

IRISH OPINION

The VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL O'SHANNON.

NEW SERIES. VOL. I. NO 49

NOVEMBER 2, 1918.

ONE PENNY

The Tone
Tradition.

Remember Orr!

The Wages
Board Again.

Labour's Place in the Sun.

An Open Letter to the Delegates to
the Special Congress.

You have been called together this week primarily to decide whether or not Irish Labour will adopt the new Constitution and Standing Orders, the drafting of which was entrusted to the present National Executive by the great Waterford Congress. At the same time, the new situation created by the events of the last few weeks and their bearing on the future destiny of your country will claim your attention. Finally, and it is upon this your interest is keenest, you will be asked to sit in judgment upon the election policy and programme of the National Executive whom you put in office at Waterford.

All three are questions of the gravest moment and greatest importance to you as the elected delegates of the Irish workers, to the toiling and battling masses in whose name you meet, to that Labour movement which is the embodiment of the organised wealth-makers of this country, to that working-class which James Connolly proudly claimed is unconquered and unconquerable, and to the nation and country of which that class is no mean or ignoble part. You are expected to give to the discussion and decision of these three important issues all that clarity of thought, that soundness of judgment, that charity of speech of which you, the heirs of the dispossessed and despoiled owners of this land, are more worthy than is any other class or section within this Irish people. We do not doubt that you will fulfil that expectation to the full. We know that you will be sorely tempted to let your thought be disturbed by prejudice and passion. We know that you will be sorely tempted to let your judgment be warped and twisted by alluring considerations altogether foreign to the issues before you. We know that you will be sorely tempted to let personal wishes, likes and dislikes, dictate that not charity of speech but intemperance of language prevail. But we know you, working men and working women of Ire-

land, and knowing you we have faith in you, we have hope in you, we have promise in you. Would that you had as much faith in our Irish working class as we have.

You will come to Congress in the midst not only of a Party crisis and of a national crisis, but of a world crisis. The world is in the making and with it Ireland. To the making of that new Ireland you are invited to give of your best in thought, in speech, in men and women, in word and deed and in action. You will give generously as you have always given. If you will give wisely you will begin by adopting the most revolutionary programme and the most democratic constitution that has ever been given forth by any party in Ireland. If you will give wisely you will make the most, nationally and internationally, of the situation the events of these last three weeks have created. You have stones to-day on the building and craftsmen to lay them truly: and Labour's stones are no mere pebbles, nor are Labour's craftsmen mere apprentice hands.

If you will give wisely you will, we believe, approve of the policy of the National Executive. Whether you approve or disapprove it is you and you alone are the judges. You are not usurping any national right when you exercise your right to judgment, you are but referring your judgment to the body of the people, who indeed are the ultimate judges and masters. We know that on this issue your opinions are divided. We know that amongst you are Unionists, Home Rulers, and Sinn Feiners to whom everything that is not Unionist or Home Rule or Sinn Fein is anathema. But we shall neither preach to you nor argue with you on these things now. The opportunity to do that will come at Congress and we promise you it will be taken.

We only ask that your judgment be founded upon reason and upon argument, not upon prejudice or passion or pressure from any quarter. Some of you will be

opposed to us and to those who think as we think; some of you will be with us. To both those who are with us and those who are against us we have nothing more than this to say: Make the fight as keen and as hot as you wish, the keener and hotter the better; but make it a clean fight and a fair fight, and make it upon reasoning and argument; make it high and noble and not mean and nasty.

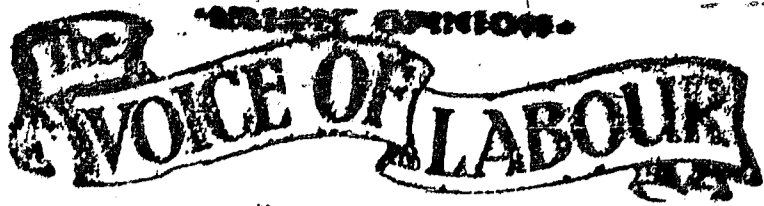
On Friday and Saturday then you will meet the National Executive face to face. You will be asked to adopt the new machinery which will put Labour abreast of the times; you will be asked to play your part and fill your rightful place in the new nation that is rising out of its ashes before your eyes; and you will be asked to claim for Labour in Ireland that place in the sun in Ireland which Irish Labour is prepared, if you will let it, to claim for Ireland in the International and, through it, in the world.

Shall we be in a position to say on Saturday evening that you are as true to the greatest man your class in Ireland ever produced as is

THE VOICE OF LABOUR.

SOUTH KILKENNY AND ELECTION.

At Thomastown last Sunday, thirty-five delegates of Labour organisations in South Kilkenny conferred on the prospective election situation. Several branches pressed for the selection of a parliamentary candidate to contest the seat. After a long and free discussion, it was decided to take no action at present, but the right to reconsider the position in event of the election being delayed, or new circumstances arising, was reserved by the delegates. The branches were advised carefully to observe the attitude towards their workers of the employer-partisans of both political parties. Mr. T. Johnson, treasurer, attended on behalf of the National Executive.



Edited by CATHAL O'SHANNON.

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THE TIDE COMES TO THE MANSION HOUSE.

When the Mansion House Conference was called together in April last as a symbol of the national unity in opposition to conscription hope was expressed in certain quarters, including Labour circles, that its work would not be confined to the issue of the blood-tax alone, but that as well the Conference might become the nucleus of what might well be a national organ of the Irish people. That hope has not been fulfilled for reasons with which the people are already familiar. Perhaps our hopes rose too high, and perhaps we were setting the Conference a task beyond its powers. Indeed, as the event turned out, the very circumstances of the case determined the limitation of the functions of the Conference to the carrying out of its one specific mandate to oppose conscription.

Yet in the very making of the case against conscription the Conference itself found that its field was wider than the mere marshalling of arguments against the levy in blood. It found that no case could be made against conscription without having its root and basis in the right of the Irish people to their free disposal of themselves and the self-determination of their political destinies. The case against conscription and the case for national self-determination were, and are, inseparable. This is the view we have always taken in "The Voice"; it is the view taken by the Labour movement in Ireland; it is the view which the Mansion House Conference, by its acts and its deeds, has taken; and it is undoubtedly the view of the overwhelming majority of the people of Ireland. It is the view that Ireland's objection to the imposition of conscription is dictated by Ireland's inalienable right to decide all such issues for herself, without interference or influence from any outside force or power whatsoever. This is the very essence of self-determination, and its manifestation in the national opposition to conscription is the actual exercise of self-determination in this particular issue.

The menace of conscription has not yet passed, but the campaign against it has been successful enough to justify the hope, expressed now in many new quarters, that the Mansion House Conference will no longer limit its function to the expression of the national will on the particular issue of conscription. If it is true, as it is true, that the national case against conscription is included in the general case for national self-determination, then it is only reasonable that those who have an honourable part in the determination of the particular case should extend their function to the general issue. It is not only reasonable, but it alone is reasonable. And not only is it, and it alone reasonable, but it is the only logical position. The Irish people are nothing if they are not logical, and indeed on all sides, from the Bishop of Cork to the editor of "The Irish World," and from the most opposite poles, the logic of the situation is recognised, and the call goes forth for the widening of the scope of the Conference and the inclusion in its functions of the making of Ireland's national claim to self-determination and Ireland's appeal to the Peace Congress of the States. Without any disrespect, we think the Bishop of Cork may be taken as fairly representative of the most conservative opinion in Irish nationalism. Equally without any disrespect, we think "The Irish World" may fairly be taken as the voice of the most intransigent and most radical element in Irish nationalism. Between the two are many different shades of thought, but unless our eyes and ears deceive us we observe in all the differing schools of thought a unanimity in favour of the Mansion House Conference as a representative organ of the national will to free and full self-determination upon the national issue as genuine as, and even more remarkable than, the national unanimity upon conscription. There is only lacking the authority, and if need be that authority, we have no doubt, will be given by a national mandate as spontaneous and as imperious as that on conscription. If none else will read the mandate in the signs of the times, the people themselves must write it in letters which even the blind in political vision can read.

All these, we may say, are the thoughts that have been running through the minds of the thinking men and women in the Labour movement these last few weeks. When we first expressed in "The Voice" the hope that the Conference should become a national organ of what would be virtually national government, however provisional, the circumstances were altogether unfavourable, but we looked forward from April to just such changes in circumstances as the world is witness of to-day. The great world events of the past month, the coming of peace, the liberation of the subject nationalities of Central and South-Eastern Europe, the evacuation of the conquered territories on the Continent, the rumble of falling crowns, the application of the principles of nationality and democracy, everywhere except in Ireland, and last, but not least, the change of heart in Ireland, and our comparative success in the achievement of national unity, have

brought the tide to the Mansion House Conference.

Poland is united and free; Finland is free; the Ukraine is free; Bohemia and Yugo-Slavia are throwing off the yoke; Alsace-Lorraine is securing self-determination; and even Schleswig is to dispose of its own fate. And what of Ireland? Let the Mansion House Conference answer. If it refuses the people will answer for themselves as they have answered before.

If the Conference will take the bold step which is being urged upon it we believe it will have behind it the full weight and authority of the people. It most certainly will have behind it that not inconsiderable power for which organised Labour speaks. Not indeed that, we believe the Conference, as at present constituted, would be the best and most acceptable organ. But if it enlarges its sections, widens its scope, and takes to its table the best and ablest men and women for its purpose, it can and will become the authoritative and authentic voice of this Irish nation at home in Ireland and abroad in the Peace Congress.

Will the Conference take the tide? If not the people will.

THE INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVE.

The ascent to power of the so-called Minoritaire of the French Socialist Party under Jean Longuet is a world event of the first importance, and will have far-reaching effects both inside and outside France. Official French Socialism is now uncompromising in its internationalism, fervent in its aspiration after a just and democratic peace by negotiation, strong in its opposition to war and militarism, consistently friendly to Bolshevik Russia, and entirely favourable to the rights of nationalities, particularly, as our own columns have borne witness, of Ireland.

To the French Socialist Party then belongs by reason of its strength and honesty no less than of its grand historic role and its revolutionary tradition, the international initiative. It is to it Internationalists in all countries now turn with hope and expectation for the international democratic offensive and the successful assembling of the scattered fragments of the Workers' International. France can succeed in calling the Conference together, and unless its history and record belie it France will issue the call.

Irish Labour therefore must be up and doing. Peace is coming surely and perhaps not so slowly as the capitalist Press would lead us to think. With peace will come the International Conference, and into the Conference Ireland, we may hope, will enter upon the arms of Russia, her newest and most faithful lover, and France, her elder sister.

Mooney Number.

A quantity of last week's issue is available, price 1½d. each, post free, or 10d. per dozen by rail carriage paid in two dozen lots.

The Workers' Republic.

The great only appear great because we are on our knees: LET US RISE.

Towards the International.

Elsewhere in this issue we attempt to resume the publication of notes and news of the International Labour Movement, which it was always intended should be a permanent feature of "The Voice." Like everything else in our columns our International Notes are not by any means complete or perfect. But, again, like everything else, that is not our fault.

To a Critic.

The Editor of "The Leader" went to the Mansion House meeting and judged the speakers from their speeches, not from the newspaper reports. He will learn with pleasure, we are sure, that the reporters did refer to what two of the speakers said in Irish. The censoring was the work of editors or sub-editors. So was the misrepresentation.

We thoroughly appreciate the "Leader's" criticism both of policy and, if we may say so, of style. We can assure our contemporary that nothing, not even a fault, is copied by any Labour speaker from the Sage of Mallow. But "The Leader" might not have spoiled a not unpromising career calling, even in jest, one of the speakers an "orator." The Lord preserve Labour from oratory! We remember "the wee Demosthenes of West Belfast," and shudder!

The Teachers Win Out.

Three notable events in the Labour world in Ireland have marked the past week. The first is the award of a bonus to the primary teachers; the second is the publication of the arbitrator's award in favour of the Hotel and restaurant workers in Dublin; and the third is the resumption of activity by the Irish Journalists' Association.

The bonus won by the teachers is not all it might be, but it is tangible evidence of their victory. It is to be regretted that, inadequate as it is, it does not apply to the Convent schools. This, we hope, will be seen to by the Teachers' Association, and that soon. At the same time we trust the teachers who have won their case will see to it that in future the monitors and monitresses will share both the duties and the rights of the teachers themselves. Following on their moral victory of a few weeks ago, this material victory of the teachers is but the kick-off. Other and bigger victories will follow, and some of them sooner than might be expected. The November strike, of course, is now off; it served its day and completely justified its supporters. The teachers have profited from their entry into the Labour movement, and it is to be hoped the lesson will not be lost upon them or upon others.

"Coming, Sir, with Victory!"

The Hotel Workers' section of the Transport Union has declared its general acceptance of the arbitration award. Here, again, it must be said that the advances won are not as satisfactory as they might be. For all that the victory is remarkable for such young workers in the movement. Their organisation was born out of the General Strike of April last,

and within six months of its inception it has won increases varying from 33 1-3 per cent. to 60 per cent. over present wages, as against the employers' offer of from 20 per cent. to 40 per cent. over pre-war rates. More important still all grades, from chefs to charwomen, have won a definite minimum wage. It was against the minimum wage the employers fought so stubbornly, and for it the workers, both men and women, fought with that magnificent loyalty that gained the admiration of old and hardened campaigners. Yet, neither the increase in wages nor the minimum itself is the full measure of the victory. Above all is the new consciousness of their power and of the strength and efficiency of the new order of organisation felt by these workers themselves. Only second to it is the recognition of that power by the employers. Yet we wonder if the employers have learned the whole of the lesson. In the end they did, indeed, realise that it was wiser to arbitrate than to allow the strike to continue. But do they want another strike? If they do not we advise them to see to it that every member of the Hotel and Tourist Association in Dublin observes the award both in the spirit and in the letter. Already Fry's Cafe, in Grafton Street, which agreed as a member of the Association to abide by the award, is endeavouring to break it by dismissing a number of waitresses to whom the award gives advances of five shillings and seven and sixpence. If the Association is going to permit this we warn it that the Union will see that the refractory employer and his Association are made amenable to the discipline of the Union. Agreement by peaceable means, if possible; if not possible, then by other means; but, at all costs, agreement.

Knights of the Pen.

The revival of the Irish Journalists' Association is a welcome sign of the times. All who know the labour and the value of the working journalist are astounded at the miserable wages and still more miserable conditions prevailing in what ought to be both an honourable and an honoured calling. Even in the daily press (itself no infrequent offender) the cry of the country journalist has been heard of late, and his city brother is little better off. It is well, therefore, that the Dublin journalists have put their hand to the plough and are calling on their fellow craftsmen to join the I.J.A. We bespeak them all the aid and support Labour can give them. If they will come into the Trades Union movement in Ireland they will get a hearty welcome and be hailed as comrades. If they remain outside they will suffer the fate from which Labour plucked the teachers at the eleventh hour. Many readers of the "Voice" we know, both in town and country, are working journalists, and these we ask to become members of the Association at once. We are waiting, so to speak, for "copy."

We do not know whether sub-editors attended last Saturday's meeting. If they did not we hope they will come to

the general meeting to be arranged. They want some straight talking to, for many a reporter is blamed for sub-editors' and editors' sins. For instance, we have just been reading the reporters' copy of the speeches of the Dublin Labour candidates, and find it as correct as the most exacting critic could expect. But when it passed under editorial and sub-editorial blue pencils it gave our contemporaries as incorrect an impression as if it had been passed by the Censor. Ay, the editors and sub-editors want some lecturing.

From Our Post Bag.

P. O'D. (On the Road).—Sorry; but we have not space at present for your criticism of the article on the control of education contributed recently to our columns by Professors Henry and Robieson. We shall return to the question again, and hold over your article until then. Meanwhile we must say we think you have not interpreted the professors correctly. For our own part, and that, we believe, of the Irish Labour Party, we agree with our Belfast friends, that the teachers must have their share in control.

T.B. (Usk Prison).—We are glad you are jealous for the "Voice's" good name for chivalry. By this time you will, we hope, have received the guilty party's explanation. You may rest assured that no discourtesy was intended, and, since we have witnessed the town's own welcome in the grand style, none would be tolerated by us. As to the second part of your letter we can assure you that if reason, the higher interest and our own efforts prevail, you will have nothing to regret. We quite agree with what you say is the general view, but, alas, there are shortsighted people, who cannot see further than their noses. They are not on our particular side. Agreed, again, that abuse is no argument. Nor do we indulge in it. But we wish you could hear the names we are called in quarters from which neither you nor we expected them.

Republican (Belfast) asks why we do not continue in "The Voice" the notes and news on the activities of fighters for freedom in foreign subject nationalities, as in "Nationality" of 1915, and other journals. The chief reason is that the censorship prevents such publication now, but there was no censorship in 1915. We agree heartily that our people have much to learn from their successful Continental comrades, and so, we expect, does the censor. Hence the continued existence of that most amiable person.

CARSON DEFENDS THE HUN.

David Gestetner, a Hungarian millionaire, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in the Second Division for systematically defrauding the Revenue for 6 years past. The defence put forward by Sir Edward Carson, the Kaiser's ally in 1914, was that David the Hun gave large sums anonymously to the poor. Was David a subscriber to the Ulster Volunteer Funds?

LABOUR IN IRELAND

To Trade Union Branches.

The "Voice of Labour" welcomes brief pithy reports of Union progress from all quarters. Insertion cannot be guaranteed and is impossible if notes are not to hand at this office by Monday mornings. Notes and news for publication should not be mixed up with orders for copies and other matter. We cannot undertake to return MSS.

Buttevant.

We regret there is trouble here with a flour miller, who refuses to recognise the Flour Milling Award. Denis Houston has the claim in hand, and it is hoped he will secure justice without resort to the folded-arms policy. The Transport branch has chivalrously come to the aid of the laundry women employed in a religious institution. The women worked four days each week for 2s. a day, or 8s. a week of 36 hours. The work entailed constant labour at the tub or table for eight long hours every day, during which conversation was forbidden. (Compare the report of the Court Laundry distribution).

Gazebo.

Transporters have enrolled 440 members, including miners, labourers, railway workers, enginemen, stokers, carpenters, and carters, with the proper sequel to organisation, viz., substantial increases in wages. The Agricultural Wages Board has been notified of several claims, but it is weary waiting Chas. H. O'Connor's pleasure!

Nenagh.

The dispute at the "Nenagh News" has ended in the capitulation of Mr. Power. Elsewhere the town movement for more Bradburys has been successful, increases of from 4s. to 11s. a week being granted and the half-holiday established. Many of the employers met the Union in a friendly spirit.

Edenderry.

As a result of negotiations by the joint trades, smiths' helpers, yardmen, packers, and all general labourers increase their pay by 1½d. per hour, or 6/6 a week. Boys secure ¾d. per hour. The long week of 55 hours is reduced to 52½. Brush borers add a rise of 13½ per cent. to their previous increase of 20 per cent., while piece-workers receive an increment of 20 per cent. on their rates.

New Branches.

The Shop Assistants have recently opened a branch at Castlewellan, and several requests have come from the same district for information about the National Union. A new branch is in prospect at Castlebar. Transport branches have been opened at Tuam and Killaloe.

Chemists' Assistants.

We hope the chemists of Dublin will not be disappointed in the results of their forbearance to press their claims. These men, educated, well-mannered, and smartly attired on less than thirty bob, have postponed a strike out of consideration for Sir Thomas Robinson, whose father has died. We did not observe that any of Hayes, Cunningham and Robinson's shops were closed because of the sad event.

Workers: Please Note!

The chemists' sense of public duty is keeping them at their posts during the epidemic of influenza. In return for this service the workers must insist on fair wages being paid. About 97 per cent. of the Assistants possess no legal qualification, and the employers' best offer to these men is **Thirty Bob** a week. To Qualified Assistants, the offer is £2, that is 10s. a week for years of study amid the labours of a so-called apprenticeship. What an inducement to parents seeking careers for their sons and daughters to part with apprentice fees to grasping pharmacists!

Apothecaries' Hall.

Mr. E. Owens has successfully negotiated the establishment of the Shop Assistants' Union minimum wage in all departments of this Mary Street house. Payment of advances ranging from 5s. to 20s. a week, as from October 1, was made last Friday, when the employees made a donation of £10 to the funds of the Dublin Branch of the Union.

Anonymous Skunk.

A moral invertebrate advertises himself in the "Irish Times" medical column as a "non-union" chemists' assistant. He is well known, and if started in any house will be left to carry on such business as reaches the counter.

Drogheda Transport Union Branch is growing, and approaches the 900 mark. Its growth is not regarded favourably by the rump of Sexton's United Empire Union, which, despite the lessons learned by Belfast in 1907 and Dublin subsequently, continues to send its subs. to Liverpool.

The men in employment of the oatmeal Milling Company were engaged in a prolonged strike called by the National Union of Dock Labourers, which failed to secure any offer from the employer. The men, tired of inaction, transferred to the Transport Union, which promptly secured, by judicious and skilful negotiation, an advance of six shillings a week. It is this exhibition of efficiency which has roused the ire of the shell-back tied hacks of obsolete political parties.

The Textile Mills have been closed as a result of the withdrawal of the Transport members to enforce payment of awards previously made by the Masters' Association and the Ministry of Labour. The workers have been kept in ignorance of these advances until lately. About 500 women who are not members of the Union have been locked out. The Ministry of Labour has been asked to enforce its own decisions.

Donore Branch has now well over 110 members, and is exercising a healthy influence. **Oldcastle** is preparing for a general wage uplift in which all the wage labour of the town will participate. At **Moynalvey** and **Athboy** new Transport branches are established. Dowdall's outburst about Bill O'Brien is causing his former followers to reflect that the futile land cumbering association has failed to enforce the minimum wage in many parts of County Louth. Unfortunately the Louth labourers don't read the "Voice."

B.O.E. "Pigottry."

"Freeman" is not likely to quote the discovery early in September by the Bolsheviks that agreements between the Germans and the Bolsheviks were being forged by the pro-Entente Esseri in Russia. True to its record it backs the forgeries. **"Handbook for Rebels."**

The Glasgow Police have raided several shops for copies of the "Handbook for Rebels."

The Tailors' Soviet.

The International Union of Tailors' members employed by three firms of manufacturing tailors were locked out last week. Walter Carpenter, the Union organiser, approached the retail shopkeepers, who depended on these firms for the supply of goods, and offered to undertake their orders. The offer was gladly accepted, and the Union's rooms were converted into a workshop. Extension of premises is being sought for development of the Guild idea.

"Drapers' Assistant."

The new issue of this monthly has a noteworthy article on Strikes by L. J. Duffy. The plea for One Big Union in the distributive trade should be carefully studied by the rather conservative Dublin members of the I.D.A.A. They have been the stumbling-block to union and progress.

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THE WAGES BOARD AGAIN.

The numerous complaints and grievances of agricultural workers are engrossing the attention of the three Unions mainly concerned in their organisation, the Workers' Union, the N.A.C.L., and the I.T. and G.W.U., which are pressing the A.W.B. to perform its functions but with too little success.

The machinery of wage regulation under the Corn Production Act is simply a blind behind which the land-owning and farming classes can carry on the exploitation of the consumers, and if we may judge from the spirit in which the permanent officials are conducting its operations, they have realised that fact and concern themselves as little as possible with complaints about wages.

The old dispute between the police and the Board continues. Both shirk the duty of prosecution, the police, as one D.I. said, because they object to setting class against class; the Board presumably because of the solidarity between the State-nominated members and the farmers. The burden of securing payment of debts legally owed to them therefore falls upon the labourers. Without their trade unions to take their claims into court these men would have to suffer silently the robbery which so far has escaped the attention of clerics of all denominations. In the Petty Sessions, the judges are magistrates drawn from the local landlords, agents, farmers and shopkeepers. The scales of justice are unfairly weighted against the workers, and every loophole in the law and regulations is used to prevent the workers obtaining their due.

As we have shewn frequently, and we can't report a tithe of the cases, paltry fines of 1d. and 1s. are imposed as punishment in cases of open defiance of the law, following on bare-faced plunder of the workers. Costs are seldom or never allowed to plaintiffs, the aim of the criminals' accomplices on the Benches being to impose the entire burden of prosecution not on the convicted thief, but on the Unions which back the prosecution.

The Transport Union is claiming expenses in all cases of prosecution for arrears from the Wages Board. If the Board neglects its duty it is only right that it should pay the costs of those who are doing its work. Labourers are not, however, in a mood to wait for the Wages Board to act. The complaints advanced by the Unions shew but a small part of the plundering carried on. Where the men are not organised the minimum wage regulations are ignored by farmers. The resulting discontent is growing and is bound to find an outlet. The sons of the men who, as Tom Farnen reminded the audience at the Mansion House meeting, lined the ditches to win the land for the farmers may yet take to the ditches to get justice from the men their fathers made. A recrudescence of agrarian crime would be unfortunate, but it will be inevitable if the Wages Board does not work more rapidly. "I never believe in agricultural distress," said Sir William Harcourt, "until I hear of rick-burning." Is that the attitude of Charles H. O'Connor?

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Classes for the study of co-operation will be formed by the Dublin Industrial Society if sufficient students register their names with the branch managers of the shops, or notify Mr. L. P. Byrne or Mr. A. L. Verschoyle at the Head Office, 17 Annesley Bridge Road.

"Co-operation" may seem a very narrow subject, of little practical interest except to those intimately associated with the management of societies. This is not so. To trace the history of the movement is to survey the swift develop-

ment of the working class during the past hundred years, and to show how co-operation drew its inspiration from and reacted upon Chartism, Christian Socialism, Trade-Unionism, and the political forces of the period.

Great personalities and world-makers have left their impress on the movement, and expressed through it their attitude to changing social systems. We do not know who will be instructor in those classes when formed, but we can promise a treat to students if Mr. Byrne can be induced to do this work. Register quickly if you would share the feast of good things.

THE TONE TRADITION.

Notes and News of the International.

Vive la France.

Following their sweeping victory at the October National Congress of the French Socialist Party Jean Longuet and his friends have taken over control of the Party machinery and the Party press. Renaudel has been succeeded in the editorial chair of "L'Humanite," the official daily, by Cachin, a good Internationalist. Debrenilh, who was secretary to the last International, at which Ireland was represented, has been succeeded by an Internationalist Party secretary. On the French section of the International Bureau, Renaudel is the only representative of the old majority, and power and majority pass to Longuet. Longuet himself is writing vigorously both in his own paper and in "L'Humanite" in favour of peace and the International.

In Great Britain.

Arthur Henderson is the latest victim of the vendetta of the Havelock-Wilson gang in England. Like Huysmans, he has been prevented from travelling to Paris by the Seamen and Firemen's Union. He was to attend a conference with Gompers and others with a view to arranging preliminaries for an International Conference. Perhaps now British Labour will take Havelock-Wilson in hands.

The U.I.L. of Great Britain has decided not to advise Irish workers in Great Britain to vote for the Labour Party's candidates at the General Election. This should help to make British Labour understand how far from the Labour position are Mr. Dillon, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and their colleagues. If it helps British Labour to take its views on Irish affairs from Irish Labour nobody on this side will regret the attitude of the U.I.L. If the British Labour Party stands for real self-determination it can win the Irish vote in Great Britain without T.P.'s help.

Bolshevism in the Balkans.

"Vorwärts" gives the good news. "The revolutionary movement," it says, "is on the increase in Bulgaria. The peasant masses have raised the cry of 'a Peasants' Republic.' In the towns Soviets have been formed, and a movement is on foot for local Soviets on the Russian model. Serbia, too, is infected, and a Soviet of Peasants' and Workers' Delegates is already in being. Unrest also prevails in Rumania and Turkey." We have not read anywhere that the Labour and Socialist parliamentary parties are more hostile or a greater obstacle to the Republic in Bulgaria, Serbia and Rumania than they were in Finland, Poland, and the Ukraine, or than a Labour Party would be in Ireland. Perhaps "The Irishman" has?

The German Republicans.

The "Labour Leader" says the Independent Socialist papers in Germany are pressing for the Kaiser's abdication and the establishment of the Republic. It seems that the Independent Socialists themselves are now divided, and that

their Left Wing has formed itself into a separate Communist Party, apparently in alliance with the Bolsheviks. Although the Left Wing in Ireland has formed an alliance with the Soviet it has never been under any necessity to split. Is that what some of its critics are playing for? **All Power to the Soviet!**

Better and better news comes from Russia. Instead of falling before the united onslaught of the Allies, the Soviet still lives and grows stronger day by day. Even in the British press it is now admitted that the Soviet has come to stay, and that Lenin's Government is regenerating stricken Russia. Mr. M. Phillips Price, the able correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian," has thrown in his lot with the Soviet, and is editing in English a Bolshevik newspaper, "The Call," for distribution amongst the British troops on the Murmansk coast. Even outlawry by the co-belligerents and the American frame-up against the Bolsheviks will not prevent the triumph of liberty in the Soviet Republic.

Ireland and the International.

As the question of the entry of the Irish Labour Party into the International is bound to arise in the debates at the Special Congress this week, we would remind the delegates of two important facts. The first is that according to the constitution of the International only those national organisations which are committed to political action can secure affiliation. Irish Labour, therefore, must enter politics before it enters the International. The second is that each national entity is entitled to two delegates on the Bureau or Executive of the International, and to a third only if it has a parliamentary group or party. Irish Labour, therefore, must succeed in electing some of its candidates if it is not to lose one-third of its representation on the Bureau. And it is the Bureau which arranges, in the first instance, the composition of the International Congress proper. From the point of view of foreign policy these are the most pertinent arguments in this political issue which is to be raised at Congress. In our humble opinion they outweigh all other arguments based upon the international position and policy of Ireland.

Down Under.

In stating the case for the Crown against Willie McGuinness and the other interned Irishmen, Mr. Ralston, K.C., said that one of the documents found on the accused was alleged to be "a recipe for a severe cold," but it was in reality an I.W.W. formula, and part of the money collected was really for the defence of the I.W.W. leader, Pete Larkin. We suspect Pete's formula was a recipe for a severe heat!

F. Robinson.—Had similar letter last week. You are right when you say "the last thing the belligerents on either side want is the triumph of Democracy." Saturday's "Independent" announces a boycott of Russia, the Spanish govern-

ment being the only one unwilling. The London "Times" says: "Only a minor importance attaches to the democratisation of Germany." Dr. Harold Williams thinks the overthrow of Kaiserism as demanded by Pres. Wilson might involve a risk of Bolshevism in Germany.

"Whitehall," the sapient gossip of the "Sunday Chronicle," explains Grafvon Milner's coax the Kaiser interview by alleging that Milner is a Prussian at heart (which we knew), and that "he is haunted with a vision of universal Bolshevism if the great stronghold of autocratic power (i.e. Kaiserism) goes."

WALTER CARPENTER IN SCOTLAND.

Walter Carpenter has returned to Dublin after a successful tour in the Counties of Dumbarton, Stirling, Lanark, Lenfrew and Ayr. He addressed 16 meetings on the condition of Ireland and the claims of Irish Labour, emphasising Irish Labour's claim for the Workers' Republic and National Independence.

He was cordially received everywhere, and has been invited to pay return visits to every district in which he spoke. His work has had a direct result in awakening the Scottish workers to the danger of Irish conscription.

It is now realised that to justify the continuance of conscription in Britain after the war the military caste intend to enforce it in Ireland at the first favourable opportunity. The Scottish workers see that to defeat the militarists they must prevent compulsion in Ireland, and show their solidarity in practical fashion.

The district committee of an important trade union on the Clyde has tabled a motion for its next meeting calling a general strike when the Order in Council is laid on the table. Meantime, the Clyde Workers' Committee and the Shop Stewards' Committees in Glasgow and Paisley, the Forth area, London, Birmingham, Coventry, Sheffield, Gateshead, Newcastle-on-Tyne and Barrow-in-Furness have been brought into line.

The vast series of meetings carried on by the two hundred and one branches of the I.L.P., the vigorous assemblies of the British Socialist Party and of Connolly's old friends, the S.L.P., and the gatherings of the Miners' Reform Committees will be addressed by skilled propagandists on this aspect of Irish conscription. Scottish Labour is awake to the menace of permanent conscription, and is prepared to take the action now, which only its dependence of the Parliamentary Labour Party prevented it adopting in 1916.

The Socialist Party of Ireland is entitled to congratulate itself on having accomplished by the agency of Walter Carpenter what the Mansion House Conference ought to have done months ago.

Irish Co-operator's Success.

Mr. J. A. Flanagan, the "Co-operative News" representative in Scotland, has received many presentations on his leaving Glasgow to fill a more important position in Manchester. His promotion has been well-earned by thirteen years' service of conspicuous individual quality to co-operation and labour in Scotland.

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**HOTEL WORKERS' ARBITRATION
AWARD.**

The past six months has brought about some great changes in the life of hotel and restaurant workers, changes, we are proud to say, are all to our advantage. We have in that short time organised just 1,800 workers, an achievement in itself worthy of mention. We have had our strike, which has been a lesson to our employers of much greater value to us than any mere cash advance we might have got without it. Through that strike the employers to-day are much wiser if sadder men. Last but by no means least, we have had our arbitration proceedings and its result.

Now, about this award, I would point out that **there is not one individual worker in hotel, restaurant, or cafe who does not benefit by this award**, no matter what their position may be. It has established for the first time in our business a minimum wage in most cases, which is a matter of great importance. Now, to put this award on a sound basis (until of course we secure better), it is absolutely essential when a worker gets a new job where no minimum is fixed, as for instance a plate man or scullery maid, that he or she be told by his or her fellow-workers what the former worker's wages was. It does not rest here, for if he or she does not get the proper wages it is the duty of any worker knowing such a case to report it at once at this office, and if negotiations between this union and the employer fails it is then the duty of every worker in that house to refuse to work. If such prompt action is not taken, wages will again be rapidly brought back to what they were formerly.

Establishments outside the Hotel and Tourists' Association, with whom we settled on our own terms, must be kept up to their agreements. It is up to the workers in such houses to see (in the same manner as the others) that they do. You are out of the rut now, and see to it, by loyalty to each other, to keep out of it. I would like to go into details of this award and its benefit to each individual worker, but I regret space will not allow me to do so. Therefore, if you require an explanation in relation to the award, we shall assist you at 29 Eden Quay.

There is no doubt about one feature of our gains, that is, the moral uplifting of our workers. No longer do we feel that hideous state of servitude that heretofore prevailed. We feel instead more manly, more independent, more sure; we must in future remember we are not servants but workers, wealth-producers. Keep up that spirit and you are bound eventually to realise your hopes and our ambitions.

Time, determination, and above all, loyalty to each other, will achieve all.
T. GORDON.

29 Eden Quay.

AMONG THE AUTO MEN.

Substantial increases have been obtained by the Union for mechanics, improvers, and garage hands in the employ of Messrs. R. W. Archer and Co., Lt. Mount Street, ranging from 5/- to 10/- per week. Increases have also been secured from Messrs. Earls, The Coombe; McGee, Blackrock; Corcoran, Balbriggan. Demands have been sent to Messrs. Boland's, Ltd.; Messrs. Watkins, Jamieson and Pim; Messrs. Lamb Bros., Inchicore.

The "Freeman's Journal" dispute continues, picketing being kept up continuously. An early settlement is expected, but it must be a good one for drivers whose weekly wages were only 32/6 and starting hour 4 a.m.

Charleville members have joined up with the Limerick branch. Mr. P. Fielding, branch sec., reports steady progress.

In Wexford, Mr. Lacey, Organiser, is busy with the dispute at O'Connor's bakery, where the motor drivers have come out in sympathy with the bakers who were victimised for their trade union activities by Mr. M. J. O'Connor, Crown Solicitor, himself a staunch supporter of Unionism in his own profession.

Sligo branch has lost its energetic sec., Mr. J. J. Watters, who has resigned on taking up a job elsewhere. Mr P. Carroll has stepped into his shoes. In neighbouring Ballina a new branch has been formed which bids fair to make good. Mr. P. Doherty is sec.

Clonmel is moving well, and held a good meeting recently, which was addressed by Mr. O'Connor, Organiser. Under the watchful care of Comrade Frew, of the I.C.W.U., success is assured. Hopes of soon remedying the low wages and long hours in the motor industry locally are not in vain.

Kilkenny branch has perfected its organisation, and has had all-round demands sent to the local garages, drapery houses, etc. If an amicable settlement is not come to, Kilkenny members say they mean business.

Reports to hand from Waterford, Derry, and other branches are of an encouraging nature.

Goal'd Comfort.
"The coal you are going without is 'forging' the key to victory," says the poster. We knew, of course, that John Bull's favourite weapon is forgery, e.g., Pigott.

SHALL MOONEY HANG ?

We have just thirty-six copies of Robert Minor's 48-page pamphlet, with fifty-eight pictures, and we want as many shillings for them. 1,200,000 copies have been sold in U.S. and all profits went to the Mooney Molders' Defence Fund. Send us a shilling and we send you a copy of this book—the entire shilling goes to help to win Justice for Mooney. Address—JACK B. MOONEY, c/o "The Voice of Labour," 27 Dawson Street, DUBLIN.

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NATIONALIST M.P. FOR BLACK-FRIARS

"Would Hold up Both Hands to Force Irishmen."

George Nicol Barnes, member of the War Cabinet, is member of Parliament for Blackfriars Division of Glasgow, where the Socialists derisively call him the "Nationalist M.P." He secured his seat with the endorsement of the U.I.L.G.B. and the enthusiastic support to the Irish publicans of the district. Since then the Independent Labour Party has repudiated George.

The Labour Party in his constituency met recently to select a candidate for next election. Twenty-three delegates attended from trade union branches, including six from the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, of which Barnes is a member. The I.L.P. and B.S.P. had five delegates between them. This conference, predominantly trade unionist, unanimously agreed to nominate John MacLean, M.A., at present serving six years' imprisonment for sedition, as their Parliamentary candidate at next election.

Not one trade union in the constituency would nominate George Barnes.

Recently he addressed a special meeting of Glasgow Trades Council, and in the course of his address announced that "we" have to add considerably to Wilson's 14 points, and must insist on Germany replacing "ton for ton the ships she has sunk." The secret treaties are to be honoured. He denied that "we" are fighting Russia. "We" simply sent a force to Archangel to prevent the Murman coast being used as a submarine base by the Germans. (He said nothing about Spitzbergen.)

And then, says the "Forward" report, there was another tit-bit that will interest especially the Irish electors. Mr. Barnes told us he had nothing to do with the entry of the Labour Party into the Government. Probably had he been there at the time and cast his vote, he thought he should have cast it against entering the Government unless it was a coalition of all parties. He would have been in favour of joining a coalition if the Irish Party had also entered it, but the Irish Party had lost its way in refusing. If they had entered the Government Home Rule would to-day be an accomplished fact. "And so would Conscription," observed a delegate. "Why should I as a Socialist not have Conscription?" asked Mr. Barnes, heatedly. And here is his view of the relationship of the individual to the Capitalistic State: "I as a Socialist stand for each individual, so long as he is a free individual in a free country, doing his bit for the maintenance and the interests of that country." And if Ireland had been in the Coalition Government and if the representative authority had decided that Conscription was necessary, then "I should have held up both hands to force Irishmen just as men in this country were forced."

REMEMBER ORR!

The promoted party hirelings who occupy the County Court benches in the North are distinguished by a lively sense of gratitude to the class and party which has pensioned them off by appointing them judges. Craig of Belfast and Todd of Derry we have already pilloried. Now His Honor Judge Orr, of Co. Down, comes along with gratuitous insults to plaintiffs appearing in his Court and denunciations of people from whose retorts he is secured by his Coward's Castle in the Court.

Three labourers sued Patrick Murphy, Rowglass, for balance of wages due. They had requested tea in the fields on the evening of August 2, and had been told to "clear out." It transpired that they were going on strike in any case.

Here Judge Orr got in his partisan work, ably supported by the Sinn Fein defendant's solicitor.

His Honor—A strike during the harvest! You are as bad as Germans!

Mr. Martin (for defendant)—They were pro-Germans; they tried to ruin the flax crop.

His Honor—No matter about the illegal order of the Workers' Union, they should have stuck to their bargain.

Despite the mutual corroboration of the three plaintiffs' evidence, Judge Orr preferred the farmer's story and that of his daughter, who was in the habit of sending food parcels to Belfast Jail. In delivering judgment, Judge Orr said it was a most outrageous case. The sooner that Mr. McClung, the strike fomentor, learned that a contract must be respected the better. The labourers' suits would be dismissed. If he had them on the criminal side of the Court he would award a smart term of imprisonment.

Orr's contract to give faithful and loyal service to the capitalist class is evidently carried out to the letter.

At the same Court, a gentleman who admitted having knifed his mother, was discharged under Probation, as was also another gentleman who wounded his brother to the danger of life. Property, in Judge Orr's Court, is more sacred than human life.

IRISH TRANSPORT & GENERAL WORKERS' UNION (Maynooth Branch).

Sweepstakes for Cesarewitch, Newmarket.—Through postal delays the result of the draw did not appear in the "Irish Independent" of 18th inst.:—Princess Nathalie, 1070; He, 583; John Jacket, 1275; Pasture New, 1191; Chinaman, 332; Winsome Girl, 952; Warwick, 614; St. Eloi, 821; Planet, 1945; Buckthorn, 1281; Morning Star, 172; Mount St. Eloi, 1025; Brown Prince, 474; Grand Chester, 1364; White Squall, 1838; Evan, 266; Race Rock, 496; Golden Rule, 1028; Chapel Brompton, 529; Miss Cust, 421; Prince Chimney, 1480; Laundress, 907; Patrick's Day, 356; Ivanhoe, 1886; Greek Scholar, 64; McLean, 470; St. Tudwell, 1899; Water Bed, 1112; Traceable, 593; Air Raid, 1031; Mountain Kiddle, 1124; Haki, 84; Furore, 865.

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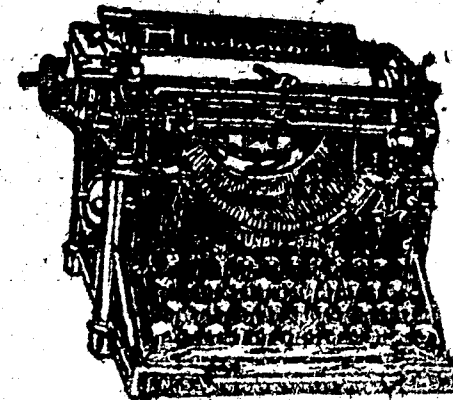
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BELFAST I.L.P.

Sunday, 27th October, 1918. North Belfast Hall, Langley St., 7.30 p.m. Speaker—Comrade J. O'Hagan. Central Hall, 77a Victoria St., at 7.0 p.m. Speaker—Comrade S. Haslett.

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