

Gaol is Not an Argument.



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A Political Plot.

For a long time past we have warned the people against the machinations of political Messiahs and constitutional gentry who pose as "Lead Kindly Lighters" in the 'Ouse. Anything said or done to bring into contempt honorable Ministers by anti-politicals must pale into insignificance before the actions of Ministers during the last month.

A year ago if an I.W.W. man said there was no fundamental difference between the two political parties the allwise sniled contemptuously, yet the Refrenda is hardly over before we see the spectacle of Ministers who had bitterly denounced each other for years gather together like lost brothers under the banner of nationalism. The way a motley crew of discredited coercionists and conscriptionists join forces and try to prolong the life of Parliament—make certain of their billets—is enough to make Dr. Johnstone turn in his grave. He once said: "Patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrelism," and nobody who has watched Parliamentary antics here can doubt that he is right. Hardly three weeks ago Mr. Beeby denounced the nationalist politicians as plotters against the people. Now Mr. Beeby has received a Ministerial portfolio, and he suddenly finds that the new party is a patriotic venture which he is bound to help. Again we observe that Mr. James, who at first was disinclined to hand back his brief for the defence of I.W.W. men, decided, after further overtures were made him, to hand back his brief and join the Ministry. Further, Mr. D. Storey, who only the other day spoke scathingly of the coalition, is to be a Minister in the new regime, and being a member of a Cabinet without a portfolio has evidently decided to join the I Won't Works in Macquarie Street.

If there had not been such a desperate scramble for Ministerial billets it is probable the Lib-Lab fusion or conscriptionist concatenation would have been a happy family long ago. The moment the loaves and fishes are distributed and all parties placated to the best advantage those who get them are desperately anxious to prolong the life of Parliament (for patriotic purposes, to be sure), those who did not get there, well they just howl like mad at those who did, and the elector's vote is reduced to a mere scrap of paper, and we see the humorous spectacle of thousands of electors rushing up to Parliament House and protesting that the "proposed prolongation" would be a revocation of the cardinal principle of responsible Government. Fancy, after all these years of bad management and misgovernment by irresponsibles dragging the ghost of responsible government from its grave! Parliament never did really govern, cannot govern, and never will govern. The people cannot hope for responsible government until they learn to govern themselves and give over blindly following constitutional Messiahs into the wilderness of political superstition.

AJAX.

NEWS AND NOTES.

Mr. J. S. Shirlaw, of 115 Palmer-street, Woolloomooloo, writes to the effect that he is a firm believer in Chidley's doctrine, and intends to form a society to realise Chidley's ideal. He will be pleased to hear from sympathisers who wish to further this object.

At a meeting held on the 16th November by the Trades and Labour Council a motion was moved protesting against Justice Pring hearing the I.W.W. cases. The motion was carried unanimously, and a deputation formed to wait on the Minister for Justice.

Economic Bluff.

THE "PASS-IT-ON" BOGEY.

(A. Mack.)

As sure as the workers seek better working conditions, shorter hours of labour or bigger wages, the capitalist press comes along with their "Pass-it-on" argument. The coal strike had scarcely commenced before they trotted out the dire warning that in the event of defeat the coal-owners would have no alternative but to pass the increased cost of production on to the public.

The object of this argument is, we suppose, to sow discord among the strikers by leading them to believe that better conditions or better wages are in reality of no advantage to them because the capitalists are able to manipulate the prices of commodities in such a way that the burden of any extra costs will eventually fall on the workers themselves.

According to this argument the prices of commodities depend upon the whim of the "boss," and when we realise this supreme power in his hands we cannot but feel grateful at his moderation; were he at all despotic and selfish he might give prices a hitch up whenever he needed a new automobile or felt inclined for a trip round the world. This looks very well for the captains of industry, but we should like to know why they always fight like hell to defeat any demands the workers make. If they are possessed of the power credited to them there surely can be no need to dispute questions of wages, hours or conditions with the workers. All they have to do is to grant the demands, and then back through another channel. By observing the attitude of the employing class towards workers asking for better wages, etc., one is apt to come to the conclusion that THEY are themselves not nearly so convinced as the papers appear to be, that they can pass the extra costs along to some one else!

It came as a surprise to most people to know that, although the coal miners have been celebrating eight hours for years, they have actually been working nine hours a day. Whether they work eight hours or nine they receive remuneration called wages, and wages are just so much of the necessities of life as will enable them to reproduce their energy and rear a family of wage workers to take the places of others later on. Now it is generally agreed that wage workers produce the value of their wages in the first two or three hours of the day's work; all produced during the remaining hours of the day's work is called surplus value, and is taken by the coal owners as their share—for allowing the miner the privilege of working.

The coal owners have therefore been drawing from the miners six hours of surplus value. The men now wish to restrict this surplus, their present to the capitalist class, to five hours. That is to say, they wish to deduct about 16 per cent. from the surplus value they give away every day and conserve the energy used up by them in producing that 16 per cent. of surplus. This means that the capitalist class, instead of receiving 100 units of wealth per day from the coal industry, will receive only 84 such units for the same expenditure in wages; but to this arrangement the "boss" vigorously objects, and is fighting bitterly to force the men still to contribute the six hours. Now why should there be any objection if—as the papers assert—it makes no difference to the coal owners?

From capitalist industry the working class draws wages, while the capitalist class gets all the surplus value which is shared up by them in the form of rent, interest and profit; and since in this case the surplus value is to be 84 instead of 100, and since no amount of price raising—even that consequent upon the playing of "supply" and "demand"—can transform 84 units into 100 it follows that any loss in surplus value must be suffered by either rent, interest or profit, that is, by the capitalist class.

It will, therefore, be seen that it is precisely because of the COST TO THE CAPITALIST CLASS that better wages, etc., have always to be fought for bitterly by the workers.



The "Daily Telegraph" of Nov. 7th published a cartoon by Hal. Eyre, entitled "How Long Is This To Go On?" It depicted a mining magnate and a miner wrangling over a figure termed Industry.

The above cartoon by Dick Nolan is an answer to the "Telegraph's" cartoon and is named—

"WHEN THE WHISLTS BLOWS FOR THE BOSS TO GO TO WORK."

The churches claim to be moral sponsors for the community, yet when the conscription campaign was on we find the Ministers of the Prince of Peace on the side of the militarists. They practically denied their own ethics, their theology and their Christ. Instead of being true to their professed holy mission, they, as in the past, proved true to their bad tradition.

The Employers' Federation held its fourteenth annual meeting on November 6th. There was the usual wail of "unrest" amongst the workers. According to the president strikes are increasing. In 1913 there were 321 strikes in 1914 415, in 1915 400. The first quarter of 1916 saw 129 strikes. In the course of his address the president admitted that many employers thought legislation was incapable of preventing industrial disputes. He also denounced the "go slow policy," and deprecated the spread of this industrial disease. He contended that the developing of the manufacturing industries could only be done by promoting national efficiency. He pointed out that the need for organisation amongst employers was never greater than at the present time. He said the Employers' Federation was a rallying point when industrial danger threatened the legitimate interests of traders. He also endeavored to show that the employers were a patriotic association who would do their utmost to solve the repatriation problem, and certainly would not exploit soldiers, although he laid stress on the fact that few businesses could pay high wages to unfit men. Putting aside the patriotic piffle and com-

mercial cant one would suspect that the president was an I.W.W. man in disguise.

We notice that our Labour Government, which failed time and again to pass bills in the interests of the workers when requested to do so by the trade unions, rushes through a bill to control electric power when Big Bingy got nervous over the coal strike. The miners could wait till the second coming of Christ—unless they took action—for an eight hour day, but plutocracy must be placated at once.

The screaming farce entitled "Parliamentary Procedure" is now on view at the Macquarie-street Theatre. There was such a rush of patrons the other day that a large squad of police was mustered to hold them back while the actors put out the lights—and got away. It is understood that the manager could not accommodate the public, as the caste was busy rehearsing a new comedy entitled "Prolongation of the life of Parliament." It is expected that this interesting play will have a year's run, and reflects great credit on the actors concerned.

Owing to the Light and Power Bill passed by the Government we have had to make up "Direct Action" early this week, and consequently are unable to report on the trial.

The usual week-end activities were indulged in by the Sydney Local. The I.W.W. intends to hold a mission of "Faith, Hope and Repentance" for politicians shortly.

Direct Action



WEEKLY OFFICIAL ORGAN of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

(Australian Administration)

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Victimisation.

As a result of the recent raids by the authorities upon the I.W.W. headquarters in Sydney, the master-class have been thinking hard. The surprise they expected to give the general public did not materialise. The outcome was not what they expected.

The master-class really thought that by the seizure of all the official books, documents, and correspondence, great mysteries would be brought to light, and the whole country shocked by the revelations made. But they were sadly disappointed.

A study of the official records plainly proves that all the accusations of press and politician to be nothing but a tissue of lies. Their pet arguments have been completely squashed.

It has been shown that the I.W.W. is an organisation made up wholly and solely of working men and women; that the taut re German and American gold to be totally ungrounded; the talk of being a criminal organisation absolutely unwarranted; and hardly an individual of an "enemy country" found among its ranks.

Not being able to find any incriminating documents or accusing evidence, which would lead to the suppression of the I.W.W., the bosses fell back upon their haunches and thought savagely.

It is well known that the employing class will resort to any methods, no matter how harsh or cruel, how low-down and despicable, in an attempt to stop the onward march of organised Labor. So they are now appealing to different trade unions to assist them in their attempt to smash the I.W.W.

Finding themselves fooled in all directions, the master-class have started upon a campaign of wholesale victimisation of I.W.W. men, and have got as their allies, several trade unions. Hence, we see the hideous spectacle of a section of working-men, uniting with the bosses, who exploit them day by day, to suppress a section of toilers who have dared to be true to their class and voice the claims of Labor. Truly, we are a democratic people!

It is an awful crime for the producers of the world's wealth to think and act for themselves! It is infamous that those who sweat and groan in workshops of the land, should want to join in One Big Union and fight for better conditions on the job! At least, so the N.S.W. Railway Commissioners think.

In a democratic country, under a Labor Government, in a State controlled industry, under the administration of a Labor Ministry, the following dictatorial and Prussian methods have been used:

The chief of one of the largest railway workshops was seated in his office alongside him were two husky members of the detective force. Several toilers were called in to the office, asked if they belonged to the I.W.W., shown their "application forms," and then told they were no longer wanted. Other men were called and asked if they would sign a declaration before a J.P. that they would have nothing to do, in any way, whatsoever, with the I.W.W.

The men in the State employ are not the only ones who are being "tramped," but also private employers are beginning to weed out all men and women they find tainted with the I.W.W. dope.

There is no doubt that this attempt to bluff, over-awe and intimidate the working class, and force them to renounce their principles, will react upon the perpetrators.

But the boss who thinks that he can rid his "joint" of I.W.W. influence by the mere "firing" of a few wobbles, is a very superficial reasoner indeed.

One thing, above all, the I.W.W. claims to be scientific; it tries to be up-to-date; hence, it is not necessary for a member of the I.W.W. to run around with a red coat on and be branded I.W.W. on the forehead. It is absolutely useless for anyone to needlessly sacrifice himself. There is no need for anyone to incriminate himself in any way whatsoever, if he is desirous of keeping his job.

Most I.W.W. men will simply laugh at the boss in his puny efforts to scour his premises of the I.W.W. influence. Once the idea of Industrial Organisation, with its modern tactics of warfare begin to permeate the minds of the working class, nothing in the wide world can stop its spread—no, not even the bull pen, the jail walls, or the gallows.

It is somewhat amusing to think that the mere discharging of a few active men and women will stop the progress of the I.W.W.

To be "fired" simply means a change of jobs, and a change is good for all! It is not good to be in one job too many years. It has a tendency to make one too contented. The more one roams around, the more experience he gets, and he is more fitted to fight the industrial battle.

The wholesale dismissal of men and women on account of their honest convictions, will only tend to make them greater members, and draw the line of demarcation more plainly between the two classes. It will expose the class war in all its reality. It will show the actual social war which is going on in society to-day.

There is an awful shock awaiting the bosses some fine morning when they wake up to find that the men they have engaged are a damned sight bigger agitators than the men they "sacked."

In these modern times it is so easy to change one's name when looking for a job. In these days of up-to-date machinery, it is very simple to get hold of a pile of references and credentials of the best order. If a ding-dong reference can get a job, then no wobbly need be out of work. If there is anything that the commercial system has established, it is a scientific system of lying, and some men are not particular what statements they make to the boss when looking for a job. Some men are so rude as to find out to what lodge the boss belongs, and then say they are members of the same institution. Others again are wicked enough to enquire what church the boss is a member of, and then inform him that they teach Sunday School in the same denomination.

The I.W.W. does not believe in capitalist morality, therefore we do not hesitate in breaking the moral codes of to-day, which are nothing but hypocrisy, infamy and lies.

We will say, act, and be anything the boss wants us to, if it will suit our purpose. We are up against an unscrupulous enemy, and we must adopt any tactic that will win.

When in need of a job, it is marvellous how good and energetic a wobbly can look. When the boss hears a good, honest working name, and looks into those pleading eyes, sees that docile look, and watches that servile bow, how could he refuse a job! Oh! Mr. Boss, you have got a lot to learn!

If the boss is going to force us to change our names, play the hypocrite, and tell lies in order to get a job, then upon him will be the blame, and not us. When the good God calls us home, we are sure He will judge us lightly for our sins, knowing we were not to blame.

Let all take note, that the I.W.W. is too large a show for the master-class to obstruct; it is too young and strong for them to kill. We are here to stay, and stay right here we will, fighting the good fight, all the time and everywhere, until the world at last is free.

NORMAN RANCIE.

The Melbourne "Age" made no secret of the reason for conscription in Australia. It deplored the fact that the women of Australia were not playing their part in industries, as they were in Europe, where "women have taken the place of men in all ranks of industry." It urged that the Government, "which is about to conscript the young men to enlist, has just as good a right to conscript all such citizens to help in our industries from which the military are to be taken." No wonder the conscription dodge smelt fishy, and was booted out by the people of Australia, who, above all things, have some respect for their women folk.—"The Australian Worker."

IMPORTANT.

Correspondents sending all important communications, or monies, should register their letters. The use of sealing wax is recommended on ordinary occasions.

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"Labor Ideals." The Workers' Outlook

The annual gathering in connection with Newcastle's thirty-fourth eight-hour demonstration, was held in the Trades' Hall on Saturday night. In the course of his remarks, a Mr. Morgan said: "Although they had not accomplished all they had expected, they had an eight-hour day on the statute book, and some men in Newcastle could thank the Government for having reduced their hours from 52 to 48." "They should not look to the Legislature for a universal eight-hour day, the unions should by organisation obtain it for all."

Now, let us analyse those statements for a moment. In the first place, there is no such thing as an eight-hour law on the statute book. What IS the "Ideal" of Craft Unionism? "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," is it not? After 40 or 50 years of Craft Unionism, and about 6 years of Labor Governments, the eight-hour day has not been accomplished yet.

Mr. Morgan practically admitted that there was no hope of the workers obtaining anything through Parliament, but they should rely on the organisation of all unions.

It is very easy to say organise, but the workers must be educated to know what organisation means, and it can be safely said Craft Unionism has never taught the workers how to organise. On the contrary, it has kept them divided to such a degree that the working class has sunk further into the slough of Industrial Despond.

The "One Big Union" mooted by the Trades Hall officials will not help the workers in any way whatsoever, because they will be divided in the same manner as before, viz: the signing of separate agreements with the boss. Arbitration Courts and Wages Boards, which have failed beyond all doubt as a means to gain better conditions for the workers, and these institutions are upheld by this "One Big Union." Then, without knowledge and the motto, "An injury to one is the concern of all," the workers will remain in the same position.

"A fair day's wage for a fair day's work." What an "Ideal," fellow-workers, for Labor, which produces all wealth. But what is a fair day's work, anyway? As the workers only get a one-fifth of what they produce each day, which is equivalent to about 2 hours of labour, it must be plain to anyone who will study for themselves, that the other 6 hours goes to the boss in the shape of SURPLUS VALUES. Now, that being an economic fact, the only logical conclusion to come to is that two hours is a fair day's work. But, instead of going after two hours, the Craft Unions want eight hours. "A fair day's wage" is another "Ideal" which does not exist, and never will, so long as the workers remain ignorant and disorganised, and put their trust in leaders. But why the fair day's wage as an "Ideal"? Why not the abolition of the wage system? By the very fact of Craft Unions asking for a fair day's wage, proves that they are not out for the overthrow of the Capitalist system.

At the same "Ideal" celebration, one, by the name of Cahill (Sydney) said he believed in the "One Big Union" idea, but not as advocated by the I.W.W., because it was revolutionary, while the Labor movement believed in evolution.

What a statement to come from a Labor official. But perhaps he was right when he says that they BELIEVED in evolution, but he did not say that it was in keeping with the scientific means of production and distribution. The Labor movement, known as Craft Unionism, is neither evolutionary or revolutionary, because it has not advanced the cause of the working class one iota, and, as previously stated, it has kept them from marching on to their ultimate goal, namely, the overthrow of this system of exploitation.

Fellow-workers, the time has come when we must act for ourselves. No "Head" can lead you out of bondage. Be up and doing, and don't wait for the other fellow to do something, but get busy yourself. If you have any knowledge of Industrial Unionism, impart it to your fellow-workers ON THE JOB, who do not understand the position.

The time is short, and the cause is good, so

Rise! like lions after slumber, In unvanquishable number, Shake your chains to earth like dew, Which in sleep have fallen on you, Ye are many, they are few.

For six weary years I have looked out on this forlorn strip of desert—for six weary years without a break in my isolation.

I, who love life, joyous and free, have, for six weary years, known the privations of a pent-up animal and of an unwilling recluse. Down there at the water's edge is the hideous cement factory whose maddening routine of dull tasks has sucked in my soul. Up here, a little removed from the factory, are the colony houses.

Of neighborliness there is little, of friendliness nothing. There go two of the workers, They pass one another with scarcely a look of recognition.

Are these men? And in this living? There are little paths from the houses to the factory. I have worn my dusty little path from my shack straight to the factory door.

With automatic precision I trudge over it four times a day; at 7 to work; at 12 to lunch; at 1 back to the vault, which a little breath of sunshine on the way over has made more gloomy for me; at 6 with a curse on my lips I drag a weary body back to my retreat.

And each has his little path, scarcely ever crossing or joining his neighbor's.

No trees, only scraggy vegetation. Screened in on three sides by stupid hills and by an empty stretch of water in front, fancy chokes at its threshold and the spirit expires ere it stirs.

Is there no escape? —Henry O. Falk.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

By No. 1722, Fort Augusta.

- 1.—Thou shalt not slumber late in the cold mornings, but shall rise ere it is day and break thy fast; for he that goeth late to the Works setteth no medal, causing the transgressor to mooch the streets all day and the boss to indulge in profanity. 2.—Thou shalt not take up thy position in the centre of the carriage when going or coming from work, neither shalt thou appropriate to thine own person more room than custom alloweth, for thou are but of little consequence among a whole carriage of men, no matter what thou thinketh to the contrary. 3.—Thou shalt not hesitate at the Time Office, or pause to smoke thy pipe, neither shalt thou delay to talk politics to thy mate, for verily, the boss may appear suddenly, and heaven help thee if he findeth the fires out. 4.—Thou shalt not "waste" any material; thou nor thy mate, nor thy rivet boy, that is within thy squad, for verily if thou doest these things the firm will cease paying dividends, and thy name will be "mud" throughout the "length and breadth" of the land. 5.—Thou shalt not eat onions when going to work unless thy mate participateth likewise, for the bulbous root exciteh hard feelings in the heart of the total abstainer, and causeth the interior of a shop to be like the fly in the ointment that sendeth forth a stinking savor. 6.—Thou shalt not address the boss by his christian name, neither shalt thou contradict him, even when thou knoweth that he is lying, but thou shalt with becoming meekness say, "Yes," or "No" to all that he suggests, and laugh when he laughs, and keep on laughing when he relatheth a story, even though the story be older than thy grandmother. 7.—Thou shalt not steal thy neighbor's rivets, nor his hammers, nor his chisels, nor anything that is his, neither shalt thou carry away on thy person or in thy lunch basket any pieces of "scrap-iron" from the shop, for verily, thou will find it will take thee a lifetime to get sufficient iron to start a foundry. 8.—Thou shalt not have an "opinion concerning thy place of work, for thy employer careth not for climatic conditions for the worker; so thou shalt refrain from theorising and concentrate thine efforts on riveting and caulking, lest thy days be "cut out" upon the land which the lord thereof hath stoles from thee. 9.—Thou shalt not, in order to breathe, steal from the Riveting Machines compressed air intended for riveting purposes. Thou shalt not go on "strike" lest thou be turned "adrift" in a cold and cheerless world, neither shalt thou demand thy pay, for the "Heads," who live in luxury, knoweth not that thou existeth, neither care they a "Tinker's Dam". 10.—Thou shalt work industriously, and rivet day after day, for verily the "Heads" hath assumed the prerogatives of the Almighty, and if thou refuseth to toil as they dictate, and thou thy dog and all that thou possesseth will soon be hitting the trail for "Hunger Ford."

—EXCHANGE

A NEW SONG BOOK.

Is under consideration by the Press Committee. It will contain 60 songs, and sell at 6d. wholesale, 4s 8d per dozen, and £15 a thousand. Orders should be placed now.

From the Barrier.

RELEASE POLITICAL PRISONERS!
BROKEN HILL PROTESTS.

The following article, which we reprint from the "Barrier Daily Truth," makes interesting reading:

A largely attended meeting of citizens was held in the Central Reserve yesterday afternoon, to protest against the imprisonment of men who were prominent in the anti-conscription fight.

Mr. J. Brookfield, who presided, said the meeting was called to "immediately demand the release of the men imprisoned in Sydney for the apparent reason that they took an active part in the anti-conscription campaign. Hughes had used the I.W.W. as a stalking horse to make people believe that if they rejected conscription, they would be voting for the burning down of Sydney and the murdering of people. This had been one of the methods adopted by Hughes in his attempt to foist conscription on Australia. He doubted if the men were responsible for the burning of buildings, but if they were they had taken this means of impressing on Hughes and his satellites that the people were determined not to have conscription. What was the burning of a few buildings compared to mutilations and death? Had they forgotten the case of South Africa, where after the Boers were defeated, thousands of black laborers were brought in and the miners shot down in the streets of Johannesburg? This had happened after the whole of the floor action had been burned out. What was the recent great tragedy in Dublin compared to a few buildings going up? If the other side behaved in this fashion, they could see that even if the men in Sydney were guilty, they were saints compared to the power brought into play to crush the workers. The accused men belonged to the working class, and whether they liked them or not, they would have to remember that they had done their best to prevent conscription being thrust upon the workers. (Applause.)

M. H. Melrose moved the following resolution, to be forwarded to the Attorney-Generals of New South Wales and Western Australia: "That this mass meeting of unionists of Broken Hill views with indignation the action of the State Governments in New South Wales and West Australia in their attempt to gaoil members of the working class for the crime of exercising their right of free speech, and we, as lovers of liberty, express our most emphatic protest and determination here and now to demand their immediate release; and the charges be withdrawn.

They were protesting against the gaoiling of men in the West, as well as in Sydney. Some of these men had been arrested for letters they had written over a year ago. The twelve men in Sydney had been charged in such a way as to prevent them getting bail, but now, although they were charged with offences which permitted of bail, it was refused. These men fought conscription right through the piece. The other side did not care what was a man's name or religion, but as soon as he came out to protest against the powers that be, he had to be gaoiled in the interests of the masters. The best way to do that was to gaoil him on a fictitious charge, whereby he could be condemned to life-long imprisonment or death. Treason was punishable by death, according to the English law. When the Haymarket bomb riot took place, several men were tried, and the judge told them that it was not because they were accused of throwing the bombs, but because they were anarchists, that they were before him. The Government of New South Wales was, in effect, saying the same thing to the I.W.W. men today. They were standing their trial simply because they were members of the I.W.W.; and although they had not yet had an opportunity of saying a word in defence, Hughes and the papers already condemned them. What sort of a judge would Hughes make if, after hearing the evidence of the police, he said a man was guilty without hearing his defence?

Once militarism held sway, it was the death knell of working-class organisation. All civil power and law became subservient to military law. He hoped the motion would be carried unanimously. Next Saturday and Sunday week they intended to hold gatherings to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of Joe Hill.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Williams. Mr. E. Weatherall said he would support the motion because the men whose gaoiling they were protesting against were members of the working class. In the fight for the 44-hour week in Broken Hill they had discovered where their true friends. When their representatives went to Sydney, they found that the men who were first to take them by the hand were those who were languishing to-day in the prison cells of the master class. Every man who was in the 49-hour struggle should remember, too, that these same people were the first to get bread for the workers of the Barrier when they were on the verge of star-

vation. The I.W.W. men in Sydney rendered all possible assistance to the Barrier envoys, and the first money which came here from Sydney was collected by them in the Sydney Domain. Having spoken of the accused individually, showing their devotion to the cause of the workers, Mr. Weatherall said that the simple fact that they had done their utmost for their class would be regarded as a crime sufficiently heinous to send them to the gaoils. The masters thought they played their trump cards when they told the people that if they voted against conscription they would be endorsing an organisation in which the members were everything that was vile. But the workers had held the joker, and had played it regardless of the lies and misrepresentations which were being so widely circulated by those who desired their enslavement. It was no use feeling for the men on trial from the bottom of their hearts; they should feel from the bottom of their pockets.

The chairman asked for a speaker against the motion, but there was no response.

Mr. McLaughlin said he could feel when he saw such a great multitude, a thrill of the revolution which would free the world of the damnable, corrupt system of society prevailing to-day, and which would place instead a more just and humane system under which the workers would obtain the full fruits of their labor, and the other fellow would have to produce all he got. They should not trouble one iota about the pros and cons of the charges levelled against the men in Sydney and Western Australia, but recognise that in any trouble or agitation the master class would resort to every means to down the most militant of their members. Some 12 months ago Donald Grant had been offered the position of private secretary to Premier Holman, and had refused it. Later, just at the start of the anti-conscription campaign, he was offered and guaranteed a seat in Parliament if he would pull out of the I.W.W. and join the Labor party. Again Grant refused, because he knew the best course to adopt for the emancipation of his class. Grant, or any of the others awaiting trial, had never been convicted on any charge, however small. Their real offence was that they were out to educate the toll-stunned multitude of Australia to revolt against capitalism and exploitation. The capitalists realised that these men were getting a hearing and following, and that their interests and privileges were menaced. In 1894 a little boat called the Rodney went up the River Darling with 309 scabs. One evening she put into shore and 20 militant shearers turned the crowd off at the point of the revolver, and then burned the boat to the water-edge. Twenty of the strikers were arrested and brought to Broken Hill for trial, but they were acquitted. A little while after another man was arrested and tried, and although he proved that he was 70 miles from the Rodney when she was burnt, he was convicted on the evidence of a scab, and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. They should remember that during this period hundreds of A.W.U. men were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from three to fifteen years, and the military were called out at Longreach and Charlesville. The Government of Queensland offered a reward of £1000 for information leading to the conviction of the person or persons responsible for the capitalists' property being destroyed. At the same time the same Government offered a reward of £250 for the apprehension of a murderer. That showed that the State was for property; life was nothing, especially when it was the life of a wage-slave. The capitalist resorted to every possible tactic to gain his ends in Europe to-day he was using poisoned gas and other devilish devices. One of the principal reasons why the men had been gaoiled in Sydney and the West was to make out to the people of Australia that the anti-conscription movement was led by the I.W.W., alleged pro-Germans, and so on. The conscriptionists had failed, despite all their despicable tactics.

The men in Sydney had never done anything detrimental to the workers, and if they were class-conscious and determined they would not long be in prison. There were over a million people in Australia who had cast their vote in that direction, and the great majority demanded their release. If they had to hold up Australia from one end to the other, it was up to them to get the men out of gaoil. Might was right, and if they were determined, they could get the men released within a week. He felt sure that the result of the recent ballot would have some effect on Hughes, and it was up to the workers of Australia to make a stand such as they had never made before, and to show Hughes that they, not he, were going to rule the country.

Mr. W. Coombes said that now the battle was over they had 22 men in gaoil. The ruling class, by laying their hands on members of the organisation, showed that they were afraid of it. He was not there to apologise for any of his fellows. Right or wrong, they had been faithful to their class, and for this they should receive the unswerving support of the workers.

Mr. Will Ennis said he was glad to see by the size and spirit of the demonstration that

all petty differences which existed prior to the fight had been worn out. They were going ahead to victory in one solid mass. All they wanted to do was to stick together, for then they must win. They must look upon the imprisoned men as hostages of war. When a man was snuffed in the trenches as a prisoner, there was always a get out; he could be exchanged; but for working class prisoners of war there was no get out. They would have to remain in gaoil as long as pleased master, or their comrades permitted them to be there. If they allowed these men to stay in prison, they would be making things worse for themselves, because the more of them the boss put in without let or hindrance, the more he would have in. There were other places than the West and Sydney, on which so much stress had been laid, where the question was of vital importance. One of these was Broken Hill. They had men here who were going to face the music, and some of them were not feeling very hopeful about it. It was not that they felt any sense of guilt, or had done things they were not prepared to do again, but they knew the powers they were up against. It was for the workers to see that they got a fair deal. . . . These things wanted to be investigated. When democrats got into the toils for putting up a fight against the powers that be, and the forces of the authorities were brought against them, it rested with the democracy alone to see that the democracy got a fair deal. They must not believe too readily any evidence brought against a man fighting for working-class liberty. There might have been some things done with which they did not agree: on the other hand, the things alleged might not have been done, and they could fight for every one of the men with a clear conscience, and say that there was not sufficient evidence to convince the democracy of Australia that the men concerned had done anything detrimental to the democracy. They would have to fight and fight until they had remedied the existing state of affairs. There had never been such a betrayal of the working class as when the alleged Labor men in the House of Representatives and the Senate, having a power never before equalled in the history of parliaments, had refused to do anything for the laboring people of Australia, but on the contrary had aimed at the enslavement of the people.

Mr. C. Barrett said that according to legal authorities there was one penalty for treason—death. The master class, realising that it would not be profitable to kill the men in gaoil, had reduced the charge, so that if found guilty they could be effectively silenced by being sent to the bastille for long terms. It was not a question of what these men had done or had not done; it was a question of their oppressed class against the oppressor class. When the Government of South Africa illegally deported nine men, the Parliament passed an Act to make it morally right, and just as the capitalist thought he was morally right in committing illegal acts for his benefit, the working class was morally right in defending themselves as best they could from their lifelong enemies. These charges had been rigged up to effectively stop the leaders—who had been giving the workers the message the master feared, to organise to defeat him on his own ground. The master recognised that his regime was likely to be overthrown by the rising power of the workers. It was a case of "my class, right or wrong." It was the duty of every working man and woman not to rest until these men, who had championed their cause were liberated.

The chairman announced that the result of the collection taken up was £11/5/.

Mr. Mark Anthony said that if the workers did not act greater disabilities would be imposed on them in the future. When a man asserted the rights of the workers and showed how the people were being exploited he was in danger, and they should take every measure to protect him.

The motion was carried unanimously, and the meeting closed with the singing of working class songs.

THE BISHOP AND HOPE.

The Bishop of London (Dr. Winnington Ingram), wearing a purple cassock and bearing a shepherd's crook, on Saturday opened the National Mission of Repentance and Hope at a great open-air meeting in the churchyard of St. Botolph Without, Bishopsgate street.—Daily Paper.

Some fools are known to love their Alma Mater. In Bishopsgate they worship Bishop's gaiters. 'Twas there, the other day, the cable said, That Ingram held a meeting 'midst the dead, And took the soap-box in the open-air. In purple cassock, such as bishops wear, And snowy linen and a swager cope, And preached to people of the need of hope. With wender the poor silly sheep did view Their shepherd's crook—and their crook shepherd, too.

—R.H.L., in Melbourne "Socialist."

Our Growing Press

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English. Weekly, 4s. per year. Published by the I.W.W., 403 Sussex Street, Sydney, N.S.W.

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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.

IMPORTANT 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 posters and stickers case, the hundred and one strikes of the year are contained within the volume.

It also includes "Cresset's" satire, Nicholl's cartoons, West's "Ballad of Maitland Gaol," "General Strike," "Arbitration Court," and "The Interrupted Snore," 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 volumes left.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Owing to limited space, we are holding over some articles. Writers should send in manuscript by Friday if they wish their matter to appear the following week.

The Slave Instinct.

(By Circe.)

All our instincts, are acquired from long ancestors. In the course of evolution some instincts die out because they are no longer required. Apparently one of the last to go is the slave instinct. It is nurtured tenderly at present in the psychology of the masses by hirings of the master class, just as that vague emotion conscience is cared for by parsons and priests for the further mental enslavement of the people.

Slavery has a long age and dreadful history. It began when tribes of primitive men who fought for fishing and hunting grounds, discovered it was better to enslave their enemies than to eat them. The more cunning and strong men in primitive tribes became chiefs and priests who traded on the less developed mentally and physically. Fear and force were weapons to subdue the ignorant and keep them in slavery. The servile instinct has been kept active by the ruling class for hundreds of generations.

"The history of all written history is that of class struggles," said Marx. There would be no class struggles if individuals had grown out of the belief that one class is specially ordained to exploit the other. The lion in the path to-day that prevents the working class from fusing into One Big Union is a hereditary belief amongst hundreds of wage slaves that they must submit to a ruling class.

To those who understand and know the sinister meaning of a capitalist controlled Cabinet in endeavouring to persuade a politically free people to vote themselves into industrial slavery. It seems incredible that a section of the working class should aid and abet the master class to do this thing of abomination and potential enslavement.

When the newsboys of Sydney last year struck against an attempt of the newspaper proprietors to raise the price per doz. of papers to these miserable young slaves, the Typographical Union went on printing the newspapers against their own class interests, and in the interests of big capitalist companies. The reason why this conservative union is invariably "loyal" to their masters is that members of it are, to a great extent, born into this close conservative corporation of workers. In some of the daily papers the comps have inherited their jobs from their fathers, who had inherited them from their fathers. They get high wages, good conditions and enough palliatives to chloroform them into content, submission, and "loyalty," also belief that their masters' interests are their interests. These men belong to a type that gets between the vast army of workers and the big capitalists. Consequently they are a menace and an obstruction in the path of progress towards One Big Union.

This particular union is not the only one that gets in the way of the fight towards the socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange. The profit sharing racket pursued in big manufacturing concerns is equally mischievous in clouding the issue, in kidding the slaves into efficiency, and to regard speeding up as a new kind of salvation for themselves and their masters. It is to the interest of capitalists in big concerns to raise the standard of living and give high wages to a certain number of their workers in order that those workers may the better control the rank and file of low paid, unskilled and skilled labour. No greater menace to the vast army of the producers of the wealth of the world is therefore to be found than the type which is trained cleverly and scientifically to regard their interests as being those of the master class and not of their own class.

The real enemies of the workers are amongst themselves, not only in conservative unions, of which members are paid sufficiently to live comfortably and attain the glittering social heights of great respectability, loyalty and subservency to the capitalist class, but in the vast army of police, the militia, and the navy. The system of levelling men into units of vast machines, the result of which is that they as individuals "do not think but obey," is a system which requires these slaves from infancy to be trained in the first principles of subservency. The slavish instinct under capitalism (and its further development into Imperialism) is an absolute necessity if the master class are to remain on the backs of the workers.

And how easy it is to keep the slaves in mental bondage throughout the capitalist world, seeing that the system of

education for the working class is controlled entirely by the State in the interests of capitalism. The little elementary education workers' children receive is designed merely to make them efficient and sufficiently intelligent for their toil in shops, factories, fields and mines; for the age of machinery necessitates more intelligent slaves than their forbears in feudal and chattel slave ages. The average worker of the present age in his school days gets so doped with the teachings of master class ethics, drum and trumpet history, religion, and patriotism that when he grows up, he seldom departs from master class ideals. These are the millions to whom advanced minds amongst the proletariat have to teach better ideals—the ideals necessary for their own psychological and industrial advancement. A Chinese wall of ignorance and prejudice in favour of their masters, encompasses the average worker to-day. He may be led a little way towards the land of promise and of freedom by revolutionary speakers, organisers and writers, but left to himself again, he bolts back to the boss and all his evil works. "How could we do without these gentlemen?" asked a slave in that great book, "The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists."

And that is the mental attitude of thousands content to remain in their little craft unions or scabbing outside of unions. And it is in endeavouring to rescue these victims of the slave instinct that working men with advanced minds, themselves become victims of the man-eating Moloch, capitalism.

The Coal Strike

The "Sydney Morning Herald" of Nov. 7 in an article on the "Coal Strike" is much perturbed about the "spirit of lawlessness" now permeating the principal State. "The people of Australia are very well begun to ask what sort of patriotism it is which chooses the nation's extremity in war time to make demands upon employers, outside of Parliament and the Courts provided to deal with these matters." "Australian Unions are in danger of becoming German tools," she wails. Well! Who would have thought that Granny cared so much for unions anyway. The poor old dear's eyes are becoming so dim that she cannot discern anything to account for the action of the miners than "German influence," "I.W.W. propaganda," and "the disloyalty of the officials whom German emissaries can mould like wax."

And so the spineless worm that supplies the old hag with leading articles would have us believe that all those who have the courage to wage war against the Hunnish coal kings in defence of their families and themselves are unpatriotic.

Notwithstanding what the "Herald" has to say about their attempt to have their claims recognised, the miners are to be congratulated for taking the only action that their organisation will at present allow. Truly she must think that "all the people can be fooled all the time," by believing that Parliament and the courts provided to deal with these matters can function in the interests of the miners and be bosses' institutions at the same time.

The "Herald" loses sight of the fact that the miners, having no country, can only be patriotic by looking well to their own interests, which can best be done, when the enemy (ruling class) has its hands full in other directions. The masters' extremity if making war time profits can be called an extremity, is the workers' opportunity. Let the miners bear in mind that the Welsh miners were treated the same way, although the Munitions Ministry had to practically stop the rush of skilled miners into the army. The strike is a sure sign of the awakening of the miners to the treachery and trickery of "courts provided to deal with these matters."

GEORDIE.

WHAT HAS BEEN FORGOTTEN.

Everywhere the strong have made the laws and oppressed the weak; and, if they have sometimes consulted the interests of society, they have always forgotten those of humanity.—

There is ONLY one Union. The Class Union. Within it, there is a place for every worker in industry. There is NO foreigner, save the exploiter. The abolition of the wage system is inevitable. Therefore, working men and women, organise to-day into the ONLY Union, the Industrial Workers of the World.

Defence Fund.

T. F. Radby, Yarra Yarra Sh. Shed, £2/12/; Symp., 1/; W.E.D., 1/; D. Johnston, 1/; H. Bryant, 3/; Bathurst St. Col., £2/0/2; McNamara, 4/; Otford Gang, per Mr. Morris, £2/15/3; T. Brady, Walgett, £7/8/6; Per W. Hanscombe, Fremantle, £1/5/6; Per R. J. Hogan, Jews' Lagoon, £3/17/; Per C. Greenberg, Freeland, Cloncurry, £4/5/6; A. Binkin, 3/; J. Craig, 2/6; T. Hales, 4/; Bathurst St. Col., £2/8/6; E. McGabbin, 10/; Friend Scotty, 10/; G. P. Wilson, 4/; Bathurst St. Col., 15/1; A. Bowen, 2/6; H. Webster, £1; Young Lady, 5/; J. Tynn, 5/; Collection, 3/; A. McKenzie, 2/; P. Burns, 5/; F. Winzon, 2/; Col. by W. Wilson, 13/; Goldberg, 10/; May Hewitt, 7/6; Windy Syn, 14/; Mrs. Lynch, 2/6; F. Smith, 8/; C. Roberts, 5/; Sym., 2/6; H. J. James, 2/6; Mrs. Hamilton, 5/; J. Flowers, 10/; P. Kelly, 2/6; F. Buckley, 5/; Bessie Mildennall, 10/; P. Brennan, £1; W. Thompson, 5/; M. Kelly, 5/; Shearer, 1/; Wage Plug, 2/6; B. Daulton, 5/; E. Toohey, 2/; R. McKenna, 5/; Engineer, 2/; From King Defence Fund, £20/13/6; G. C. Thompson, £1/12/6; Stanwell Park, £13/0/9; G. W. Hanscombe, £1/5/6; J. A. Bessel, £1/; J. Gillen, by wire, £1; P. Petroff, Innisfail, £11/12/; Wantagong, per McCaughy, £19/9/; E. Kemp, per T. Barker, £3/10/; Broken Hill, £10; T. Clark, Col., £4/5/6; G. P. Wilson, 3/; H. Webster, 10/; Moutfryn, Col., per W. Tulin, 16/; E. T. Keim, 3/; J. Allen, £1/14/6; P. Mirtie, 5/; F. W. Elk, 2/6; J. Ryder, 3/6; Davis, 1/; O. S. Ray, 5/; C. Vincent, 2/; Friend, 5/; Street Col., Newtown, 16/9; Cuttan, 3/; Tom Shuhim, 5/6; Col. 13-Mile Camp, £3; Kermode, 5/; J. N. Valosoff, 5/; Harold Hicks, 3/; Young, 2/; Carr, 2/; A. Smith, 2/; J. White, 2/; Russian, 2/6; O. B. S., Adelaide, 10/; Mrs. Bridge, £1; J. W. Brennan, 6/; Bey-us, 10/; Shuhan, 2/; Pat Duggan, 10/; McMahon's employees, 2/; G. Sturr, 5/; J. Dunleavy, 2/6; M. O'Brien, 2/; J.D., 1/; H. J. James, 5/; Col., Newtown, 7/; Sym., 6d; P. Perrin, 3/; Mc., 5/; Mr. Wilke, 10/; South Coast, £12/; Street Col., £1/10/; A. Blackwell, 5/; Friend, 2/6; Street Col., 10/11; Mrs. Lee, 10/; R. Rodwell, 6/; Sym., A., 6d; W. Maslin, 5/; Hanson, 10/; Jas. C. Thompson, 10/; H.J.W., 2/6; T. Smith, 10/; Adelaide Local, £2/10/; Returned Soldier, 5/; C. Smith, 2/6; Jonar, 5/; T.S., 2/6; J. Hartley, Shearers, £20/; By cheque, S. P. Hogan, Shearers, Danganbi, £6/7/6; W. Tilks, 5/; D. Wakefield, 5/; J. Edwards, 5/; J.D., 1/; Melbourne Local, per J. Wilson, £32/5/; J. W. Brennan, 5/; J. Sullivan, 6/; C. Russell, Adelaide, 2/6; Houghton D. Trewen, Coffs Harbor, £3 13/; Hobo, Tas., £1; Mrs. Bond, 2/; Mrs. Woodbury, 2/; Tom Shuhim, 2/; Communio Play, 12/; G. Sinclair, £1; J. Morris, 5/; A. Worker, 5/; J. H. Willows, 15/; Alec. Wilson, 2/6; 2459 F.W., 10/; A. Friend, 7/; E. Ryan, 10/; F. Callen, 2/6; Mrs. Nicholson, 15/; A. Jollyfree, 1/; A. Clover, 2/; Dulcie Sweeney, 7/; John Cullan, £1; Over exp. from Coledale, 10/; J. Morris, 5/; Railway boys, per G. R. Cook, £1/4/6; R. Conely, 5/6; Symp., 10/; F. W. Wilde, 5/; Rebel, 1/; E. R. Greenfields, 3/.

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The following donations to the Workers' Defence Fund have been received from Mourilyan and Innisfail, N.Q., per F. W. Peter Petroff:—

P. Petroff, 10/; A. Loosenko, 10/; W. Personinsky, 10/; W. Cherniadielf, 5/; M. Toogloboff, 5/; W. Sinoloff, 10/; J. Savkoff, 10/6; T. Moldakoff, 5/; A. Savkoff, 5/; K. Romadin, 5/; A. Lottin, 10/; — Antoshin, 5/; J. Masloff, 10/; Zonin, 2/6; O. Hand, 2/6; — Toooloopoff, 5/; — Koon, 5/; Tocareff, 5/; A. Fainsky, 2/; A. McMullen, 2/6; H. English, 2/; D. G. White, 2/; — Ivankovich, 1/3; A. Botiek, 1/; T. Pollard, 2/; T. Quilty, 1/; W. Young, 2/; P. Murphy, 2/; F. Brennan, 2/; A. McKay, 1/6; F. W. McKenna, 2/; B. Muller, 2/; W. Tishkin, 10/; M. Tintin, 10/; F. Razoornoff, O. Zooeff, 5/; — Spilkofsky, 2/; — Barskakooff, 5/; G. Henry, 4/; J. Stevens, 5/; J. Lane, 10/; J. James, 5/; P. Novikov, 3/; J. Waters, 2/6; W. Williams, 2/; George Bauer, 3/; Geo. Gilbert, 5/; F. J. Lafey, 2/; H. J. Ross, 2/; S. Ross, 2/; D. Harris, 2/; J. Jones, 2/; grand total, £11/12/.

The Crisis.

The characteristics worthy of the ruling class are once more being clearly portrayed by the attitude towards the coal crisis now confronting this country. All the pages of history are covered with endeavors on behalf of the ruling class to enslave the people by each and every article of which they could conceive. The yearly Greeks had the "Barbarian Bogy," such as exists to-day the "Efficiency Bogy." No stone has been left unturned, no question has been left unconsidered and no effort remained untried to achieve the desired ends. After over sixty years of celebration of an eight-hour day, perhaps at the instigation of the masters, the miners find themselves forced to take action to achieve the celebrated ideal. Being much to the disapproval of the vested interests, the historic cry goes forth from Parliament, press and pulpit of "agents of the enemy." Every time the voice of Labor has been heard, all the forces of modern society possessed by the ruling class have been employed to stop the appeal from being effectual. To-day a more determined and more intellectual working class present the demands. A class that is awakening to the fallacy of Parliamentary action, the betrayal of Arbitration Courts, and to the long-entertained idea that power lay elsewhere than in Organisation. By the betrayal of the cherished hopes and high aspirations of the workers by their Courts of Arbitration, "Direct Action" has been exercised and its power felt beyond the expectations of many of the most militant of our class. The facts of the case have been very obscured from the views of the public. The miners have depended upon the masters' pliant press to give their grievance for the investigation of the people. What little can be gathered is, indeed, more than sufficient to justify their claims. The fact that both the State mines of N.S.W. and Victoria have what is demanded is warrant sufficient to uphold their claims. The workers of Australia are with the miners, but on account of their disorganised position, it remains for the miners themselves to tie up, if necessary, the industries of the country. The effect is being felt, and within a few days' developments must begin in the interests of the miners.

The Sphinx is again quiet; so let the miners and transport workers beware of imported coal (temporarily) to enable the breaking of the strike by starving the men back to work. The State Coal Mines of New Zealand is one strike over the refusal of the masters to regard the safety of the men by refusing to timber working places.

The Scottish Miners' National Union has threatened a "national calamity" if the Government do not immediately control food prices.

The South Wales' Miners have approved of their attitude and passed a resolution to the same effect.

The miners do not stand condemned in the eyes of any but their economic enemies, and by the action taken in this country they have proved themselves to be worthy of the industrial traditions so long boasted of by all classes upon every possible occasion that arose. There must emerge from the present crisis a better understanding and a clearer vision of the need for Industrial Unionism among the workers. The attitude which must follow, whether the miners meet with success or disaster, must upon the merits of the facts presented and the knowledge gained be a long step towards the attainment of the claims put forward by the I.W.W., that is, "the world for the world's workers." It is our duty to do all within our power to gain success for the miners, as "an injury to one is an injury to all." We must pull our forces together upon an intellectual industrial basis, with the recognition of the significance of the revolutionary slogan, "Workers of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, and you have a world to gain."

D. SINCLAIR.

LIBERTY OR DEATH.

Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death.— Patrick Henry.

NOTICE.

All unsigned contributions to this paper are collated or written by the Editor, J. A. Kinman, 403 Sussex Street, Sydney.

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