

IRISH OPINION

The
VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL O'SHANNON.

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AUGUST 10, 1918.

ONE PENNY

The Wages
Board.

Safeguard the
Union Funds.

The Derry
Plot.

William O'Brien's Call to Action.

We print here the concluding and most significant portion of President O'Brien's memorable address to the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party.

It is a declaration of war on the wages system, an assertion of the moral right of the working class to all the fruits of its labours, and at the same time it is an eloquent tribute to Ireland's first prophet of Revolutionary Unionism.

To meet the tremendous rise in the cost of living we have all of us been clamouring for more wages, and some of us have even been winning for our members increases nominally equivalent to the increase in the cost of living. But with every increase in nominal wages we find that real wages remain stationary, or else depreciate, that as wages are increased the cost of living rises often out of all proportion to the rise in wages, that the value of money is decreasing, that the pound sterling does not buy as much as ten shillings four years ago. We go on in an unending and vicious circle, and even the living wage is not a way out of our difficulty. A living wage, a real living and not a mere subsistence wage, may be fixed to-day, but to-morrow it must be raised for the cost of living, so long as present conditions prevail, will be once more raised and again out of all proportion to the purchasing power of the living wage. The living wage of to-day simply becomes the subsistence wage of to-morrow.

To attempt to level up wages is a futile policy, a mere temporary expedient, and as a makeshift I have shown

its futility. The only real and genuine remedy is to be found in the control of industry in the interest of the community by the working class. I need not elaborate the arguments which make this conclusion inevitable in logic and in fact, and to do so would be to anticipate the debate to take place on what is, in principle, the most important and revolutionary proposal before this Congress: Let me just add that when we speak of the control of industry we mean the control of industry, of all industries, agricultural and manufacturing, the control and management in every sense of each industry by the workers in that industry, and of each and all in the common interest of the whole community, the people, the nation.

The proposal, as I say, is important and revolutionary. But it is the only proposal which can ultimately satisfy the conditions of the new social order which we all want to supersede the present system of wage slavery, under which the worker is a mere piece of goods, a commodity, dehumanised and degraded, in the hell of labour's chattel market.

Out of that hell it is Labour's aim and purpose and intention to lift the workers of Ireland. It was Connolly's ideal; it is our ideal. It is the greatest and noblest ideal any movement in our or any time has set before itself, a flaming torch pointing the way to freedom and happiness and all the joys and sweets of life. For this brave men and brave women, the countless thousands of the pioneers and fighters of the toiling and battling working class, have worked and

suffered, bled and died, and counted weary labours and great sacrifices and life itself as nothing beside the glory that should one day rest upon the world's proletariat and crown it with the victory of freedom. This, I say, was Connolly's ideal; and it is our ideal. For it we shall fight on, for it we shall toil on, for it, if need be, we shall give up our comfort, our personal property, and our lives. By it we shall stand or fall. It means toil and trouble, suffering and sacrifice, hardship, and often reverse and defeat, unending conflict and unceasing and unwearying labour. But it means much more; it means the glory of battle for the right, the satisfaction of the good deed against the ill. The high and sure and certain hope of the full and complete emancipation of Labour, the social, economic and political freedom from bondage of that great, heroic, unconquered and unconquerable working class of James Connolly's love. Ay, it is well worth all we have and hold dear, for it is liberty through the Co-operative Commonwealth, the Workers' Republic, the building of which on this Irish soil is the sacred trust and legacy handed down to us by the great saints and martyrs and soldiers of Labour who have gone before us, and greatest of them all, of him who sanctified it with his life's blood, James Connolly.

"And by their graves we swear this year
of story,
To battle side by side,
Till Freedom crowns with immemorial
glory,
The cause for which they died."

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Some Passages from the Congress President's Speech.

Waterford, August 6th.

Sources of Strength.

Labour's power and influence, and the growth of which they are the manifestation, are due above all to three things. They are due to the hard work, the untiring sacrifice and unbroken perseverance and determination of the few but heroic men and women fighters who battled and worked against great odds through long and fruitless years that the workers of Ireland might be united and combined in one great movement that would lead them out of bondage into economic, social and political freedom. They are due to

the awakening of the workers in all countries to the consciousness of their class interests, of their industrial selfdom, of their subjection at the hands of a powerful, unscrupulous dehumanised capitalist class and a devilish capitalist system,

and to a realisation of their powers and the possibilities, within themselves through their unity and solidarity as a class organised in one movement, of their full and complete and speedy emancipation from the evils from which they suffer, a consciousness of their state and a realisation of their powers to which the war and the revelation of the hideous nature of capitalism the war has made, have contributed as much as any other factor in the awakening. Above all they are due to the new spirit, the new life, the new conception of the status, the dignity and the place in humanity of the worker, the great minds and great hearts, the skilful organisation, the bold leadership, able and courageous, the unending toil, the revolutionary teaching, the high and splendid thinking, the great and noble vision, the magnificent example, the sacrifice and heroism in death as in life which have been contributed by James Connolly and Jim Larkin.

Freedom's Pioneer.

Of these two men and their work I need not speak in detail, for neither requires justification at any Congress of Irish Labour. But of James Connolly, one of whose oldest friends in the Labour

movement I can proudly claim to be, I am bound to say this: his life and his death were the inspiration to which is due the splendid enthusiasm, the strong determination, the manly independence, and in a large measure the whole-hearted allegiance of the many thousands of workers who have joined our ranks within the past two years. His are the ideals we follow, his the principles we adopt, his the plans and methods upon which we organise, his the memory and the inspiration from which we draw our strength and our place in the forefront of the fighting army of Labour and in the battle for freedom and justice in this and all other lands. May the sod rest lightly upon you old comrade, and may peace be yours in death. You fought the good fight, and you fell as you desired in battle for the right against the wrong. To us who followed you, you have left a great heroic memory, an imperishable thought and word and deed. You have given us the most precious of legacies, and we who remain to carry on your battles promise you that we shall not lower your flag, but through success and reverse shall travel the road you cut out for us, and battle on until we have built up in Ireland that Workers' Republic for which you worked and fought and died. When Connolly laid down his life for the Irish working class he laid it down for the working class in all countries, for he believed that an example of action ought to be given to the workers to spur them to resistance to the powers of imperialism and capitalism which have plunged Europe in blood in this war of empire and conquest. Nor was his sacrifice in vain, for we know the influence it exercised amongst those great men and women who have given us the great Russian Revolution.

Capitalism contra Russia.

The Revolution is indeed still battling for existence against both internal and external foes, against the Western as well as the Central Powers, but the Bolsheviks are consolidating their power and holding the ground they have won. Their present difficulties reveal as nothing else could reveal the real aims of the Powers on both sides in this war. Those aims are economic and political conquest, the more complete exploitation by the capitalist class of the workers in all countries, and the capture by this or that capitalist Government of the markets of the world. If not, then why are England and France and Japan and America as well as Germany making armed intervention in Russia? If not, then why were the repeated efforts of the workers to meet in the International Congress defeated by the governments of all the warring countries except alone the Soviet Government of Russia? Why were passports refused to, and still withheld from, the delegates of the workers? The governments will not allow the workers of Europe to meet in conference, but they do not prevent, nay they help, the financiers and capitalists of both sets of belligerents to meet one another in joint conference in the interests of capitalism. It is because capitalism, and not democracy, is the ruling power in Europe. But that shall not always be so. The workers will yet meet in common

council in the International Congress, and when they meet the delegates of this Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party, to whom passports were refused by the British Government last year, will be there to voice the will and desire of the organised workers of Ireland.

Conscription.

Well, we will not have it. Labour has already made its position clear both in word and in deed. We were ready in April and May. We are ready and able in July. We shall be ready, able and still more willing in September or October, or whenever the Government is mad enough to attempt to inflict upon us this outrage against our liberty and our wills. Let them try the mettle of Labour, and Labour will stand the test. True to our professions and principles and the great trust imposed upon us, we shall not shirk nor shrink. I warn, then, all whom it may concern, be they government, military, police or employers, that Irish Labour will throw its whole weight, its whole strength, its whole influence, its whole enthusiasm into the resistance against conscription and fight on to the bitter end. No action that may be taken against us, no amount of arrests, no number of imprisonments, no deportations, nay no executions and no shootings will turn Labour from this road it has chosen or make it swerve one inch from the hard and narrow-path of its duty. Our words and our faith have been tested before; and if the time comes will stand the trial again.

Individual Freedom.

When we struck against conscription we struck because we are of a subject but unconquered people, because Irish Labour is opposed to the conscription of a subject people by a dominant people, because Irish Labour is opposed to the exercise of the will of one nation or government upon another nation and above all because as Labour men we are opposed to the imposition by any government, native or foreign, democratic or autocratic, of military service upon any people or any body of people without their full and expressed consent. We are all for liberty, not only for social, economic and national liberty, but for that priceless and precious possession of full and sovereign manhood, individual liberty, the right of all men so to order their lives that their manhood be free to attain its full development.

The Big Insect.

Here, too, let Labour, as a body which can speak in the name of the Irish working class, the vast majority of this nation, declare to all the world that we are opposed to each and every act of tyranny and oppression that has been perpetrated within recent months, that while we are indeed much concerned over the suppression of our own meetings, that we are the enemies of all who would take away any and every liberty from no matter what section of this or any other peoples, and that we are the friends and fellow-fighters for liberty of every dauntless lover of freedom and rebel against oppression the world over. That may indeed earn us an ugly nick-name, but Labour is too big an insect to be crushed beneath the Iron Heel of any despot, militarist or other.

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

Another Overture to Congress.

We go to press too early in this week to permit of any comment in our columns upon the actual proceedings of the Congress at Waterford but not too early to say our say upon certain events immediately preceding the Congress and upon the crisis that has been reached in the movement. We refer particularly to the situation created by some of the more prominent Waterford officials in connection with the procession and public demonstration arranged for the Sunday. Let us add at once that no better day and no better deed than what would have been a most important meeting could have ushered in the most momentous Congress in the history of the movement. But it was sadly and disgracefully blundered by certain of the Waterford officials, and no words which the most bitter of critics could use could be too strong for their condemnation. Contrary not only to the strongly expressed decision of Labour in general neither to seek nor accept permits for meetings but to the declared will of the overwhelming majority of Trade Unionists in Waterford these weak and blundering individuals applied for and obtained a police permit for the meeting and procession. Immediately this became known it became certain that no honourable leader of Irish labour would speak at the meeting or even attend it. To their eternal honour and to the salvation of Labour in Waterford, the majority of the Unions in Waterford immediately decided to take no part whatever in the Sunday's proceedings, and at the advice of the National Executive, or rather of its Secretary, in these circumstances the procession and meeting were abandoned. We understand that the Carpenters, Railwaymen, Transport and General Workers, Clerical Workers and other sections of Labour spoke out pretty plainly and prevented what would have been an infamy disgracing not only Waterford but the whole of the Labour movement as well. This is rightly in accord with what we understand is now the fine spirit, correct attitude and straightness of the greater number of Trade Unionists in Waterford and Labour owes them its sincerest gratitude. They did well to turn down the whole dishonourable and degrading business.

Waterford's Honour and Dishonour.

This sorry transaction does not end there, or perhaps it would be less of a bull to say that it did not begin there. There is a very ugly story told us of the origin of the episode and we invite the officials concerned to deny it in detail in our columns if it is untrue. If it is true we can only hope that the Trade Unionists of Waterford will take the necessary drastic measures to prevent the repetition of an action of this despicable nature. In the first place we understand that the police permit was applied for and presumably granted as far back as July 17,

but no mention of it was made in Waterford until last week, and the National Executive had no knowledge of the application until the anger and firm attitude of the Unions in Waterford compelled the parties responsible to fall back upon the National Executive for a way out of the difficulty towards the end of last week. In the second place, we are informed that no body of Labour, neither the Trades Council nor the Reception Committee, authorised the application for a permit, but that it was an application made on the sole responsibility of certain prominent members of the Trades Council. We invite Messrs. E. Dalton, Chairman; T. Dunne, Secretary of the Trades Council, and Councillor R. Keane to deny or confirm this story in all or any of its details, and we promise them space enough in "The Voice" to vindicate or hang themselves. We have had deplorable enough incidents in the movement of late without the treachery to principle, for that is what it is, which this story, if it is true, reveals. Deplorable as these things may be we hope the day will never come when a Labour journal in Ireland will hide even the bitterest truth, for we must, above all things, have truth and straight dealing in the Labour movement.

Shifting the Shame.

Nor can the Waterford Trades Council be congratulated on its silly and ridiculous vote of censure of last Friday night on the outgoing Executive. God knows the outgoing National Executive had its faults, and in our own sweet way we have not spared it, but it is free from all stain in this matter of permits and of the Sunday meeting. It is censured by the Trades Council because, it is alleged, it did not give the Trades Council enough detailed advice on the Congress and the meeting. But the truth is that on two different occasions the National Executive sent official delegations to Waterford for this very purpose and all the instruction Waterford asked or required was given. It could not indeed advise on the matter of this particular permit, for Waterford did not consult it in this matter until all the fat was in the fire. And it was only when the Unions in Waterford had turned down the meeting with a well-deserved castigation of the offenders that the Trades Council suddenly discovered that it had no instructions from the Executive. This won't wash even in Waterford.

Again we invite Messrs. Dalton, Dunne and Keane to give a more satisfactory explanation of their conduct in regard to the permit than the explanation they attempted at the meeting of the Transport and General Workers which decided altogether against them and against taking part in a procession and meeting to be held under military and police permission. We are anxious to know the real motives which

made them run counter to the whole spirit and attitude of Labour. In the meantime it is satisfactory to learn that between them the National Executive and the Waterford officials arranged a meeting without a permit for Tuesday.

The Plot.

It is now clear that the "expulsion" of William O'Brien from the Tailors at the hands of Messrs. Lynch, McCarron and Rowleston was but a prelude to the dramatic storm which we anticipate has broken over the Congress. The aim of these three eminent democrats (O Democracy, what sins and crimes are committed in thy name!) is now revealed as the making of O'Brien ineligible to represent the Tailors on the Dublin Trades Council and hence ineligible to be the Council's delegate to Congress or, in other words, to put it brutally plain, to drive O'Brien out of the Labour movement. In this aim the Three Tailors of Twister Street have failed and failed miserably. Both the Trades Council and the National Executive unanimously decided to ignore the notice of expulsion and O'Brien still represents the Dublin Branch of the Tailors on the Council and was the Tailors delegate to Congress. In the course of O'Brien's vindication (for that is what it amounts to) by both bodies some startling revelations were made. O'Brien, it is now known, was not, and has not yet been, notified officially that any charge was made against him, and that he has been expelled; nor was he given any opportunity of meeting the charge and all these damning facts have been admitted by Mr. Lynch. O'Brien is still, we believe, a member of the Committee of the Dublin branch and is not yet a member of the new Union. We regret we are unable to report the speeches of the Trades Council meeting which vindicated O'Brien. As we expected, Bill was well able to fight his corner, and he had many straight and tried and true friends. We wish Mr. McCarron would explain why his Executive sent seven very estimable young ladies from Derry to Congress and why the worthy Alderman did not tell them what to do or why they were sent before he and they left Derry. We are wondering whom they represent, or is it just McCarron, as he confessed he himself did on a certain occasion. How long are the Trades Unionists of Derry going to stand this kind of thing?

Special Review of
CONGRESS
NEXT WEEK.

LABOUR IN IRELAND.

JAMES CONNOLLY.

A flame that leaped from out the gloom,
A sword that flashed a vengeful light,
A voice that spoke the tyrant's doom
And challenged him in all his might.

Firm as the adamant rock,
Fiercely brave, heroically just:
He dared Oppression's power to mock
And level the monster in the dust.

GEORGE A. LYONS.

WAGES BOARD BLOWS ITS OWN HORN.

Mr. Charles H. O'Connor, Chairman of the Agricultural Wages Board (and author of the Guying Award that has made the Corkmen so angry), has circulated to the Press a neat little puff of the Wages Board and its doings. He has not seen fit to direct that a copy be sent to this office, although on the face of it the communicate is an indirect reply to our sustained criticism of the slothful and almost criminal inaction of the Wages Board in respect to the long-continued and widespread evasion of the law by the farmers.

Stirred at last by the acute unrest in the country, Mr. Charles H. O'Connor actually threatens prosecution of those farmers who have since last November withheld the legal wages from their employees. How different the attitude of the authorities in the sugar, milk and tea prosecutions. How prompt they were to deal with electioneering offenders against the petrol regulations. How summary their proceedings against the petty shopkeepers in the back streets, and how mildly indulgent towards the farmers, the standby of the Old Party!

Two weeks ago we urged the Labour representatives to consider whether they secured any advantage for the workers by sitting on this Board. It seems as if they merely served as blind for the unrestricted exploitation of Labour. It matters little whether they retain their positions or not, if they will allow their union members to secure by direct action the benefits of the law which the Wages Board is empowered, but apparently reluctant, if not unwilling, to enforce.

Between now and the end of August the workers occupy a position of strategic importance. We want them to realise that, but we counsel caution and deliberation in their proceedings. Let us have no disorderly or irregular strikes. The moment is ripe for a national settlement of the agricultural wages question, and we welcome the plea put forward in a recent "Homestead" for direct negotiation between farmers' associations and the unions. The Wages Board is quite plainly helpless to secure a peaceful harvest and the burden falls directly on those most concerned.

Cork.

The advertising matter used against the workers in Dobbin's dispute is set by trade union labour. What have the Typos to say?

Drogheda.

A fine organising meeting of the Transport Union was wrecked on 28th ult. by police interference, with threats of force.

The following night the U.I.L. (friends of the workers!) held a political meeting without a permit, but the sergeant did not dare stop it.

Flax mills, meat packing and printing factories are being set up here. The workers are organised and ready. Donore, Slane and Trim are centres of new branches.

Ballymena.

In addition to the papers mentioned on the tickets, "The Voice" will publish the result of the Trades Council Ballot.

The Trades Council takes a wide and proper view of its duties. It organises the non-unionists. Last week it had 400 carters and general labourers at a meeting to strengthen the Workers' Union. It has also formed a branch of the Shop Assistants' Union, nearly 100 strong. A stiff, hard, Blackneeb town this, but when it is roused it can't be beaten.

Longford.

The Transport branch now approaches its second century. Members rightly insist on actively conducting their own business.

Sligo.

The shop assistants are now fully organised in grocery and hardware shops. One old lad remains outside, and is being left. The Employers' Federation is meeting Mr. Owens on the demand for 40 per cent. increase.

Dundalk.

The Shops Act is being ignored by some spirit traders who are cutting down holidays from fourteen to seven days. The town solicitor has the names. Will he act?

The assistants' moderate demands have been refused. Before proceeding to action they have asked the Trades Council to intervene.

Dublin.

"Labour Troubles" is a daily heading in the press. Brick and stonemasons' rate is raised to 1s. 3d. per hour, with travelling time counted in. Boland's carters have been awarded 8s. per week advance.

The joint committee of the Building Trades is pressing new demands. St. John's Ambulance Association supplied blacklegs in Rathmines and was thanked by the Tory Council. The dispute has been referred to the Chief Industrial Commissioner.

Personally-conducted journalists, with the help of the Castle gang, blew £31 in drinks and £5 in cigars in two days' visit to this burg. The entire Trades Congress won't rival that at Waterford in three days.

Hely's twelve lady clerks who refused to handle tainted goods have set a headline for all clerical workers.

Lese Majeste.

Dear old Swift MacNeill came perilously near sedition when he enunciated the principle, "Once a German always a German."

THE WORKERS' UNION.

The prohibition of meetings will hamper our outdoor work. If a strike occurs we can't give seven days' notice of meetings, and must just "chance our arm." Generally, we have little cause for complaint against the R.I.C. in Co. Down, but one officious acting-sergeant tried to prevent an indoor meeting without a permit. He did not succeed.

Aerodrome workers at Antrim have had the 12½ per cent. bonus paid as from May. Improved shelters and a better train service have also been gained.

Belfast bakers and helpers have secured increases. Strike notices had been handed in, but were withdrawn on the intervention of Lord Mayor Johnstone.

Shipyard members of the Workers' Union are getting the 3s. 6d. increase granted by the Committee on Production.

This makes a 32s. increase, to skilled and unskilled alike, on pre-war wages. Dublin, please note!

"The Down Recorder" threatens the agricultural workers of Down with the importation of blacklegs from the mythical "South and West" if they dare to strike. Co. Down workers know better. All Ireland is fighting the same battle, and the Agricultural Wages' Board minima are no attraction.

Here is the position of the labourer as set out by Robert McClung in a letter to the same paper:—"The minimum wage for a farm worker is 25s.; out of this the farmer is entitled to stop 9s. 6d. weekly for providing three meals a day. This leaves the labourer 15s. 6d. to take home to his wife and five or six small children. Allow 1s. 6d. for rent of cottage, 4s. 6d. for coal, light, clothes, boots, etc. This leaves the labourer's wife with 9s. 6d. per week, out of which she is expected to provide 130 meals, or less than one penny per meal. When is justice going to be done to the farm worker?"

And here we give an estimate of the cost of necessaries for two people compiled by grocers' assistants in Dundalk:—2lbs. butter, 4s. 8d.; ½lb. tea, 1s. 4d.; 7 loaves, 2s. 11d.; 1½st. potatoes, 1s. 6d.; milk, 2s. 3d.; vegetables and salt, 1s.; 6lbs. fresh meat and bacon, 11s.; 1lb. sugar, 7½d.; 2lb. fish, 1s. 6d.; 1½lb. bacon (rashers), 3s. 6d. Total for food, £1 10s. 3½d. That is, necessities for two, cost more than three times what the farm labourer's wife has to spend on six or seven.

To complete the Dundalk estimates, we have to add:—Rent, 7s. 6d.; coal and light, 6s.; laundry, 1s.; sundries, 2s. 6d. Grand total (without allowance for clothing or holidays, or a nest egg), £2 7s. 3½d.

Ourselves.

Many fine articles are held over. The pressure on our space grows weekly, and we must enlarge. Two things are needed to ensure this—more capital and more readers. More capital will help us to organise our circulation. A big circulation will ensure a revenue from advertising.

That is the office viewpoint. More readers mean more and keener trade unionists—a powerful, because intelligent, labour movement in industry and politics.

WORTHY OF NOTE.

The Mooney Case.

At the urgent request of President Wilson, the Governor of California has reprieved Tom Mooney until December 13th. Big capital having gripped its victim, is yet reluctant to release him, in spite of the complete exposure of the fraudulent evidence on which he was convicted. His fate is not yet certain and all labour organisations should send resolutions demanding his release to President Wilson and the Governor of California through the local American Consuls and the American Embassy.

The Sympathetic Lock-Out.

Four hundred Dublin printers who have no dispute with their employers have been locked out because of some slight difference between the firm of Thom's and their employees. This is a wanton instance of the class war being ruthlessly waged by the organised employers. Four hundred families are wageless. The markets have lost the impetus of their purchasing power and organised capital has struck a blow at the prosperity of the city.

Morality and Religion on Holiday.

So far Mr. Murphy's organs and the clergy at Gardiner Street have refrained from denouncing the brutal, unpatriotic and unchristian action of the employers, and we have not heard of any combination between the Archbishop, John Dillon Nugent, and Countess Plunkett to break the bond of sympathy between the bosses. They keep that sort of thing for the workers!

Socialist Party.

The Secretary has been instructed to organise classes in economics and Industrial History, beginning in October.

The Party's Lecture Service is at the disposal of trade unions in the district. A circular has been sent each branch.

Walter Carpenter has started hunting money for the Connolly Memorial Christmas Treat. He hopes to bring "Casey and his Fiddle" over once more.

The party pays tribute to comrade Mary Penstone, deceased, a faithful supporter for many years. R.I.P.

Bray Trades Council.

At the annual meeting of Bray, Kingstown and District Trades and Labour Council, Mr. Jos. Metcalfe, I.T. and G.W.U., was elected president, an honour fittingly bestowed on a hard worker (and the champion salesman of the "Voice"). A very hearty vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Ben Lindop (N.U.R.), the retiring president, who had in term of office rendered notable service to Labour.

Not a Capitalist War.

The British branch of the world-wide electricity trust, of German origin but now purged of all alien taint, the G.E.C., is seeking to raise its capital from £1,600,000 to three millions. In 1914, its profits were £139,737. In 1918, it realised the trifling sum of £301,252, not counting £8,000 interest on debentures.

Unpaid Labour.

Please note that although the original shareholders only advanced £1,600,000 and the debenture holders £200,000, the company now holds assets valued at three millions, but probably worth four. These vast values were created by the Company's employees and appropriated by the shareholders. N.B.—This company is not exceptional.

NECESSARY BOOKS.

The recent pamphleteering of the Talbot Press serves directly useful purposes, and we ask our readers to obtain and study their productions. We have already urged trade unionists and Defence Committees to master G. Gavan Duffy's booklet, "The Groundwork of Conscription," which is a complete, reliable and concise guide to the law of Military Service. Don't let us be caught napping.

Still Optimistic.

We understand Sir Horace Plunkett has great hopes that his new pamphlet, "Home Rule and Conscription," will carry the light of reason into the dark places of Whitehall and the Palace of Westminster. It is good to know that after thirty years of serving Ireland, in spite of abuse from every Irish Party, Sir Horace still cherishes the illusion that people in Ireland or in England may be moved by appeals to reason and common-sense.

Sir Horace Plunkett, the idealist politician, was and remains an abject and hopeless failure. Sir Horace Plunkett

the advocate and organiser of enlightened self-interest, the man who showed the Irish farmers how to put cold cash in their pockets, is a triumphant success. His pamphlet is a minimalist exposition of the case for Home Rule, and we advise its perusal. Its certain failure to alter the attitude of our rulers make it specially instructive.

"The Handbook for Rebels,"

In the language of Sir Edward Carson, the Lord Chancellor, the Attorney-General of England and Mr. A. Bonar Law, carefully reported by the "Northern Whig" and other Unionist papers has been compiled by Thomas Johnson, of the Mansion House Conference, and also of that not altogether unimportant corporation, the Irish Labour Press Co-operative Society.

How to Revolt.

The first essential in successful rebellion appears to be the nobbling of the Army. Seduce the Generals from their allegiance and Royal avenue will flaunt its undamaged brickwork after five years of defiance of British law. Ally yourself with the Petty-Fitzmaurices, the Percy-Smiths and the high-toned Norman-Yiddish cross-bred aristocracy of England and solemn statutes become scraps of paper, oaths of allegiance forsworn, and Kings may be reminded that their ancestors were imported from Germany to crush the Papists and if they fail to keep them under, there are other kings in the same country.

<p>COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT— Miceal J. Staines; Dr. James Ryan. Liam Tobin. Miceal W. O'Reilly. Frank Thornton. Richard Coleman.</p>	<p>Cumann UMMAÖAIR NA hÉIREANN.</p> <p>Where is the father who does not spend Sixpence per week on his child? FATHERS! place that Sixpence per week with us, and at the end of 14 years we will give you</p> <p>£20 : 3 : 0</p> <p>YOU make a profit of £3 : 8 : 0 The gift to the child may be invaluable.</p> <p>HEAD OFFICE— 56 LR. O'CONNELL ST., DUBLIN. NO CONNECTION WITH ANY OTHER SOCIETY Agents required where we are not yet represented.</p>	<p>TRUSTEES— George J. Nesbitt. Dr. James Ryan.</p> <p>BANKERS— Munster and Leinster Bank, Dame Street.</p>
<p>NATIONAL REPORT SOUND.</p>		<p>FINANCIAL REPORT EXCELLENT.</p>

NEW IRELAND ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

<p>IRISH TRANSPORT and GENERAL WORKERS' UNION.</p>	<p>Free Membership Offered to All.</p> <p>THE advanced wages gained by the Union for its Members exceeds, by several hundred times, the amount of subscriptions paid by them.</p> <p>DON'T worry about your dues—the boss will pay them for you. All information may be had from the nearest branch secretary, or write to the General President,</p> <p>Thomas Foran, Liberty Hall, Dublin.</p>
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THE WORKER'S MONEY

Where does your Union keep its Fighting Funds? Are they locked up in shares of fluctuating value and worthless at a forced sale? Are they lodged with a bank, directed by the Employers you are fighting? Find out at once and make them safe for the future.

There must be a good sum, of money in the hands of officials of Trade Unions in Ireland. What the sum is it is impossible to say; and even were it possible it would be undesirable to give such very valuable information to all and sundry. It is, in these critical days, necessary to accumulate sufficient funds to enable the workers to maintain the position they have won. These funds must be carefully hoarded and not less carefully watched. This is not to suggest that a guard should be placed over every Trade Union treasurer. It is merely to suggest that the place where the accumulated funds are deposited should be very carefully selected. We have no means of discovering how large the fund at the disposal of organised labour in Ireland really is, but we are not, and cannot be quite certain that the Employers' Federation is in the same state of blissful ignorance. That the total amount of money accumulated by Irish Trade Unions is considerable we have no doubt whatever, and that a great deal of useful work could be accomplished through its agency, and by its use we have no doubt either. It will be said that the money must be always available for use in the cause for which it was subscribed and accumulated, and that is so true that no emphasis is required in assenting to it. Trade Union funds are in our day and generation primarily war funds, they are like unto the mythical war fund the Kaiser hoarded in the secret room at the castle of Spandau. Trade Union funds are accumulated in anticipation of "the day" when employers prove unreasonable or declare war, and none of us can foretell with accuracy when "the day" may dawn. For that reason the funds of a Trade Union must be available at the shortest possible notice and without any great delay. A battle might easily be lost if the munitions were not at hand promptly. The funds of Trade Unions should not, therefore, be locked up in any way that would impede their free flow when or where the occasion demanded. It would seem then that investments of a permanent nature should not be made by Trade Unions. That at least would be our personal view of the matter. We know, however, that several Trade Unions, even in Ireland, have considerable sums invested in permanent or long term funds. In Great Britain, Government funds have offered tempting bait always, so that large sums found their way from the worker's pocket to the National Debt. War Loan now attracts them, not so much as an investment, however, as a

demonstration of patriotism and a declaration of faith in the righteousness of the allied cause or causes. In addition to this patriotic type of investment we found in pre-war days a considerable sum of working-class money invested in British railways and such like undertakings. In Ireland though the sums are smaller the principle is the same. Here we have some knowledge of an investment in municipal stock, which is at least from the Trade Union standpoint, a much more desirable undertaking. These invested funds are generally accumulated reserves. They have been built up slowly over a long period of years and are unlikely to be called upon in the event of a strike of ordinary or average proportions. With such funds it is perhaps permissible to invest in stocks of a more or less permanent nature and of proved security. As, however, the security is the people, a fact not generally recognised, too much stress need not be placed upon it. To us it would seem reasonable that Trade Union funds should be invested only in democratically controlled institutions; in the funds of municipalities using the money for public ownership of necessities or in the productive co-operative undertakings or in the funds of the co-operative federations. All these are subject to control by the people and as such should have the people's support.

ANDREW E. MALONE.

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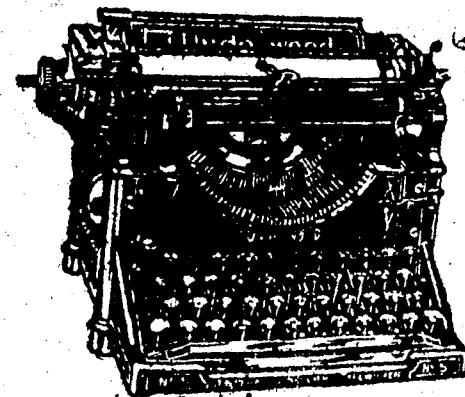
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Irish Worker.

The acting-secretary of the Irish Passive Resisters' Fellowship is Miss L. S. Willis, 9 Mountpleasant Square, Dublin.

IRISH WOMEN WORKERS' UNION.

The Master Printers are adopting syndicalist methods. Owing to a dispute between the Typographical Society and Messrs. Thom, other firms under the Master Printers' Association have taken sympathetic action and locked out their men. As a consequence a number of women in the printing trade are again out of employment. All the women at Messrs. Hely's of Dame Street have been instructed by us to cease work owing to the action of the manager in summarily paying off a group of women who refused to handle a job set up by him on the men's machines.

We are organising a section committee for the confectionery and jam-making trade, and this section will elect a Union representative on the Confectionery Trade Board.

We are negotiating for increases at Goodbody's Tobacco Factory, Messrs. Gilbert's provision stores, Hilton, Boland's (bake house and mills), Hill's woollen mills, Lucan, and the National Laundry. We are also claiming a Government enquiry into war bonuses paid at Freemount spinning mills.

The Printers' section of this Union and of the Irish Clerical Workers' Union have formed a joint committee for organisation purposes and are achieving useful results. We should like to extend this method of working to other unions. It makes for solidarity and mutual understanding.

A propoganda meeting will be held in the Town Hall, Blackrock, on next Wednesday evening, and we hope to establish then a branch which will include Kingstown also.

Mrs. Callendar has formed the nucleus of a promising branch in Kilkenny; and it is hoped that the Trades Congress in Waterford will create a big stir in the Labour world of that city, and that our branch there will radiate out on many sides, until we have a flourishing south-eastern organisation hard at work.

HOTEL WORKERS.

Next week your secretary, Mr. T. Gordon, will contribute a special article dealing with conditions in Dublin and the means of remedying them. Copies may be had at the Club, 29 Eden Quay. Order at once.

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CO-OPERATION At Work in Dublin

By The Organiser.

The history of the Industrial Co-operative Society of Dublin is a history of struggle, determination, and difficulty. But it is a record also of shining prosperity and enduring success. The first effort made by the people of Dublin to control their food supply was in 1905, when a small shop was opened at No. 3 Merville Avenue, Fairview. Their enterprise was justified by results, and in the year 1911 they were compelled to remove to larger premises in Annesley Bridge Road. In 1909 a branch establishment was opened at 82B Lr. Dorset St., and this business also prospered so well that larger premises were sought and found in the present shop in Drumcondra Road. Co-operative trading being now firmly established in Dublin, the people decided to build, equip, and open a bakery in Church Road, and this effort to control **production** was successfully launched in the year of grace 1910. The bakery is a model one, where ideals co-operate with efficiency and utility. Every variety of bread is baked, and the staff can handle with ease a weekly turnover of £500 worth of bread and cakes. An attractive van service delivers the bread to every part of the city and suburbs, while large hospital contracts keep the machinery running at top speed. In 1913 the flourishing branch in Thomas Street was opened, followed by Bath Street, Ringsend, in the following year. Another year witnessed the building of the stables and warehouse in the East Road, and then, having accomplished so much, the society rested from its constructive efforts for the space of three years.

War had flamed out among the peoples of the world, and each country was disrupted by passion and panic. Governments, dynasties and business houses collapsed on every hand, and through that terrible period the society struggled and fought for its very life.

Every mean device and vindictive treachery was resorted to by the vested interests of the metropolis to smash the society, but the shrewd and practical minds at the head of affairs wrested a triumphant and conclusive victory from a seeming defeat. But if the trial was a severe one, the result was to purge the Industrial of any evil elements that had sheltered in its midst. With the birth of 1918, a new era of prosperity had dawned for the society, and the sales had been exactly doubled from the previous year.

Expansion was imperative, for the people realised that only by co-operation could they control, or even obtain, the necessaries of life. The stupid blundering and incompetence of the competitive traders, their murderous greed for profits at the expense of the people's lives, had brought the country to the verge of famine in the winter of 1917-18. The Industrial Co-operative Society took hold

of the problem, and in January, 1918, opened a large shop in Sitric Road, Arbour Hill. Phibsboro' Road followed in June, and in another month Seville Place, North Strand, and South Circular Road, Kilmainham, were added to the list. Eight shops now gird the city with a co-operative band, and the staff is capable of handling a trade amounting to £3,000 per week. The manager, Mr. Wylie, is one of the keenest business men in the city, and the great success of the society is undoubtedly due to his unflagging energy and swift enthusiasm. Trained in the co-operative movement, he is a firm believer in their methods and ideals, and he loses no opportunity of imparting these ideals to the men behind the counter. The result is intelligent service, a contented staff, and an "all together" effort to crown one success with another. Mr. Wylie's record of service with the Industrial dates back to the fifth week of opening. A strong Committee elected by the members guide the affairs of the society, and Mr. Athy, their genial President, has been elected to that honour for the third year in succession. The Industrial is a power for good in the city, and the day is fast approaching when the people of Dublin will not only be fed, clothed and sheltered by co-operative effort, but will also **think co-operatively**, and seek to solve their economic problems by its means. Speed the day!

The Programme of Labour.

If Irish Labour is to be aroused to self-consciousness a widespread distribution of literature must be undertaken and nothing better can be found for the start of definite effort than that admirable Credo by James Connolly, which we printed on the front page recently. The Transport Union has ordered 10,000 reprints with their own imprint, and we have no doubt they will want more. The leaflet is printed on one side only, and the bottom margin of the front and all the back are available for printing, which may be done locally, as required.

The Loquacious Englander.

Schoolmaster Orage talks it out with an Irishman whom he has made not of dust, but out of scraps from "New Ireland," "A.E.," and "Maurice Moore." History is swept aside. A.R.O. was not in the making of it, therefore it is of no importance. Nothing matters but the War, and the subjection of Germany. Ireland cannot remain neutral and must join the Crusade for the liberation of small Nations. As for our own claim to self-determination he speaks of an honourable understanding.

KING'S REGULATIONS FOR THE ARMY.

Every Solicitor and every Parish Priest should have a copy of this official publication.

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