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Why I Stand For Direct Action

(BY CHAS. W. GREEN.)

Industrial Democracy is my objective. I want to get there myself—quick—before I die. Neither Liberal nor Labor Party will get me there.

The Liberal Party is avowedly anti-socialist and bourgeois. The Labor Party is avowedly non-socialist; actually anti-socialist and bourgeois.

So long as a class owns the land and industrial mechanism, it owns the State, dominates statecraft, and ALL Governments must function as its Executive Council.

Any government, irrespective of brand or stripe, will act as an automatic machine to administer the laws and constitutions of Capitalism.

The bourgeois Labor Party dominates craft unionism and craft union officials.

Inveigled into the eddies of craft union officialdom, the industrial unionist loses his punch.

His virility is emasculated, or the gag is applied, or out he goes.

He dare not flay the fallacies and falsehoods of Laborism.

His desire to lay bare the stupidity of sectional unionism draws mild.

The path to progress is eternal conflict with that of officialdom.

The trump tactic of official Capitalism!

What is that, brother?

Look! Watch the way that watch-dog of Capitalist Society—the Labor Party—plays its hand!

There's a crank over there busy making revolutions—agitating—disseminating—class-conscious dope that might make brawny boneheads understand, and then, by God! they'd act. What he says, rings true—it stings.

That sting must be extracted.

Find him a billet in Parliament, or in a union, or on the Labor press, and bind him down fast to an arbitration, child-conscription, imperialistic, craft-union, trust-busting, war-precautioning, Barker-gaoing, scabby, censoring, cowardly catch-as-catch-can policy that will boom Parliaments and wont intellectually or economically advance the mob or lose the votes of the conservative Laborites.

So the eternal conflict terminates, and quondam revolutionaries retract their steps from the path of progress, and here we are again—stuck in the mud.

Thusly are the spokesmen of the revolution bought.

Since 1890 Capitalist Society in Australia has been buying them, clipping their claws and extracting their stings. The price paid warranted their submission and their surrender. The unsophisticated wealth-producing mob footed the bill.

Brothers! I want to be understood.

I write in no spirit of personal pique against anybody.

The Kilkenny cat proclivities of the miscellaneous working-class organisations seem to be the upshot of earnest workmen measuring the make-up of other earnest workmen with the yard-sticks of their own egos.

I beg to stay out from the mud-raking competition.

"Let 'be who is without sin cast the first stone."

I have stoned. I worked on a Labor daily through an electoral farce, and prayed for the Labor candidates, and vilified and maligned the Liberals. I unscrupulously used my job to make believe that Labor Party politics and the success of the Referenda ballot meant something, and that Liberalism meant nothing. That was the paper's policy; I couldn't alter it. When I did write anything of a radical nature, it was basketed. So I wrote the machine-stuff that the paper paid me to write—what I knew to be a monstrous tissue of leg-

pulling lies. Capitalism, per medium of one of its institutions, the Labor Party, was using me to help it play its game.

I was a cog in the mammoth machine of capitalist circumstance—manufacturing and bolstering the acceptable social ideas.

I was a—well, something for which I know no polite name.

But, don't I illustrate my point?

"Everybody's doing it!"

There's a member of Parliament, or a union official, or a Labor journalist, wanted. A menacing demagogue applies and official Labor opens wide its arms to receive him.

From thence onwards he is gradually caught up into the vortex of an environment which is conventional. He soon finds that he can't alter established policies. All in his circle are vitally interested in non-essentials and effects. He breathes a temporising atmosphere. Involuntarily he drifts. As surely as the street arab or the barber become interested in the game of football, he becomes involved in the game of official politics. He forgets fundamental causes, essentials, the objective. Or, if he doesn't forget, he doesn't agitate. If he does agitate, he is read out, and a more plausible successor is found to take the job on.

This is what happened in the U.L.U., Adelaide, on the "Daily Herald," Adelaide, and on the "Barrier Daily Truth," Broken Hill. Every craft union and every P.L.C. are erstwhile enemies of Capitalism, caught in a political trap, moulded in a reprobrate breeding incubator, now, meek and mild marionettes of Labor Parliamentarians, licksplitting along beautifully.

It is well to harbor ideals of Co-operative Commonwealths and call ourselves Socialists or what not, but we must understand the stratagies of the industrial captains of Capitalism and meet them at every turn in our economic life. The place to fight Capitalism is on the floor of the factory, right where the magnates nullify the placating palliative legislation. The men to do the work, to strike the blows at the Capitalist system, are the workers themselves, and not intermediaries up on a pedestal. The class war is felt at the point of production; let the working class declare it there. The working-class can begin here and now to build up the frame-work of the Co-operative Commonwealth that drawing-room idealists see in their pipe-dreams, but mass action alone is potent.

Until the masses arouse themselves to this truth, they will continue to sell their leaders to the forces that are perpetuating wage-slavery. The wave of industrialism and Syndicalism that is sweeping through the working-class ranks has burst from the realisation of this fact. Political Socialism is unsound in tactic; hence, has lost piece by piece its revolutionary ardor with its numerical growth and marched shoulder to shoulder down into the trenches with the patriotic pawns of the plutocracy and died there, betraying its class in an international war that its own philosophy predicted must be provoked to succor and save the Capitalist System.

As men see their cause must fall, they become opportunists. But men cannot betray themselves. The common man, if he is to come to his own, must learn self-reliance, and that can never come so long as he worships at the shrine of delegated authority. In every mine, mill, quarry, factory, field, foundry, workshop, warehouse, office, cafe, the workers themselves must be alert, watching the strategical move of their masters, and replying directly in terms that count on the job. And that will educate them, first-hand. With this understanding in the relationships between men and masters, there can be no danger of the workers being incapable of administration of affairs or of a boss-ridden bureaucracy when the day comes for the One Big Union to declare the general lockout of the class that for so long has lived as a parasitical growth on the body social. No Labor Party, no Socialist Party, no Trade Union, or no Government can train the workers, on the job to an understanding of how to take and hold the sources of wealth-production and administer industrial, or even political, affairs in their own interests.

Allow me to reiterate my point. It is crucial.

Capitalist Society speaks out in the last analysis through all its agencies, be they Governments, States, political parties, the Press, the Church, or trade unionism. It pays a premium to hire the intellectuals to do its work. The orator or the High Court judge or the pressman or the priest who won't play the game of politics or jurisprudence or theology according to the rules imposed by Capitalist Society can go and hew wood or draw water and shut up. He is short of all prestige. He is a recognised failure, an Ishmaelite, a heretic, without official backing. And this, because he won't dance to the constitutional music.

Labor has got to flout the rules of the game, the morality of the system, the politics of the parties. One Big Union alone can make the mighty power of modern Capitalism capitulate. Without it, organised scabbery will be rampant; empire will expand the areas of civilised exploitation markets; "Labor" Parties will enter the battle-grounds of Capitalist politics and fight around issues that don't matter to the working-class; poverty will be paraded in every Arbitration Court in the country, and strikes will be lost. One Big Union of the Working Class and Organised Capital will meet Labor as a solid phalanx; all the Dreadnoughts of the oceans will float as so many useless and innocuous vessels with spiked cannon and empty bunkers; leaders will be spurned by men who know what to do and how to do it; direct action will relieve Arbitration Court judges and verbose baristers of much unnecessary mental strain, and strikes will be won short and sharp, until they, too, will be unnecessary.

But here I stop. I dare not say more. The wary eye of some keen-witted diplomatist mightn't like the dope. Then I'd get a sweet job in a craft union, and talk about the absorptions of current politics ad infinitum. In the grip of Capitalist circumstances the mob would listen, and the right of the few to hold the right of the many to live would be secure. Selah!!!

THE AMALGAMATED RAILWAYMEN

AND THEIR PAPER.

"Tramwayman" writes:—

The Railwaymen say this organisation is fighting for the One Big Union and that it is an Industrial Union. If this is so, they will need to look after their paper, and directly own and control it. It is a pity that the union fools about with debenture schemes, or any other sort of schemes, that are propagated by profit seekers. Debentures mean either a cheap loan or a new partnership with capitalists real or in embryo. We know that the present generation is not responsible for all the parasites and leeches that must be supported, but there is no reason why new leeches should be fostered. Workers, own your own paper and steer clear of "philanthropists." The class war is too serious to act the goat.

IS THE POST OFFICE A FRAUDULENT INSTITUTION?

Is the Postmaster-General of Australia entitled to receive money under false pretences? If he is, then he is the only person in the community, so far as we know, who has that privilege. "Direct Action" in any case, for the past month or so, has paid him money for services which he has never performed.

We have received no official communication from the Postal Department that the transmission of the paper through the post office has been in any way prohibited, but for the past few weeks complaints are so numerous, rolling in from all quarters of Australia, re non-delivery of "Direct Action," that it is very evident something more than the negligence of an official here and there is at the bottom of it. Those not receiving the paper regularly in future are requested to communicate with the Manager at once. There is no reason why we should continue to facilitate robbery by the post office in paying for unrendered services.

Set Barker Free.

Protests and letters of enquiry still continue to roll in regarding the release of Tom Barker, but so far there is nothing encouraging to report. Advice from Broken Hill says that a Barker Defence Committee has been formed there to take in hand the agitation for his release, consisting of two delegates each from the I.W.W. and A.M.A., the B.L.F. and the Socialist Party. We understand that Barker has been removed from Long Bay to Parramatta Gaol, which has the reputation of being one of the worst in Australia out of it.

A letter sent to the State Minister for Justice requesting that his gaol treatment be relaxed, in view of the "offence," as in the case of Skurie in Melbourne, brought forth the reply that representations should be made to the Federal authorities—which is strange considering that gaol administration is a matter for the State. The Federal Attorney-General has been communicated with, but though Barker is already over a month in gaol, no reply has been received. Politicians only move when masters' interests are in jeopardy, and if Barker is not to serve his sentence it is time that requests and resolutions gave place to definite action. His continued incarceration is not so much due to the animosity of politicians and the exploiters whom he attacked as to the apathy of his own class. The workers can open the gaol doors when they decide to do it, and if ever a case of persecution justified drastic action and retaliation it is the case of Tom Barker.

The Federated Storemen and Packers' Union (Victorian branch) has forwarded the following resolution to the Minister for Defence:—

"That this meeting of the Federated Storemen and Packers' Union registers its emphatic protest against the persecution and imprisonment of Mr. T. Barker, editor of "Direct Action," on a charge of publishing matter likely to prejudice recruiting. That, in the opinion of this meeting, the matter published, and upon which the prosecution was based, was fair comment and by no means likely to imperil the safety of either the Commonwealth or the Allied Powers. Further, for the provisions of the War Precautions Act to be used for petty, childish, pin-pricking persecutions such as in this case as to cover with ridicule and disrepute an act deserving of far better use and created for much worthier purposes." Fremantle I.W.W. has forwarded the following resolution to Senator Pearce:—

"That this local enters an emphatic protest against the imprisonment of our Fellow-worker, Tom Barker, and demands his liberation in the interest of justice and freedom."

BUSHWORKERS' STRIKE.

We have received the following letter from Bourke under date May 29:—

Dear Sir,

I am instructed by the Strike Committee, formed at a mass meeting held at Bourke, of the Bush Workers of the district, on Sunday night last, to write and inform you of the steps taken by same.

1. Moved by Mr. E. Gill, seconded by Mr. Ryan, "That this meeting takes action to co-operate with the Queensland Strikers in their just demands."—Carried.

2. Moved by Mr. Brown, seconded by Mr. E. Gill, "That this meeting of Bush Workers pledge ourselves to refuse to accept scrub cutting under £2 per week and fare paid; cooks to receive £2 10s. up to seven men, on that number £2."—Carried on the voices.

Yours fraternally,

SAMUEL CONRY, Chairman.

Committee: E. Gill, C. Bowen, S. Mooney, J. Holmes, H. Palmer.

NEW STICKERS.

Numerous enquiries have been received of late for Stickers. The Press Committee is now getting out a brand new, up-to-date article. The colour and design are original, and will compel attention everywhere. In view of the expense involved, however, for blocks, etc., the price will be 6s. a thousand. You can send your orders at once.

DIRECT ACTION



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Fact v. Theory.

In view of the prominence which the capitalist press gives to the cry for industrial efficiency and the bitterness of its criticism against those who advocate slowing down, "Direct Action" has no apology to offer for returning to the subject from time to time.

The capitalist economists and politicians theorise daily on the subject, the general tenor of their remarks being, as the writer heard one remark recently, that the higher the efficiency in production, the "more there will be to go around." This argument would be perfectly valid in a system of society which distributed the products of labor in accordance with the needs, or even the deeds, of individuals. But in a system where facts go to show that the underlying law is that those who produce most receive least, the people who put forward this absurd contention are only trading in the ignorance of their listeners, or their readers, as the case may be.

An ounce of fact, however, is worth a ton of theory. If an increased productivity of labor is a determining factor in enhancing the material welfare of the worker, surely the Industrial Revolution of the early part of the last century, when the productivity of the laborer, owing to improved methods of production became multiplied over and over again, should have synchronised with enormous prosperity for the working class of England.

But what has history got to say on the subject? Gibbins, in his invaluable little work, "The Industrial History of England," says:—

"We hear of children and young people in factories overworked and beaten as if they were slaves; of diseases and distortions only found in manufacturing districts; of filthy, wretched homes where people huddle together like wild beasts; we hear of girls and women working underground in the dark recesses of the coal-mines, dragging loads of coal in cars in places where no horses could go, and harnessed and crawling along the subterranean pathways like beasts of burden. Everywhere we find cruelty and oppression, and in many cases the workmen were but slaves bound to fulfill their master's commands under fear of dismissal and starvation. Freedom they had in name; freedom to starve and die; but not freedom to speak, still less to act, as citizens of a free state. They were often even obliged to buy their food at exorbitant prices out of their scanty wages at a shop kept by their employer, where it is needless to say that they paid the highest possible price for the worst possible goods."

The time of which Gibbins speaks, it should be remembered was the period during which the foundations of modern capitalism were being laid. It was a time when enormous fortunes were being made by the manufacturing capitalists, due to the fact that what is nowadays called increased efficiency, or increased productivity, materialised beyond their wildest dreams through machinery revolutionising the methods of production.

How the proposition of there being "more to go around" worked out from

the workers' point of view may be gathered from the following table by Gibbins, as an illustration of the tendency of wages to decline during the same period:—

Year	Weavers' Wages
1802	13s 10d
1806	10s 6d
1812	6s 4d
1816	5s 2d
1817	4s 3 1/2d

When it is mentioned that wheat rose from 67s per quarter in 1802 to 94s in 1817, some idea may be gathered of how the slave on 4s 3 1/2d per week must have listened to the efficiency advocates of the time telling him that: More productivity meant more prosperity.

It should not be forgotten that the economic laws underlying the capitalist system, so far as the distribution of the products of labor is concerned, has not materially altered since this period. Notwithstanding that the position of the worker has improved, this improvement is due solely to his own efforts; it is the measure, so to speak, of his fighting capacity during the last hundred years, and the great industrial battles of a century testify to the fact that the improvement, such as it is, is in no way attributable to the increased productivity of labor.

Moreover, although the workers' standard of living has shown this improvement, his robbery at the same time is taking place in an ever-increasing degree. The latest figures for wealth production of the manufacturing industries in Australia, for instance, show a 75 per cent. increase in seven years, though the number of workers employed have increased only by about 40 per cent. Taken in conjunction with the fact that real wages have fallen in the same period, the increased exploitation of the workers can be seen by all whose business it is not to pervert the truth with meaningless economic jargon.

With the race for the capture of world markets which is promised after the war, and with the dangers of over-production which such competition creates, the only possible hope for the working class, so far as immediate amelioration is concerned, is a radical reduction in the hours of labor with conscious, systematic, deliberate slowing down on the job.

Just as increased efficiency a century ago spelled rapid deterioration in the workers' standard of living until they awoke to some extent to the evil, and combated it by organisation, so to-day the remedy must be the same, only more intelligently applied.

Why They Love Billy.

The reason why Little Billy has become the pet of the plutes in Great Britain may be gathered from the following article, which appeared in an issue of "Lloyd's Weekly News," of recent date. We remarked in "Direct Action" some time ago that Billy's strike-breaking and scab proclivities far-exceeded those of the notorious Farley, who died recently in America, and whose name was anathema to every class-conscious worker throughout the United States. Farley, however, appears to us to be the most honorable man of the two—if the word "honor" can be justified at all in speaking of such scabby scoundrels. Farley was the sworn foe of unionism and all that unionism stands (or should stand) for, and made no concealment of the fact. Billy, however, is not built that way. Nothing of the man about Billy, even in his villainy. His tactics have always been more characteristic of the reptile which first mesmerises its victim before destroying it. First to worm himself into the confidence of those whom he was about to betray has always been Billy's method. When the capitalist press of the Empire belauds him for his success in this direction, the I.W.W. may feel proud in having done something towards industrially administering an antidote to Billy's poisonous venom. The article is as follows:—

LEADER OF AUSTRALIA'S WORKERS.
WHAT MR. HUGHES HAS DONE TO PREVENT STRIKES.

Some six or seven years ago, by picking out the oldest coat I could find and pulling an old slouch hat over my eyes, I obtained admittance to a noisy meeting of waterside workers in Sydney, Australia. There was a big issue at stake—whether or not the whole of the waterside workers' would strike—and newspapers were keen to know the result. That is why I was there.

Two or three hundred burly wharf labourers ready—indeed, anxious—to strike, were packed in the building. They were determined to stop work, and punctuated the chairman's speech with cries of "Strike! strike!" Suddenly a small figure walked briskly up the ramshackle hall, mounted the platform, and started to speak. At first attempts were made to shout him down, but he kept on—resolute,

undismayed. Then at last the rough workmen began to listen. He urged, reasoned, cajoled, threatened, and, finally stamping his feet, yelled, "You shall not strike!" And they didn't! The little man was Mr. W. M. Hughes, now Prime Minister of Australia, who is at present in London.

The story is indicative of Mr. Hughes's power over Australia's working man. He has the rare faculty of being able to bring angry strike-fevered workers to a sense of reason.

Few men have done as much to settle industrial warfare in Australia, and the strange paradox is that we have a born fighter—a man who delights to meet obstacles for the sheer pleasure of overcoming them—urging peaceful methods. It is the triumph of reason over inborn inclination.

There is probably no country in the world but Australia where a Minister of State would be found marching in a workers' procession. At certain trades union celebrations the workers form its procession, and with enormous banners flapping in the wind, march through the streets. Then it is that Australia enjoys the spectacle of Mr. Hughes walking at the head of a squad of burly wharf labourers—the Waterside Workers' Union. This is the organisation which first helped him into politics, and he has ever since retained his membership. And the Union has always been justly proud of its distinguished president. The seeming incongruity of a statesman marching with men engaged in a purely manual calling is made the most of by the Australian Press. But Mr. Hughes reckles little of this. And it is in no small measure this indifference to public opinion and loyalty to his old union that enables him to retain his hold over the workers.

There are two sections of extreme Socialism against which Mr. Hughes has always thrown his full weight—if the metaphor may be pardoned. These were the Syndicalists and a body known as the Industrial Workers of the World. The Syndicalists aimed at achieving their ends by uniting in groups and holding up industry. The Industrial Workers of the World seemed to be always on the look-out for some pretext for fomenting industrial strife. It may safely be said that both of these sections owe their impotence as forces in Australia to-day largely to the influence of Mr. Hughes.

The spectacle of the clash of two personalities is always invigorating. In the New South Wales coal strike of 1909 two figures stood out clean-cut and distinctive. One was Peter Bowling, a Newcastle miner with a rough exterior but a certain claim to rugged eloquence—the other was "Billy" Hughes, friend of the workers and Federal Attorney-General.

A STRUGGLE OF TITANS.

Bowling was a colliery of unusual force of character, and in the councils of the men had gained much influence that at his word the bulk of Australia's collieries closed down. There was an indefinable magnetism about the man which simply flung him into the position of leader. His grip on the men he held and strengthened, holding before the eyes of the misguided strikers chimerical visions of collieries conducted by the men themselves, and higher wages for less work.

This insidious influence continued to grow till the advent of Mr. Hughes. Then the struggle began. At first Bowling had nine-tenths of the executive with him—nine-tenths favouring the continuation of strike warfare. Into this hostile—apparently hopeless—group Mr. Hughes flung himself fearlessly, again urging arbitration. There were stormy, turbulent, secret meetings, once or twice arguments ended in violence, but after four days the apostle of arbitration had made no progress. So he stuck to his guns, and, despite failing health, marched into the strike leaders' councils day after day, ruthlessly unbending the dream-castles Bowling had constructed. Then one by one the strikers began to weaken; finally the Government stepped in and arrested the ringleaders. Hughes had won.

The other day I reminded Mr. Hughes of this battle with the coal strike leaders. "I sometimes think," he said, with a smile, "it was a harder job than guiding a Commonwealth."

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.

NOTICE.

All communications regarding literature not controlled by the Press Committee should be addressed to the Literature Committee, Box 98, Haymarket P.O., N.S.W.

Dives And Lazarus.

Did you ever hear of Dives, who lived in Palestine?

A marvellous rich man was he, well clothed in superfine.

His table groined with wealth of food, his wines by gallons ran—

No wonder he grew sleek and stout, just like an alderman!

Another man named Lazarus, homeless and sick and poor,

In hopes to beg the rich man's crumbs, lay at the rich man's door;

He heard the sounds of mirth within, but not a friend had he,

Except the dogs, who licked his sores in silent sympathy.

You'll think it strange that such a thing could happen here below

But this was in a far-off land a long while ago.

Now Dives daily feasted and was gorgeously arrayed

Not at all because he liked it, but because 'twas good for trade;

That the people might have called he clothed himself in silk,

And surfeited himself on cream that they might get the milk;

He fed five hundred servants that the poor might not lack bread,

And had his vessels made of gold that they might get more lead.

And e'en to show his sympathy with the deserving poor,

He did no useful work himself that they might do the more.

You'll think this very, very strange,

but then of course you know,

'Twas in a far-off country, and a long while ago.

Poor Lazarus at length became too weak with Death to strive—

He was evidently not one of the fittest to survive—

So on one frosty night, about a quarter-past eleven,

He looked up at the silent stars, and died, and went to heaven.

Now Dives too was waxing old, and presently fell ill,

Whereon a lawyer was called in to make a mighty will;

And when Dives' sons and daughters came to hear his last farewell,

He bade them follow in his steps, then died, and went to hell!

I don't think God would venture now to treat a rich man so,

But this was such a long way off—and so very long ago!

—Ernest Bilton.

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.

Speeding-up schemes are put forward in the interests of the boss. You and he have nothing in common.

The State and The Worker.

BY AJAX.

"Whatever the State saith is a lie, whatever it hath is theft, all is counterfeit in it, the gnawing, sanguinary insatiable monster. It even bites with stolen teeth. Its very bowels are counterfeit."—Nietzsche.

Not without good reason did Nietzsche and other thinkers speak scornfully of the State. In this short essay one cannot enter into the history of the State. Sufficient to say the State (so-called) is here, and having since the war interfered to a large extent with the liberties of individuals and associations of workers, it is well to understand the significance of this metaphysical entity called the State.

In the past we have heard much about State control, church and State, the necessity of a military, political, or industrial State; as the case may be; but the most significant fact is that all those who arrogate to themselves certain powers and functions as servants of the State fall to explain who and what the State really is. In the schools (which are mostly State-controlled) the children are taught to believe that the State is a sort of paternal father who watches over the interests of society and does everything for the best. This false idea is reflected in the political institutions of to-day where such ideas as "obedience and duty to the State," "the necessity of supporting the State, in everything," "the infallibility of statesmen," and similar theories which have for their object the inculcating of slavish subservience to this fetish of authority called the State. Like God, the State defies reason, the more we examine this nonentity the more nebulous and visionary the State appears. Shorn of its glitter and fine phrases, the State stands unmasked as a metaphysical abstraction, a mere jingo swindle, a political bogey whose only justification is that it is in the interests of rulers to keep the people looking up to some higher authority. As the vision of Christ and the saints in Glory, benignly watching over us, loses its force, and is fading from the imagination of the people, a new fetish of authority becomes an economic necessity to the rich. The ignorant who look to political Messiahs to do something for them are obsessed by the idea of the political State which, even if it existed, has had to give way to the industrial State.

The two States, however, differ in aims and expression. The political State aims at perpetuating competition and bourgeois institutions. The new force, the industrial State, seeks to keep pace with machine production and scientific exploitation. While the adherents of the former shriek about trust busting and regulating the economic system by law, the latter, led by the captains of industry, is busy on the job and is out for industrial supremacy. In advanced countries the squabble for power between the two States is practically over in every case; the industrial State, being victorious, thus fulfilling Marx's prophecy of industrial consolidation and the growth of the trust. This bickering between sections of the exploiting class does not abate one iota the hostility of rulers to the workers; these political wrangles are really only the quarrels of thieves over the wealth they have stolen from the proletariat. The State does not represent society, but only tries to administer things in the interests of the ruling minority. This can only be done by oppressing the workers. The economic system of capitalism requires a servile poverty-stricken populace to maintain itself. Unless this state of affairs is maintained, soldiers, prostitutes, child slaves, and others who perforce do the dirty work of capitalism could not be obtained in sufficient quantities to cope with the fearful waste and special emergencies of employers. Statists try hard to blind us to this fact, and point to the long list of laws which were supposed to benefit the worker. Unfortunately, those who have studied history know that most of these laws were passed in the interests of the exploiters and the few laws of any benefit to the workers were made only when the militancy of the mass forced the hands of Statesmen.

The class state, irrespective of its form of expression, takes by force and only gives way before force. The State knows no sentiment, no law or rule for itself. It keeps no promise when inconvenient to do so. It is out for exploitation and oppression of the workers; this is the purpose for which the State exists. The State in all its actions is animated with "the will to oppress," and the end—exploitation—justifies the means.

This attitude explains why the State allows many social evils to exist and takes so serious steps to cope with the evils. Any drastic effort to put down vice or sweating would damage the economic interests of those the State represents. For instance, in some countries the government has taken generations to wake up to the fact that drunkenness is a social evil. It is only when military and industrial efficiency are impaired that legislation

supposed to cure the malady is enacted.

The State assiduously cultivates idolatry in all its forms as a useful adjunct to exploitation. It is for this reason that sacerdotal institutions are patronised and privileged at law. Quackery and charlatanism are for State reasons upheld, for the State is not only concerned to perpetuate class rule, but also to keep back the scientific knowledge from the people. The growth of intellect is the greatest menace to the State, therefore any political nostrum that will keep back the wolves of Socialism, Syndicalism and Anarchism is countenanced.

Some workers denounce the church, others rail at parliament, while another section is up against militarism; but the point we fail to see clearly is that all established institutions are adjuncts to the scheme of exploitation which is centred and functions in and through the medium of the State. All the political changes, religious wrangles, and military differences are incidental; the State harmonises these squabbles as far as possible, and is only interested in exploitation. Under the paternalism of the State we have a state of society implying anarchy at law for the rich and injustice for the poor. Economically, we observe a form of socialism for the favoured few at the expense of the many. Industrially, the capitalists are fast amalgamating into one big union, while the flunkies of the class state, from platform, press and pulpit, endeavour to educate people in the opposite direction.

The State and all that it stands for is of no use to the worker. The life of the State is not essential to the workers, thought statists try hard to justify its existence because the worker is essential to the State. Labor has but to stop production or refuse to recognise the State's authority to cause the whole machinery of exploitation and domination, built upon the metaphysical idea of the State, to crumble up, and government cannot function. The class state always was and ever will be hostile to the workers, for its economic interests force it to endeavour to keep the masses in that state in which it has pleased plutocracy in its wickedness and greed to ordain. Indeed, of late, the activities of the State threaten us with a worse form of oppression than has been known before. Such catch-cries as "National Service," "Industrial Efficiency," "Military Necessity," and so forth show clearly that the aim of statists is the supremacy of "the servile state," a combination of the worst features of the military, financial and industrial state, a monstrosity that the workers will have to beware of.

THE "WHY" OF CONSCRIPTION.

This war is reducing the number of capitalists who own the industries. The few who were at the top of the financial ladder prior to the war have since become supreme masters over all basic industries.

What ever may have been the immediate cause of the war, is perhaps, unknown to the average person. But of one thing we can be reasonably sure, and that is that fewer men to-day control the economic resources of the world. This control of industries has placed them in a position to dictate to all governments without regard to their political views.

Now that capitalism has shed its national characteristics and taken on, without any restraint its international form, we may expect a universal law in the industries; in fact, we have obvious signs of its appearance—conscription is in reality the first step that the capitalist class are taking in the direction of forcing a universal system of controlling the working class. It is only natural that the capitalist should, after gaining control of the economic resources of the world, desire undisputed mastery over the workers.

The master class never feel too sure of their grip on the industries while the workers are free to strike. Strikes must be prevented if the capitalists are to have absolute control of the workshops. The existing methods of governmental interference in industrial disputes, have proven inadequate from the masters' point of view. Something more powerful, more direct, in nature than the State, is more to the liking of the capitalist class.

The power which conscription gives the master-class over the working-class, has been amply demonstrated in France and Germany. In France during the strike of Railway workers, 1910, the strikers were forced to return to their jobs as civilians within 24 hours, or else be ordered under the colors and forced to operate the railways as soldiers for a soldier's pay. It must be said, to the credit of the French workers, that they did as requested, but as soon as they returned to their jobs the strike began in reality. To-day we find that England and the United States, two countries which have denounced conscription in the past, are now clamouring for some of the capitalist blessings of French and Ger-

man militarism.

By having conscription in a country, the capitalists have a double grip on the workers, and if a strike should occur, they can be forced to work as soldiers at a much reduced rate of pay. Another advantage the masters will have over the workers is, that they will not only be the economic masters, but also military commanders over the slaves under their control.

J.B.K.

Organise.

(By Louie Melis.)

A state of society based on profits such as our present one, finds its true reflection in the individuals thereof. Space does not allow the portrayal nor classification of social products I bear in mind. I shall endeavor to only delve into the grim harsh forces that are brought to play in the causes that determine the conditions of the workers within "my" industry. The Hotel and Restaurant Industry.

In this day of slow working class awakening, even the world has come to acknowledge the necessity of changing the environment, before the degenerate can regenerate. And in this capacity, no agency is more capable of functioning than the Labor Union; that shining light and only hope of the working class.

Now for the expose of the conditions under which the workers of hotels and restaurants exist. Here the hand of capitalism has organised the cook, the waiter, the porter, dishwasher, etc., like a smooth running machine in unison and harmony to the interests of their employer; although individually concerned we find them wrapped up in ideas by which they believe themselves better by far than their fellow workers of a lower station, in which they have to work. Is it not easy for a boss, who, realising this grinds you and I into a state of absolute subjection? Without a protecting agency of some sort it becomes easy for him to impose a twelve hour day at a wage so low that it only serves as a means to bring us back to work again. Leaving alone dreams of reproducing our kind through marriage.

How maddening it is for a cook to stand twelve hours beside the infernal heat working as if possessed, constantly obsessed by the blatant cries of meal orders during rush hours. Is it any wonder these workers, sapped of their very life, energy, and soul crushed and warped, become the drunk or the lunatic of tomorrow?

The worst human specimen of all is the much ridiculed dishwasher (or pearl diver). Hardly, if ever, do we see him dressed up like a human being. Generally he is the unkempt, scorned by his own comrades in toil, and rarely getting a dollar a day, he finds oblivion through the joyful medium of drink.

The waiters and waitresses are in the same category, sore footed, flat footed, the former's social position is on par with the others of his class, while the latter is liable to sink even lower in the social mire. I venture to say that hundreds of Chicago hotels and restaurants have generously contributed to the white slave trade. All because long unbearable hours, and meagre wages makes "the easier way" more desirable.

Fellow workers, let's change these conditions! We have seen that the power of the boss on the job is the potential element by which we are placed where we are. There is only one solution, and that is the One Big Union idea. A union that will organise all within this industry into one organisation; so that when we find it necessary to strike, and demand, we can do so by making a victorious affair of it, by having the shops en masse, in one fighting compact body! Or withdrawing our efficiency while at work, thus causing a silent strike, which is more powerful in its application than any other form of attack.

The trade unions fail because they have persisted in organising the various workers into crafts where each craft tied up in contracts that expire at different periods. In this way without a united front, we have been defeated times without number. Don't you see it is essential to the material welfare of the boss to keep us divided?

By organising into an industrial union of this industry, and all its kindred subdivisions, we have then wielded a power, a force, that can, at its will, paralyze every hotel and restaurant, should we desire to do so. Under this form of Unionism, when a strike is on, no ice, no milk, no baking will be delivered, nor any supply necessary in the operation of any given shop.

The hotel workers of Paris once plung-

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ADDRESSES OF I.W.W. LOCALS.

Adelaide Local 1.—Secretary-Treasurer, S. G. Drummond, 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, C. 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, G. E. Bright, Redfern-street, Woolloom-Gabba, Brisbane, Q.

Melbourne, Local No. 8.—Secretary-Treasurer, R. Power, 243 William-street, Melbourne, V.

Perth, Local No. 10.—Secretary-Treasurer, A. Westbrook, Victoria Park, East Mount Morgan, Local No. 11.—Secretary-Perth, W.A.

Treasurer, A. Murphy, Queensland National Hotel, Mount Morgan, Queensland.

Cairns (Russian), Local No. 12.—Secretary-Treasurer, W. Yudaeff, Box 201, Cairns, N. Q.

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.

ed the city into darkness for a night with the aid of the electrical workers. The managers of all the eating places speedily came to time.

Again I say organise into an industrial union! It means shorter hours and better pay. It means abolition of unemployment; abolition of all the damnable conditions under which we work and live.

'Boring From Within.'

I.W.W. And Craft Unions.

The phrase, "boring from within," suggests the idea that fellow-workers shall, by vigorous agitation and propaganda at craft union meetings, put a little revolutionary life and spirit into the craft union movement.

Indeed, some industrialists go so far as to state that all that is necessary for the attainment of industrial union ideals can be found within existing craft organisations, and that with a few unimportant changes in detail, such craft-unions may eventually function quite successfully as industrial unions, and bring the emancipation of the working class.

Unfortunately, when one comes to examine the constitution and rules of representative craft union organisations, one feels constrained to state that a good deal more than mere changes in detail seems to be needed before existing craft unions can be lifted to I.W.W. standards.

We will take, for example, as representative of the craft movement in Australia, the N.S.W. Typographical Association, representing the "aristocracy of labour," on the one hand; and the Federated Storemen and Packers' Union, on the other, representing its "democracy." The constitution of the Typographical Association provides that it shall consist of composers, proof-readers, electrotypers, publishing employees, rotary machinists, and persons employed in other branches of the printing industry "whom the members in meeting may decide to admit." There must be quite a large number of persons engaged in the "printing industry" other than the few trades abovementioned; and it should not be optional for a mere percentage of workers to "decide to admit" them (if they graciously chose so to do).

Among the objects of this association are the following: To amicably settle by conference with employers, or their representatives, or by other fair and equitable means, all disputes, etc.; to uphold and conserve the privileges and customs of the printing "industry" in N.S.W.; and to assist in upholding the principles of trades-unionism. In these objects we have evidenced a lamentable confusion of thought. To suppose that by "amicable conference" between employer and employee it is possible to stop the exploitation of labour; and to suppose that the way by which to uphold the welfare of the printing "industry" is to uphold the principle of "trade" unionism, is to suppose that the Typographical Association can achieve the emancipation of Labour by taking a walk to the moon! Notice too, how the good old craft union motto: "Defence not defiance" is subtly interwoven into the foregoing objects. All apparently that is necessary for present and future welfare is to uphold and conserve the "privileges and customs" of the past!

But the objects of this craft union goes on to "assist and support any scheme calculated to benefit the printing "industry," morally, socially or intellectually. What the printing "industry" really needs is a little scientific organisation on industrial union lines! A "scheme" calculated to benefit the printing or any other "industry" is already outlined by the I.W.W., and waits to be adopted and put into action. Do we find craft union secretaries and members of the printing "industry" tumbling over each other in their eagerness to "assist and support" this "scheme"? Not on your life!

We come now to the Federated Storemen and Packers' Union. One of the "objects" of this union is to raise funds by entrance fees, contributions and levies to "gradually replace the present competitive conditions by a co-operative system." Implied in this "object" seems to be some notion of "buying out" the boss; but one fears that it will take more than the F.E.P.U. can raise by "levies" to achieve this project. Besides, why "buy out" the boss? When new labour-saving machinery is introduced, does the boss "buy out" the men displaced by the new invention? No; he positively but firmly tells them that their services are no longer required! The F.E.P.U., in conclusion, "generally to assist in the emancipation of labour."

The Queensland branch of this union aspires, however, "by every legitimate means to obtain a 44 hours' week, and to obtain a fair wage for the same." This is the finest objective yet advanced by the unions under consideration, for to reduce the number of working hours (if you only reduce them sufficiently) is to give the boss a "knock-out" blow. But why emphasise that the means must be "legitimate"? When one considers that in two hours of labour-time the workers produces for himself the necessities of life, and that the rest of the time he works for the benefit of the boss; when one considers, too, that the worker receives from one-fifth to three-thirds only of what he produces, why insist that the means adopted to achieve Labour's emancipation be "legitimate"? Can any means in such circumstances be "illegitimate"? Why this tender regard for the interests of the exploiter?

Summing up the conservatism of the craft union movement, as evidenced by these "constitutions" and "objects" already quoted, one feels constrained to hint that the fellow-worker who really expects to accomplish anything startling by "boring from within" in the craft union, will need a good strong intellectual bradawl.

No doubt excellent propaganda work can be done within craft unions; indeed, we have constant evidence that such work is already being carried out. But to suppose that craft unions (with a few minor alterations in their constitution) can function successfully as industrial unions, is to take a good deal for granted.

The present writer does not for one moment wish it to be inferred that he thinks that the craft union movement has not done anything for the working class. On the contrary; it cannot be denied that trade unionism in the past has performed a very important part in the struggle for working class emancipation.

Industry has now, however, reached a stage when it is time for us to put into practice the principle underlying the maxim: "Unity is strength." Craft unionism (to use an Irishism) is not "unionism."

Not only are workers divided into about 40 separate unions in each State, but we have the absurd spectacle of unions such as the N.S.W. Storemen and Packers' split up into eleven sections, with eleven different arbitration awards terminating on different dates!

Such egregious folly on the part of "unionists" would not be evidenced if we understood the true meaning of unionism, and if working class organisations were founded on the basis of the "industry" and not of the "craft."

"Patriotic" unionists should take example from the man of the hour—Kitchener. In the Sudan War, on one occasion, with less than 4,000 men, he defeated 70,000 Afridis, who, like the working class of Australia, did not understand the principles of unionism. The Afridis were divided into four armies. Kitchener, noting their weakness in this respect, succeeded skilfully in engaging and defeating each army in rapid succession. Had the Afridis been organised on the lines of the "One Big Union," the result might have been very different, seeing that then they would have outnumbered Kitchener's force by about twenty to one.

In conclusion, while the principle of "boring from within," the craft unions may possibly show good results when put into practice, "building from without" is absolutely essential too; for precept and example are the best methods by which principles can be illustrated and explained.

ECHOES FROM THE WEST.

Esplanade meeting Sunday, May 14th, was well attended, notwithstanding the absence of F. W. Reeves, and the competition of a military shivoo on the opposite side of the green. Fellow-worker Miller, as chairman, gave an opening speech, and reviewed the struggle for freedom of the press in England from the time of Milton in his historic demand for the liberty of unlicensed printing; describing the pious persecutions of De Foe, Prynne, and Hetherington, the imprisonment of Carline and Holyoake, Bradlaugh and Besant, demonstrating that every attempt to gag the press and stamp out the right of free speech was always coincident with any advance of working-class intelligence, and deplored the revival of the old-time tyranny as evidenced in the late proceedings against Mr. Tom Barker, revealing that the old class rancour of the 17th century still survived, and flamed up wherever an advanced mind armed with a pen stimulated the masses to class-conscious perceptions, and a demand for social and industrial freedom. The speech concluded with a resolution of protest. "That this meeting of workers, and those in sympathy with labor, emphatically protests against the persecution, conviction, and imprisonment for twelve months of Mr. Thomas Barker, consequent on his exercise of the inalienable right of a free press. And further, herewith demands his immediate release in the interests of human liberty, truth, and justice."

Fellow-worker Mrs. A. Westbrook seconded the resolution, and spoke earnestly and eloquently in vindication of mental freedom of those who maintained and defended the interests of the people against class tyranny; the full approval of the crowd of the sentiments of the seconder was signified by the resolution being carried with one dissentient, for whose comfort the chairman quoted the famous dictum of J. S. Mill, "If all the men in the world held one opinion except one man, the majority would have no more right to prevent that one from the exercise of his opinion than he would have over all the others." The one man dissentient fully approved of the quotation as to his own right, and yet—fatuous ignorance of perverse humanity—voted against Barker's right of private judgment.

1 Sunday, May 21st, again saw the combined Nos. 5 and 10 Locals, Fremantle and Perth, on the Esplanade, on propaganda bent.

A fair audience awaited the message of J. W. Winn. The meeting was chaired by the white-poll'd octogenarian, Monty Miller, who

Hey!

If you are satisfied with "Direct Action," why not get a subscriber?

The soaring price of paper makes it essential that our subscribers' list should be lengthened: What are YOU doing to help?

Build up the sub. list, fellow-workers. It is the nucleus of the One Big Union in Australia.

"The hope of the future is Industrial Unionism."—"Australian Worker." We do move.

What about political action? Yes, ACTION of any kind is useful, but from the slaves' point of view the Labor movement in Australia has proven that "Political Action" means industrial stagnation.

Beware when the master class speaks of a "prosperous" Australia. It is what the burglar means when he looks forward to a successful season.

Increased efficiency means robbery facilitated.

"Don't damn the boss or hatch schemes to destroy his machinery. The problem is not how to get rid of exploiters, but of exploitation."—"International Socialist." Our contemporary's solicitude for the boss and his machinery is most touching. We may now expect to see a paragraph in the "Sydney Morning Herald" something like this: "Don't gao! Socialists, but kill Socialism." And then the devil might weepingly recite "Not Understood."

In a manifesto issued by the "Militant Propagandists of the Labor Party," we are told that they "stand fundamentally for the abolition of Capitalism." It is a tall order and deserves support, but to begin with they might abolish the Labor Party, which is one of Capitalism's main props.

"No, you are protected under the War Precautions Act."—Reply of "Australian Worker" to a "worried" correspondent. It is an ill-wind that blows nobody any good.

A cable from Wellington (N.Z.) informs us that the Petone Woollen Mills Union was fined £50 for instigating its members to strike in breach of the award. Another illustration of how uneducated Unionism craves weapons in the shape of Arbitration for its own undoing.

HOBART, Thursday.—Several leading firms of builders in Hobart informed their builders' laborers to-day that they were not willing to pay the 1s 6d an hour awarded by Mr. Justice Higgins recently. The employers said that they intended to try and work with other non-union laborers, and were willing to pay 62s. per week, or 15½d. per hour, for a 48 hours' week. Under the last award, the builders' laborers have been working a 44-hours' week, while bricklayers worked 48 hours.

The above cable, which appeared in the daily press last week, is a clear indication of the bosses' alleged "respect for the law." That much-coveted affair, "an award," so dear to the hearts of spineless slaves, is always held in high esteem by the master—when there are no scabs in sight, which means that respect for the law is a matter of expediency with the masters of bread.

The "S.M. Herald" let itself go in a sub-leader that read as if it was the work of a person, on the theme of the spiritual good that the war has done. No doubt it was inspired by some such sentiment as that of a recently returned soldier: "I ripped the steel into his stomach: I reckon it took away his appetite!" "We were beginning to forget God," droned the pious "Herald." A glance at that paper's advertising columns, and a study of how its other columns are influenced, show that the "Herald" is unjust to itself. It never forgets its god, any way!—"Australian Worker."

opened the afternoon campaign with a brief address, followed by a song given in fine style by F. W. Hanscombe. F.W. Mrs. A. Westbrook then took the platform and held the meeting with a magnetic speech that never flagged from start to finish, and received a hearty tribute of applause.

Our chairman then gave another interim address and called upon F.W. Hanscombe. Our young fellow-worker was, as yet, all untried as a public speaker, but he got on famously and made his mark as one who gives rich promise for the future. His address evinced a sound knowledge of the general principles of I.W.W. Organisation, and he has a fine aptitude for applying his knowledge in keen criticism of current events of the day in the great class war.

It is gratifying to know that we can now rely confidently on another sharp shooter out on the firing line, for our great need here is more speakers to help.

Literature List.

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

Fellow-worker Les. James has been putting in some good work in the sub-getting business and job agitation at Carrathool—and for his pains sent tramping to carry the One Big Union message elsewhere. A letter from him last week informs us that: "On the 25th May three members of the Navy's Union of McMillan's gang on Hay Line, were fired owing to the ganger having them set. The 'rep.' of the Union is a crawler and a speeder-up. I spoke to him about it, bluntly and to the point, but you might as well talk to a log. When the members of his Union were fired, I asked him to call out all men, but this brilliant 'rep.' replied that it had nothing to do with him." When I started to give my opinion about it the ganger fired me, saying that he "wanted no agitators about here." I called upon the men to strike until all were reinstated, but the servile slaves replied by turning to a man when the ganger blew up. Education and agitation are what we need here."

According to the "Evening News," of Saturday 3rd inst., it is the custom in France after a soldier has been court-martialled and shot, to send in a bill to the soldier's relatives for the expenses of the execution.
But why go to any expense?
All things considered, it would be much more humane to hit him over the head with a pick.

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

M.M.