

INCORPORATING THE
WORKER'S
PUBLIC
FOUNDED BY
CONNOLLY
AUGUST, 1898,
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IRISH OPINION

The VOICE OF LABOUR

Official Organ :
OF THE
Irish Transport &
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Union.
— EDITED BY —
CATHAL O'SHANNON

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ONE PENNY.

Famine Shadows

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AT ZURICH.

For the past four years groups of women in all parts of the world have struggled to keep alive the spirit of peace and internationalism by working out a common programme, which was outlined at a Congress held at the Hague in May, 1915. A second Congress has just been held in Zurich. There were present 147 officers and delegates from national sections in 15 countries. Greetings were received also from branches in Bulgaria, Finland and Canada. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was elected as a constitution and a mandate by the Congress.

Ireland was represented by three delegates who emphasised the principle of internationality as fundamental to a peaceful world. But we were the only subject of internationality present. The Congress unanimously accepted our claim for Ireland's right to self-determination.

It was interesting to trace in this Congress the influence of the new revolutionary thought of to-day. Obviously we are responding to it, but in varying degrees. Again and again the Congress referred to the problem of how to meet the situation—how to meet the growth of industrial socialism. It was impossible to do more than stand aloof from this particular problem, and leave it to each national section to pursue liberty and justice in the ways best fitted to their local circumstances. Crystal Fuller, Secretary of the American paper, "The Worker," made a big, almost dramatic fight for a resolution, which ran as follows:

"The world is facing widespread revolutionary changes coming at a time when the habit of violence has been fostered by a world war. We recognise that there is a fundamentally just demand underlying most of these revolutionary movements. We declare our sympathy with the purpose of the workers who are rising up everywhere to put an end to exploitation and to claim their world. Nevertheless we reassert our belief in the methods of peace, and feel that it is our special part in this revolutionary age to counsel against violence on both sides, and to urge the warring classes voluntarily to give up their special privileges and consent to the re-organisation of industry on a democratic basis, so that a new order may be inaugurated without violence."

This resolution led to a debate extending over hours and of intense interest. It drew from the German and Austrian women accounts of their experiences of exploitation (all, by the way, rejoiced in their newly-won freedom); it elicited views on State Socialism and views on industrial Socialism; we were swept towards and forwards from harsh compromise to pure Utopianism. Finally the resolution was carried—with the nomination of the phrase touching the re-organisation of industry. I believe, however, that the majority in their hearts favoured the whole of it, but balked from pushing a minority into a position they seemed to feel quite impossible.

As usual at Congress a large number of big subjects were inadequately discussed. Congresses as a rule produce very little practical result: this one may do even less than most. And yet I think its spiritual effects will prove of great value.

The thought of the European Famine hanging over us all the time bedding and feeding. The delegations from Central Europe brought with them an atmosphere of dumb suffering, very tragically disturbing. We saw the arrival of children from Vienna coming to be housed in Zurich for six weeks. The railwaymen's Union had organised this as a act of rescue. It was estimated at the cost amounted to £1 for each child, and each child was taken to a railwayman's home for the six weeks' stay. Here was real evidence of the otherhood of the workers.

How is Irish Labour going to prove its sympathy with their fellow-workers in these famine-stricken countries? It is not alone in Zurich that the railway workers have taken the children from war-torn countries; it has been done in every district, in spite of the fact that food is none too plentiful in Switzerland.

Murphy Press Story False.

A Letter from M'Cartan.

Ireland and Russia in America.

[As we expected; Dr. Pat M'Cartan has lost no time in flatly contradicting the story which William Martin Murphy's "Evening Herald" circulated on May 21st, and on which "The Voice" commented on May 31st. We are glad to print in full M'Cartan's letter, as published in the "New York Call" of May 10th—ten days before Murphy's New York correspondent sent his story to Dublin. And here we may take the opportunity of acknowledging that almost every message we get from America tells us how strongly our old friend, Liam Mellows, stands up for the Russian fighters for freedom even when they are assailed from Irish Republican platforms in the States.—Ed. "V. of L."]

Some time ago a dispatch was printed in the American Press stating the Russian Soviet Government had assigned hundreds of millions of roubles for the support of the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland. This information was denied by certain Irish Republicans in Washington, who at the same time took occasion to express their disapproval of the Soviet regime.

L. Martens, since his appointment as the representative of the Russian Soviet Republic to the United States, has received numerous assurances from Irish-Americans of their sympathy toward the struggles of the Russian people. The representatives in the United States of the Labour movement in Ireland are imbued with a profound sympathy toward Soviet Russia. Such sympathy has been evinced also by other Irish people, and for this reason Martens inquired from Patrick M'Cartan whether the sentiments expressed in the above-mentioned statement of Irish politicians should be regarded as expressing the sentiments of that movement as a whole. At the same time Martens took the occasion to notify M'Cartan that the story about funds having been assigned by Russia to Ireland is not true.

The Russian Government is not spending money for revolutionary movements in other countries. It is, of course, in a general way, sympathetic towards all struggles for freedom by subjugated masses, and Soviet Russia is the only country which unequivocally has been championing the principle and the practice of self-determination of nations.

Irish Assure Sympathy.

In reply to his inquiry, Martens received from M'Cartan a letter wherein

STRIKE-BREAKER AS ENVOY.

The Friends of Irish Freedom in U.S.A. should exercise more care in their selection of delegates to push Ireland's case at Paris. The latest nomination is Major Eugene F. Kincaid, formerly Sheriff at Paterson, N.J., and brutal persecutor of the textile strikers there. Under his boss-ship Pat Quinlan and other good Irishmen received sentences ranging from two to ten years for alleged incitement to riot. Quinlan did the two years, although evidence was afterwards adduced to prove he was not present on the occasion libelled.

Eugene F. Kincaid, strike-breaker, is not wanted in Paris or elsewhere to speak for Irish Labour.

ENGLAND'S FERRY BILL.

England has served on United States a bill for \$2,000,000 dollars for transporting America's army to snatch victory out of Allied disaster.

Brigadier-Gen. Hines demanded at first 150 dollars (£30) for each soldier ferried, but even American militarism kicked at this soaking, and had the figure cut down to \$1.75 dollars a head.

CONNOLLY MEMORIAL IN NEW YORK.

The anniversary of James Connolly's death was marked by a meeting in New York, at which Jim Larkin and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn spoke.

I suggest that Irish Labour help those railwaymen to bring over another batch of children. Will any trade unionist who agrees with this suggestion communicate with me?

LOUIE BENNETT.

29 South Anne St., Dublin.

M'Cartan assures the Russian Soviet Government of the sympathy of the Irish revolutionary masses.

The letter by M'Cartan reads as follows:—

"Allow me to thank you for calling my attention to the dispatch, dated Washington, May 3, which appeared in certain American newspapers.

"The unsigned dispatch to which you refer was written and published without my knowledge.

"Irish Welcome Aid.

"The 4,000,000 people of the Republic of Ireland, in their struggle to free themselves from military subjugation by an Empire of 400,000,000, want and welcome the aid of all free men, of all free peoples, and, certainly, of the free men of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

"After the campaign of calumny waged against Sinn Fein, the Irish do not believe the Soviet Government is as represented by the Northcliffe Press and by its kin in this country. The Irish, mindful of the methods used to manufacture outrages in Ireland by their imperial and uniquely righteous enemy, can form their own conclusions concerning the outrages attributed to the Soviet Government by that same enemy and its accomplices, who, meanwhile, participate in and condone the atrocities of Kolchak, Denikin, and Mannheim.

"The Irish who endured the rigour of the last great famine induced by England, can gauge accurately the humanity of that power which through the blockade, now cheaply, safely, quietly, and efficiently murders daily great multitudes of women and children, of aged and ailing non-combatants.

"Russo-Irish Brotherhood.

"Hence, between the gallant, starving, isolated Russians striving against alien enemies to found securely in Russia a government of the people, by the people, for the people, and the Irish also isolated in their struggle against British armies of occupation to found securely the Republic of Ireland, there can exist only that sense of brotherhood which a common experience endured for a common purpose can alone induce.

"Finally, it is unnecessary for me to state that the Republic of Ireland regards the political system adopted by the free people of Russia as a concern only of the Russians."

WILL THE IRISH SELF-DETERMINATION LEAGUE BE ANY GOOD?

The following gems of wisdom appeared in an article boosting the Irish Self-Determination League of Great Britain printed by Mr. Diamond's organ, the "Catholic Herald." Mr. Diamond's papers are now supporting Sinn Fein, but the extract reads very like the stuff with which the same journals, when they supported Redmond, assailed Sinn Fein.

There is one way to free Ireland, in which the Irish in England can be helpful.

Let them join in with and put into power, using their rights as citizens, the Labour Party of this country—the masses of the toilers, of whom they are a part.

The guns of this country do not fear, they rather court, revolutionary methods, involving secret eaths, guns, revolvers, bombs, and such weapons.

Why? Because for every such weapon that can be got together by secret means the Government has tens of thousands!

The vote is the true weapon of the people.

Meantime the need is of propaganda, of information, of education, of unity, of good sense, among the workers.

To listen to physical force advocates is to play the part of fools and children.

Will the people never be wise in their own interests?

The Irish Self-Determination League, if it is to succeed, must disassociate itself from the pacifist policy.

Crumlin.

Gerald Begg has dismissed three Union men taken back after recent strike, and has replaced them by non-unionists. An explanation is demanded.

Shall the Workers Rule

In the Transport Union?

MURPHY'S SPLIT EXPOSED.

Daily the capitalist press regales the public with tales of a "Big Breach in the Transport Union." "Split at Liberty Hall," and other saucy items that are keenly relished at Kildare Street Club.

What the gunboats could not do, think the employer, the Union is doing for itself.

There is no split in the Transport Union.

There is no strike at Liberty Hall.

What is happening now has happened before.

After Jim Larkin embarked on his lecture tour in America, from which the war has prevented his return, the same people who are now providing Mr. William Martin Murphy's papers with spicy paragraphs, littered the steps of Liberty Hall with leaflets assailing the late James Connolly.

Simple women adroitly misled, followed Connolly on the streets, shouting the abuse suggested by the venom of small minds.

"Sandy-legged Militiaman"

was the phrase they used that sticks in the mind. It was a reference to his command in the Irish Citizen Army.

Some of those who are now playing this game of theirs again have no love for the Citizen Army. Even on the morning of Easter Monday, 1916, it was the subject of their jeers.

Little as they are, they have nevertheless raised a big issue.

It is a vital question. Unless it is settled, and that at once, the Labour movement receives a blow worse than the 1913 strike, worse than Maxwellism could inflict.

THIS IS THE ISSUE:—

SHALL THE RANK AND FILE OF THE IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION CONTINUE TO CONTROL THE OFFICIALS OF THE UNION BY COMPELLING THEM TO SUBMIT TO AN ANNUAL OR BIENNIAL ELECTION?

The rules of the Union and the rules of the Insurance section say so.

The practice of the Union since its foundation says so.

If the rules are to be abandoned how shall the members control the Union?

It is for those who would deny the members their right to judge the conduct of the officials to tell us.

The Insurance Meeting.

The official statement which we print below gives the facts, and nothing but the facts. To them nothing need be added except to point the moral of the tale without adorning it.

In the first place our readers will remember that in our issue of May 31st we exposed a Unionist Alliance plot against the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. Part of that plot, as revealed in the report of the Unionist alliance meeting, was to disrupt the Union.

"There were urgent reasons," said the report, "why this matter should be dealt with without delay, and steps taken to inform the workers what the Transport Union means before June 8th (Whit Sunday)."

Now the annual meeting of the Insurance section delegates was to be held on Whit Sunday, and right on the minute on that day Mr. P. T. Daly and some of his friends refused to abide by the majority vote of the Insurance section, and proceeded to enter upon a campaign, not against the Insurance delegate meeting with which they have a grievance, but against the Executive Committee and the whole membership of the Union with whom they have no grievance, since it was not the Executive nor the membership, but the delegate meeting of the Insurance section, which decided not to re-elect Mr. Daly.

In the second place it is to be noted that every official in the Union vacates his office every year or every second year. It is then open to any other member to stand for election for the vacant post.

If the new candidate is elected and the old displaced, nobody makes any bones about it; it is the accepted order of things; and nobody can point to a single

(Continued on next page).



THE TRADE UNIONISTS OF EAST ANTRIM.

In the East Antrim by-election the Orange Independent, Mr. Hanna, has beaten the official Unionists by a majority of nearly 1,200 on a heavy poll with the Liberal Home Ruler at the bottom of the poll.

The election, we believe, is a symptom of what is happening in the ranks of the Unionists themselves. It is a herald of the revolt of the rank and file of the Unionists against the Party machine. It is a sign of returning independence of thought and action on the part of the voters who followed blindly whatever road the official Unionist leaders pointed out to them.

If it were only that and nothing more we should not be very much inclined to pay a great deal of attention to the result of the election. But we believe that in reality East Antrim signifies something bigger and greater than a mere revolt of the ranks and file of a political party against the bossism of its chiefs.

We believe the real meaning of East Antrim is that the workers in the constituency are at last beginning to awake to their servitude to their employers, whether those employers appear before them as bosses in the workshop or bosses on the political platform.

The victor in the election was the nominee of the working men and working women in the constituency, and he won his victory by their votes. His electoral machine was the East Antrim Trade Unionist Association and the Larne Trades Council. In other words it was the organised workers of East Antrim who put forward Hanna, it was the organised workers who did the fighting for him, it was the organised workers who elected him. It was against organised Trade Unionism the whole weight of the Ulster Unionist Party and its Press and its platform was thrown. And for that reason, and that reason alone we hail the result of the election as a victory for Trade Unionism.

But it is a victory with certain reservations and certain limitations. When the Trade Unionists of East Antrim selected Mr. Hanna as their candidate they did not select a worker or a Trade

Unionist from their own ranks. Granted that they chose a man whom many of them know intimately and who has rendered them some little service. But he is a lawyer, and lawyers on the whole are not in the long run the best friends of the working class. After all, who has Mr. Hanna to thank for his position in the legal calling in Co. Antrim but the working people of Co. Antrim? Into his ever opening purse they have poured their shillings and pounds and anything he has he owes to them and to nobody else but them. The workers made Mr. Hanna just as they made any and every employer from Larne to Glemgormley. And Mr. Hanna knows it and profits by it. He is of the lawyer tribe, and the lawyer tribe is of the great clan of parasites of one kind or another who live upon the hard work of the workers.

Is Mr. Hanna out to help the workers? To be sure he is, but only so long as by helping them he helps himself. He did indeed refuse a bribe of some thousands of pounds if he stood down in the election in favour of the official Unionist. But in the same breath as he made that announcement he made the statement that he was going to get a good job in London at £1,000 a year if he were returned to Parliament. It's an ill election blows no candidate any good.

The Trade Unionists of East Antrim will have to keep their eyes glued on Mr. Hanna's actions in Parliament as well as his promises made during the election. We will wager a good deal that he will not keep nor attempt to keep one-tenth of his promises. He has got what he wanted, but not what the workers who elected him wanted. If the East Antrim Trade Unionist Association and the Larne Trades Council examine his performances in Parliament at the end of twelve months they will find that Hanna's promises have been like every other politician's promises. They were made to be broken.

When that day comes will Trade Unionism in East Antrim be wise enough to scrap Hanna as it has scrapped official Unionism? On the answer to that question depends the real worth of the election.

SHALL THE WORKERS RULE In the Transport Union? (From Front Page.)

instance of the supporters of a defeated candidate taking the line Mr. Daly's friends have taken in this instance, to refuse to abide by the decision of the majority would be the very negation of democracy.

The official declaration issued from Liberty Hall reads:—

With reference to the statements which have appeared in the Press about changes recently made in the control of the National Health Insurance work of the Union, the facts are as follow:—

When the General Secretary, Mr. James Larkin, left for America in 1914, he appointed Mr. P. T. Daly to take charge of the Insurance Section as Acting Secretary. According to the rules the officers and committee retire annually and are eligible for re-election.

At each annual meeting until this year Mr. Daly was re-elected as Acting Secretary. This year he failed to secure re-election. During the years of his responsibility the Insurance Section has lamentably failed to keep pace with the growth of the Union, and the administration fund has grown deeply into debt, the members being faced with the prospect of a levy to make up the deficiency.

Up to the end of 1917, the latest date for which figures are available, this deficiency on the administration side amounted to £1,400, including £500 borrowed from the Trade Union funds. The amount is certainly much greater now.

The annual meeting of delegates duly appointed by the insured members was held as usual on Whit Sunday, at which, following a statement by Mr. McGrath, manager of the Insurance Section, the delegates, in the exercise of their responsibility, elected a new committee and appointed to the nominal office of Acting-Secretary the General President of the Union, Mr. Thomas Foran. Mr. Foran announced at the meeting that he would not draw any salary for this position.

It is the intention of the new committee to re-organise the Insurance Section and place it on a sound financial basis, and thereby save the section from bankruptcy and make of it a worthy adjunct to the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

In respect of the alleged strike the In-

stance business is quite distinct from the Trade Union activities, which are in no way affected. In the Insurance department business is proceeding at a perfectly normal fashion, but two of the regular staff, Miss Delia Larkin and Mr. Michael Mullen, have not resumed work and are picketing the hall as a protest against what they describe as the victimisation of the late Secretary of the Insurance Committee, Mr. P. T. Daly. In this they are joined by one other employee, a temporary clerk named Mr. Norgrove. The remainder of the staff, numbering 12, are at work as usual.

It is intended to lay these facts before a meeting of the Dublin members, which, it is hoped, will be held in the Mansion House on Sunday next, at 12.30 p.m.

(Signed),
THOMAS FORAN,
General President.
JOSEPH McGRATH, T.D.E.,
Manager, Insurance Dept.

There is a regular method of remedying any grievance under the rules of the Union. The branches have the matter in their own hands.

To play into the hands of the enemy, to repeat the tactics that harassed James Connolly from the time he accepted the onerous burden of the Transport Union affairs until he began the Great Adventure of 1916, to attempt to bring into contempt the nation-wide movement that has risen out of the ashes of 1916, brands the would-be splitters as enemies of Labour.

THE PENALTY OF PUBLICITY.

The private residence of Mr. J. J. Hughes, Assistant Secretary to the Irish Transport Union, was raided by four members of the G Division of the Dublin police on Monday morning. A thorough search of the house was made in the absence of Mr. Hughes. Who is responsible for this? Perhaps Mr. Macpherson or some of his numerous advisers will explain whether this raid has any reference to the recent visit of the Unionist Alliance delegation to Westminster.

Tallow.

Gross overcharging of the workers for coal is rampant. Local dealers are likely soon to receive a shock.

The Workers' Republic.

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

Ireland in Revolution.

Our comrade, J. T. Walton Newbold, we are glad to see, is giving a good deal of attention to Ireland. When the so-called Irish Question comes forth from the keen and critical analysis to which Newbold will subject it, both Newbold and his revolutionary colleagues in Great Britain will benefit immensely. Here in Ireland our workers will also stand to gain. We commend to our readers, therefore, the June number of "The Plebs," containing the first part of Newbold's study, "Ireland in Revolution." Only a comparatively few of our readers, we are afraid, read "The Plebs," the monthly organ of the workers' Marxian educational movement in Great Britain. That must not be so any longer. Our readers, and especially the students in the workers' educational classes in Ireland, ought to subscribe to "The Plebs." It costs twopence a month, or 2s. 6d. per annum, and is published at Kemp Hall, High Street, Oxford, and "The Voice" and S.P.I. will be glad to supply copies regularly to readers who may ask for them.

Theobald Wolfe Tone.

To-morrow (Sunday) is the day of the great annual pilgrimage to the grave of Wolfe Tone at Bodenstown. Tone is the first and greatest of Irish Republicans, and not only that, but one of the first and greatest of the long line of heroic men and women whom Labour claims as its own.

The English Bolshevists.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's paper, "The Workers' Dreadnought," announces that at the Whitsuntide Conference of the Workers' Socialist Federation, the name of the Federation was changed to that of the Communist Party. This brings not only the principles but the name of the Federation into conformity with the Russian Bolsheviki. The new Executive Committee will approach other organisations of a like tendency with a view to the formation of a United Communist Party in Great Britain. We trust this venture will be crowned with success, for if there is anything that is wanted in Great Britain to move the mass of the workers to action it is the organisation of a big united party which will put the practice of principles before every other consideration, and if there is anybody in England who will do this, it is Sylvia Pankhurst and those who think with her.

The General Strike.

The Italians and the French are vigorously pushing their proposal for a general strike in the Entente countries against militarism, imperialism, and interference with the Workers' Republics of Russia and Hungary. At the time of writing we do not know to what decision the conference arranged for last week-end has come, but as was to be expected, the British organisations are fighting shy of even a 24 hours' demonstration strike. The British leaders give as their reason for holding back the argument that they would not have enough time to take a ballot vote of their membership. This is quite true, but we suspect that even if it were not true the British leaders would not be very keen upon action of any kind. While French, Italians, Swedes, and Norwegians are fulfilling their pledges to their Russian and Hungarian brothers, the British are continuing to help the militarists to deprive Russia, Hungary, Germany, Austria, Ireland, India, and Egypt of freedom and self-determination, and they will continue to do it until such time as some internal event or series of events in Great Britain forces them brutally into action.

Czecho-Slovakia No More.

Bela Kun and his Red Hungarian army have made short work of one of the greatest of the shams the Entente foisted upon an ignorant world during the war. They have burst the famous Czecho-Slovak bubble. There is of course a Czech people, and there is also a Slovak people. The Entente united these peoples in an artificial nationality which they called Czecho-Slovakia for the purpose of breaking up the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The artificial unity has not survived the hard facts of these days of armistices. When the Entente sent the Roumanians and the Czecho-Slovaks to crush the Soviet Republic of Hungary the Slovaks woke up to the trick that had been played upon them, and parted company with Masaryak's Czech legions. Bela Kun and his Reds had little difficulty in defeating the Roumanians, and when that was done the defection of the Slovaks followed. The Slovaks have gone Bolshevik and the Entente are hurrying to make peace with the audacious Hungarian dictator. They have even invited him to the Peace Conference at Versailles, but Kun seems in no hurry to sup with Wilson and Lloyd George. Probably he is waiting on Lenin.

Long ago we put our money on Lenin instead of Wilson, and nothing that has happened since has given us any reason to change our choice.

Tears on Tap, Please!

A Congress Committee at Washington has been looking up the accounts, and has discovered a lavish secret expenditure in the sham Czecho-Slovaks.

"The President assisted two of the Czecho-Slovak corps," said General

March, "from money at his disposal to the extent of 5,000,000 dollars, and I think he has given them allotments since, so that the Czechs could get arms. The charge was to be ultimately against the Czecho-Slovak country, which the Allies proposed to organise in Central Europe. It is a regular debt like any other debt between nations."

This, so far as is known, was the first information Congress had had of advances of money to the Czechs from the President's fund. Now the cash has "gone west."

The Majority in Germany.

In Germany, as in Russia, the iron law of events is driving the masses to recognise what the Bolsheviki have been blamed for recognising, the failure of parliamentary democracy. This is the explanation of the crisis which has come to a head at the first general Congress of the Majority Party at Weimar last week. The bulk of the resolutions before the Congress demanded unity between the Majority and the Independents, even if big personalities like Noske and Scheidemann must be sacrificed. The root of the discontent which produced these demands are to be found in the failure of the parliamentary majority commanded by Scheidemann to carry out the nationalisation of industries, and indeed to attempt to apply Socialism in any form, as well as its deliberate revival of a new militarism. But unity, Noske says, with his usual militarist brutality, can only be secured by the surrender of the Independents to the National Assembly as the sole seat of authority, and he adds, with frankness, the Independents will not make that surrender. The Independents accept the principle of the Workers' Councils, though of course they do not go so far in the Bolshevik direction as the Communists, and that principle is antagonistic to the purely political supremacy of the Assembly. Moreover, the Assembly, like the Constituent in Russia, is not now representative of the currents of political and social thought which have grown strong in Germany as they did in Russia since the elections for the Assembly, and as the masses of the workers who are not of the Communist Party are behind the Independents in this point of view, the sands are fast running out for the leaders of the Majority.

A MESSAGE FROM RUSSIA.

Through a direct message to "The Voice of Labour," the workers of Ireland are asked by their Russian comrades to hold meetings and demonstrations on the last Sunday in June in protest against the war now being waged by Capitalism and Imperialism against the first Workers' Republic.

What is being done in your district to organise these meetings? What are you doing to help? Is your Trades Council, your Trade Union, or your Branch arranging for a meeting? If not, why not?

Get your Council to move. Get your Union to move. Get your Branch to move. If none of these moves in time get a few of your fellow-workers together and form a committee to make preparations for a meeting.

Plenty of speakers are available, and a card, a note, or a wire to "The Voice" will bring anybody you want. But—get a move on.

Long live the Workers' Republics in Russia and Hungary! Long live the Workers' Republic in Ireland!

FREE SPEECH STIFLED AT BELFAST CUSTOM HOUSE STEPS.

A vigorous propaganda of the Soviet idea has been carried on for some time past at the "steps," but the British Empire League got its eye on the gathering, and at a recent meeting of that assembly of "Fat Bourgeois," a gentleman who "would-to-God he was young enough to fight," appealed to the mob to smash up the Bolshevik meetings.

The usual Custom House audience is remarkably tolerant, but the result of the incitement was the organisation of a gang to prevent free speech. There was a row at the meeting on Sunday, 15th inst., and now we learn that Charles Maker, John O'Hagan, and S. W. Greenspen have been arrested by warrant on a charge of illegal assembly.

No action has been taken against Mr. D. Turner, of the British Empire League, whose incitement to riot was reported in the daily papers of May 30. The comrades arrested formed the ginger group of the Strike Committee.

THE SIEGE OF DUNDALK.

Mr. Matthew Murphy, the commercial traveller shot by the investing force at Dundalk, was a member of the Irish Clerical Workers' Union, which passed a resolution at its annual conference in Waterford condemning the outrage.

We may ask, are the rank and file of English Trade Unionism going to permit the shooting of Irish Trade Unionists on sight by soldiers recruited from their own ranks, fed, clothed, and equipped by their labours?

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Advertisement for Dental Surgery. Features: NEW SETS FITTED TO A "T", TEETH ROULES REATED HOROUGHLY. PEACE & GOOD HEALTH. MR. M. MALAMED, 16 HENRY ST. ADJOINING ARNOTT'S, DUBLIN.

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CARTOONS BY ERNEST KAVANAGH.—20 cartoons by E.K., of the "Worker" making pictorial record of years 1912-1914, in Quarto Volume, 1s. post free.—Write "Move," c/o the "Voice."

Some Union Problems.

IV. TO BUILD OR TO EXPLOIT?

Rule II. states that the object of the Union is the "Building up" of an organization for the purpose of securing democratic control of industry.

This is the most important rule in the book. It describes in a few words our whole programme. The central idea, the whole pivot of our position, is this project of Building Up. We are not merely anxious to improve our conditions, we want to change the factors that determine those conditions, and by becoming our own masters, make bad conditions impossible.

To bring about such a change we propose to organise scientifically in our Union all the forces at our command, our labour and consuming and political forces, and direct them towards one end—the conquest of power. Our people want certain things—life, dignity, ease, culture. These things are withheld from them by well-marshalled forces grown old in the exercise of power. The individual boss is only the agent of these forces. Touch him and you will find yourself in contact with something much bigger and more powerful, the organisation of society itself, with wage-slavery as its very base. Competition, they say, is the life of trade, but competition means the death of the worker, because it means low wages. Therefore, for a permanent improvement of our working conditions, we need forces equal to the forces that believe in competition, because only such forces can abolish wage-slavery.

That is why we must rub our eyes and extend our vision beyond that 10s. a week to a better order of things where war, hatred, and strife will not be compulsory. Let no one fool you longer with the confidence trick: telling you to trust your betters, to respectfully urge your claims to justice and all will be well. The trouble is that your betters know nothing about justice, and believe only in fraud backed by force. After 1900 years Christian Ireland reminds one of nothing so forcibly as the saying of Christ, "Many honour Me with their lips, but their hearts are far from Me." The ethics of the market are still the ethics of Babylon. You cannot rectify your grievances by an appeal to justice. Society is founded on force, and respects nothing else.

A Building Policy is therefore the only possible course. Let us build up the Union. The evils of the day must be faced as they arise; we must still pursue that will-o'-the-wisp, the living wage; but until we learn to look ahead for something bigger and better than so much a week, we do not know our business. Let us prefer life and our freedom to the fleshpots of Egypt or the pint-pots of Ireland. Get your eye on the distant objective and go for it. If your branch is drifting along from week to week and month to month without policy or aim, if every quarter sees you where you were before, then you have people working for you who have eyes but do not see.

The thing, therefore, to compete about is, not how much you can get out of the Union, but how much you can put into it. Provided its resources are wisely managed, it is true to say that what you put into it is what pays you best. The Labour movement is not a fragile mushroom; it will be here after you, as it was here before you. If you want your share of the good things of life, don't rush it. The thing to do with the Union is:

To Build it up, not to Exploit it. J. J. HUGHES, Assist. Sec.

THE RED ARMY AT NEWCASTLE WEST.

Local tradition will preserve the tale of the Battle of Clounagh, fought on the fifth of June. Twenty-seven carts manned by local farmers murderously armed were formed into a cavalcade and driven like Jehu's chariots to the coal siding at Newcastle West, there to load coal for a local co-operative creamery which was idle because co-operation in that part of the country does not give a square deal to the workers.

Warnings to abstain from scabbing were ignored by the hefty farmers. When they sought to unload the coal the entire body of workers in the town was mobilised, and under the command of an ex-Sergeant Major, the attack began. Victory wreathed the Red Banner, and as the carts containing the coal were somewhat damaged, the deserving poor of the town got theirs cheap.

"We had no difficulty in routing them," said one of the Red Guard, "owing to our knowledge of military tactics."

Next day word came that some coal for the creamery had arrived at Rathkeale. A free train trip was taken by the Red Army and Rathkeale invested. The Co-op. manager, on seeing the strikers, abandoned his horse and trap to seek the shelter of a solicitors' office. Later, pieces of the trap were seen in the River Deel.

The original dispute lasted nine weeks. After two days' battle, the farmers caved in.

Terms of settlement were arranged by Maurice Neligan thus:—Full recognition of the I.T. and G.W.U.: 15s on 25s to indoor staff; apprentice, who struck in sympathy, to resume; legal proceedings against men withdrawn; £20 to be paid to strikers' families; 3d. for butter boxes, and 5d. for cheese crates, to be paid coopers; seven days' notice of any dispute to be given by either side.

Transport Union Notes.

DUBLIN DOINGS

The difference existing between the Dublin Shipping Association and the I.T. and G.W. Union in connection with the claim for an increase of wages to the men engaged in the cross-Channel trade, having been referred to the Interim Court of Arbitration for determination under the Conciliation Act, 1896, the hearing of the case took place last week at the Irish Ministry of Labour, Lord Edward St., and the result will be promulgated in due course.

A CONFERENCE.

took place at the Port Board between representatives of the Union and a Committee of the Custom House Docks Dept. of the Board in reference to the wages application of the labourers in the Docks Dept. After a lengthy discussion of the matter in all its bearings a satisfactory settlement was reached, of which the following are the salient points:—All employes to receive a minimum of 49s. per week, the advance to be retrospective to the 14th April, and overtime in future to be payable at the rate of time-and-a-quarter.

Concerning the wage aspect of this case it is to be borne in mind that every employe who did any work in the Docks Dept. since the 14th April, although he may have since left the job, is entitled to receive the back money covering the period of his employment.

In the case of the Dock gate men an advance of 6s. 6d. per week has also been granted; to be payable from the 3rd April, and a similar increase has been conceded to the scavengers in the Harbour Master's dept. from the same date.

THAT ONE BIG UNION.

The O.B.U. idea is still developing. The week before last witnessed the absorption of the Dublin Operative Farmers and the Dublin Carpet Planners Trades Unions. The progress, however, should be more marked, but nevertheless, these are significant straws indicating how the wind is blowing. We stand "four square" on the statement that the "old spot by the River" is manifestly the workers "one bright spot." The multiplicity of unions at present clearly impedes class progress, and with Hamlet we say "O reform it altogether."

HUGE PROFITS

having been realised by the Junior Army & Navy Stores on the year's trading, the union men in that important dry and wet store are now demanding that a slice of the profits be apportioned to them, as well as to the already well-paid higher officials and directors.

The men are only asking for a 50 per cent. advance in their present wages and bonus, and we hear that they are fully determined to hold out for the whole "pound of flesh." Good luck to them, say we.

THE FRIGID AND CALCULATED CANARD

in currency ament the Union's motor was disposed of admirably by the G.P. at a recent meeting of the lately launched Shop Stewards' movement. The risible faculties of all present were tickled as Tom the terrible truth did tell about the auto affair. Only the other day at the English Commission Comrade Williams, of the Transport Federation, was almost annihilated by some air-starred noble Lord, because, according to the veracity of Dame Rumour, poor Williams had dared to joy-ride in a limousine, hid behind a fat cigar. Oh it's a funny world, my masters.

The Wholesale Provision Merchants Association as a result of negotiations with the Union, has offered an all round advance of 8s. per week to the employes in the trade, whilst fresh demands have been served on the music depots and drug houses in the city for better conditions.

With a pre-war wage of 20s. and a 54-hour working week, the Smith's helpers to-day have 50s. and a 47-hour week, as the result of a recent arbitration. The revised rate, fixed by the arbitrators, comes into operation from the 2nd April, 1919.

Messrs. Lalor, Ltd., church candle manufacturers, have consented to increase the employes' wages by 5s. and 2s. 6d. to the boys, on a 44-hour week. Theatreland threatens trouble shortly. The claim of Messrs. Arnott's employes has been referred to the Merchant Drapers' Association, and a reply is now awaited.

The ss. "Thelma" has been the subject of much correspondence recently. More, however, will be heard in the matter shortly, but, for the moment, the uninitiated must rest content with the assurance from us that the "Thelma" is not a mystery ship.

THE SHOP STEWARDS COUNCIL.

The second meeting of the Shop Stewards Council of No. 1 Branch I.T. and G.W.U. was held in Liberty Hall on Wednesday, 11th inst. In the absence of T. Moran on Union business, Wm. O'Brien was called to the chair. J. MacDonnell, of the "Voice of Labour," sketched briefly the rise of the

Shop Stewards movement, which was the direct outcome of the Industrial Unionism preached and practised by James Larkin and James Connolly. The shop steward chosen in the workshop by the rank and file was the direct link between the workman and his annually elected committee and officials.

The growth of No. 1 Branch made it impossible for the branch committee to tackle the wider problems that face the union without sacrificing the essential routine business. It would devolve on the shop stewards to look ahead, to plan policy in industrial affairs to formulate the municipal programme of the union and to become the exponents of the Union's political action.

Nothing in the Union was beyond their criticism. They would check officialism and advise on administration. They would assume a direct responsibility for the policy of the Union. That responsibility would be a preparation in revolutionary discipline against the day when workers would cease quibbling over questions of wages and hours, and go for control of industry.

Examples were quoted of the work of the provincial branches in which the branch committee was chosen on this plan of direct workshop representation. Everywhere the system was working it had succeeded.

Numerous questions were asked, and an interesting discussion took place. A committee of six members was appointed to draw up rules to regulate future meetings and to define the duties of the Council's office-bearers.

Chapelized Distillery Award.

The award gives 6s. advance to men, 4s. to women, boys 3s., bringing the minimum to 48s. for a 47-hour week. Monaghan.

Co. Council men advanced 4s. to 30s., and got hours reduced by 10, to 50. New-Bless Branch has been set going, and promises well. Pallasgreen.

The Compulsory Tillage Regulations require 15 per cent. of arable land to be tilled. Some of the alleged farmers here are observing the regulations in this wise:—One with 150 acres tills 4, four others from 100 to 260 acres till between 7 and 10, two others with 60 acres don't till enough to soil a lark. Meanwhile "the Department" keeps the telescope to the blind eye. Newbridge.

What is the game on the Curragh? Seven stable lads have been dismissed from one of the stables and replaced by seven imported English lads (non-union). This trainer recently signed an agreement to employ only Union members! A strenuous kick has been registered. Rhoads.

Universal disgust is rising among the people of the district at the obstinacy of the group of farmers who persist in the lock-out, and it is now being translated into a sterner action. Even the chairman of the A.W. Board was rebuffed. Tipperary.

Fownes Bros. and Co., in a letter refusing the demand of the Gloving School, display interesting British mentality. They say "We should welcome the opportunity of closing this branch which any hostile action on the part of the Union would afford us. The difficulties and expenses of management, the uncertainty of transport, and the general unrest in Ireland are themselves quite sufficient to render the Tipperary school a most unprofitable feature of our organisation." The last objection comes ill from people who were heavily fined for trading during the war with Germany, thus adding to the "unrest" caused by their enemies. Kanturk.

Most of the employer's of shop assistants have now settled. Ten men still out. Arigna.

The victimised men have now been given work. The Coal Commission visited the mines last week and steps have been taken to make the powers that be wise to the hard conditions under which the men have to toil. Glin.

Co-operative Creamery men won increase of 7s. 6d.; 12s. 6d. for dairy maid and increase of 4s per trip for carter. Dundrum, Co. Tipp.

Suir Valley Creamery Co. employes received good advances—15s. to sawyers, 12s. to labourers; reduction of hours from 60 to 50. Carlow.

Governey's mineral water factory operatives got 7s. 6d. increase. Cork.

Tramwaymen agreed to defer demand for 50s. and 44-hour week until the company are empowered by Board of Trade to give increase. Fr. Thomas presided at a Conciliation Board meeting, and arranged a temporary increase of 4s. with reduction of hours.