs to go around. What about a shorter work-day and slowing down!

FREMANTLE ACTIVITIES.

Hall, 35 Phillimore Street.
Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Hall: Lecture night.
Friday, 8 p.m., at Hall: Economic Class.
Saturday, 8 p.m., at Hall: Business Meeting.
Sunday Afternoon, 3 p.m., Esplanade. Perth: Propaganda.

Local 5 has now a library of up-to-date revolutionary economic working class literature at the Hall, and all rebels after some mental dynamite are invited to blow in and help swell the ranks of the rebel army.

BROKEN HILL ACTIVITIES.

Wednesday Evening, at 7.30 p.m.—Educational Class.
Alternate Sundays, at 3 p.m.—Business Meeting.
Alternate Sundays, at 3 p.m.—Economic Class.
Sunday, at 7.30 p.m.—Outdoor Propaganda Meeting, near Post Office, in Argent-street.
Good Library. Also good collection of Literature for sale. All live rebels welcome.
Treasurer, E. J. Kiely, 316 Argent St. Broken Hill, N.S.W.

NOTICE.

Subscribers and members can now obtain a complete file of the 2nd volume of "Direct Action." The volume contains from number 21 to 55, inclusive, and dates from February 1st, 1915, to the same date in 1916.

The complete file will be forwarded to any part of Australia upon receipt of money order for 3s, which includes postage.

From an historical standpoint, as well as from an educational standpoint, the volume is essential. All the information re the Newcastle free speech fight, the poster and stickers case, the hundred and one strikes of the year, are contained within the volume.

It also includes "Cresset's" satires, Nicholl's cartoons, West's Ballad of Maitland Gao!, "General Strike," "Arbitration Court," and "The Interrupted Snooze," as well as dozens of first-class articles and criticisms upon matters industrial and political.

An early application is necessary, as the supply of files are limited. There are no files of the first volume left.

Printed and Published by J. B. King, at 403 Sussex Street, Sydney, on behalf of the Industrial Workers of the World.