

# The VOICE OF LABOUR

INCORPORATING

The Workers' Republic.

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ONE PENNY.]

## The Workers' World Wide Battle is Reflected Here.

BY THE "VOICE'S" OWN CORRESPONDENTS.

### Switzerland.

#### The Socialist Party and the Third International.

(By Our Special Correspondent.)  
(J. HUMBERT DROZ.)  
Le Chaux de Fonds, August 23.

On August 16, after a very spirited discussion lasting the whole day and part of the night, the Congress of the Swiss Socialist Party at Bale decided, by 313 votes against 147, upon immediate and unconditional adhesion to the Third or Communist International of Moscow.

This is the culmination of the slow evolution of the Swiss Socialist Party. Some years ago the Party separated from the organisation of the Grutli, which had become the reformist right wing. In 1915 and 1916 it took part in, and formally joined, the Zimmerwald movement; in 1917 it declared itself opposed to national defence, and in February, 1919, the day before the social-patriot Conference at Berne, it decided not to take any part in the latter Conference.

Since then the Executive Committee had officially broken off relations with the Second International, without yet, however, joining the Third. The Congress of Bale completed this evolution; it ratified the rupture with the Second International by 459 votes against 1, and joined the Third International by an enormous majority. The first duty of the Party is now to revise its programme, so as to apply the principles and tactics of the Third International to the national conditions here.

It is just in this application of the principles of the Third International that difficulties and strife will arise. For comrades abroad must not take the Bale vote as a pure and simple adhesion to Bolshevik methods. The break with the Second, and adhesion to the Third International are purely verbal and formal. The tactics of the Swiss Party have not changed, and it remains

#### Opportunist and Reformist.

even going as far as collaboration in the cantonal Governments. At the Bale Congress only a small group on the Left wanted to abandon Parliamentary Action, and that group was defeated by the vast majority of the adherents of the Third International. The latter felt in no way committed to new tactics, and the second day of Congress was devoted to the electoral campaign in the autumn and purely reformist questions. Between the first and second days of the Congress lay a chasm which shows too well the effort that has yet to be made before the new principles which have been voted are applied to our national life.

The great opposition comes from trade union circles, of which the bureaucracy, as in Germany and elsewhere, is thoroughly reactionary.

Already in the large towns like Zurich and Geneva the battle has been joined between the central officials of the Unions and the working rank and file. In Zurich in particular a thousand workers who had founded a Workers' Council, have been expelled from the Metal Workers' Federation. So long as the Trade Union circles are hostile to the formation of workshops' committees and workers' councils, the Socialist Party will be impeded in its revolutionary progress.

But greater than Congress resolutions are the events which guide the labouring masses.

#### It is Economic Life which Educates our Proletariat.

To be sure, our proletariat has not suffered as much as others from the war, and the food situation is much improved since the armistice. But living has become considerably dearer, and despite the increases in wages and the social reforms which have been won, the discontent still remains.

The class of the nouveaux riches, who built up scandalous fortunes during the war provokes the working class, and the unrest is growing. Some weeks ago a general strike took place in Bale and

(Continued on Page 6.)

### OUR OLD ALLY, FRANCE

#### The Syndicalist Awakening in School, Foundry and Field.

(By Our Special Correspondent,  
ALFRED ROSMER.)

Paris, August 23.  
Two Trade Union Conferences which have just been held, seem to indicate that a syndicalist awakening is showing itself on the eve of the Congress of the General Confederation of Labour.

The first is the Congress of the Federation National des Syndicats d'Instituteurs et Institutrices, the National Federation of the Teachers' Unions. Before dealing with its work, it is necessary to make a brief historical review of the Federation.

#### Teachers' Fight for Trade Unionism.

Up till recent times, the unions grouped in the Federation were illegal bodies. The French law on professional unions did not give French State officials the right to organise in trade unions. Many of them being of a conservative turn of mind, moreover, never as much as thought of organising on trade union lines, and were satisfied with friendly societies or "amicales." For a long time this was actually the case with the teachers themselves. Their "amicales," or friendly societies, grouped together in considerable strength, had principally for their main object the defence of the layman's outlook, for the Catholic Church has always fought bitterly and striven to make life hard for the men and women teachers since education was secularised. These friendly societies also applied themselves to the defence of corporate professional interests, but they did it with a certain coldness and great humility.

Ten or twelve years ago, however, a number of teachers decided to establish trade unions. Workers themselves, and amongst the worst paid at that, they claimed to have the right to join with other workers and meet each other in the Bourse du Travail, or Chambers of Labour, and the C.G.T., a thing their "amicales" could not do.

This the Government decided to oppose. It took action in the law courts. But as the question of the trade Union rights of officials had always to be settled by Parliament, the decisions of the courts were never observed, and the State was compelled to let the Teachers' Union go on.

#### Teachers Solid for Revolution.

This shows naturally that the unions included the most forward elements amongst those engaged in education.

At the first Congress, held during the war, the revolutionary tendency, opposed to the war, received a big majority. I remember that at the conclusion of the Congress the delegates sang "l'Internationale," and took great pride in it, saying: "It is the first time for it to be sung since the beginning of the war!" And it was quite true.

Much exercised about the feeling in trade union circles, the Government was very dissatisfied with this Congress, from which the first public expression in opposition to the war had gone forth. It had already suppressed the Federation's weekly journal. It now decided to proclaim every Congress in the future. However, the Congresses were held every year as ordinarily, but secretly. One of them, indeed, held its concluding session on a lawn in the Bois de Boulogne!

The attendance was not very large at all these Congresses held during the war on account of the large number of organised members mobilised. But this year's Congress was at full strength. None had ever been so well attended, the effective strength of the unions—now quite legal—being considerably increased.

The question was, what attitude was Congress going to take up with regard to current questions?

That was soon settled. The report had been entrusted to an "extremist" Bovet, a teacher in a small village in the department of Maine et Loire. His report was adopted practically unanimously, and at the end of Congress he was appointed secretary to the Federation. In sum-

ming up his report, he declared, "the will of the Federation to remain faithful to the tactics of the class struggle and the International ideal and its decision to resort, like other wage-earners, to the general strike and to intensify propaganda with a view to establishing the Communist Republic all over the world."

The question of the adhesion of the Federation to the Third International could not be decided upon, many of the delegates not having precise instructions on this point. The unions were to examine this question and make their pronouncements on it before November 1st. It is not to be doubted but that adhesion to the Third International will be decided upon by a very large majority.

#### The Metal Workers.

Some days after this Congress, the Federation of Metal Workers held a meeting in Paris of its National Council, consisting of eighteen members, in the ratio of one from each district.

#### Merrheim's Fall from Grace.

The Secretary of the Federation of Metal Workers is Merrheim, who, up to last year, was the leader of the Syndicalist Minority. From as far back as the time Trotsky came to Paris—from 1914 to 1916—Merrheim kept up very cordial relations with Trotsky and accompanied him to Zimmerwald. Towards the middle of 1918, through fear of the Revolution which was already felt rumbling everywhere, Merrheim drew closer to the men whom he had constantly fought, those who had made the "union sacree" with the Government and the employers, and whom he denounced as the agents of the Government in the Labour organisations. To-day he works in complete agreement with them.

This somersault had a considerable influence on the French Labour movement. Merrheim had given up the battle on the eve of victory. Those who had followed him loyally were disconcerted and thrown off their course. Now they are recovering themselves again, and at the National Council just held, eight votes—as against ten—formally condemned Merrheim's new policy and demanded his resignation. This is not a majority yet, but it is very near it.

#### Agricultural Workers' Strike.

In all countries, and for the same reasons, it is difficult to organise the land workers. In France the great parcelling out of property constitutes a still greater difficulty; many agricultural day-labourers are at the same time owners of small holdings. Before the war, however, some success in founding unions was attained in the departments of the South, especially in the wine-producing areas, and these unions very soon brought about a general raising of wages. But to-day these unions have almost completely disappeared, and in this field, as in many others, everything has to be done all over again. That the task will be less stiff than formerly seems to be shown by a strike which has just taken place at the very gates of Paris.

For some time a certain agitation has been going on among the agricultural workers in the open country of Gonesse, beginning about a dozen kilometres to the north of Paris, and extending to Soissons. Here the chief produce is market gardening, and then principally corn crops and beet-root. A few families, intimately related, have all this vast plain in their own lands alone, and reigned unbridled over it. The fortunes realised by these modern lords of the soil are enormous, and the war has increased them still more. Accustomed to the respectful submission of their serfs, who uncovered themselves when meeting them, they have been surprised to find revolt rumbling among these unfortunate folk, driven to the last extremity by the constantly rising cost of living, and still existing on an average daily wage of seven francs (nominally about 6s. 8d.).

(Continued on Page 6.)

### Britain.

#### Sylvia Pankhurst's Straight Talk on British Labour.

Russia and Divided Action.

London, August 21.

#### The Second International, Lloyd George and Russia.

At the present time, one of the most important questions before us is that of the Allied attack on Soviet Russia and on the Communist Movement in Europe generally.

In his speech on Government policy to the House of Commons on August 18th, Mr. Lloyd George made an astonishing statement. He said that whereas the Government had promised to withdraw the British troops from Russia before the winter, he had received an urgent demand from the Second International meeting at Zurich, that British soldiers should be retained in the Caucasus, on the ground that the Turks would massacre the Armenians unless British soldiers were there to prevent them.

Unfortunately, Mr. Lloyd George's statement is only too true, for the Second International has actually passed such a resolution. This is a calamitous mistake in policy, and it is hardly possible to believe that the leaders of the Second International could be so ignorant as not to realise its exceedingly dangerous effect.

Possession of the Caucasus gives to the British, not merely control of the great oil wells at Baku, for lack of which the people of Soviet Russia have suffered untold hardships, both domestic and industrial; it also provides an important point of vantage for control of the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea, and the Sea of Azof, and gives British warships power to bombard and blockade the Communists, and to cut them off from access to the sea.

Besides that, British occupation of the Caucasus is an immense advantage to General Denikin, who is at present the most formidable and successful enemy of Soviet Russia. Whilst the British are in the Caucasus, there will be no difficulty in bringing Denikin munitions, and in sending troops and reinforcements to him.

#### Coercing the Circassians.

As for the people of the Caucasus, they have been rising against Denikin for some time past. The Circassian Press Bureau on 11th July stated that a grave struggle was going on between Denikin and the North Caucasian Republic. The Circassian Government had addressed a strong protest to the Allied representatives, urging that it had taken part neither for nor against Russia, but had assisted any who had taken refuge within its territory. The Circassian Government, therefore, claimed that Denikin's army should entertain no aggressive designs towards its people. But, nevertheless, Denikin had ordered the Circassian Government to furnish him with troops, the people of Daghestan, for example, having been asked to supply three regiments of cavalry, three of infantry, and three squadrons of artillery, all fully equipped. The Circassian Prime Minister had declared that all the Circassian peoples must unite in fighting against Denikin.

During the last few days, it has been reported in the British Press that the Allies have ordered the Circassian peoples to assist Denikin. Nevertheless, we have had this absurd resolution by the Second International, and we have Mr. Ramsay MacDonald saying that "some of us are frightened by the excesses of the Bolsheviks." Really, it seems almost to require a surgical operation to make some people look at anything from any point of view other than that of the Government!

#### Soldiers and Workers Strike, and Officials Funk.

There is a healthy tendency amongst the British workers towards taking a stand against the Russian intervention, but this tendency is balked at every point by old-fashioned officialdom. The Bristol Dockers, many months ago, were the first to show signs of taking direct action on the part of the Soviet Republic. They refused to load munitions going to

(Continued on Page 6.)





## THE TRADE UNIONS IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

In discussions and enquiries on the Bolshevik Revolution and the Soviet regime in the Workers' Republic of Russia no question has been raised more frequently in the ranks of organised Labour, and none of more importance than the query: What part did the trade unions play in the events preceding and following the Revolution, and what position do they hold in the Socialist administration since the workers seized power in November, 1917?

Diligent searching amongst all the available documents, pamphlets, books and newspaper and review articles in several languages, and equally diligent questioning of European and American travellers who have returned from Russia have brought nothing like a satisfactory answer to this question. No writer or speaker could, or at least would throw as much light upon the activities of the Russian unions as students and workers in the trade union movement wanted. At most bare outlines and hints were all that could be extracted even from the best informed and most sympathetic sources.

Yet on other aspects of the Revolution important and authentic information has not been wanting, if it has not been as plentiful as desired. Russians like Trotsky, Lenin, Bukarin, Radek, Lunatcharsky, Litvinoff, etc., have contributed to the mass of material which has been published during the past year; sympathetic Americans like John Reed, Louise Bryant and Madeleine Doty have published excellent works founded upon their own first hand experience; independent-minded Frenchmen like Etienne Antonelli and Jacques Sadoul, and Englishmen like Arthur Ransome and M. Phillips Price have written fairly and impartially from the non-Bolshevik point of view, and the revolutionary trade unionist no less than the student of contemporary history is deeply and eternally indebted to them. But not from these, nor even from the altogether admirable and invaluable clearing houses of documentary information, which Henri Guilbeaux's review, "Demain," in Switzerland and Ludwig Love's "The Class Struggle" in the United States have established, has it been possible to piece together a coherent account of the share of the trade unions in the Revolution and the Soviet.

The actual events of the Revolution and the months before and after it, the men and their principles, the situation in Russia, political, economic and social, the parties, peoples and problems, the methods, decrees and organs of government, the forces of defence and offence in the military and the intellectual fields, the position of literature and the arts, industry, commerce and agriculture, education and religion under the new Socialist order, the policy of the Bolsheviks towards the nationalities and their international problems and policy, all these have been dealt with in more or less detail.

But two most interesting and important fields remain comparatively unexplored: the military organisation of the November insurrection and the role of the trade unions in the course of the Revolution. These have been completely neglected in English, and yet the experience and the lesson to be learned from the Revolution must be incomplete so long as these two aspects are neglected. Luckily the Russians themselves come here again to the rescue, suggesting the question whether there is any avenue of enlightenment which they have not rushed to enter.

Two slight but intensely interesting pamphlets written by actual participants in the Revolution serve the very useful purpose of introducing us to these vital studies. They are Wanine's "Contributions to the History and Technique of a Proletarian Revolution," and Gleboff's "Role of the Labour Unions in the Russian Revolution." It is the latter pamphlet which is translated elsewhere in these pages, and the former is already translated, and will take its place in our literature in good time.

Gleboff himself is the N. P. Aviloff who was made People's Commissary of Posts and Telegraphs in the first Government of the Soviet Republic appointed by the Second Congress of Soviets on the historic October 26 (old style), 1917. By trade he is a typographical worker, but by profession he has been one of the most active or practical revolutionaries. A prominent member of the secret organisation in Moscow, he was imprisoned in 1907 for revolutionary propaganda, but escaped abroad, and there followed the courses in one of the training schools for the agitators and propagandists of the Party.

This pamphlet is one of the most important documents that has come out of Russia since Lenin's "The Present Problems of the Soviet Power" (published by the Socialist Information and Research Bureau, Glasgow, under the title "The Soviets at Work") broke the intellectual blockade.

Gleboff's pamphlet is not a history of the Trade Union movement from its origins until its full development under the Soviet, but an analysis of its position in the greater movement which culminated in the overthrow of the capitalist system in Russia. That position is exactly what all close students of Trade Unionism in the modern and revolutionary sense surmised it would be. Although numerically weaker and organically worse organised than the trade union movements in Europe and America the Russian unions took that active and leading part which the revolutionary advocates of industrial unionism would have them take in every country. They fulfilled their allotted revolutionary task in the Revolution, and fought their political fight at the same time as they carried on their industrial struggle.

Above all things the Russian unions were practical at the same time as they were revolutionary. They changed their tactics and their battleground when the circumstances demanded such a change. They tolerated no such humbug as "neutral" trade unionism within their movement, and they used the political weapon and the industrial weapon when the fight demanded the use of the one or the other. They never allowed themselves to be deluded into believing that their interests and the interests of the employing class, were the same, and hence they kept splendidly clear of all co-operation with the Russian bourgeois democrats who climbed to power on the backs of the workers after the first Revolution of 1917. If some of them strayed from this straight path for a time they were quickly disillusioned, and their awakening came in time to save them from the consequences of error.

In due season the fruits of all this sprang forth, and in the end the youngest, least experienced and least organised Trade Union movement in the world had the credit not only of inaugurating the universal eight hours' day and the control of industry by the workers, but it was the first to become a real governing and dominating part in the national administration.

Gleboff's pamphlet tells exactly how this apparent miracle was brought about. It tells of the strength and weakness of the unions, discusses the difficulties they had to face, and shows them grappling with the tremendous problems of the control and administration of industry, the production of labour, the organising of government and society, the creation of an army. All these are questions which had been faced more or less academically before and in other countries, but in Russia they were the actual everyday problems of the Revolution.

In Russia they were faced and solved. They have yet to arise in other countries, but that they shall arise there is neither shadow nor shade of shadow of doubt. To their solution nothing will help more than the experience of the Russians, and this pamphlet of Gleboff's, therefore, slight as it is and imperfect, will be a welcome and useful primer of constructive trade unionism in practice.

### I.C.A. PIPERS' BAND.

#### Result of Drawing.

- 1st Prize.—Eabel Maher (27,307), Clooneen, Clough, Co. Kilkenny.  
2nd Prize.—Francis Steadman (9,360), 13 Brighton Gardens, Terenure.  
3rd Prize.—Sarah Curran (9,567), 5 Liberty Lane, Dublin.  
4th Prize.—Mrs. Nolan (17,656), 171 Townsend Street, Dublin.

### PORTLAW PIPERS' BAND DRAW.

Owing to branch secretaries not sending duplicates, the raffle in aid of above has been unavoidably postponed to Sunday, September 7, 1919.

### TO GLASGOW READERS.

After this week the sole wholesale agent for the sale of the "Voice of Labour" in Scotland will be

Messrs. JOHN MENZIES & Co., Ltd.,  
Wholesale Newsagents,  
West Nile Street, Glasgow;  
Manover Street, Edinburgh.

from whom all Sinn Fein Clubs, Irish Labour Party branches, and Socialist societies should order supplies.

# The Workers' Republic

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

Workers, have you thought about organising a Food Vigilance Committee to deal with profiteering shop-keepers and merchants in your town or district in these days of fast-rising prices? If not, get thinking now and AGT.

### The Censorship.

Since last Sunday the British censorship of newspapers and books in Ireland has been abolished and the censor and his staff have ceased to function in Grafton street. But that counts for little. At the same time as the censorship was abolished the Press was officially informed in the plainest language that the D.O.R.A. regulations remain and would be enforced, and that any journal contravening these regulations would have to put up with the consequences. In other words, the real censorship is now in the hands of the military and the D.M.P. and R.I.C. J— B—, of the G Division, General Shaw and Brigadier Hackett Pain replace Censor Bryan Cooper and his assistants. This really means that every journal, printer and publisher in Ireland is at the absolute mercy of any whippersnapper of a peeler or military officer who wants to earn promotion by pretending that a newspaper has offended against Dora. We may expect then not more but less freedom of writing, and not fewer but more suppressions of papers and raids and wrecking in printing establishments, as in the recent cases of "The Irishman" and the "Kilkenny People."

### Our Last Week's Number.

As if to give us a parting kick, the Censor last week cut our editorial to pieces and mangled our account of the raid on Liberty Hall and our reports on the big victory of the farm workers. The result was that our criticism of Dail Eireann did not appear in the form in which it was written and the sequence of argument was lost. This was all the more remarkable since some of the expressions we had used were exactly the same as appeared in a contemporary printed in the same firm and at the same time as "The Voice." It certainly was a strange irony that in its endeavour to bolster up the de facto government in Ireland against the de jure government of Ireland, the last act of the British censorship should be the virtual screening of the Dail and its cabinet from criticism and the suppression of an invitation to the opposition with the Dail itself to criticise the cabinet along the lines "The Voice" suggested.

This paragraph, by the way, could not appear as above if the censorship were still in force, and we may, therefore, be thankful for small and occasional mercies.

### Dail and Ard-Chomhairle.

Our gentle strictures on the Dail's practice of publishing its decisions through a party organisation were made not a moment too soon, as last week's "New Ireland" proves. So far from criticising the Dail for taking this course, as we should have expected from what is ordinarily a decidedly independent and critical journal, "New Ireland" seems rather well pleased that the Ard-Chomhairle has been chosen as the mouthpiece of the national assembly. Thus our contemporary says: "The meeting of the Ard-Chomhairle was chosen as the opportunity for publishing to the Sinn Fein organisation and the country" (the emphasis is ours) "the plan of Dail Eireann. The Ard-Chomhairle thus becomes a very important part in the machinery of Irish government" (we were blue-pencilled by the censor for using that phrase!) "as the medium or link between the Dail and the people." After this "New Ireland" can scarcely object to, say, the Ulster Unionist Council as part of the machinery of Castle Government in Ireland. We need not pursue the matter furthermore, as our last week's argument was clear but curtailed. But one thing we may at least hope for, that in the interval of waiting the people may get in the clash and conflict of opposing political conceptions and their free and full discussion that training in political thinking which is a necessary preliminary to responsible administration and government.

### Meath and Kildare.

Workers in all parts of the country should note the lessons of the big fight by the farm workers' section of the I.T. and G.W. Union in Meath and Kildare. To put the whole thing in a nutshell, the farmers and their association in both counties were beaten to a frazzle and literally pleaded for a settlement when it came to the last stages of the fight. Months ago the farmers were warned of the consequences that would follow their attempt to put the farm workers' organisation out of action. The significant lesson for workers elsewhere is the splendid success of the scientific methods of fighting adopted by the men of Meath and Kildare. The system of widespread organisation, the application of the principle of sympathetic action, the military precision and direction of all the operations, were all the outcome of the good training of the men as an agricultural

division of a real Army of Labour, the congratulations which have poured on Meath and Kildare we would add our own, and with this recommendation: in both counties the commissioned non-commissioned officers conce throw their whole weight now into education and further training of fine fighting material in these counties.

### Why We Need O.B.U.

The victory in Meath and Kildare enabled the farm workers in several counties to make satisfactory settlements without much trouble. But we are sure to see that in some respects some unions are not reaping the fruits they are entitled to. This does not, of course apply to the membership of the Trans and General Workers' Union. But are afraid it applies, for instance, local union in Wexford and Wicklow. Fault is really with the system of organisation and the type of union. The union cannot do what the national union can. And if the local unions were they would see to it in time and themselves from making settlements as short a period of the year as a few weeks out of twelve months.

### SUPPRESSING THE "VOICE" HOME AND ABROAD.

From an American correspondent learn that the "Voice of Labour" is noxious to the municipal authorities Boston, Mass. Boston has two traditions. It was the scene of the "Boston Tea Party," when, in 1773, its citizens emptied a cargo of tea into the harbor rather than pay the tea tax imposed by the English Parliament. From this of rebellion sprang the United States America. Revolutionary Boston was inspiration of the struggle for American Freedom. To that conflict Ireland on the independence of her Parliament.

The other Boston tradition is older: less pleasant. The settlement of Massachusetts was made by English puritans who brought with them their habits meddling in other people's business, dictating the conduct of the individual life.

### THE "VOICE" PROSECUTED.

Recently our comrade, Miss Fitzgerald of the James Connolly Fellowship Club was selling the "Voice" on Boston Common. She was arrested under an ancient ordinance, forbidding the sale or distribution of goods on the Common. Around were political and religious meetings in full blast, every one of them selling books and papers, and handing out leaflets. Only the little Irish revolutionary paper is black-listed by the B.L. Laws of Massachusetts. Comrade Fitzgerald appeared in due course before magistrate, and was dismissed with admonition.

That is in the "sweet land of Liberty"

### THE HOME BRAND.

From Kilkormac comes an intimation that the P.P. has prohibited the "Voice of Labour" being read in his parish, doubtless because the "Voice" has had to direct the attention of the Lord Bishop of Meath to the frigid and calculated mis-statements of the Very Revd. P. about the I.T. and G.W.U. "Revolutionary doctrine" is the far alleged against the "Voice." We plead guilty.

We have taught with St. Antoni (O.P., Archbishop of Florence) that among men no social life is at all possible except on the understanding that each speaks the truth. Therefore, deceiving, and falsehood are destructive human Society, and truth its preserver. That is a revolutionary doctrine in the parish where the people have been to the Transport Union is a Freemason Society.

Another doctrine we have taught which will be disagreeable to the Revd. Chairman of the Farmers' Union we may refer in the words of the Revd. Ben Jarrett, O.P.:—"St. Antonino insists on the principle rightly understood, which Karl Marx has, in recent years, made so popular, that the value of things commercial (i.e., exchangeable), depend upon labour, whether of head or hand."

We have denounced the private monopoly of land, and in very good company as witness St. Thomas Aquinas. "The Ambrose (340 A.D.) says, 'Let no man call his own that which is common property,' he is referring to the use of property. Hence, he adds, 'Whatever man possesses above what is necessary for his sufficient comfort, he holds in violence.'"

These doctrines are indeed so revolutionary that they have frequently been quoted by Continental Liberals as reason why Europe should abandon the Church. We are mildly surprised to find that the doctrines of Continental free-thinkers are embraced in the Diocese of Meath and those of doctors and saints rejected.

We remember, however, that the revolutionary gentleman who is taking up the task of censorship laid down by the British Government is a farmer, and a chairman of the local Farmers' Union Branch.



# The Role of the Labour Unions in the Russian Revolution.

By N. P. AVILOFF (GLEBOFF),

People's Commissioner for Posts and Telegraphs in the Government of the Russian Soviet Republic.

Translated by CATHAL O'SHANNON.

The Russian Trade Union movement, founded during the revolutionary period, followed step by step the progress of the revolutionary Labour movement. It was founded in 1905 at the time of the first Revolution, was then crushed and extinguished by the triumphant reaction and was born again in the new and this time victorious Revolution.

## The February Revolution of 1917.

In the month of February when the great Russian Revolution began the Labour movement had scarcely any strong professional organisations to bring forward class questions of a purely proletarian character. All the professional organisations had been dissolved by a blind jingoism and reactionary militarism. Even those which had wholeheartedly upheld Russian militarism were not spared.

But when the eyes of the Russian proletariat had been finally opened by Russian imperialism, autocracy and militarism after three years of war and the autocracy and militarism of the Czars had been overthrown, a new era opened in the history of the Labour movement. From the early days of the February Revolution the whole situation changed; professional organisations were founded and developed rapidly. In the four months preceding the first Conference of professional organisations of all Russia over a thousand unions were organised comprising more than 2,000,000 members. According to the figures of the Committee on credentials 967 professional organisations sent delegates to the Conference. The unions contained 1,475,429 members, not including the railwaymen and postal and telegraph workers, and in addition the representatives of a large number of organisations were not able to arrive in time for the Congress.

From these figures it will be seen that our Trade Union movement has put itself at one bound on a level with the Trade Union movement in Western Europe. Indeed so far as its objects and duties are concerned it is in advance of the western movement.

## No Political Neutrality.

Formed during the Revolution and developed in its spirit our professional organisations directed all their activity towards making the Revolution broader and deeper. In the full blast of the struggle in this revolutionary period it was impossible for the Russian professional organisations to maintain political "neutrality" towards the whole revolutionary movement of the proletariat. On the contrary as the Revolution progressed they intensified the struggle for the complete liberation of the working class from the shackles of imperialism and capitalism. With us neutral unions had no existence; politics were discussed everywhere; in one way or another every professional organisation reacted on the whole political outcome of the Revolution as it went forward. There was a battle of parties in all elections, in the meetings of delegates, the conferences, the congresses. Even our "neutrals," the Mensheviks, came to the conclusion that politics could not be excluded from the unions and inside the unions they organised groups of their followers to represent their political opinions in the professional organisations.

## Political versus Social Revolution.

The origin of the division inside the professional organisations was the difference of view upon the character and the future of the Russian Revolution. One side assumed as its task the consolidation of the conquests of the February Revolution, that is to say, the democratic regime in Russia; the other found that the bourgeois February Revolution must be transformed into a social revolution and that consequently all the actions of the working class must be guided towards the extension of the Revolution and its transformation into a Socialist Revolution. The events which followed proved that this latter point of view was correct and that the labour unions must give their attention to the fundamental transformation of the whole bourgeois economic machinery of the country.

The battle between the different parties for influence in our Revolution and for the influence of the unions themselves over the progress of the Revolution was seen especially at the Conference of professional organisations of all Russia. In the beginning the Russian bourgeoisie's domination of the whole political and economic life of the country determined the line of conduct of one group of rather compact professional organisations and especially of its leaders. A little more than one half of the delegates who arrived showed the whole indecision of the country for the time being.

As previously the role of the professional organisations was limited to the economic struggle of the proletariat, to the instruction and education of the people, and to the fight against unemployment. It was only under the influence and pressure of the revolutionary half of the Conference that this role was extended and the unions' participation in the organisation of labour control was admitted as indispensable. It was thanks to this pressure the need was recognised of keeping up the activity of the Soviets which was being applied to broadening the social conquests of the proletariat.

This important account of organised Labour's part in the making of the New Russia will be continued in next week's "Voice."

## The All-Russian Conference of Unions.

But if, in the All-Russian Conference of the professional organisations held in the month of June, there was no unanimity of opinion on the future of our Revolution and even the majority of the delegates pronounced in favour of the collaboration of classes and of support for the bourgeois regime in Russia in the month of July, 1917, the organisations sharply changed their tactics and admitted the necessity of fighting for power for the Soviets and for the Socialist re-organisation of society. Already at the deliberative assembly of Moscow in August a group of professional organisations took up a determined and revolutionary stand against the majority which was teaching the tactics of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. From this moment the Russian Labour movement was placed on the real ground of the proletariat's class struggle, the abolition of the capitalist regime and its replacement by Communist society. In September, at the Democratic Assembly convoked by Kerenski's Government, the Trade Union group radically separated itself from the opportunistic majority of the Assembly and declared openly that the professional organisations would uphold the struggle for power for the workers and peasants. The events which followed confirmed this declaration by the active participation of the professional organisations in the October Revolution.

## The War in the Industrial Field.

However, the activities of the professional organisations did not stop at the political struggle. Besides this struggle, outside of which they could not remain, they were absorbed in the economic fight for the eight hour day, the increase of wages and the improvement of other conditions of labour. With the victory of the February Revolution the Russian working class won freedom great enough to enable them to fight against capitalism. But in order to make sure of the success of this fight strong and centralised working class organisations in the shape of labour unions of production were essential. Previous to the Revolution the workers were not organised, while the capitalists had strong fighting organisations and these were united in gigantic trusts and industrial unions.

As soon as the shackles of Tsarism were broken the workers organised in unions and, uniting their forces, declared war on organised capital.

## Craft and Industrial Unionism.

During the eight months of bourgeois democratic government the proletariat worked up the organisation of its unions at a great pace. At the beginning of the February Revolution it founded a very large number of professional organisations. Every group of workers, bound together by a common trade, endeavoured independently to organise a union, thus running against the generally admitted principle of organisation by industry. They formed federations of trades bodies, especially in the metal industry, federations of plants, parallel federations, etc.

For a long time afterwards it was necessary to fight for a single organisation in one and the same industry.

It was very difficult to get the Russian workers to admit the principle of organisation by industry and the whole period preceding the October Revolution was passed, so far as the professional movement was concerned, in organising unions and forming great industrial organisations uniting the small bodies of the trades. This work is not yet completed and at present there still are a large number of unions based upon the principle of the trade bond and not upon that of the industrial link. But the work is progressing and is even nearing its end.

## The Eight Hours' Day.

During the first eight months of the Revolution the Russian working class accomplished great deeds in the economic battlefield. The fight for the normal day of eight hours began in the early days of the February Revolution; and the eight hours day was established by a simple declaration. But only the Petrograd and Moscow manufacturers agreed, under pressure of the Revolution, to introduce it into their factories after the workers themselves had taken the right of working only eight hours a day; in all the rest of Russia the workers continued to labour from nine to ten hours a day. Triumphant over the Russian autocracy and breaking all the obstacles that were thrown athwart their struggle, the workers began an open attack against the capitalist birds of prey who did not want to introduce the eight hours day in their factories. In many of the towns there were strikes for this democratic demand of the workers. In order to bring this fight to an end the professional organisations before the third Conference, again demanded from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce first of all, and afterwards from the Ministry of Labour, the establishment of the eight hour day. In the resolutions of the Conference "the immediate publication by the Provisional Government of the decree on the eight hours' day for all wage-earners without exception" was reckoned as indispensable. But the bourgeois government remained deaf to the claims of the workers and the Minister of Labour had only the intention of beginning "discussion on the elaboration of the law on the eight hours' day."

## "LABOUR AND LOYALTY."

By MAUD EDEN.

"The Times" recently suggested that whereas revolutionary and socialist societies publish pamphlets and documents for the special consumption of the average workingman, the ruling classes have neglected to provide propaganda written in the interests of sanity and common-sense.

We are now in a position to state that a new League has been founded by nearly half-a-dozen influential Irishmen and Irishwomen, with a view to educating labour, both in England and in Ireland, as to their duty to their King and country in the present crisis. The League will be known as the "All-Sane Society." This can be conveniently abbreviated to A.S.S. A weekly journal, price 11d., is to be published every month, and we learn its title will be "The Irish Placeman." We take this opportunity of printing an extract from the leading article:—"The British Constitution divides all power among three divisions of society—King, Lords, Commons. The Lords represent the land-owning and capitalistic classes, and have a temporary veto over all laws the Commons wish to pass.

"A Soviet may be defined as any body of workers who unite to claim for themselves powers equal to those enjoyed by the Peers.

"The great difficulty involved in an Irish settlement lies in Ireland's extraordinary attitude to the Crown. The people persist in calling themselves Republicans, and as long as they do so, settlement is impossible. English labour must insist upon complete loyalty to the Crown as the indispensable condition to any scheme of Colonial Home Rule.

"It is, of course, inconceivable to English Labour that the Irish people would not much prefer to remain 'loyal subjects.' The Irish in Britain are not Republican. In order to satisfy English Labour M.P.'s on this matter, it will be necessary to have 'God Save the King' sung at all labour meetings. (This is done in the Carsonite labour movement in Ulster.) Any person refusing to stand up must be censured by the Party and expelled from office. Our Labour leaders must visit Buckingham Palace, if and when invited, and must arrange to show honour to any Royalty who may visit Ireland.

"The Irish people must at once accept Conscription in order to help the English people to avenge the fate of the Tsar, and they must fight any country which ventures to insult His Majesty by depriving his relatives of their thrones.

"A favourite labour reform is to demand that all positions in Government service should be filled by competitive examination. This disloyal demand must cease! Positions of this kind must be filled by persons recommended by ladies and gentlemen in good social position, those having Court influence obtaining precedence. This is a point to which Irish loyalists attach very great attention. Care must be taken on all occasions not to pay to any mere poet, inventor, or national hero greater honour, homage, or acclamation than that paid to the Crown or to any person of good position who may be present. We believe that the reception given by the London crowds to a man named Hawker rather offended in this way. The Irish people must remember to be careful.

"In England, loyal people discuss the Royal Family in all social gatherings, and take a real interest in their welfare. Every Irish labour man might profitably discuss the Court news with his wife and family for half-an-hour daily.

"English labour men and women will hardly credit how ignorant the Irish people are as to the most ordinary facts about the Court.

"As Churchmen," said a Church of Ireland rector, "we can have no dealings with Republicans."

"Whatever our views as to Papal infallibility, we must all yield absolute obedience to the King. Obedience to Parliament is not in the least necessary. Ireland's great example ought to be Sir Edward Carson. He has put Parliament and people in their proper place, and shown that 'laws' have no moral validity unless conceived in a spirit of loyalty to the King. If the Irish people will accept these plain facts, the people of England are ready to give them as much liberty as they themselves enjoy. The difficulty is that these Republicans, Socialists, Bolsheviks are so unreasonable as to want more. What is good enough for England is not good enough for them!

"We are glad to see that the British Republican movement, under Colonel Arthur Lynch, makes no headway. Certain misguided persons used to allege, during the war with Germany, that a British Republican movement would inevitably follow peace. Doubtless such statements may be justified as attracting recruits, but English labour, by ostracising British Republicans, has given this theory its death-blow."

God save Neil McLean!



# NO COMPROMISE with Bourgeois

Politics.

## AODH DE BLACAM on Dail Eireann and the Trades Union Congress.

To the Editor "Voice of Labour."

A Chara—Having missed "The Voice" for a couple of weeks, I have not seen your comment (if any) on Mr. Cassidy's speech at the late Congress, but I would like to say a few words on how it appeared to some of us who are at once Sinn Féiners and earnest supporters of the Labour movement. I write plainly, because secret diplomacy is driving Labour and Sinn Féin into misunderstanding, and I hope this will make readers indulgent of the candour of my language.

Mr. Cassidy talked about attendance at Westminster in certain contingencies. Such language, at such a time, appals us. I will not discuss the academic question of whether, somewhere within the calculus of probabilities, circumstances might arise making it desirable to be represented at Westminster—or Timbuctoo. The point is, that by talking of such possibilities a man betrays the fact that he regards them as quite likely to occur. You do not lay plans for your holidays saying: "What shall we do if a thunderbolt hits the house?" or "Where shall we go to if there is an earthquake?" So when a man talks of Irishmen going to the English Parliament, one feels that he does not share Irish-Ireland's attitude towards such a course of action. He regards it as a perfectly probable line of tactics. This is exceedingly disquieting.

Even from a purely Labour point of view, this is alarming, too. For it shows that a man in Mr. Cassidy's position does not share democratic Ireland's resolve to compromise no further with parliamentary action and bourgeois politics.

Certain most important conclusions emerge from consideration of Mr. Cassidy's speech. First, and to my mind most important, we find that a man whose loyalty to the workers' interests (workers qua workers) is unquestionable, does not feel that we are making sufficient headway towards the workers' control of political institutions. He does not feel that political life is less bourgeois now than it was this time last year. He is still in rebellion against the existing political order.

### NO WHITTILING DOWN OF THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC.

Now, that is the attitude that we all endorse, but we who are loyal Irish-Irelanders, resolved to give our leaders a full chance to make good, hold that it is needful to have patience with the difficulties with which Dail Eireann is encumbered. The Republican party, at the Dail's first session, adopted a democratic programme of sweeping range. We demand that there shall be no going back on that programme, no bourgeois trimmings, no talk of co-operation for undeveloped industries—only.

The second conclusion that emerges is, that in some cases our Republican teachtaí are not sufficiently in touch with democracy's demands. If they were, and if they were preaching the Democratic Programme at all times, we should not have leading Labour men debating other courses of political action, for all would see that the Republican Party was earnest in its aims. One would appeal to teachtaí, therefore, to follow out the programme adopted at Dail Eireann's first session and throw themselves heart and soul into the movements—Labour, Trades Union, Co-operation—that are actively engaged in the work outlined by that programme. All too often one finds that though Dail Eireann declares for a co-operative commonwealth and endorses the social clauses in the Declaration of Easter Week, the men who are really working for those ideals and bringing them daily nearer realisation, are men who get not a hand's turn of support from the teachtaí and are almost indifferent about the political issues that we generally look on as paramount.

### TO MAKE THE DAIL REAL.

The argument that the teachtaí should be neutral in industrial and economic issues is palpably absurd. They are not neutral on the language issue. But the social issue is as vitally national as the language issue—with which, indeed, it is bound up. And the Dail repudiated neutrality at its first session, when it declared for the social ideal as clearly as for the linguistic. The teachtaí who shirk the economic issue is as poor a patriot as the one who is ignorant of the Irish language.

A third conclusion that we cannot escape is, that it is up to those Sinn Féiners who are earnest on the Labour question to make themselves heard in the councils of Labour. We are intensely dissatisfied with Labour men who are weak on Abstention and with Sinn Féiners who are not clear in their utterances on the social question. And we are, after all, representative of the democracy in this, for the bulk of our democracy is heartily Abstentionist and heartily in earnest about ending gobbeenism and social misery. Earnestly appeal, then, to those who agree with what I have said, to find a means to press their convictions. Are there enough

keen Labour men among the teachtaí to stand together and make the debates in the Dail real, and to rally behind them those democratic energies that at present are straggling into other lines? If some of the teachtaí would give a lead, and speak in terms of reality, they would make the Dail a living expression of the national mind, and there would be no democrats looking round for other arenas in which to advance their cause. They would ensure, and solidify, national unity. They would strengthen that movement from rank Unionism to Irish patriotism, that we have witnessed with such delight during the last year.

### T.D.'S MUST BE REPRESENTATIVE.

I would like to see the Cumannacht, or some such democratic group, approach the teachtaí of constituencies in which it has members and ask for a clear definition of what they propose personally to do in the crisis that is descending on us. Let the Cumannacht ask the T.D.'s to say whether they are ready to go wholeheartedly for the Co-operation Commonwealth, and if they are resolved to resist the parliamentarising of the Dail. Most of the Teachtaí will stand for Labour's ideals when Labour thus assures them of support. If any refuse, then Sinn Féin Labour must set to work to find candidates at the next elections who will more closely reflect the Will of the People. We must organise now for the next election, so as to ensure that it shall not be a mere repetition of the old Convention game.

We got live men at the last election. We must make sure they are still alive. We must keep our representatives awake. As each new issue arises, we must be sure that they are as loyal to Irish-Ireland thereon as they were on the issue of Self-Determination. The labour question and the co-operative question both demand responses to-day. If we allow our T.D.'s to be mere deadheads, if we do not prove to be 'live constituents ourselves, if we let them shirk these issues, then we have only ourselves to thank if men like Mr. Cassidy begin to cast round for other means of action than those we offer them. Be sure we shall get the representatives we deserve. Let us then demand Irish-Irelanders in deed as well as word. Let labour men and co-operators everywhere organise for the next election forthwith. Let them press their views on their T.D.'s and get an answer: "For the people's cause?—or must we seek other men?" And if any teachtaí shirk the issue, then let us not leave the opposition to be put up by Labour men who are weak on the national issue.

### TOO MUCH SECRET DIPLOMACY.

Secret diplomacy is an abominable thing, and Labour men should state clearly what contingencies they have in their mind when they talk of co-operating in Parliament with English workers. Now, it is suggested that English labour might return enough candidates to outnumber other parties if Irish members went to its aid. In such circumstances Mr. Cassidy would advocate attendance at Westminster, and the taking of the perjuring oath by Nationalists. Now, does he realise that in the most favourable circumstances, Irish Labour could not secure more than 15 seats in Ireland—as Labour, and dissociated from Sinn Féin. But 15 seats could never turn the balance of power. I believe Labour will secure 7 or 8 Irish seats at the next election, and perhaps still less. In spite of this prospect, entailing the impossibility of effective action, Mr. Cassidy wants to revive the already-exploded Balance-of-Power at Westminster Policy. I am not raising the "Split" bogey when I say that this makes unnecessarily for disunion. Even if Labour could secure all the S.F. seats, it would, for democratic reasons alone, be outrageous to advocate the Balance-of-Power heresy. For it is as clear as anything can be that English Labour can do nothing effective at Westminster. If it is to become effective, it must be through an Industrial Parliament in independence of Westminster. It must itself adopt the Abstention policy. If English Labour ever summons manliness enough to adopt Abstention, Irish Labour will be delighted, and will render all the aid in its power. Were English Labour to set up an Industrial Conference in opposition to the bourgeois affair at Westminster, Irish Labourmen would sacrifice no principle, and would actually advance their cause, by accepting an invitation addressed to the representatives of the Irish Republic to collaborate in the struggle against Capitalism. Capitalism is international, and opposition to it should be international. But Westminster is not the field for international effort, and no Irish nationalist will ever be seen there again. If Mr. Cassidy refuses to recognise the fact that Irish independence has been declared, and that Irishmen will down any man or party that seeks to go back of that, he will have only himself to thank at the next election, when republican democracy puts up its own men and ignores the trimmers.—Mise,

AODH DE BLACAM.

# Lord French's Chosen Few.

## BRIGHT EXAMPLES of MEATH NOBILITY.

John Denton Pinkstone French has been entertaining at the Vice-regal Lodge, and the "Independent" has been good enough to present its readers with a group photograph of those whom the King of England's representative delights to honour.

They are: Marquis of Londonderry, Marchioness of Headfort, Lady Londonderry, Lord Chaplin, Capt. Bache Hay, Miss S. King-Harman, Marquis of Headfort, Countess of Shaftesbury, Hon. Lily French, Capt. Conway Seymour, Miss Bennett, Hon. E. Handcock, Miss C. Seymour, Lord Castlemaine, Captain the Hon. E. Mulholland, Captain Wyndham Quinn, Viscount Castlereagh, Miss Bennett, Capt. Reford, Miss Barrington, Mr. E. Saunderson, Lord Bective.

They all looked very nice. The Marchioness of Headfort was just as charming as she was eighteen years ago, when, as Rosie Boote at the Gaiety, she had all London at her feet. Headfort himself is becoming a little thin on the top, but is a credit to the fat lands of Co. Meath and the not to be despised rent-roll of the Taylours in Co. Cavan.

### The Ninth Part.

The Taylours are a family of planters, and their present place in the Peerage is due to their reluctance to betray the Irish Parliament until the cash had been paid for their votes and the Earldom of Bective converted into the Marquisate of Headfort.

The other distinguished ornaments of the society are of the same class, bribed or bribers, traffickers in a nation's privileges. The Shaftesburys and Londonderry families we dealt with last week.

### Over, Fork Over!

Another picture in the same issue of the "Independent" shows another member of the Meathian nobility, the Marchioness Conyngham. The peculiar form of the name preserves a sixteenth century spelling of the old Ayrshire surname of Cunningham, which is derived from one of the divisions of that Scottish county.

The Conynghams' family motto is "Over, Fork Over," very appropriate in a breed sprung from the freebooters of the South of Scotland. It is a motto the tribe has lived up to. (Lord Castlemaine's would be equally appropriate if one letter were altered to make it read "Watch and Pray.")

To James I. Ireland owes the settlement of the noble Conynghams. Alexander of that ilk followed James from the hungry land of Scotland in 1603, and being a man of elastic conscience dropped Presbyterianism and took orders in the Church of England. He was rewarded with two livings in Donegal and became Dean of Raphoe. Through their Donegal connections the family annexed the Mount Charles estate (129 846 acres) in that county.

## Carson & Germany. German Diplomat's Revelations.

M. Jean Debrit's independent daily, "La Feuille," of Geneva, throws some new and interesting light on the influence the situation created in Ireland by the Carsonite preparations for rebellion in July, 1914, had upon Germany, between the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand at Sarajevo, on June 28, and the outbreak of the war in August, 1914.

This revelation, or confirmation of what has already been frequently asserted in the anti-Carson Press in Ireland and Great Britain, is made in a highly important diplomatic document which "La Feuille" published on August 22 of this year.

### Bavarian Legation Secret Report.

The document is a secret official report, sent from the Bavarian Legation in Berlin to the Bavarian Government in Munich on July 18, 1914, exactly a week after Sir Edward Carson had declared at Larne "for war with honour," and Baron von Kuhlmann, then Councillor of the German Embassy at London, had as an honoured, but private, guest, witnessed the military march-past of 70,000 Orangemen on July 11 in Belfast.

This is the secret report referred to by Kurt Eisner, the murdered Socialist President of the first Bavarian Republic, after the German Revolution of last year. Kurt Eisner, it will be remembered, revealed the fact that M. de Lerchenfeld, formerly Bavarian Minister at Berlin, sent home to the Munich Government on July 18, 1914, a report showing that Germany and Austria-Hungary already at that moment knew the war was coming, five days before the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia.

### Legations at Berlin and London.

It has lately turned out, however, that the real author of this report was not M. de Lerchenfeld, but the then Councillor of the Bavarian Legation in Berlin, M. de Schoen. In this connection it is interesting to note that it was upon the evidence of the Councillor of Legation in the German Embassy in London, Baron von Kuhlmann, that Germany is alleged to have come to the conclusion that the Carsonite preparations for rebellion in North-

### More Land Stolen.

After the Confederates War, the clan obtained a grant of the lands of Lord Slane in Co. Meath. That nobleman had taken part in the war on the losing side and so had to "fork over."

General Conyngham, a Williamite soldier, married the daughter of Sir John Williams, of Minster in Kent, and the Williams estates, confiscated abbey lands for the most part, were duly forked over.

The golden age of the Conynghams was the Regency and reign of George IV., the first gentleman and foulest rogue in Europe. The Marquis of that day, and his son, the Earl of Mount Charles, were in high favour with George. The former was successively created Viscount, Earl and Marquess, and given a seat in the British House of Lords as Baron Minister.

### Easy Money.

He drew salaries as Lieutenant-General in the Army, Judge of the Marshalsea Court, Judge of the King's Palace, Lord Steward of the Household, and Constable and Lieutenant of Windsor Castle.

His son was Master of Robes (salary, £4,000) and Groom of the Bedchamber (£500), Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs and Lord of the Treasury.

Surely these must have been marvels of wisdom and miracles of ability, these Conynghams! Nay—had the noble Marquess been John Smith, labourer, and had he lived in these unkind days of ours, he might have found himself standing in the dock of a police court charged with living on the proceeds of his wife's immorality.

### Subsidised Immorality.

Lady Conyngham was the mistress of George IV. She and her complaisant husband and son lived in one of the King's houses. Not even a servant had to be hired, for the staff was supplied from the Royal Household and paid out of public funds. When the Most Noble pair gave a dinner, it was cooked at St. James' Palace and brought in hackney carriages to Hamilton-place.

When George IV. died, the Marchioness had jewels worth more than £80,000 which had been presented to her by that monarch.

"Over, Fork Over" has indeed been well practised by the Conynghams, and that they have not abandoned it is witnessed by the fact that the present Marquess is represented on the Meath Farmers' Association.

We need say no more of the other distinguished people gathered around Lord French. A man is known by the company he keeps—and although the morals of the Anglo-Irish nobility are improved on those of their ancestors, they still freeze on to the soil and the cash.

East Ulster had brought about so grave a situation for the British Government in Ireland that England would not readily go to war on the continent. All this is a remarkable commentary on the ways of pre-war diplomacy.

M. de Schoen has stated that Kurt Eisner suppressed certain passages in the report. Acknowledging himself as its writer, he has now published the report in full.

### Berlin's Hopes in Carson's Rebellion.

The document, it will be seen, quite clearly shows that in Berlin, official Germany, of which de Schoen was a part, firmly believed in the obstacles to a war by England presented by Carson's army. The proximity of the dates—July 11 von Kuhlmann's visit to the Orange demonstration, and July 18, de Schoen's report from Berlin—is significant.

The essential passage of de Schoen's report referring to England and Ireland reads:

"England will not prevent Austria from calling Serbia to account; only she will not allow the country to be dismembered; much more, faithful to her traditions, she will defend the principle of nationalities. At present a war between the Dual and the Triple Alliances would scarcely be agreeable to England. The political situation in Ireland is enough to explain why. If, in spite of everything, it comes to war in the long run, we shall see, it is believed here, our English cousins line up on the side of our adversaries, for England fears that France, in case of defeat, would fall to the level of a second-class power, and that the balance of power, which England has interests in safeguarding, would be upset."

### German Foreign Office Opinion.

This passage follows another in which de Schoen states that Zimmerman, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Germany, with whom he had conversations on relations between Austro-Hungary and Serbia, "believes that England as well as France (for whom a war just now ought to be far from desirable) will act on Russia in a pacific direction."



# Transport Union Notes.

## NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

### IRISH TRANSPORT & GENERAL WORKERS' UNION

(No. 3 Branch),  
74 Thomas Street, Dublin.

A competent clerk wanted, who must be a member of Union. Applicants to state, in handwriting, qualifications, etc., for the approval of Union. Applications to be forwarded to Branch Secretary.

## OBITUARY.

### JAMES MOORE, OF LUCAN.

We regret to announce the death last week of a stalwart in the ranks of the fighting Labour movement in Dublin county, James Moore, of Lucan.

Moore was one of the best and most active and able of the local secretaries of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, and his loss to Lucan cannot be estimated. Lucan is one of the older branches of the Union, but in the hard times of the war its membership fell to comparatively few. Some two years ago, however, it pulled itself together, and in a short time became one of the model branches with a membership of over 1,000.

This was largely the work of its secretary, James Moore. A young man—he was only 31 when he died—he threw himself heart and soul into the movement and won, not only from his members, but from the whole organisation, the highest praise for his efficiency and his handling of every situation that arose.

Beannacht dilis De ar a anam.

## PROTECTION FOR THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBER.

Ballylanders Branch has been pressing the claims of individual members with unparalleled success. In one case, that of Michael Kirby, of Knockadea Creamery, who had been working for £1 per week, and having to do farm work for manager for the remainder of the day when finished in creamery. Any day he failed to work on the farm he was allowed only a half-day's pay.

A demand was made on his behalf for 35s. per week and no farm work. After a threatened strike, the employer gave way, and granted the full demand.

In another case, William Moynahin, farm labourer, Ballintubber, had been working for 15s per week, and no allowance for broken time. A demand was served on his employer for 25s. per week, wet and dry. This gentleman would not recognise the Union at all, but when drastic action was about to be taken, and his employees were called out, he was very anxious to meet the Secretary, and after some parleying, full demand was again granted in this case, the rise to date from the time the demand was made. The case of General Franks' farm labourers at Cullane is still pending.

MICHAEL QUIRKE, Sec.

## A ONE-DAY STRIKE.

The busy market town of Charleville, perched on an eminence giving a splendid view of the rich vein of country known as the Golden Vale—shelters roughly 1,500 souls. By far the majority dwell in pre-historic cabins, the minority luxuriate in modern edifices at the expense of their slaves, and such has been the case here time out of mind.

Daily the wage-earners venture forth to pick what crumbs may be thrown them by the capitalists, the latter content to let it be so, believing that like Tennyson's "Brook" it would go on for ever.

But what an awakening! Sudden as it was decisive, well planned as the greatest strategical move of a Hindenberg or a Foch.

On Wednesday, Aug. 8th, the Generals of the Labour Forces sat in round table conference. Their men had been refused the right to earn a livelihood, and above all the chiefs in command had been contemptibly treated and threatened. A desperate situation had arisen. A would-be despot—a petty, mean employer—had cast on the roadside all his slaves—and signified his willingness to starve rather than be Christian, either in his principle or in his practices. Backed by a piammon of his class he defied all and sundry.

He and his lieutenant were foolish enough to imagine that as in the big fight here twelve months ago the forces of labour were divided, poorly disciplined and the plan of campaign badly thought out.

In the Dawn.

The wage-earners went on their way all day on Thursday, Cahill, Cery and Co. led to believe that, as of old, the slaves had laid down under the lash. Friday morning came—what a change!—the secret had been well kept. The sun rose upon an unwonted sight—the streets were busy—the army of labour had been mobilised. There in the grey dawn they were mar-

shalled. Some from the fields, some from the factory, some worn out in the service of their despoilers, many young brave hearts, fresh in the flower of youth, but each and everyone happy in the thought that the day of reckoning had at last arrived. Suddenly they espied two of their oppressors attempting to smuggle through a few loads of turf destined for funeral merchant Coleman. But when the Red Army had completed its task the services of an undertaker were very near being indispensable.

Up and down the hitherto-quiet street, marched those hardy sons of the soil, silent, determined, firm in the resolve that here in Charleville, for this day at least, the principles for which their great hero Connolly lived and died would be acted up to.

Not a man but had truly answered the call, sacrificed all, that the Transport Union might on this memorable day emerge victorious from the fray.

Their hopes were not in vain, their actions were not wasted, a few hours of the Workers' Government, and the capitalist gang threw up the sponge. Beaten, bruised and battered, they squirmed and squealed, but no mercy was shown them. The terms drawn up by Organiser McGrath and Secretary Ryan were hard and bitter to swallow. But those two workers in the cause of true liberty were determined, once and for all to crush the autocrats—to teach them such a lesson as would make the name of Charleville and the month of August, 1919, memorable in Irish working class history.

At 7 o'clock on that Friday morning the army over which these two had command was full of hope, before the sun went down behind the distant hills that same army had routed the foe, the uncompromising treaty dictated by their leaders had been signed, their banners emblazoned with Victory, the O.B.U. at last triumphant.

## FROM THE FOUR WINDS.

### Kilkenny.

A better example is expected from the Kilkenny Woodworkers than their present rate of pay, which is 6s. below the city standard in the case of labourers. An offer of 3s. increase was rejected by the men. Delahunty's game of dismissing men invites serious attention.

### Charleville.

The antipathy of Cleary, builder, to J. Leahy, the mason, is likely to bring turmoil again into the town.

### Clonakilty.

The board of guardians granted 10s. increase to van driver. L.G.B. dig up a mouldy rule that no increase of salary is sanctioned within five years of appointment. Well, we'll have it as a "war bonus"! What's in a name?

### Cazebo.

The policy of closing Irish mines is pressing heavily on the miners, causing serious reductions in the average of wages earned. The men are applying for higher rates to be paid, out of the 6s. per ton officially added to the price of coal.

### John Wallis & Sons.

Prof. Baillie's award gives an increase of 4s; reduction of working week to 48½ hours; overtime, time and a quarter; theatre work shall be paid for at time and a half rate up to midnight, and double time after midnight; Sunday carting work paid at double time, but stable work shall be paid at present rates; if a carter's dinner hour is postponed any day to 2.30 p.m., 1s extra to be paid. Increases come into force from receipt of award.

### Waterford.

The Saxon guile of the Waterford Gas Co. was ineffective to block the demand of the men, and all grades won their 10s. per week increase (boys, 5s.).

### Fermoy.

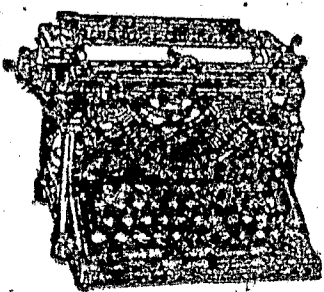
The Ministry of Labour officially notify us that the arrangements are complete for referring the building trades demand to the Interim Court of Arbitration. Notification of time and place of hearing is expected immediately.

### Enniscorthy.

At Enniscorthy on Sunday, Messrs. W. O'Brien and T. Kennedy, representing the Executive, addressed an enthusiastic propaganda meeting on behalf of the local branch, and at a county conference of the Wexford branches on the same day important steps were taken for the greater progress of the fighting union.

## FOLEY'S 25 BACHELOR'S WALK

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EVERY  
THING  
in the



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## Jottings from Ulster.

### Notice to Quit.

The I.L.P. Central Branch and the Workers' Union have both received notice to quit the premises, which they have not only made attractive but which had become the recognised meeting place of the progressive movement in Belfast. This new mode of attack of the landlord class has had one good result; it has pricked the organised workers into action. A £50,000 building fund is being backed by the Shipbuilding and Engineering Federation, so that in the future the workers will possess a fully equipped modern hall, with offices, minor halls, etc., attached. It is a big scheme that is being floated, but to those who know the badly lighted, stuffy rooms, with the miserable approaches through narrow streets, where present-day trade unionists are forced to meet, the scheme cannot be too big, and it is hoped that it will meet with the success deserved.

### Applications Galore.

The Belfast Branch of the I.T. and G.W.U. has at present three applications in to employers. The Dockers' Section seek a change in wages and hours. The Seed Store Section, where men work 50 to 55 hours a week for 35s., have discovered it is time something was taken from the hours and that something should be added to the wages. In the Grist Mill Section, one firm, where the men work 70 hours per week for 40s., the girls 52 hours for 16s., and where such a thing as overtime has been unheard of, has received a notice asking for a 44-hour week and 15s. per week advance to all employees.

To those who know Belfast, and to many who believed the linen trade was the last word in conditions as regards the worker, the above firm's wages sheet and hours came as an eye-opener. Yes, we think there will be changes.

### Bakers and Bread-servers.

The Belfast men are seeking improvements in their lot; they are taking joint action, and as a result columns are spent in the papers talking of the disastrous consequences likely to ensue if a stoppage occurs. One employer informs all and sundry that the Belfast bread-server earns with commission £8 per week of 42 hours; naturally enough, the bread-servers who are modestly looking for a £3 minimum are quite agreeable to accepting this. Derry men also are moving, and an application has been sent in asking for 15s. and £1 increase, according to grades, and demand commission on all sales of £40 per week and over instead of £70 as at present.

### Carters.

The carters in Belfast are seeking the 4s increase awarded to their English comrades. The obstacle the master carriers are throwing in the way is the fact of an alleged agreement signed at the last settlement for 12 months.

### Co-operative Employees

Have served notices on the Belfast Committee that a stoppage of work will take place if the English settlement made last week is not extended to Belfast. The Grocery Section are solid to a man in this matter.

### Carpenters and Joiners and Moulders.

Drastic action was to have been taken last week in the event of the employers refusing the men's demands. But the consideration of the matter brought out the weakness of the sectional movement, and it was decided to postpone action for three weeks. It is thought that the next move will be along industrial union lines.

### Soldiers.

Regiments are floating into Ulster, and reasons are given according to the politics of the Press. We know there is a good deal of unrest in the shipyards and among the demobilised soldiers, and that Sir Edward Carson's visit may inaugurate a Pogrom, and also that the Belfast branch of the I.T. & G.W.U. is going strong; but still we do not exactly know why the soldiers are being sent here.

### A Pear.

Mr. T. E. McConnell submitted plans for the Corporation building scheme to the Local Government Board. He represented the Belfast Corporation. It is interesting to note he is brother of Sir R. J. McConnell, who, as most Belfast folk are aware, knows a little about building and building sites. We understand the Corporation officials have already selected the sites suitable for building, and we feel sure that the little ring of land profiteers are in for a golden harvest. "Business is business." Mere curiosity impels one to ask: Who drew up the plans? Who owns the sites?

### Coal.

Mr. T. G. Ward, a local coal importer, asks the Corporation to wake up and see that the reduction on Irish freights which was to come into force on April 7th be brought about immediately in the interest of the consumers.

### Belfast Bosses' Boycott.

David Kirkwood and William Gallagher, Clyde deportees, will be here on Sunday next. The I.L.P. has applied for the use of several halls, but although the owners have been willing to hire them, the police authorities have forbidden them to do so.

All in the interests, we suppose, of civil and religious liberty. Kirkwood and Gallagher are not "Papists." They don't come to Belfast to settle the "Irish question." They would

think it impertinence to offer opinions on Irish political issues. They come to speak as workers to fellow-workers.

### Belfast, not Dublin.

Last week, by some slip of the pen, thanks were offered to the members of the National Union of Dock Labourers in Dublin. Of course there are none in Dublin, and the acknowledgment was due to the members of that union in Belfast.

## THE PURCELL STRIKE

### Still On.

The lavish expenditure of the shareholders' money has enabled Mr. Poy, of John Purcell, Ltd., and the Coronet Picture House, Parnell Street, to close the daily Press against any statement from the assistants' side.

The advertisement published every day in the Press by this firm bristles with mis-statements. Purcell's is alleged to be a profit-sharing firm, because some of the assistants hold about £15 share capital, worth about £1 a year, and the shop managers have a commission on turn-over—a perfectly normal capitalist method of securing big profits by making the managers sweaters of the assistants under their control.

## CUMANNACT NA HEIREANN.

Naas and Newbridge now boast branches of the Socialist Party, which were inaugurated the other Sunday by a meeting. Sean McLoughlin, Rodolfo J. Connolly and Tom MacKenna made effective speeches, and Frank Robbins sang labour songs. Collection, £1 0s. 7d. literature sales, 12s. 6d.

Socials will be held every Saturday evening in the Dublin Branch Rooms, 42 N. Great George's Street, beginning this Saturday (6th September). Good music is arranged for. Gentlemen will pay 1s. Everybody is welcome at these dances, which begin at 8 p.m.

The Winter Programme of the S.P.I. begins with a ceillidh and dance in the Mansion House on September 28. The Round Room has been booked, a first-class band engaged, and eminent artists will contribute musical items. The tickets are 5s each person.

The next meeting of Dublin Branch will take place on Friday, 5th inst. A big rally is wanted to "divide up"—not the money, but the work.

The Third International will be discussed by party members at the meeting on 12th inst. The situation of revolutionary Europe demands the lining up of all forces of labour for or against the capitalist order.

We're Bolshevik in the S.P.T. Our great meeting, to hail the Russian Revolution, was a landmark in Dublin's political history. Our experience of the attempt to reconstitute the Second International at Berne convinces us that there can be no compromise with the Hendersons and Brantings.

It is proposed that the S.P.I. should now formally affiliate to the Communists International. It is a foregone conclusion that we'll do so; but in compliance with standing orders the subject will be discussed next Friday.

George Spain has been touring in Lancashire, and found the workers hungry for news of Ireland. The gospel of the O.B.U. caught on. He found time to visit P. Gaffney, of Carlow, I.T. and G.W.U., and Austin Stack, in Manchester Jail. Both were well in body and in triumphant spirits.

Trade Unions requiring speakers for lectureries on economic and political subjects should write the Secretary, 42 N. Great George Street, Dublin.

## NEXT WEEK:

### THE UNITY PROBLEM.

By L. J. D.

## DEAFNESS

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IN HOT WEATHER a shampoo cools and refreshes and guards against the treacherous summer colds. MALLON, 30 Eden Quay, Dublin.



THE SYNDICALIST AWAKENING IN FRANCE. (From Front Page.)

French Fall Where Irish Succeed. After the visit of a delegate of the U.G.T., trade unions were formed, and in their impatience to act, the workers declared the strike almost immediately, formulating the following demands—The eight-hours' day, an average wage of 16 francs, and the extension to agriculture of the laws of labour protection. The owners refused even to enter into discussion. They sent for scabs. The Government sent soldiers to maintain order and save the harvest. The local Press declared that the strike movement had been provoked by foreign elements, with the object of diminishing production. Posters spoke of "a criminal strike." For these young unions, which had not had time enough to organise themselves properly, the fight was too severe in such circumstances. After a fortnight's valiant resistance, the strikers had to resume work, beaten. Many, however, preferred to change their jobs, and have gone to work as labourers in the factories in the district. Those who resumed work on the land have anger rooted in their hearts, and are determined to have their revenge; and it is not too rash to predict that, better prepared, they will resume the fight one day, and that soon. ALFRED ROSMER.

LETTERS FROM SWITZERLAND. (From Front Page.)

Zurich, a month before it was Geneva. These are a proof that in spite of the successes achieved by our reformists, the working class is conscious of the greater aims still to be attained. These strikes are always followed by extraordinary violent repression on the part of the Government. At Bale and Zurich the troops made use of their arms, and had orders to fire at will. There were several dead and wounded. The working class always realises that the "democracy" which we have enjoyed for more than six centuries, is a class Government, directed against the proletariat in order to safeguard the privileges of capitalism. The illusion entertained by the reformist leaders, that political democracy is the way of social salvation is more and more dissipated, but our most urgent task remains, the effort to educate the masses. Discontent isn't sufficient to create a new world. The forces that will destroy the bourgeois regime are gathering, but the precise aims of economic reconstruction are still defective. However, the Bale vote will have the excellent result that it will weaken the claims of the Right wing of the Party which, where it is still strong, spoke of expelling the Left. It is also a demonstration of sympathy for Soviet Russia, the strengthening of the Communist International and the weakening of the social-patriot International. J. HUMBERT DROZ.

ARTHUR HENDERSON AND THE SPY SYSTEM.

Ex-Inspector Syme, in a letter to the "Forward" (Glasgow), says:— The Secret Service and agents provocateur system of police complained of by Mr. Macdonald, and by Labour generally, only came into being after the Christmas reception of Mr. David Lloyd George, so kindly given by the Glasgow workers in 1915, when the "Forward" came under the harrow and was temporarily laid up in hospital for telling the truth. The Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, who now leads the Labour Party in the country and is candidate for Parliamentary honours at Widnes, was then one of the strong supporters of the Coalition Government of the time. As a Cabinet Minister (in the Holy of Holies, in fact—the Inner Cabinet), Mr. Henderson ought to be able to tell Labour something of the origin of that Police Department known as the Industrial Unrest Commission under the personal control of Chief Detective-Inspector Albert Hawkins and the supervision of Mr. Basil Thompson, Assistant Commissioner of the Criminal Investigation Department. This is the section of the police system (containing very few policemen, as a matter of fact) which is now so strongly complained of by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. Perhaps Mr. Henderson's views on this question might help Labour to solve the problem. As a Cabinet Minister (then off the mat), he ought to know something.

SPRINGBURN IRISH LABOUR PARTY.

The active propagandists of Irish freedom in Glasgow are calling a "Hands-off Ireland" Conference of Labour and Irish organisations. Evacuation is the watchword. A report of the Conference arrived too late for publication. It will appear next week.

WITH THE ENGLISH REBELS, (From Front Page.)

Russia. Both soldiers and sailors have also shown great disinclination to go to Russia, and their wages have been greatly raised on that account. Sailors are paid £2 2s. a week extra, beyond the already increased pay, during their period of service in Russia.

There is said to have been trouble at the Naval Base at Rosyth (Scotland) and on board the battleship "Galatea," bound for Russia. It is now reported in the "Avanti" of 11th August, that English sailors have mutinied at Baku, demanding their immediate return to this country.

The Southport Labour Party Conference passed, by a 2 to 1 majority, a resolution declaring in support of direct action for political purposes, and especially against intervention. The Triple Alliance of mine, railway and transport workers, at its meeting shortly afterwards, followed this up by resolving that its constituent bodies should take a ballot whether to down tools on this subject. No report has been given of the ballot, but rumour has it that so far as the vote had gone, it gave an overwhelming majority for "down tools." The ballot has been stopped by the Executive, which has decided that the matter must be discussed at a further conference. The men who have done this are—J. H. Thomas, M.P.; T. C. Cramp (Railwaymen); Robert Smillie, W. Brace, M.P.; Frank Hodges (Miners); J. Sexton, M.P.; Harry Gosling, Robert Williams (Transport Workers).

Cramp, Smillie, Hodges and Williams are all believed to favour direct action to stop the intervention. It is strange that they should have allowed a definite resolution of the Conference to be set aside in this way, especially when the ballot had already begun. The forthcoming conference will disclose what has caused them to give way, but the fall of the Hungarian Soviet should warn us that recriminations and explanations which take place after the event are of small avail.

300 Soviet Officials Murdered.

Replies to Parliamentary questions indicate that important personages in this country strongly support the Archduke Joseph and the Rumanians, who violently overthrew the Hungarian Soviet, and who, as reported the other day, massacred three hundred Soviet officials. There is much rivalry as to who shall form the permanent Government in Hungary, and each of the rivals has his group of supporters here. It is safe to assume that whatever Government is established will be thoroughly re-actionary until the people again rebel and set up Soviets.

Official Labour Breaks Police Strike.

The reason given for the stoppage of the Triple Alliance Ballot by the "Times" (and the "Times" has probably repeated the argument of some reactionary Trade Unionist) is the small support which has been given to the police in their strike for the right to form a trade union; but such an explanation is hardly an honest one, as the officials of all the trade unions have ordered their members not to strike in support of the police. Indeed, the police have real ground for complaint against a number of the Labour officials, who, for several months, were urging them to act boldly, and promising support to them should they strike. Some of the officials of the London Trades Council were especially active in this direction, but when the strike actually came about they had nothing to say.

In Liverpool the rank and file have given considerable support to the police. A Negotiations Committee of Trade Unionists has been set up, and is urging a three days' general strike; but Sexton, the Secretary of the Dockers Union, which is, of course, tremendously important in that large seaport, has set himself against this, in common with all the other Trade Union Leaders.

It is rumoured, though the Government has denied the intention, that legislation will shortly be introduced to make it illegal to strike without giving seven days' notice. I am of opinion that such legislation will appear shortly, but the response given to the proposal has led the Government to consider the announcement premature.

The Fight for the Coal Miners.

Another great source of discontent in this country is the refusal of the Government to carry out its pledge to adopt the proposals in regard to the nationalisation of the mines contained in Justice Sankey's Report. Mr. Lloyd George, of course, evades the issue, by saying that the pledge only referred to the preliminary report, but this excuse is not taken seriously.

The Government has decided instead to adopt a report presented by Sir Arthur Duckham, which provides for a trusty-ifying of the coal industry in various geographical areas.

At each colliery, a pit committee, to be set up, with the manager as chairman, and each main class of workmen employed in or about the mine. The pit committee to meet at definite intervals, and to be content to discuss and make proposals on:—

- (a) Safety of the mine; (b) Conditions of working; (c) Improvement in methods;

- (d) Comfort and well-being of the workers whilst in the mine or colliery premises; (e) Any dispute that may arise, other than wages' disputes. The manager to have complete control of the running of the pit. "The workers," Mr. Lloyd George says, will be given representation on the Committees dealing with discipline, but not with management." "That," he says, "is impossible." The scheme fails by long way to meet the demands even of Official Labour, to say nothing of the claim for Socialisation of the industry, advanced by the Communist rank and file.

The Workers Want Socialisation.

The Industrial Committee of the South Wales Socialist Society has just compiled an elaborate scheme for the socialisation and workers' control of the mining industry, which has been printed and which will be circulated in enormous quantities throughout the coal field, and indeed, throughout the British Isles. A big propaganda in support of the scheme has already begun, and will give a great impetus to the general movement for socialisation, especially as the miners are looked up to by every other section of workers, because of their fighting qualities and the substantial victories they have already achieved.

The miners can hope nothing from the Parliamentary Labour Party, which has neither the will nor the power to support them.

At the annual Conference of the Scottish Mine Workers on August 13th, Robert Smillie said:—

"If the Prime Minister and the Cabinet allow their capitalist friends to frighten them and prevent the finding of the Coal Commission from being carried out, I feel it will be the duty of organised labour, and certainly of the miners, to use their industrial power to force the hands of the Government."

We should like to be sure that Smillie means this seriously. Unfortunately, it has become a habit with many people to talk loudly of future strikes and to oppose every strike when the moment for action arrives.

Britain's Secret Service.

The Government has admitted that the Secret Service costs £200,000; it cost £50,000 in 1914.

A part of this money has been spent on attempts to bribe shop-stewards, and on sending spies into the Socialist Movement. The police from their headquarters in Scotland Yard now send out Press bulletins containing libellous statements about Communists and others whom they wish to discredit, and police officials hold weekly meetings with the Press.

The Government's Anti-profitsteering Bill will make no difference at all, and the Government accepted a Labour Party amendment on the ground that it was merely a manifesto.

These are very dark days. We Communists have a hard struggle before us, but the number of people who desire a complete change of system, and not some mere tinkering reforms, is growing. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

IRISH LABOUR WINS

English Election.

After a keen and even bitter contest, James Gunn, of the Irish Labour Party, was elected to Gateshead Town Council by 1,300 votes, as against 875 polled by his opponent, Charles Crilly, nominated, strange to say, by a body using the name of the Catholic Truth Society.

Mr. Gunn is a member of the C.T.S., and was actually offered nomination by that body. He preferred not to drag the Church into politics, and ran as candidate of the Gateshead Irish Labour Party, which is recognised by the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress.

The gentleman who presumed to represent the Catholic Church in a parish pump election, failed to poll more than a few Catholic voters. His failure has seriously annoyed the P.P., Father McDermott, who has announced that he will refuse offerings from members of the Irish Labour Party.

He may be reminded that a Shettleston priest once adopted the same attitude towards the Catholic Socialist Society. He was astonished to find that many non-Socialists marked their disapproval of political tests of Catholicity by withholding their dues, and very soon he dropped his unjustifiable hostility.

Gateshead Irish are to be congratulated on having made a fine and worthy stand against the identification of the Catholic Church, with political reaction.

Newcastle-on-Tyne Branch of the Irish L.P. has sent congratulations to Gateshead on its manly attitude in fighting clerical intimidation—and so say we.

IT'S AN ILL WIND, ETC.

Ennis Trades and Labour Council finds the proclamation of County Clare is being used by local merchants as cover for profiteering. All local markets are stopped, and supplies from the surrounding farmers are delivered direct to the merchants' premises.

The working man has no longer an open market. He must buy from the shopkeeper, and profiteering is being grimly carried on under the protection of the bayonets.

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