

# Get Ready!

Ireland's regeneration is begun at home. Keep in touch with the movements that matter, by reading the "Voice." Order in advance from your agent to prevent disappointment.

## IRISH OPINION

# The VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL OSHANNON.

NEW SERIES. No. 59.

JANUARY 11, 1919.

ONE PENNY

## Ryan's Policy in Queensland.

Last week Eamonn O Duibhir referred to the good work done in Queensland by Thomas Joseph Ryan, the Socialist Prime Minister of that State, whom Archbishop Mannix calls "my personal friend." Here is a brief and not exhaustive catalogue of the public services run by this Labour-Socialist Government.

**Sugar.**—All sugar commandeered and sold at 3d. per lb. Now grown on State plantations, crushed in State mills and refined in State refineries.

**Land.**—Nine million acres taken from big squatters without a penny compensation being paid.

**Meat.**—Animals reared on State farms, slaughtered at State abattoirs, and meat sold in State butcher shops. Roast sirloin, price 6½d. per lb. Mutton, from 4d. per lb. for fore quarter to 7d. per lb. for loin chops.

The profit on the meat trade last year in spite of these low prices ran to £137,913.

**Fish.**—The entire traffic from trawler to the retail shop is conducted by the Government. Result: Salmon is bought by everybody at 3d. per lb.

**Timber.**—Merchants' ring broken up and forests managed by Government with profit of £8,746 in first year. A 47,000 acre park reserved for all time as people's pleasure ground.

**Mining.**—State bought the machinery installed at the mines and took over the mines without compensation. It pays higher wages and sells coal cheaper than the mine owners. £47,818 saved last year on the working. State iron mines supply raw material for smelting works and foundries which make rolling stock for State railroads and agricultural machinery. Oil wells have been sunk.

The Queensland State supplies legal aid. Hospitals and blind, deaf and dumb asylums are now run by the Government. Widows and orphans are pensioned and at childbirth mothers receive a State present of £5.

Banking and shipping have been nationalised. State hotels of the Mountjoy type are being emptied, while the commercial type of hotel and restaurant are operated by the Government to the benefit of the public.

If you want to know more of this wonderland run by a Tipperary Ryan (not the Dean, of course) send 2½d. to the National Labour Press, Manchester, for H. A. Campbell's latest pamphlet, "Socialism at Work in Queensland."

### IRELAND AND THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE.

SEE NEXT WEEK'S "VOICE."

### Navy as Strike-Breaker.

At Grimsby, when the electrical engineers struck to enforce the 47-hour week, a squad of engineers from "His Majesty's Ships" took possession of the power station, and supplied light and power.

### So Samuel said.

When somebody wasn't looking, this, from the "Baltimore American," slipped into the immaculate columns of "Glasgow Evening Times" (23/12/18):—

"There is a big difference between the kings of old times and kings now."

"In what way?"

"In former times the kings used to keep fools. Now, they let the fools keep them."—"Forward."

## THE CALL OF ERIN,

By James Conolly.

Air—"Rolling Home to Bonnie Scotland."

With the engines 'neath us throbbing,  
And the wind upon our stern,  
Little reck we of the distance  
That divides us now from Erin;  
Yet we hear her voice a calling,  
Calling past us from the West,  
Calling home to us her children  
She once nourished at her breast.

### Chorus.

She is calling, calling, calling  
In the wind and on the tide,  
We her children, hear her voice  
Call us ever to her side.

Oh! ye waters bear us onward,  
And ye winds your task fulfil,  
Till our Irish eyes we feast on  
Irish vale and Irish hill;  
Till we tread our Irish Cities,  
See their glory and their shame,  
And our eyes like skies o'er Erin,  
Through their smiles shed tears of pain.

### Chorus.

Glorious is the land we're leaving,  
And its pride shall grow through years,  
And the land that calls us homewards  
Can but share with us her tears;  
Yet the heart her call obeying,  
Heedless of the wealth men crave,  
Turneth home to share her sorrow,  
Where she weeps beside the wave.

### Chorus.

(This song is usually sung, the audience upstanding, at the close of Dublin Labour meetings.)

# The VOICE OF LABOUR

Edited by GATHAL O'SHANNON.

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## TO OPEN JAIL DOORS.

Since the days of Daniel O'Connell we have become expert in the massing of huge demonstrations, and in conducting nation-wide agitations with vehemence and success. We have been so successful in such methods of publicity that we have come to take them for granted, and our Governors have come to feel that they may safely ignore them.

But they will err gravely if they think that last Sunday's assemblies to demand the release of the Irish prisoners in English jails may be passed over as the safety valve of enthusiasm. The speakers who counted at the meetings were those who represented the military and economic organisations of the people. The audiences that cheered the speeches were composed of men and women organised and disciplined, who came to cheer on this occasion, but are as ready for action as for words.

The direction of the active policy that will open the jail doors in Ireland, England and Scotland it is not ours to specify. We have confidence in those who are responsible for the guidance and control of those organisations which alone are fitted by their constitution and personnel to form the apex of the wedge of public opinion that will force the gates of England's prisons and liberate the captives. While we are thus confident that our military forces will not evince that pusillanimity which wrecked past efforts, and that Labour is ready as ever to do its part, we welcome the many suggestions that are being offered to attain our common object.

English Governments have only one policy with regard to Ireland, that is, to hold it subject. When Ireland is peaceful, they are willing to be complaisant, but gentle or firm, no English Government is ever so hostile in attitude, in words of scorn and hate, in deeds of violence, as England's faithful garrison. Let us remember then that the existence of that garrison is made possible only by our tolerance and forbearance. Forbearance and forgiveness we have extended to them, aye, even unto the seventy times seven of the Scriptures. They have accepted our silence under insult as acquiescence, our submission to their vio-

lence as acknowledgment of their privileges.

Let us change all that. Stop their sports. Embarrass their traffics. Treat them as non-existent. Wage upon them a bloodless social guerilla warfare, and make them pay the price of their treason to the Nation whose labour sustains them and to the people among whom they have chosen to live.

Among the nations of Europe England has few friends, even if she may number as friends her accomplices—among statesmen. In the late war, as in former conflicts, she has achieved her purpose, the conquest of new markets and the humiliation of her trade competitors, by making catspaws of her Allies, among whom she maintains a harmony sufficient for her purpose by playing on their mutual jealousies and stimulating their aspirations of sacred egoism.

It is the business of Irish Labour, in its international affiliations, to disseminate among the workers of Europe and America the records of English misgovernment in Ireland, of her perpetual betrayal of those principles of self-determination which have been the sole moral justification for the prolongation of the war, and the plea on which Italy and the United States were successively induced to enter the field.

Labour in Ireland is doing this work, doing it assiduously, and doing it well. The Irish Labour Party is indeed the only Irish political party which has direct, constant and reliable relations in other countries. And the activities of our movement have not awaited the impulse of professorial effervescence, but have proceeded from the clear recognition that the alliance of Labour in Ireland with Labour elsewhere brought not merely additional reserves of strength in the everyday class struggle, but united with our subject nation in its struggle for freedom, an army of friends in every European State, aye, and in England itself.

There is no country in Europe to-day in which organised labour is not aware that England holds in bondage hundreds of prisoners whose sole offence is love of country, whom England dare not challenge, even in her own venal courts; that Ireland is governed by a system of martial law, super-imposed upon the normal regime of coercion, and that since the fall of Czar and Kaiser, Ireland is the last European country in which all forms of law are abandoned by the Government, and the Irish people, the sole subject nation, kept in subjection by the naked sword.

Labour has many other weapons, but none she will scruple to employ to secure the liberation of the men and women jailed for serving Ireland. The success of our mutual efforts, however, will depend on the extent and generosity of the co-operation between all those who wish to signalise the supremacy of the National Will by forcing the Imperial Jailer to release his captives.

A.

For up-to-date Hairdressing—Mallon, 30 Eden Quay.

## From Ireland's First Woman M.P.

The Irish Women Workers' Union have received a letter from Madam Markievicz, in reply to the questions addressed by them to the Dublin Parliamentary candidates. It is a hopeful sign to find the first woman elected to Parliament in Ireland or the United Kingdom, adding a practical proposal to the usual promise. Referring to the question of the milk supply, the Countess writes:—"There is no use keeping schemes in an imprisoned head. . . . Kingsbridge is very near to St. Patrick's, if not in it, and we might get into touch with some creamery convenient to a station which would agree to supply milk and butter. This could be done through the Sinn Fein country clubs. Then we must get together a co-operative society, and take a shop. If possible, it would be best to try and get a man or woman already in the business to allow us to turn it into a co-op., retaining him or her as manager. 'Æ' has told me that this has been done with a business in the North with great success. I am sure we should get help all round for such a scheme. Our poor mothers suffer so and our little babies get such a poor chance."

It is a strange coincidence that in the very week that this letter was written, the "Irish Homestead" published an article written by another prisoner, Eamon O'Duibhir, containing practically the same suggestion. He says: "I wonder are our Dublin friends aware that the Southern farmer is selling his milk to the creameries at 1s. 3d. per gallon or so at present, or if selling it to the Dublin retailers he is probably delivering it at the Kingsbridge at 1s. 6d. per gallon and paying the freight charge of a penny or so per gallon. The Dublin retailer sells the milk at 2s. 8d. per gallon. Why not the trade unions, the Sinn Fein clubs, or some other organisation handle this business, and open co-operative depots and organise milk cart delivery? If they do so there is no reason why the city dweller should not be able to secure his milk supply at 5d. per quart instead of at 8d.—the price ruling at present. The difference in price might well mean the saving of hundreds of child lives. Here is a field of labour to get rid—with advantage to the vast majority—of capitalist control. The depots, in conjunction with the other co-operative shops, could deal direct with the rural-co-operative societies of producers for butter, cheese, fruit, etc."

The Committee of the I.W.W.U. have resolved to make enquiries as to the possibilities of getting such a depot started, and will welcome any advice or offers of help from those to whom the scheme appeals.

The Committee have forwarded the following resolution to Madam Markievicz: "The I.W.W.U. warmly congratulate Madam Markievicz on her election as M.P. for a Dublin constituency, and rejoice that the first woman elected to Parliament in Ireland is one to whom the workers can always confidently look to uphold their rights and just claims."

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

## The General Strike.

We welcome the current discussion on the employment of the general strike of labour as a political weapon. The organised cessation of labour may be as potent as its organised application. Like every other weapon, however, the general strike calls for skill in those who would wield it, and skill in this instance demands a wise foresight. The general strike has several forms. Our disposition in favour of it arises from the success which attended the employment of one, only, of these forms, when on April 23rd, there was a general "rest" for one day only. Next day work was resumed as usual. The one-day strike was simply the interpolation of an extra Sunday in the calendar. For it the wise made due provision and the unwise suffered no serious inconvenience.

If, however, it is proposed to institute a sustained general strike, until its declared objects were attained, some obvious limitations must be imposed on the extent of the stoppage of work. The community must be fed, and therefore the food suppliers must keep open shop. Reserve stocks of food are generally insufficient to feed the nation for more than a week ahead. Therefore, the mills, abattoirs, and markets, and the lines of transport must not be interfered with. Numerous other exceptions will occur at once to our readers, who, knowing more than a little of strikes, are not so prone as academic persons to talk lightly about them.

## The Soviet Idea.

These suggestions of some of the difficulties of the General Strike are not intended to discourage the advocates of the proposal, and when we suggest further that in the event of a national stoppage the existing machinery of the trade union movement would probably be dislocated, we do so, in the hope that steps will be taken to set up in each locality an efficient representative body capable of undertaking the local management of communal affairs.

Where Trades Councils exist they should maintain close touch with the more mobile military organisations, and with their aid, take stock of local resources. In the event of a general strike each parish will have to feed itself for a few days or a few weeks. Fuel supplies will stop along with other necessities and comforts. Without a preliminary survey of the kind we suggest, the best-laid plans will go wrong, and the powerful weapon of the General Strike return like the boomerang on those who handled it.

## The Guild in Embryo.

The Irish Journalists' Association is to be congratulated on having resolved to join the Alliance of Printing and Kindred Trades, an organisation which arose out of the lock-out of Dublin printers, and which has, in the last few months, scored a creditable record of successes in positive betterment of conditions, and given equally valuable service in intervening between disputant unions and employers to prevent strikes and lock-outs. If the Journalists' offer to affiliate is accepted by the Alliance, the organisation of all

grades of workers in the Dublin printing trade will be complete, and the Alliance will have brought into one group all the essential factors in newspaper production. From organisation to control is a short step.

## The French Objective.

That Irish Labour is not alone in aiming at control of industry is shown by the programme presented by the Confederation Generale du Travail to M. Clemenceau. Central and district economic councils to direct the re-organisation of industry are demanded. The councils would be composed of working-class delegates, with the addition of technical experts with ideas of scientific reconstruction. Trade Unions would be fully recognised, and would have a decisive voice in industrial management. Political administration would be subordinated to economic needs, and the bureaucracy replaced by an elastic system which would encourage initiative and technical development. The lesser aims of reduction of hours and improvement of working conditions are impossible of attainment, says the Confederation, without a bold policy which will overrule partial and selfish interests. M. Clemenceau, we are told, sympathises with the aims outlined, but we question if he will be found willing to facilitate their accomplishment.

## Pay for Holidays.

The out-of-work donation, which continues to excite the plutocratic readers of the "Irish Times," has given an all-round enlargement to the views of labour. The donation is a concession of the familiar claim of labour for the Right to Work or a sustenance from the State when it cannot provide employment. Once conceded in principle, if only to bribe the population to vote for the generous donors, the donation cannot be easily withdrawn, and if it is, the duty falls upon the trade unions of forcing an all the year round upkeep from the employers.

The Dublin tailors have taken the first step in insisting on payment for holidays. We hope they will continue their pressure until employers so organise their business as to ensure continuous employment at all seasons, instead of the weary months of idleness that alternate with the feverish overwork of the trade seasons. The Transport Workers' Federation in England is pressing also for payment for all ordinary holidays, and for 14 days' holidays on full pay. As their Organisation covers the tramway systems of Belfast and Dublin we hope the local branches will see that their members are not overlooked in the settlement.

## Reducing Casual Labour.

Pending a social revolution, and as an irritant helping towards it, we should prefer that the burden of supporting the reserve army of labour were placed upon individual firms or employers' organisations. In that shape the impost would be a powerful and direct incentive to the abolition of casual labour. Dock labourers have made substantial progress in this direction by gradually forcing up the amount of the day's pay, but until casual labour is entirely abolished, no increase

will be satisfactory. Every member of the dock labourers' unions must be guaranteed a full wage every week. When that guarantee is obtained, the employers will make it their business to regulate traffic, preventing rushes at inconvenient times, with frequent spells of idleness intervening.

## Field Workers.

In agriculture, the danger of casualisation of labour is looming ahead. Employers who have been compelled to pay a still miserably inadequate wage are taking revenge by dismissing labourers at the end of the harvest and re-employing them by the day. As the Wages Board is impervious to influence by the workers, they themselves must take steps to preserve their right to a year's work, and failing that, a year's wages. The schedule of wages advertised in these columns last week confirms what we have repeatedly urged, that the workers must organise if they are to obtain control of rural conditions. Parliaments and Wages Boards and Departments, like the ancient gods, help those who help themselves.

## Class Government.

Few things more humorous have happened lately than Alderman Moran and the "Evening Telegraph" protesting against "class" government. Their complaint, of course, is that the wrong section of the master class has been put in charge of Reconstruction by the military Governor. The hotel-keeper and the matchless evening paper are **not** protesting against master-class government. They had opportunities in 1913 to do so, but they were and remain on the side of class domination.

## Capitalist Abstinence.

Said the "Leader" last week: "The disease or stagnation of industrial Ireland is that men refuse to look for profits out of industrial enterprise." Dear me, Mr. Moran! Where did you find them? The main fault of your dark brethren has been that they look for more profit than sane enterprise can produce.

## Lessons of the War.

Last Sunday Mr. T. Johnson inaugurated the Trades Hall Lectures by an address, pointing the moral and adorning the tale of war. He pointed out that at the onset of the struggle the working population of belligerent countries was sorted out into four classes, viz.: (1) naval and military forces; (2) munition workers; (3) transport and subsidiary employments; (4) producers of necessaries in ordinary civic industry.

On the fourth class, relatively small in number, fell the burden of sustaining all the others. The technical equipment that enabled them to meet these demands ought to be available to provide for the community a larger production of wealth with less effort, and therefore more leisure.

The methods of war finance were ably exposed. Incidentally it was stated that interest charges on Britain's war debt will amount to 12s. 6d. per week from every man in Great Britain and Ireland.

# LABOUR IN IRELAND

## O'DONNELL SKINS THE KIDD.

A fellow named Kidd has been kidding Limerick workers into slaving for Kidd's profit for wages running from 10s. a week for women up to £2 a week for a man with eighteen years' service.

When the Irish Clerical Workers' Union came along with a demand for what Organiser O'Donnell says was "the entirely too small" increase of 10s. a week, Kidd played the giddy goat, and refused a deal with the Union.

Promptly the staff left Kidd and the She-Kidd to run three establishments. Transport and Automen's Unions joined in with loyal ardour, and on Saturday evening the staff of Cleaves, Ltd., spent a happy half-holiday picketing Kidd's. Result of courage and solidarity—Victory! One more for the I.C.W.U.

## Mallow.

The Transport Union Branch records its condolence with the relatives of their deceased comrades and fellow-workers, Miss Ellen Vaughan, Miss Julia Kitty, Mr. Patrick Burns, and Mr. David Willis, and also to many who have sustained bereavements in the late epidemic.

## Flour-millers 48-hour Week.

The Ministry of Labour has excelled itself in its efforts to secure a settlement of the Transport Union's claims. The telegraph wires actually jangled with urgent messages of conciliation.

## Northmen, Note!

The northern millers should ask their Union officials for a full, unvarnished account of their futile efforts to secure similar attention. We may refer to this again.

## The International.

The Socialist Party of Ireland has nominated J. J. Hughes and Cathal O'Shannon as delegates to the International Socialist Congress at Geneva or Lausanne. They will present a statement of Ireland's claim for independence in Irish, French, German, and English.

## Money Wanted.

As the delegation will be very costly, the Party appeals for donations from all who wish to see Ireland take its place in the world-wide labour movement as a national entity.

## A Trade Union Tribute.

"We have pleasure in recommending to our members the claims of the 'Voice of Labour' for support. There is no paper presently published in this country more worthy of our support, and members will find it an attractive and useful companion in these days. If we are to fit ourselves for the great task before us, shop workers must know and understand the great spirit of militant democracy of which the 'Voice' is the mouthpiece."—"The Drapers' Assistant."

Tallaght.—T. Farren had a successful organising meeting here last Sunday.

## CIVIL SERVANTS ACTIVE.

There has been a good deal of activity amongst Civil Servants in Dublin and other centres recently, and attempts are being made to bring them into line with the trade union movement. At a meeting of Second Division clerks, held in Dublin on Monday last, Mr. R. J. P. Mortished attended and explained the objects and rules of the Dublin Trades Council.

## Birr Movements.

From the excellent report in the "Midland Tribune" we learn that the I.T. & G.W.U. has advanced the wages of the malthouse workers to 46s. 8d. per week. Twenty new members joined the branch at last meeting, and the Land and Labour Association branches in the district are linking up as sections of Birr branch.

## DUBLIN'S EDUCATIONAL MOVE.

The first meeting of the Class under the auspices of the Dublin Workingclass Education Conference, last Sunday, was well attended despite the strong counter-attractions elsewhere. Joseph MacDonnell's introductory lecture on the Economics of Capitalism was prefaced by a brief survey of preceding civilisations and their distinctive economic features. Owing to illness, Cathal O'Shannon was unable to begin his series of lectures on Industrial History, but he will be in his place next Sunday.

The classes begin at 4 p.m. prompt, and new members should register before that hour. The fee for the thirteen sittings is 1s. Secretary Kenny will gladly send copies of the prospectus on application to him, c/o the Trades Hall, Dublin.

## CONGRESS REPORTS.

The Reports of the Trade Union Congresses at Waterford and Dublin will be ready in a few days, and will be issued in one volume of 150 pages, which will be supplied to Unions at the rate of 6s. per dozen. It is no exaggeration to speak of these reports as of historical interest. They cover the period of the anti-conscription agitation, the national general strike, supply a full account of the discussion on the Executive's Political Manifesto, and the new constitution of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress. Trade Union Branch Committees should make it their business to see that this report is placed in the hands of every member. Order from Mr. Wm. O'Brien, Trades Hall, Capel Street, Dublin.

Lucan.—Mr. Jas. Andrews, K.C., has been appointed arbitrator in the claim of the Transport Union v. Hill's Woollen Mills. The branch meeting, for annual elections, etc., takes place next Sunday.

## Many Starving.

"Money is plentiful as nuts in May; yet many are starving," says an Allied Diplomatist in the "Sunday Chronicle." He speaks of Russia, but the same is true of Ireland. The Victory Ball at Dublin Castle proved the plentitude of money, but the Coombe starved as usual.

## FLOUR MILLS IN ENGLAND.

Irish flour mill workers have been startling the bourgeoisie, but information that has come to hand makes it plain that in respect of wages and conditions of labour they lag far behind similar workers in England.

In other words, by working for less wages, they are presenting Irish employers with extra profits, which are never disbursed to the national advantage. Recently the mill-workers in England obtained an advance in wages of 7s. 6d. per week, making a total advance on pre-war wages of 33s. 6d. per week.

Against that substantial improvement, Irish millers in the cities have obtained only 20s. a week, and in the country 18s. a week over pre-war rates. This leaves the Irish urban miller 13s. 6d., and the rural man 15s. 6d. worse off than his English fellow-craftsman.

Jack Jones, M.P., of the National Union of General Workers, says they are now pressing a demand for 10s. a week extra, and the inauguration of the 47 hour week conceded to the engineers. His union is willing to arbitrate on the wages demand, but will permit no compromise on the question of hours.

It is reported of a County Cork firm of millers that they are now paying their employees £1 a week. As the former arbitration proceedings yielded an award of 18s. advance on pre-war wages, it may be assumed that this firm paid their employees 2s. a week in 1914.

The general range of hours in the flour mills is from 60 to 84 hours per week in the Isle of Saints and Scholars!

## Anti-Bolshevik Morals.

The "Forward" has the following "before and after the election" story. Before: Lt.-Col. Gordon, Coalition candidate, speaking of John MacLean, the Bolshevik Consul, "I do not want to be contaminated by that man in any relationship whatsoever." After: Lt.-Col. Gordon was divorced on the petition of his wife, whose witnesses testified that in 1916 the defendant lived in a bungalow with a young woman who was not his wife.

## Hull for 44 hours.

Boiler-makers and shipwrights are on strike to secure 44 hours instead of 47 offered them, as Clark and Pirrie are offering in Belfast.

## Dean Ryan Answered.

That James Connolly's Workers' Republic was the only institution in harmony with Catholic Social Ideals is clearly shown by Mr. A. de Blacam in his latest book

## Towards the Republic.

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# IRISH FOREIGN POLICY

By Patrick Thompson.

Written by an independent thinker, this article challenges current opinion in the Labour and National movements. On that account it is specially worthy of attention, lest we degenerate into a chorus.

The variety of "preliminary conversations" and the continual postponement of the formal meeting of the Peace Conference only serve to confirm the widespread suspicion that the world is to have no real Conference and no Peace. The Allies, having put the terms of the Secret Treaties into the Armistice, are apparently determined to transfer them holus-bolus into the Peace terms. They may not succeed, but they are very powerful, and the nature and deeds of the Peace Conference are so important to us in Ireland that we are bound to face unpleasant probabilities, and frame our policy accordingly.

For us there are two hopeful features of the Peace Conference—the presence of Socialist plenipotentiaries responsible to Socialist governments in the "enemy" countries, and the influence of President Wilson and his program already adopted, in words, by the Allied governments. Whether Wilson really intends to stand by all the implications of his many "points," and will be able to enforce their honest interpretation, no one can say. At best, he may prove to be only a doctrinaire Liberal, and it is quite likely that he may, if reduced to a nice balancing of net advantage and disadvantage, consent to the suppression of his doctrine of governments only by consent in the case of Ireland. With the most eager desire in the world to do so, I personally find it impossible to be quite confident of Mr. Wilson's worth as an ally of Ireland. As regards the Socialist governments on the other side, it must be recognised that we can hope for little from them. They will be fighting for their lives, for their own national existence. They may argue, plead, threaten, upbraid, denounce, appeal, and beg, but they cannot compel. They have been broken on the wheel, not sufficiently, let us hope, to enable the Allies to work their sweet will upon them, but certainly enough to prevent them from working their will upon the Allies. Even so, the very real danger and difficulty of sub-division among themselves may make them less anxious than might otherwise be the case to press the doctrine of self-determination to any very extreme limits; federalists of necessity themselves, they may not care to suggest more than federalism to their enemies. In any case, whatever their wishes, they have no power to enforce them. The most they can do is to follow the course taken by Trotsky at Brest-Litovsk, and

## appeal over the heads

of the governments to the peoples behind them. Whether such a "long-range bombardment of ideas" can be effective, depends very much on the condition of the peoples bombarded. The deciding factor is the attitude of the Allied peoples. The Allied Governments may oppose us. We must, therefore, induce the Allied peoples to support us, and oppose their govern-

ments in this respect. That is, it would seem, what all the talk of the appeal to the Peace Conference boils down to. Who is to do this work, and how?

There is to be another and a more honest and hopeful Peace Conference—the meeting of the Socialist International. Its members will be united in principle, they will have no secret commitments to uphold, they will desire only peace and progress for the future. It will be in close touch with the occult doings of the official Peace Conference through the "enemy" governments and through Vandervelde, one of the Belgian representatives. Ireland, let us hope, will also have her own representatives there. Before a court so constituted, we may be assured, Ireland cannot fail to win her case and secure a verdict in her favour. But we must recognise that the court has no power to enforce its decrees. The International can do no more than make recommendations to its constituent national units, and place upon them the responsibility of securing compliance and assistance from their national governments by rousing the peoples who maintain those governments to a sense of their duty. Again we are driven back to a recognition of the need of converting the peoples of the world, and in particular the Allied peoples.

## Permeation in Britain.

Obviously, the peoples whom it is most important we should convert are the English and Scottish. They are nearest and most directly concerned, but whatever action we take in regard to them should also be taken, so far as the circumstances permit, in regard to every other country. To begin with, the Irish Labour Party should exert all its influence to help the British Labour Party (and the others) to become the government. Whether the Irish Party should first demand some recompense for its help in the form of a definite adherence to the doctrine of Self-Determination is a question of only academic interest now, for it has already done so much work as to have persuaded even the official leaders to take that step. The British Labour Party's Election Manifesto, as published in "The Herald," declared for "Self-Determination for all subject peoples within the Empire," not for "Self-Determination within the Empire," and expressed its preparedness to bring the matter before the Peace Conference. If some of the leaders are only half-hearted in that resolve, we need not worry, provided we take care to clinch the matter with the rank and file.

I submit, therefore, that the Irish Labour Party ought by every means in its power, consistent with due care for its own work in Ireland, to assist the British Labour Party. In doing so, it must, of course, deal as a national body with the national bodies in Britain; it cannot single out any one party or any individuals and help them to the exclusion of the rest, but must proffer its help to all the British organisations which are affiliated to the International. That help should come from outside, from Ireland, but means should also be found to give help from within.

## Organise the Exiles.

The United Irish League of Great Britain, apart from other sufficiently obvious defects, was very largely useless as an instrument of propaganda from within, because it was organised on a purely racial basis. If it ever approached the Labour Movement it could be received with the courtesy due to a stranger, and no more. A body of Irishmen and women who were themselves part of the Labour Movement would be infinitely more effective. I suggest that the Irish Labour Party should endeavour to create such an organisation in Great Britain. Its purpose would be to organise all Irish members of the British Labour Movement, to enrol other Irish people in Great Britain in that movement, to act as a body of vigilantes to ensure that the Labour Movement was not allowed to forget the claims of Ireland, and to carry on a general propaganda among the British public. This British-Irish Labour Party would be in the closest possible touch with the Executive of the Irish Labour Party, and would be regularly supplied with information from Ireland. A Press Bureau controlled by the Irish Labour Party would also furnish news and copy for the Labour Press in Great Britain, both local and national. The main line of attack is sufficiently obvious: the British people, or at any rate the English, have been effectively deprived by their past of any keen sense of nationality or history, but they have a strong instinct for democracy. Our task, therefore, must be to show them how utterly incompatible with democracy is their continued occupation of Ireland.

## Parliament?

The value of attendance at the Westminster Parliament, as a means of propaganda, also requires consideration, in spite of popular clamour. Irish M.P.'s attending at Westminster, as representing constituent parts of one whole and responsible, if at all, only to those parts, may indeed be hopelessly useless. But Irish M.P.'s sent as a delegation from one national authority, in numbers and for purposes and on such occasions as may be determined by that national authority in Ireland such a body as a National Convention, a Mansion House Conference, or a Labour Party Congress for example, to an alien national authority—these are in quite a different case. Sinn Féin may have—unwisely as I think—committed itself irrevocably to abstention, but that is no reason why Labour also should do so. From the purely Labour point of view, abstention is not only useless but dangerous; from the National point of view, its disadvantages are not to be ignored, even while we recognise its tactical advantages. Labour should keep itself free to use Westminster as and when it thinks fit.

If we are to conduct propaganda at all, we must make our demands concrete. It will not be sufficient to claim Self-Determination; we must say what we intend by that. The choice lies between independence and the status of a self-governing member of the British Empire, with no army and navy. If there is to be a bad Peace and no League of Nations,

then we can never have Independence, any more than the other small nations had independence during or before the war. We might get the form, though that is very unlikely; we should certainly not get the reality. I suggest that the time is rapidly coming, if it has not already arrived, when the Irish Labour Party should declare for Dominion status, and make that the object of its propaganda, both at home and abroad.

#### The Grounds of Conflict.

There will be several objections to the course I propose. It will be said that the Labour Party will require money. It will—and time and brains; so will all the Party's work. It will be said that I contemplate a bad Peace. I do, to my sorrow, but I believe I contemplate facts. It will be said that I assume the case of Ireland will not be settled by the Peace Conference or by Sinn Fein. I do. I have little hope of the Peace Conference, and none of Sinn Fein after it. Either we must fight England by military or economic means, or we must persuade her, and I do not believe we can fight her and win. I am certain that in the fight Labour will lose heavily, whichever side wins. Above all, it will be said that I propose to compromise principle, to betray the cause of national freedom. To me, at least, it is a choice of two allegiances, and I have to choose the higher. If by trying to insist on complete national freedom I delay the work of social emancipation by another five or ten years, I am sacrificing the higher allegiance to the lower. A certain measure of national freedom is essential to our social emancipation; complete national freedom is desirable, but not at this stage essential. We all know, from weary experience, how political issues have overtopped social issues in the past. Ought we to be content to let them do so any longer than is inevitable? Ought we to go on talking for ever instead of settling down to solid work? For myself, I think it is time we settled down to a long program of hum-drum work both abroad and at home—work of whose doing every rank and file worker will be aware, and in which he will play his part.

#### LABOUR PRESS WANTED.

##### To Counter Murphy's Stabs.

Resolved:—"That we, the members of the Queenstown Branch of the Postmen's Federation, call upon the Executive Council to recommend the purchase of shares in the Irish Labour Press, thereby strengthening the arm of Irish Labour. Copies to be forwarded to the E.C., Dublin District Council, Postmen's Federation, and the 'Voice of Labour.'"

Other branches, please note.

To give point to that resolution, Mr. William Martin Murphy's "Irish Independent" began stabbing Sinn Fein in the back. Madame Markievicz was singled out for denunciation and insult, and Madame Gonne MacBride's protest elicited an editorial statement that she, too, was unbalanced.

Why is Madame Markievicz hated by Murphy? It is not because of want of "balance"—has not Mr. Murphy backed

Wm. O'Brien in all his aberrations? Mr. Murphy, of Dublin Castle Hospital, objects to Madame Markievicz because she fought faithfully to the bitter end in 1913 against Murphyism. That fight, no less than the fight in Stephen's Green, endears the Countess to the people of St. Patrick's Division. The people and the Countess were comrades in hunger and privation wrought by Murphy. As the English Government obeyed the Murphyite injunction to close Connolly's career, so it pleased Murphy that the Countess was sentenced to imprisonment for life. To-day she is shut up in an English prison. Murphy would shut her out of our hearts and memories.

The Press is Murphy's weapon. The life of Ireland is poisoned daily by his organs. He is moving to subsidise the provincial Press and to bring it under his control. Have you a weapon to beat his?

Remember his interest in politics is not sentimental. He has practical aims in view. He would keep the Irish mind in tutelage through his Press.

Your only course is obvious. Build the Workers' Press. Follow the example of Comrade Quaide and the Queenstown postmen and the others whose subscriptions we list below. Put into cash the pledged support assured us by the Trade Union Congress at Waterford.

Send for Prospectus.

#### IRISH LABOUR PRESS.

##### Capital Subscriptions.

	£	s.	d.
W. Kelly, Crettyard, Carlow	1	0	0
Irish Women Workers' Union	1	0	0
E. Rooney, I.T. & G.W.U., Drogheda	2	10	0
Jack Carney, Editor, "The Truth," Duluth, Minn., U.S.A	1	4	0
Eamonn O'Duibhir (Superintendent, Irish National Assurance Society), Durham Jail	0	10	0
Prof. S. O'Neill (Rockwell Coll.), Durham Jail	0	5	0
Tralee Trades and Labour Council, per M. O'Connell, Sec.	1	0	0

#### The "Independent" Insults.

Regarding the note which appeared over our Editorial last week we did not, and did not intend to, make any reflection on the Dublin Typographical Association, which could not, in the nature of things, be in any sense responsible for the matter we found objectionable. On the contrary, we have reason to know that during the recent elections the D.T.P.S. did its bit on behalf of the Republican cause.

#### Flour Mills Settlement.

We gather that the Conference under Ministry of Labour auspices has resulted in the concession of an advance of 7s. 6d. per week to all employees in both town and country mills, the advance being payable as from first pay day in January. On the 13th inst. a 56-hour week is to be instituted. The workers claim for a 48-hour week will be decided in a general arbitration in which the British employers and workers are concerned. Overtime will be paid in all city mills at time and half rate and in country mills at not less than time and quarter. Sunday work will be paid at double time rates.

#### A LETTER FROM USK.

Tadhg Barry, writing on 27th December, sends us some brief notes on books which we hope to use soon. He says: "We had hopes of spending Christmas in Ireland, but it was otherwise. Thanks to the folks at home, we had no lack of good things to celebrate the feast. Though sickness and death have scattered our little group, we were not despondent."

"Thanks for the 'Voice,' which is a weekly event in our monotony."

The letter was passed by Censor, and was only delivered on Jan. 3rd.

#### THE GALWAY THEFT.

##### To the Editor, "Irish Opinion."

Sir,—We desire, through the good offices of your paper, to protest against the wanton suppression by the military, on Friday, December 13th, of the "Galway Express," the local Sinn Fein and Labour organ. No motive was alleged for dismantling and carrying away the machinery. The war is over. During the course of the war, and since its cessation, proofs of all matter likely to be considered prejudicial were submitted to the Censor, whose directions were followed in every instance.

At the time of the suppression, a strike for the Government arbitration award—which has since taken place, and is now in progress—was imminent in Galway; and by this latest and unaccounted for invasion of the rights of free speech, another contingent of crimeless men has been added to the workless army in Galway.—Yours sincerely,

JAMES MURPHY,  
Manager, "Galway Express."

December 18th, 1918.

#### THANKS

##### TO THE ELECTORS OF CROMAC DIVISION, BELFAST.

I sincerely thank the 1,000 electors who joined the great majority of their countrymen and countrywomen in asserting on election day, so far as votes could do it, their nation's rights. True, the Irish vote in the Division is treble our numbers, but the localised political wisdom that supported Partition at the Belfast Conference left it without guidance or direction, with the result that much of it was unpolled, and much more of it went to sustain a candidate who publicly sought it to enable him to educate English Labour friendly to Ireland's Independence out of its error.

At the only public meeting I held I was shouted down. I do not complain, for, since I took part in public matters, this has often before happened, although never, I think, was it done so effectively or with such inanity as in Cromac Square. I refer to it, however, because when the smallness of the Irish vote in Belfast enters—as it undoubtedly will—the considerations of the future, one thousand of us in this Division will have the gratification of feeling that we are not to blame. Again thanking you, I am, yours respectfully,

A. SAVAGE.

Belfast, 30th Dec. 1918.  
(Held over from last week.)

# TRADE UNIONISTS!

Notice to the Public.

**PAY NO PREMIUMS**  
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## THE CONNOLLY TREAT.

One thousand Dublin kiddies had a "roaring" (literally) time on Christmas Day. They surged and swarmed through the passages of Liberty Hall, and never in the palmiest days of the Northumberland Hotel did the building hold such a host of happy guests. Dinner and tea were served by a multitude of helpers, but the children entertained themselves. Speech making was at a discount, but singing—"The Red Flag" seemed to be sounding all the time.

Madame Gonne MacBride, in spite of her suffering, came to work. Mrs. Connolly was actively engaged in the kitchen, while Walter Carpenter seemed literally to "pervade" the Hall.

### The Subscription List.

Already acknowledged	...£69	9	11
Proceeds of concert, 16th ult.	5	0	4
T. McHugh, 39 Talbot St.	...	1	0
Mme. Gonne MacBride	...	0	10
Billy Bourke and Missus	...	0	10
M. Richmond	...	0	2
Collected by—			
Mrs. Connolly	...	3	5
M. Lynch, Empire Buffet	...	1	0
Jimmie Johnstone, Glasgow, second remittance	...	1	1
P. Dempsey, 40 Locan Street, Belfast	...	0	14
W. Kelly, Amiens Street	...	0	7
Ard Craobh Connradh na Gaedhilge, 25 Parnell Sq., per Sean O Cathasaigh	...	1	6
Eibhlin Ni Briain	...	1	15
Dublin Central Assn. Nat. Teachers, per Miss Tim- mins	...	3	12
Miss Keevey	...	1	2
R. B. McAulay	...	2	10
Per "Casey," second instal- ment	...	21	0
I. T. and G. W. U., No. 3 Branch, 17 High Street, Dublin	...	2	2
John O'Connor, 17 High St., Dublin	...	0	10
R. Davis, Reading Jail	...	0	5
Rev. H. A. D. Barker, The Rectory, Castledermot	...	0	10
R. Allen, High Street, Trim, per W. O'Brien	...	0	10
Mr. O'Doherty	...	0	9
Jas. Mallen, 30 Eden Quay	...	0	10
N. T. Byrne, 29 Aungier St., 2nd collection	...	0	9
Philip Brown, per S. Arnold	...	0	5
T. O'Leary	...	0	10
Per S. O'Cathasaigh	...	0	6

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Editor, "The Voice of Labour."

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### "The Dreadnought's" Russian Number.

The excellent work Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's paper "The Workers' Dreadnought," has been doing for Russia was crowned last week by its excellent special Russian number. A long and detailed article by John Reid, the well-known American journalist, gives very timely and authentic information upon the history of structure of the Soviet system, and will be invaluable for speakers and writers who, like ourselves, stand for the new order. The daily Press is filled day after day with the most unscrupulous misrepresentation of what it calls Bolshevism, and this article of Reed's supplies the necessary antidote. Most important documents are the official decrees of the Soviet Government upon Peace, the Workers' Control of Industry, Posts and Telegraphs, and from an Irish point of view, the Rights of the People of Russia. An article by Lenin, on "The Chief Task of Our Times," is reprinted from "Izvestia." The article upon education under the Soviet shows exactly how the workers when they come into power set about giving equal opportunities to all children under the workers' educational system, and most interesting impressions of Russia and pen-pictures of Lenin and Trotsky are given by Albert Rhys Williams. The new Republican feisiri might do worse than give close study to this special issue of "The Dreadnought."

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**THE POWER OF LABOUR.**

The world now enjoys peace from military turmoil once more. The war is at an end, and the war has taught us many lessons. It has disclosed facts which hitherto had been but vaguely understood by the discerning few.

Has Labour learnt the great lesson of the war; has Labour learnt, through the war, the extent of its great strength—its supreme power?

Does Labour know, now, that war means waste; that it is an unproductive business, from which there are no returns? It is a business which leads directly to bankruptcy of the nation.

And has Labour learned that it, and it alone, has power to end once and for all this suicidal business of war?

Labour is the first asset of the nation. The progeny of Labour is the wealth of the nation.

Without the sons and daughters of Labour—producers and consumers—the mineral and vegetable wealth of a country is as dirt.

Dirt is only "matter out of place."

Starch and water in the soil are useless. With the toil of Labour they become a potato-food.

Iron ore is so much dross until it has passed through the hands of Labour, which transform it into powerful produc-

tive agents: steam-hammers, steam-engines, great commercial fleets.

A nation is rich in the number of its workers.

Labour produces the wealth of the nation.

Is it not time, then, that Labour should say how that wealth is to be employed?

Should it be employed in making the world a better place to live in, or should it be employed to destroy the fruits of years of toil, and to destroy—to exterminate—the very sons and daughters of Labour!

This is what has been happening. This is what Labour itself has been permitting to happen!

Yes, it is a fact—a horrible, gruesome fact—but fact, nevertheless.

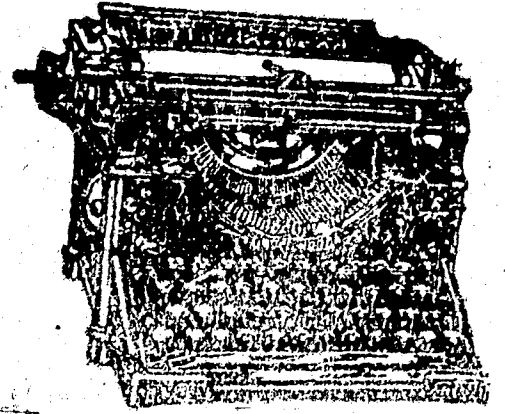
Labour has spent its energies in supply and sweated for a generation to supply the financial nucleus of war. It has starved and perished morally and physically, that the State might amass the power to make war. And the result of the war has been to destroy in a few years the fruits of a generation of production, the fruits of man's toil and of woman's travail. All has vanished in the smoke of cannon and the spilled blood of the children of Labour!

P. J. H.

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## This was James Connolly's estimate of the I. T. & G. W. U.

"It found the Workers of Ireland on their knees, and has striven to raise them to the erect position of manhood; it found them with all the vices of slavery in their souls, and it strove to eradicate these vices, and replace them with some of the virtues of free men; it found them with no other weapons of defence than the arts of the liar the lickspittle and the toady, and it combined them and taught them to abhor these arts and rely proudly on the defensive power of combination."

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THOMAS FORAN, GENERAL PRESIDENT, LIBERTY HALL, DUBLIN.

## IRISH TRANSPORT & GENERAL WORKERS' UNION.

No 1 BRANCH LIBERTY HALL, DUBLIN.

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OF ABOVE BRANCH WILL BE HELD IN THE

## Round Room, Mansion House,

ON SUNDAY, 12th JANUARY,  
At 12.30 p.m., prompt.

Admission by Card only.

All members are urged to  
have 1919 card for this occasion  
as offices will be closed on that  
date.

THOMAS FORAN

President.

Business:—

Annual Report and Balance

Sheet. Election of Officers.

JOHN O'NEILL

Secretary.