

• IRISH OPINION •

The VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL O'SHANNON.

NEW SERIES. VOL. I, No. 21.

APRIL 20, 1918.

ONE PENNY.

Belfast's Lead to
Irish Labour. ::

We Will Not Have
Conscription. ::

Larkin's Message to Ireland's Workers.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, speaking on the Man-Power Bill, reminded the Government that Jim Larkin was the active inspiration of the Industrial Workers of the World. Cabinet Ministers may forget Jim, but not the workers of Ireland. The messages given below could not be more opportune. They are extracted from a letter lately received by Thos. Foran, General President of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

"I want to congratulate you and the boys on the magnificent work you together have accomplished. I received a copy or two of certain Labour papers; it was good to read their reports. I have been with you in spirit all the many moons that the seas and those who rule the seas have divorced us. I have just returned to this village from parts unknown. You have no doubt read many strange rumours about me. The press here has got just as vivid an imagination as your putrid capitalist press. When they know nothing they lie the more readily.

"My purgatory continues. To bid good luck continually to exiles returning and yet to be denied that inestimable pleasure for oneself hurts more than you can appreciate.

"I see by the news, reports that the old ship, I.T.W.U., seems to have been refitted. Keep her head to the wind, spokes hard down, steer a straight course, no matter what storms you may encounter don't veer a point. You don't know how I rejoice to hear good news.

"Man, I never doubted ye! I sincerely hope all the other Trojans are working with you in a spirit of emulation, loyalty

and fellowship. I was glad to know the old citadel (Liberty Hall) still shelters the noblest hearts in Erin. May your stout hearts and strong arms still prevail.

"I was cheered by reading of the meeting in the Mansion House when that historic edifice rang with the strains of the Red Flag. I hope its echoes were heard by our dead comrades, the Connollys (Jim and Shaun), Partridge, Mallon, and O'Carroll, in their glorious sepulchres. Next to dying for a cause the next best thing is to live and struggle for its success. Our dead comrades, though dead in the flesh, live in the spirit, and speak in no uncertain voice reminding us of our duty. I see the old guard are still defending the position.

"Our duty is to our class. Don't forget the Labour and Socialist movements of the world are to be the deciding factor, and if We Will It, the governing power, at the close of this murderous death lust and 'dollar-out' death curse that is destroying Europe.

"Let not our people be humbugged by depending on help from here. These people have no soul and, bar our own race here, are unworthy of respect or dependency. Selfishness is the basis of all their activities. Our only hope is in our comrades of the Labour and Socialist movements.

"I was enthused by the action of the movement at home in congratulating our Russian comrades on the soul-stirring and epoch-making struggle for liberty in Russia.

"Tell the boys to keep 'a stout heart for a stiff brae.' I hope soon to bid old Ireland the top of the morning.—Thine to the last.
"JIM."

Irish Labour Press

Co-operative Society.

All Delegates to the Labour Convention at the Mansion House, 20th April, are invited to attend a Meeting to promote the Irish Labour Press Co-operative Society, Ltd., in the Trades Hall, Capel Street, at 5 p.m.

T. JOHNSON, CATHAL O'SHANNON AND OTHERS WILL SPEAK.

NOTES OF THE WEEK.

A Word to the Wise.

The imperative necessity of dealing as fully as circumstances permit with the general situation in Ireland and the restrictions on our space and freedom compel us to treat drastically much which we should like to have included in our present issue. For these reasons we are compelled to hold over several contributions from Tadhg Barry and others, several reviews of books, our comments on Sinn Féin and Labour, and many reports of Trade Union activities in Cork and other centres. Our readers and correspondents will, we hope, understand, if they do not forgive, all our difficulties. With this issue we become more definitely "The Voice of Labour," and we shall do our best, while we have the liberty and power, to make the paper the authentic voice of the working class in Ireland. In our present circumstances we cannot hope to please or satisfy all our readers nor even ourselves but we trust we shall not be forced to point out again, as we did last week, why exactly some of our printed matter reads "rather curiously." One irate correspondent from whom we expected better has rated us roundly for the alleged metaphysics of our last week's issue. To those who, like him, are so blind that they cannot take a hint a nod would be lost and to them we can only say bluntly that this is not April, 1916, but April, 1918. Unfortunately "The Voice of Labour" is not "The Workers' Republic," and more unfortunately still we are not James Connolly. But one never knows how soon we may become at least the former; it is beyond anybody in Ireland to become the latter.

In Exile.

Even in these days of restricted communication we occasionally hear tidings of Irish exiles who are fighting Labour's battle across the seas. Australia, with its Smiths and Walshes, and America, with its Larkins and Lehanes, claim many of them and among them Jack Carney. Jack Carney's eloquent gestures will be remembered by the men and women who fought through 1913 and 1914 and not least by those of us who cherish kindly memories of a certain expletive League whose soap-box oratory made Belfast ring true in support of Dublin from Carlisle Circus through the Falls to the Market and the Island. When last we heard of Jack he was secretary to a miners' strike committee in the States. Now, we hear, he has been elevated to the editorial chair, and in the columns of the Labour "Truth" he is still preaching the gospel according to Marx. In Jack's hands "Truth" must be a lively sheet. If he wields the pen as well as he wags the tongue we don't want to be a capitalist in Jack Carney's neighbourhood.

Derry Walls.

A correspondent sends us a "Labour Manifesto and Declaration of Policy," issued by the Derry and District Trades and Labour Council. Our correspondent,

who is more conversant with the local position than we are, adds his regret that the Council took no action when the redistribution of the wards was recently in question although Labour representation was then at stake. Be that as it may, we find that the Derry manifesto is on the whole an accurate expression of the correct Labour position. The manifesto declares that the aim of Labour in Derry is "to unite the moral and intellectual forces of the working community in combating the tyrannical and oppressive forces of Capitalism or Governmental Departments." The Council "can only support candidates for Parliamentary or local honours who pledge themselves to further by all just means in their power the progress and prosperity of the country, and the interests and well-being of the workers." We confess we are rather surprised that Derry is content with this, for every man Jack of the hosts of candidates for local and Parliamentary seats will give this pledge without the quiver of an eyelid. We have, however, a hearty support for the Council to send "representatives, elected on the straight Labour ticket, to represent us in the local and parliamentary councils," but not in the hope of successfully eliminating, as the Derry Council desires, "that factionism which is a standing menace to any real progress in the Trades and Labour movement." Everybody in Ireland knows what factionism is. We have never met it in the Labour movement until now. We are sorry for Derry if it has raised its hydra-head in the movement in the Maiden City. We hope that Labour in Derry will crush it as ruthlessly as it has crushed religious fanaticism, both Orange and Green, in Derry Council. Can we hope for more?

FACTS FOR THE FIGHT.

The first issue of "The People's Year Book" (Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., 1 Balloon Street, Manchester) is an arsenal of information on Co-operative, Trade Union and Labour affairs for a shilling. To the active official as well as to the general body it is indispensable. We cite the following startling figures from its pages:—

Board of Trade Standard Working Class Budget.

A Board of Trade inquiry in the summer of 1904 proved that the expenditure on food for the average family of six persons (father, mother and four children) was 22s. 6d. or 61 per cent. of the family income. In July, 1914, this had risen to 25s.; on January 1st, 1915, to 29s. 9d.; on December 1st, 1915, to 36s. 6d.; on January 1st, 1917, to 47s. 9d.; and on Decr. 1st, 1917, to 51s. 3d.; or a total of 105 per cent. above pre-war prices. The purchasing power of a sovereign spent on food in July, 1914, had fallen to 9s. 9d. on December 1st, 1917. How many workers have had their wages doubled within the same period.

Family Grocery Bill.

From C.W.S. official records the average weekly family order of 21½ lb. groceries works out: In 1882, 90.32d.; 1892, 69.61d.; 1902, 66.50d.; 1913, 72.45d.; 1914, 76.65d.; 1915, 99.06d.; 1916 (with the substitution of 1 lb. butter and 1 lb. margarine for 2 lb. butter), 107.13d. On the same basis the purchasing power of £1 sterling fell from 71.22 lb. in 1913 to 67.32 lb. in 1914, and to 8.16 lb. in 1916. Eat less and you'll be all right.

The Workers' Own Shops.

The figures of the sales of European co-operative societies ought to give Irish workers food for furious thought. Here are figures from the countries in which conditions approach most nearly to conditions prevailing here:—

| | 1914. | 1915. | 1916. |
|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| I.A.W.S., Dublin | 268 | 375 | 479 |
| F.D.B., Copenhagen | 3,866 | 3,969 | 4,696 |
| V.S.K., Basle | 1,828 | 2,007 | 2,986 |
| S.O.K., Heisingfors | 971 | 1,403 | 2,886 |
| K.F., Stockholm | 549 | 916 | 1,222 |
| M.d.G., Paris | 548 | 364 | 479 |
| N.K.L., Christiania | 172 | 247 | 334 |
| C.I.G., Milan | 56 | 100 | 129 |
| F.C.B., Brussels | 128 | 80 | 80 |

Figures represent units of £1,000, the last three figures omitted to save space.

In co-operation, Ireland is thus on the march, but not forging ahead like the small, independent countries such as Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway and now Finland. It is to be observed that these countries are neutral.

Density of Population.

In 1821 England and Wales had 206 persons to the square mile, Scotland 70, and Ireland 209; in 1871, 389, 113 and 166; in 1911, 618, 160 and 135. But density of population is not a standard of happiness or prosperity.

The Futility of Strikes!

Of 100 disputes culminating in strikes in 1899, 32 per cent. ended in favour of the strikers, 34 per cent. in favour of the employers, 32.8 per cent. were compromised or partially successful, and 0.4 were indefinite or unsettled. In 1913, 28.6 were settled in favour of the strikers, 25.5 in favour of the men, 45.9 were partially successful. On the other hand the percentage of workers who completely gained or completely lost the object of the dispute shows the number of strikers who won outright exceeded the number who failed outright, while the number who were partially successful was very large indeed. Another important table gives an analysis of the causes of strikes. The number of strikers who returned on the employers' terms was not one-twentieth of the total involved.

Avanti, the Italian Labour daily, has increased its sales by 160,323 lire and its subscription sales by 20,000 lire, during 1917. Capital has also increased.

LABOUR IN IRELAND.

DUBLIN NOTES.

Shop Workers Happy.

The monthly meeting of the Dublin branch of the Shop Assistants', Warehousemen and Clerks' Union was the largest held in its history. Twenty-one new members were welcomed and warm encouragement was given to the strikers from H. Meorg and Alexanders. Funds are steadily rising, and the branch, dissatisfied with the new management of the College Hotel, is seeking permanent quarters in which the practical and social sides of the work will have ample space for development.

The report of the annual conference was given by Mr. Kelly, who intimated that the executive were about to give clerical assistance to the Irish movement. A report was also submitted on the negotiations in London with the headquarters of a well known multiple firm.

The Druggists Strike.

The dispute mentioned last week was settled on Friday, 12th inst., by negotiation between Mr. Owens of the N.A.U.S.A.W. and C., and the management of Messrs. Hugh Moore and Alexander. The minimum wage scale of the Union will be adopted in future, meantime a 25 per cent. increase in wages has been secured to the employees concerned, overtime will be paid and several grievances remedied.

We are informed that the management met the Union in a reasonable way and it is expected that this settlement will provide a new atmosphere of harmony and co-operation in the relations between the firm and its staff.

The increased wages for the 26 employees will total £611 in the year. Another drug firm recently conceded similar terms.

Thus the drug workers of Dublin have gained up to date, increased wages equal to £1,300 per annum. Trade Unionism pays. It pays well and quickly. One member received in increase this week, 6 or 7 times the total amount paid in Union subs.

Stark Determination.

The following is typical of many resolutions received from all quarters:—"We, the Dublin branch of the Socialist Party of Ireland, in view of the menace of conscription of Ireland by the English Government, hereby declare our united and determined resolve to oppose it. We will fight it, no matter by whom it is imposed, and we warn the Government that the enforcement of conscription in Ireland will be the most disastrous policy they ever embarked upon."

Speakers' Class.

The S.P.I., however, is not interrupting its work to fight conscription, for all its work is against the forces that wield conscription as one of their many weapons. The speakers' class meets on Wednesday evenings under a competent instructor. It is not a Socialist class. Students of all opinions are welcome at Room 3, Liberty Hall.

Cas.—The joint movement has been highly successful in bringing about arbitration. The Ministry of Labour woke up and Mr. Baily, who was in town in connection with the Tramways dispute was appointed arbiter.

Arbitration.—The tram-men now await their award while the vintners' case was heard at the Mansion House last week. We hope that as Murphy and Bung have at last been brought to reason, they will adopt a friendlier attitude towards their workers in the future.

CORK NOTES.

Conscription was the only business discussed by Cork Trades Council last week. The great meeting of Trades Unionists that filled the City Hall on Sunday warned all whom it may concern that conscription will be resisted. None but Trade Unionists were admitted and by unanimous vote plenary powers were vested in a special emergency committee.

Railwaymen and Transport Workers held general meetings afterwards and decided to do their bit.

A big delegation from Cork will attend the All-Ireland Convention on Saturday.

Cove.

Labour in Queenstown is at one with Labour in Cork on conscription.

Breadvanmen.

Cork breadvan drivers have won a 5/- advance all round, 4/- country money, payment for stable duty, and a considerable improvement in working hours. They have a written guarantee that when relief is given the master bakers their whole demands will be re-considered. They made a gallant fight and if all their demands have not been won they are ready for the fray again.

Corporation Men.

Cork Corporation men have secured a 5/- advance all round dating from March 12 and reduction of sweepers' hours to the 51 prevailing in other departments. This is another feather in the cap of the Transport Union.

Trams.

Cork Tramways branch has also secured an advance of 5/-. Last week's settlements mean an annual advance of £10,000.

Enniscorthy.—We are informed that there is less profiteering in this little town than in any other in Ireland, and this record is due to the vigorous co-operative society, which not only supplies the ordinary needs of its members but provides social entertainment in its cafe. It has also taken over a local sawmill and is now turning out wheels, axles, spokes, etc.

Lurgan.

Lurgan is in the throes of labour unrest and strikes are spreading daily. The new danger of conscription is not allaying the trouble. The output of linen goods is being seriously reduced to the detriment of military and civil interests all because the bosses have sworn to get their full pound of flesh.

BELFAST'S MONSTER PROTEST.

CUSTOM HOUSE STEPS MEETING.

At the moment of crisis, the true voice of Ulster, the voice of the working class, has been heard. Face to face with reality and with the knowledge gained from the experience of their fellow trade unionists across the Channel, that conscription is the deadliest foe of industrial solidarity, the Belfast workers responded to the call of the Irish Labour Party and assembled on the Custom House steps last Sunday afternoon.

Between 8,000 and 10,000 people assembled and the attempt of Arthur Trew to raise the old party cries failed so signally that he had to receive police protection, a regrettable but highly significant feature, for none has been more popular, as the spokesman of the Tory working man, than Arthur. The speakers at the gathering, it is well to mention, were mostly non-Catholic and none of them have been identified with Sinn Fein or the U.I.L.

Mr. Thos. Johnson, ex-President of the Irish Trade Union Congress, presided, and moved the resolution:

"We Will Not Have Conscription," which was seconded by Mr. D. R. Campbell, Secretary Belfast Trades Council; Mr. A. Lynn, B.A. (Vintners Assistants' Union), Mr. T. Lawther (A.S. Carpenters and Joiners), and Mr. J. S. McKeag (Workers' Union), supported the resolution, which, on being put to the meeting, was carried with acclamation and without dissent.

A united demonstration of all workers is called for the City Hall on Wednesday, at 3 p.m., unless previously proclaimed.

How They Do It.

This is a typical example of the "inspired" paragraph supplied to the "Telegraph" by its paymasters, who are trying to provoke a general strike on the quays.

"No Second Chance for Dockers."

"A sequel to the recent demands of Dublin casual dockers for 12s. per day wages was seen at the port to-day, when 'official' labourers were employed loading up cargo hitherto handled by local men. - No chance, it appears, was given the Liffey side casuals of taking on the present job, which should extend over a week at ten shillings a day old rates of pay."

Advance, Australia!

The Imperialist Press of Ireland, notably the Dublin "Herald," are giving prominence to the defeat of the Labour Party at the elections in South Australia. We have not been permitted to learn much of the sweeping Labour victory in the older and more populous State of Queensland, where Premier Ryan, after enduring prosecution by the Commonwealth Government under the War Precautions Act (D.O.R.A.), was re-seated in office last December with a programme for the conscription of capital and State ownership of "vital" industries. The workers of Queensland are not pro-Germans or pro-Allies, as the old gag has it, they are pro-letarian.

Transport Workers' Say with Shaw, N-B-L!

Conscription.

The resident members of the Executive Committee of the I.T. and G.W.U., at their meeting on 12th inst., considered the situation created by the Government conscription proposals and adopted several precautionary measures. The Union's policy will doubtless coincide with that adopted by Labour in general. Absolute solidarity of all grades and trades is necessary and members are warned that attempts will be made to bribe them with special advantages under the Military Service Acts, but it is their duty to act in unity with their fellows. An injury to one is an injury to all.

The Real Danger.

The farm workers in Cheshire went on strike recently to enforce the payment of minimum wages. Unfortunately as most of the men were of military age, the threatened withdrawal of exemptions caused many of them to return to work on the employers' conditions. Thus conscription served its real purpose of placing the workers under the heel of the master class.

Agricultural Wages.—In many cases farmers who at first refused to pay the Wages Board scale have come to heel, but are still refusing to pay arrears. The I.T.W.U. is determined to secure their due to all members, and if necessary every case will be fought in the courts.

Co. Dublin Farm Workers settled on Friday, 12th inst., to push their demand for the minimum wage of 35s. for the county. They will be represented at the Anti-Conscription Convention.

Wage Movements.—Dublin is the centre for several new movements to overtake the ever advancing cost of living. The Builders' Furnishers and the Carriage Builders are being asked to make good what the £1 has lost in purchasing power.

Co-operation.—While trade unionism seeks to preserve the purchasing power of wages, workers should see to it that they obtain full value when their wages are spent. By co-operative trading, they can secure goods of guaranteed quality at the lowest current prices and any excess of price will be returned to them in dividends. Co-operation is economy and saving combined.

O'Fally Backward.

King's County is the home of the stupid boss, the die-hards of capitalism, too thick headed to promote a nation's industries, too mean to give the square deal to their workers, people who, like the Bourbons, forget nothing and learn nothing, who ought soon to come to the same sad end as the Bourbons.

At Turran, Portarlinton, Tullamore, the struggle of the Transport Workers continues. The men are not flinching from sacrifice and their solidarity must win. An independent nation, however, would take the control of industry from incompetent hands of swine-like employers, who will neither labour themselves or permit others to earn their bread in the sweat of their brows.

Ballyshannon.

The anti-conscription resolution of the I.T.W.U. branch protests against any attempt by the British Government to enforce conscription on Ireland as the members consider the war is not being carried on in the interests of the workers of any country, and certainly not in the interests of the workers of Ireland. Balbriggan and other branches, too numerous to mention or quote, send similar resolutions.

Members of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union recall with pride the sacrifice of their fellows who died Easter Week, 1916.

TO THE UNIONS.

We learn that the National Executive of the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party at its meeting on Monday appointed

WM. O'BRIEN, Dublin;

T. JOHNSON, Belfast;

M. EGAN, Cork,

to represent it at the Joint Conference on Conscription called by the Lord Mayor of Dublin.

We Understand.

"It is noteworthy that in Finland, as in the other north-western border states, the ruling clique is of foreign extraction. . . . These middle class people, who in former years were the best support of the Tsar, have every reason to be the enemies of the Maximalists, and to press for separation from revolutionary Russia. . . . It is therefore intelligible, if the Baltic Junkers of German ancestry look wistfully towards Prussia, and Finnish capitalists of Swedish extraction press for the support of Sweden. Thus the battle of the agricultural and industrial proletariat in these border states is bound up with the national independence. On which side lie the sympathies of the foreign Governments is not difficult to guess. . . . The tales of atrocities circulated by the bourgeois press must therefore be received with caution. We have seen a similar, reciprocal campaign of lying at the beginning of the war during the conquest of Belgium and the battles in Lorraine." —"Volkstimme," Frankfurt.

A Confession.

"As soon as Bolshevism appeared (in Russia) we fought it. We demanded it should be hewn down with 'blows of the axe.'" —"Journal des Debats," Paris.

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 OF
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STAIR ÉAMONN UÍ CLÉIRG.

Is beas an méid agus is beas is príú ríubhinní príúir i nSacróilís ó amháin Céitinn go hamháin bhéadair Uí Laoisairie (Pasairie). Ac' uo bí aon úgáir amháin an tuairim is dá céad bliadán ó fóin uo ríúib' i bhfóir agus i bhfírléacáit agus go raib féir na pírléacáit agus na lírléacáit ann agus gur príú a éirio ríúibhann uo léigead. mar g'áill oíra péin san tráicé ar an Sacróilís bhéas ac'á ionnta .i. Seasán Ó neacáir uo cómáirg i nairce Daile áta luain agus i gContae na míria i uéir na hoctáir líne uéas. níor cuiréad i gcló amháin go uéi arioir péin uoáir uo á éirio príúir ac' moiric ué aon ríéal amháin .i. Stair Éamonn Uí Cléirg in iurleabair na Sacróilís. Cuiréar péin an ríéir ríú príúra cuiréad i gcló an uair rin agus uo bí fóin oim tuillead uo á éirio fáoáir uo blapad óir n'íl aon cóirgáir ag an éirio is mó agáin aon uio uo léigead in na lírléacáit, ac' reo éirgáin arioir an ríéal céatóna go hiomlán i gcló bhéas Sacróilís páoi easair agus páoi éirgáin neacáir eile, mo éana eogán; agus go uoimín agus go uoáiribéir níor léigear leabair le páoi ar uain mé an oiméad ríúit agus tairbe ar.

Tá dá ríéal i gceairt is an leabair san ac' ceairtal táirio ró-buirte eairíra ac' go uoústar ríúir éamóir Uí Cléirg ar an iomlán agus n'íl an uair éirio com uoar bhéirgáir is tá an céad éirio. Fionrígéal lán uo éacáir ac'á san uair éirio go bhúil a mac-a-páirail coitcéairna go laor i nSacróilís na, éirgáir agus na ríéiréad ariore uéas. ac' is cumáiréacéit pá loit agus neairgáit ac' an céad éirio. Cineal páirígéal nó páirailteán ac'á ann in a uéirio an "ríúit uair, oíraic, gairéac, gáir. . ." Uo maó comáinm éamóir Uí Cléirg ag ríúirín agus ag ríúirínis le páoac mílléac uéiréac uoáir uáir "Seairb-v-uéir." .i. Uirgbeacáit; agus uair uóiréit uéiréann éamóir uóit an éirio is meair uéiréir. Uíomá oíoc-bail agus uíúiré ríúir pé ó'n páoac agus ó n-a oíoc-cómluacáir agus uíomá uéiréann agus éirgáir a raib pé ann. Stair a éairíre péin leir agus a uéan éiríre péin a éirio gur páoac lom- uéit ar an tráoáil é go uéi gur éiríre ríú pé ra uéiréad. éiríre éall eairíre éiríre uo éairíre ar ríúiréir páoáirg i loc uoáirg áit a bhéirín pé páiréad agus ríúiréad. Tá an ríúiréit agus an Sacróilís go uéar agus lán uo fáit agus uo g'heann. Cuiréad an blap agus an ríúir i gceairt uóirín oíair páoáirg Uí Céairíre agus é ag ríúiréad ar nóir eumá ra uíabal uim. agus cé gur ríúiréad an ríéal reo dá céad bliadán ó fóin n'íl an Sacróilís páoi níor uéairíre na Sacróilís páoáirg. An éairíre páoi móir ar an éumá ceiríra ac' go bhúil eairíreann Seasáin Uí neacáir uio beas níor uóiréit uo éairíreann Céirg Uíab.

Uo péin éumá ríúirín an ríúir eairíre uio maíre fáoáir leir an lírléacáit uo ceairtú óir tá ríéal leacáirg uíúiréad ar ac'uirg pé an lírléacáit. Is maíre uim gur ac'uirg óir éiríre uio an úgáir eumá ríúirín ar an ríúiréann san péirín, óir mar uóirín éana n'íl an Sacróilís ríúiréad. agus níor ceair eogán aon g'leair nead lírléacáit uo péin mar is gnáic le

luét ríúiréit na Sacróilís le n-air uimé; agus is maíre uim ríúiréit. agus uio eile gur príú leir léiréad ann éair eair pé ríúiréit uo i bhéirín cé gur uéirg uíúir péin pá léiréir gur maíre an maíre uóirín Sacróilís an éirio g'heann ríúir. pócláir uíúiréad leir an leabair agus mairéar goill uo éairíreann.

C. U.

D.O.R.A. at Westminster. This compilation of Mr. Ginnell's activities at Westminster may well be described as a general index to the recent history of Ireland as brought under review at the Cashmore, Parliament Street, S.W.1. It shows Mr. Ginnell as the sole inheritor of the Biggar tradition and proves that one M.P. can do as much useful service for Ireland at that place as eighty. We cannot hope in this space to indicate the variety and extent of persons, places, and things that engaged Mr. Ginnell's attention during the years of his attendance at the English Parliament, but we recommend every student of politics, pro or anti-Westminster, to make this volume his own.

D.O.R.A. at Westminster, by Labhras Mac Fhionnghail. 5/- net.

The Socialist (2d.) gives up its entire space to an exposure of the commercial aims of the Allies. A full page coloured map elucidates the text.

The Revolutionaryist supplies a four-part version of the rebel song by G. W. Crawford. We have no workers' choirs, however, to sing this martial setting of Connolly's song.

The Young Rebel makes a new plea for Socialist Sunday schools in Ireland. The S.P.I. may give this attention next autumn.

BELFAST INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY. Sunday, 21st April. Labour Hall, 77a Victoria Street. 3.0 p.m. Mr. A. Adams. "A Farmer's View of the Land Question." 7.0 p.m. Mr. Ferguson. "Religion and Science." North Hall, Langley Street (off Tennent Street). 7.30 p.m. Mr. Fred Carson. "Socialism and Socialists."

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T. A. (Clontarf).—Thanks, would publish your letter, but don't believe in hitting the brave generals when they are down. Besides, D.O.R.A.

IRISH LABOUR AND IRISH FREEDOM.

By STANISLAUS SMYTH.

As Irish Labour will play a prominent part in the new Ireland that is dawning, would it not be well to ascertain its real views on the question of Irish freedom? On this subject it is true to say that Irish workers hold different opinions.

We may take it for granted, however, that the majority of Irish workers believe in some form of Irish self-government. It is admitted all round that the Castle system of government has failed—it was never a success. And notwithstanding this is it not surprising that many Northern workers still look upon it with favour? But as these reactionaries are in a hopeless minority they do not count, so we need not consider their views. As I have stated, the general body of Irish workers believe in some form of Irish self-government. Some are in favour of an independent Irish Republic; others consider a good measure of Home Rule within the British Empire sufficient. Can these views be reconciled? Cannot Irish workers come to a decision as to their country's future position?

This is a matter of no small importance: it is a matter that must be attended to at once. Let the Irish Labour Party adopt a definite course as to the form of government under which Irish workers are going to live. Before doing so, however, they should educate labour fully on the real facts of the situation. When they have come to a decision on the matter—when they have determined the kind of government that would suit Irish Labour—let them make known that decision to the workers of the world and get their assistance. In coming to this decision, however, they should try and be in unison with the views of the people generally. Let us have a united demand for Irish Freedom, with Irish Labour leading the van. No time must be lost. Now is the acceptable time—it is our golden opportunity!

[Our correspondent is in error in assuming that the northern workers opposed to the principle of self-government "are in a hopeless minority." They are indeed a minority of the whole Irish working class and a minority in the organised movement which is Irish Labour. But they are not by any means in a hopeless minority, for they are comparatively strong in numbers and influence. The Irish Labour Party cannot neglect this fact, although many friends and critics of Irish Labour most conveniently can. It is therefore getting away from the point to say "They do not count, so we need not consider their views." We thoroughly agree that the workers should be fully educated "on the facts of the situation," and that the majority should take in hands the education of the minority. But in determining the line of its tactics the Irish Labour Party must respect both the views and the personnel of the minority if it is to be a democratic Party, observing both the spirit and the letter of its democratic faith. We have some claim to know the mind and the value of the minority, and while we think that education would be lost on

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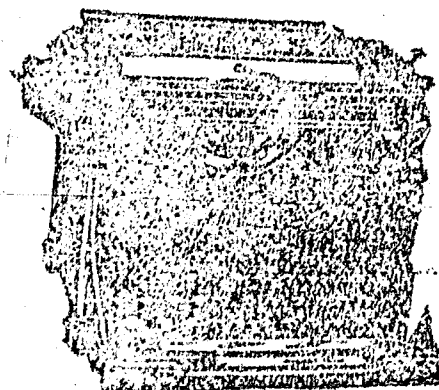
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the older men, we have hopes that the younger men and women workers of Orangedem will be won to Irish Labour. But they are not won yet.—Editor.

IRISH OPINION.

The VOICE OF LABOUR

READ THE
INSET IN
THIS ISSUE.

FACTS ABOUT LENIN AND TROTSKY.

The Bolsheviks.

The capitalist press of Ireland has so carefully "lifted" all the foul abuse of Russian revolutionaries that has appeared in the English and French press, that, despite the distrust with which the average man reads the "Independent" or "Freeman's," the taint of suspicion is still widely attached in Irish minds to the name and reputation of Lenin and Trotsky. A Russian, an opponent of the Bolsheviks, writing in the new issue of the "Socialist Review," endeavours for the truth's sake to do justice to the two great figures of the Proletarian revolt. Lenin's real name is Ulianov, and he has written under the pen-name of Vladimir Ilin.

Lenin.

This variety of names was a necessary camouflage for one who had been a fugitive from Czarism since 1897, for the international relations of the Okhrana secret police extended over the world and, of course, embraced England's Scotland Yard; R.L.C. and D.M.P. In 1899, Lenin produced an important study of the development of capitalism in Russia, proving that as in all agricultural countries capital was bringing the rural world under its sceptre, destroying husbandry and creating a class of hired labourers. In 1900, with Georges Plekhanov, he founded "The Spark" at Zurich as the organ of the Russian Social Democratic Party. In 1901 he translated into Russian Beatrice and Sydney Webb's "History of Trade Unionism."

Lenin rejects the facile internationalism which ignores the different historical evolution and consequently varied states of social progress and economic development prevailing in different countries. Therefore, he predicted that in Russia the social revolution must have a preface in the overthrow of Tsardom, the barrier to progress peculiar to Russia, which has its analogue in Irish affairs. In this, his teaching resembles that of Connolly.

Like Connolly, he advocated the dictatorship of the Proletariat. He saw that the political aims of the middle class, the landowners and high officials were limited by their personal and class interests. Having overthrown Tsardom they would demand the perpetuation of capitalism. They must be swept aside by force, if necessary, and with them the juridical and political institutions by which they exist, while the proletariat carries out radical reforms in land ownership for the benefit of the peasants and establishes democracy in the factories.

Trotsky.

Trotsky was born "Bronstein" and has been foremost in doing and daring for the Revolution for nearly twenty years.

He was laid by the heels in 1902 and spent two and a half years in Siberia. He escaped and took part in the fighting in 1905. He sat on the revolutionary Council of Workmen's Deputies and was arrested with the other members, imprisoned for fifty-seven weeks before trial and then exiled to Siberia. He was then known as Yanovsky. By the aid of sympathisers he escaped from the convict caravan, across the tundras of the Ural on a reindeer-drawn sledge, covering nearly 600 miles in his flight. In 1907 he was back again in Petrograd under another name, of course. From thence he escaped abroad. He wrote the history of that abortive revolution.

Of the two men described as evil livers, degenerates, German spies, etc., by "Banba" and the other hirelings of Irish capitalism, Rapoport, who disagrees with their policy, says: "Their companionship would not of itself have made the strength of their leadership, if it were not for the enthusiasm, the sincerity, and the courage of their ideas." These are generous words and are supported by the high respect which Milinkov, the bourgeois leader, has always paid to Lenin and Trotsky.

A FIENDISH INVENTION—"ALL BRITISH."

The Irishwomen's International League sends a copy of a protest against the use of poison gas in warfare, which has been issued by the Dutch Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, which states:—"At the impending offensive (immaterial by which side it is started) these gasses are to be used to such an extent that whole districts would be destroyed and their inhabitants annihilated. The idea is to poison the air over districts beyond the range of modern guns so that any living being inhaling this poison would perish, a prey to the most horrible torments. The country which could attempt to accomplish its aims by resorting to such cruel means as the use of poisoned gasses, could never again be considered worthy of taking its place in society; it would be stamped as the basest and most cruel country on earth."

The genius who invented poison gas as a factor in warfare was the British Admiral Dundonald, who was cashiered under Pitt for corruption.

NOTICE TO VOTERS.

Residents of the North Dock Ward requiring information as to obtaining votes under the New Franchise Act will receive full particulars at the Sean Connolly Sinn Fein Club, 33 North Summer Street, North Circular Road, where members will be in attendance each evening from 8 to 10, and Sunday from 12 to 2.

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THE MAGAZINES.

The *Scottish Review* gives renewed cause for envy that we have nothing of the same kind in Ireland. Educationists will find much of interest in Wm. Diacks masterly criticism of the Education Bill for Scotland. The spring issue is enlarged and the price is 1/6.

The *Socialist Review* (I.L.P., 1/- net) has several contributions of high utility. Fred Bramley offers a proposal for settling the differences between craft unions and industrial unions. Lancelot Hogben insinuates Marxism in the form of literary criticism, despite the Editor's care to prevent the sully of English Whiggery by any taint of social democracy. A. F. Whyte, M.P., is allowed to boost his subsidised weekly, "The New Europe," which displays a curious tenderness for Czechs, South Slavs and Magyars, and always forgets Ireland. A gentleman named Ronald Campbell MacPie, eulogises the nobler England in 51 verses, which reminds us that "Rulo Britannia" and "Ye Mariners of England" were written by Scots.

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