

## BELFAST ECHOES

### STRAIGHT TALK FOR DOCKERS.

**Will Irish Members of English Unions be Dished on the Hours' Question?**

The Irish dockers who are members of British Unions might profitably ask themselves two questions just now:—

(1) Why is it that they are being paid 7s. weekly less than the British Dockers, although they belong to the same Union, pay the same contribution, and are entitled to the same benefits of membership?

(2) Why is it that the members of an Irish Union in Dublin are at present the only Irish dockers in receipt of the full Award of the Committee on Production on the cross-Channel Trade?

We need only say that the second question more or less answers the first. The Irish members of English Dockers' Unions have already been badly let down in connection with the Committee's Award. This represented 8½d. per hour on pre-war wages in England and Scotland, but 7d. per hour was good enough to be accepted by the Unions for their "mere Irish" members. The result is that on the war wage alone the Irish dockers (save those belonging to the I.T.G.W.U. who, after a strenuous struggle, won the full Award as from Saturday last) are 7s. per week behind the Britishers.

These were the tactics of the N.U.R. until its Irish members kicked, declared for equal treatment and benefit with British members, and won through.

All Dockers in Ireland should now be on the alert in connection with the National Conference now taking place in London regarding the question of a shorter working week. Without vigilance from this side there is every likelihood of a 44-hour week being brought into operation in Britain, and a much longer working week in Ireland. If the Irish membership of the Dockers' Union allow themselves to be dished on this occasion, they will have only themselves to blame. If they communicate with this office arrangements might be made for the holding of

**An All-Ireland Dockers' Conference** to deal with the matter. The result of such a conference would be a certainty. The matter is very urgent, and unless action is taken immediately it will be too late. The Sextons, the Tillets and the Wilsons don't worry much as far as their Irish membership is concerned.

### IRISH OR BRITISH UNIONS FOR DOCKERS.

Sparks are flying in the columns of the Belfast papers concerning the relative merits of Irish and the English Dockers' Unions.

"We had hopes," writes D. Houston, I.T.G.W.U., in the "Evening Telegraph," "that the piffle about the English dockers and sailors and firemen withdrawing their labour in support of the Irish dock labourers was a thing of the past, but since Mr. Alexander will persist, may we ask him as Mr. James Sexton, or Mr. Thomas Foran, president of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, who contributed most in the settlement of the recent dispute between members of the N.U. of D.L. and their employers in Dundalk. The men concerned are best able to judge, and they say it was Mr. Foran. Further, will Mr. Alexander explain why the Liverpool dockers did not refuse last September to load boats which were withdrawn from the Cork service and sent to other ports because members of his union were on strike in Cork. The Sailors' and Firemen's action on that occasion also speaks louder than words.

When the strike was declared by the members of the N.U. of D.L. some sixty or seventy of the I.T. and G.W.U. came out in sympathy with them. The merchants to whom the undischarged portion of the cargo which the dockers were working on at the time being anxious to have delivery of their goods, prevailed for a considerable time on the Shipping Controller not to send the boat out of Cork harbour, but at last the boat was ordered away, and when members of the Irish Transport Union pointed out to the Sailors and Firemen the necessity of refusing to sail the boat in order to bring the strike to a speedy and successful termination, they were left to mind their own business; and

the boat was only left, but was discharged and returned by the dockers on the other side of the Irish Channel another port than Cork.

We hope that the incident and the attitude

## A PRELUDE TO BOLSHEVISM

CRITICALLY ESTIMATED BY DARRELL FIGGIS

**"Kerensky, for his part, was concerned with a fine political equilibrium, and did not perceive that a fine political equilibrium cannot be found until it is based on economic equilibrium."**

The four main stages of the Russian Revolution have a certain logical sequence. First there was the March Rising planned by the Czar in order that democracy might be swept before the machine-guns he had so carefully planned, but which took a shape and direction quite other than he and his advisers had supposed. That first phase did not complete itself till the establishment of the Coalition Government under Alexander Feodorovitch Kerensky. Indeed, the first assault was carried too easily, with the result that men like Miliukov could hold office, and in their public acts deny the whole meaning of the Revolution. With their passing, the Revolution, in its first stage, completed itself, and the Kerensky Government was not only technically representative in that it was representative of all the organised political parties, but it did, in fact, also receive the enthusiastic support of the Russian people.

The second stage was the July offensive, that resulted in the Russian breakthrough at Tarnopol. It was undertaken by Kerensky, under the pressure of England and France; and we have yet to receive from him the very interesting account of that pressure. Whatever the inducements, however, its result is of the first importance. Up to July 6th the ideals of the Russian Revolution exercised a spell in the German Army that German commanders feared. The Russian military offensive broke that spell. The results within Russia, however, were more considerable still. Just before the offensive, on July 3rd-5th, the first Bolshevik rising in Moscow had been quelled without great difficulty. Then followed the news of military disaster. The people lost all faith in themselves and in their own strength; the nation was a nation dismayed; and its military commanders conspired together to snatch power and establish a dictatorship. Some of them were inspired by their own unlovely and unloveable love of Fatherland; others, as will be seen, were moved by motives less commendable; but the result was that an internal contest began that had to be fought to an end.

It is at this moment that this book enters. The third and fourth stages are the Kornilov Rising of August 27th, and of the Bolshevik Rising of October 25th. (Russian chronology), and it carries the account to the end of the first, showing how the events with which it deals were the inevitable prelude to the latter. It is not exactly a book for holiday reading. It consists of Kerensky's evidence, in question and answer, before the Commission of Enquiry he himself had appointed. As, however, many references would prove unintelligible to readers not familiar with the obscure causes underlying the questions, and as his own answers in other cases are inadequate, he has interpolated lengthy parentheses into the text. Some of these parentheses extend to fifteen and twenty pages; and sometimes they break up an answer to a question into three fragments. This does not make easy reading. We can see why he has left the book as it is; he gives his reasons, and as we closed it his purpose was clear. But we suggest that he would have gained exactly the same end, far more satisfactorily from every point of view, if he had first written the whole story in the first person, in closer detail and free narrative, and then added his evidence as an Appendix.

### Revolution: a People's Self-expression.

However, we must take the book as it is, a document of the highest historical importance. Its appearance in Russia last summer was the cause of much discussion, some of which seems already to have affected political events. Now it is made available for us; and few books of these times are more sure of taking their place in that permanent human record we call history. Not only because it deals with the crisis in the Russian Revolution, which will be found hereafter to be the greatest single contribution of the Great War; but also because (implied in its narrative, and only once or twice rising to the surface in explicit argument) the whole meaning of revolutions as the expression of peoples to conduct their own government, is contained in the story it tells.

Its first purpose is to clear Kerensky's name, first as patriot and then as statesman. We in Ireland have good cause to think kindly of Kerensky, for during the days in 1917 when Allied politicians were reminding Russia of the pure and exalted aims for which alone they were conducting the war, the mention of Ireland on his lips proved an effective reminder that he laboured under no delusions on that head. When, therefore, we heard his name in allied newspapers mentioned as being implicated in Kornilov's treason, the situation was perplexing. As he himself had instituted the Commission of Enquiry, he felt himself (we think wrongly) under bond not to clear his name by direct public statement. This, therefore, is his first statement; and let us say at once that he clears his name in both capacities. The circumstances that led the revolution to its consummation (given the July offensive, which lies before this book, and which constituted his great error) were not in his power to contest; they were implied in the legacy he received.

### On the Curragh Precedent.

The enquiry goes back to the appointment of Kornilov as Generalissimo. The meeting at Staff Headquarters after the Tarnopol disaster is described. The generals were not anxious to help. The revolution had curtailed their power, and they were sore. Kornilov seemed the only man with military knowledge and ability who seemed inclined to act in loyal acceptance of the revolution, though his temperamental faults were recognised. But no sooner is he appointed than he appears as the centre of a net of intrigue. At first this takes the simple form of a wide series of army reforms, which he endeavours to force the Premier into accepting. In the early stages of this book it appears as though these reforms were inspired by Savinkov, the Deputy Minister of War, who endeavoured to force them upon his chief through Kornilov. In the end the suggestion is clear that the situation was the other way about, Savinkov being agent rather than first mover; and this accords with the story as a whole. For Kornilov's action at this stage, in the early days of the Russian August, is of a piece with his action throughout.

In the second week of August a national conference was held at Moscow to discuss the position of the country within and without; and for this occasion preparations, it appears, were made to proclaim Kornilov as Dictator. A pamphlet was distributed in Moscow entitled "Kornilov: The People's Leader." The general himself was prepared to use this conference to demand the re-introduction of the death-penalty not only in the front and rear of the fighting forces, but even its institution on railways and in factories, a measure Czarism itself had not dared to take. The sturdy temper of the conference, however, and Kerensky's refusal to permit the general to include in the ambit of his speech any reference outside the strategic situation, obviated this danger. And so Kornilov returned to the front, where, he it remembered, the Germans were steadily advancing, town by town, towards Petrograd!

### Prince Lvov: Democrat Turned Traitor.

After this Conference Kerensky says he was aware, through information he received, that the conspiracy became more active. The information, however, was not of such a nature as would enable him to take action; and, besides, the military situation was perilous. So the next we get is when, on August 26th (we use Kerensky's Russian chronology throughout), one V. V. Lvov presents himself to Kerensky and presents an ultimatum, requiring that the Provisional Government should proclaim martial law throughout Russia, should resign in favour of Kornilov, and that Kerensky and his Deputy War Minister, Savinkov, should at once proceed to Kornilov's headquarters as part of a government that would be formed under his dictatorship. In the meantime, as was discovered the next day, certain troops under a certain general (in spite of a definite understanding

(Continued on 1st Col. 3rd Page.)

## ENGLAND'S PART.

### ENGLAND'S PART IN THE FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

As a pendant to Darrell Figgis's illuminating survey of Kerensky's apologia, the part that England played in the first Czar-made revolution should be interesting.

As far back as September 28, 1918, the story was told in the "Saturday Evening Post," of Philadelphia, by Princess Cantacuzene. So far not a word of it has been made known in England.

Sir George Buchanan, English Ambassador to Petrograd, was up to the neck in the intrigues of the pro-Allies and the pro-Germans in the Czar's court. Being aware that the pro-Germans had captured the Czarina and the Russian Cabinet, he sought audience of the Czar, and told him his version of the current political scandals, and urged a clean sweep of the Steurmer-Protopopoff ministry, which was then working for a separate peace with Germany. The friends of high-finance, Messieurs Miliukoff and Lvov, were to replace them. The Czar said and did nothing publicly, but Sir George now began to work openly with the Cadet Party for revolution.

The Ambassador of an Allied Power, he became a partisan in the internal politics of the country to which he was accredited. Says Princess Cantacuzene:

"All through January (1917) I heard that Sir George Buchanan was interested in the probable revolutionary movement, that he was seeing much of the Liberals, and that English agents and money were helping in making a propaganda."

A year later, a close friend of the French Ambassador told her that Buchanan, having failed to separate the Czar and Czarine, had begun, in the early months of 1917, actively to work for a revolution, feeling that in the overthrow of Czarism lay the Allies' only hope of victory.

The French Ambassador took the view that France's alliance was with the Czar, and, in the Princess's words, "consequently her policy through her Ambassador must be to stand with the autocracy, whatever its movements, without deviation."

So, it is plain that not Lenin, Trotsky, Kerensky, or even Lvov or Miliukoff began the fatal course of events that smashed capitalism in Russia, but that the first steps which led to the dethronement, and finally the death, of the Czar were instigated and financed by the Friendly Ambassador of "Carthage."

### ENGLAND'S FRIEND LEAVES MANY WIDOWS.

#### Much-Married Monarch Punctured.

The Ameer of Afghanistan, a fellow of the name of Habibullah, has gone (per assassin's bullet) to Allah!

Habibullah was a friend of ours; he was "recognised"; we sent missions to him.

Habi was no Bolshey; not a hair of him was Soviet. Indeed, we read that "getting alarmed at the spread of Bolshevist sympathies among the native labouring masses in Central Asia," he formed a sort of League of Anti-Bolshevik Rulers, just as if he were a Capitalist President or international financier.

Anyhow he was one of us, even although, as the "Manchester Guardian" (25/2/18) says:—

"Owing to his father's policy of giving him a fresh wife, selected from families of distinction and influence, every few years, Habibullah has left a very large family."

And not a Cardinal, nor a Bishop, nor a British Workers' Leaguer, nor a Harmsworth sheet shouting about the sanctity of marriage or free love!

You see, he was anti-Bolshey, and he was one of the ruling class.—"Forward."

### In the Spring, a Young Man's Fancy?

The Duke of Connaught has been visiting Paris and Nice incognito.

### BELFAST ECHOES.—Continued.

of Mr. Alexander towards the recent strike in Belfast, when both become known, will be sufficient to convince not only the Belfast dock labourers, but every other working man in Ireland, that it is useless to expect English unions controlled by the Alexander and Sexton type of officials to do anything for the Irish workers.

### More "Corn" in Belfast.

Corn merchants offered a 47-hour week, 1/6 per day advance, and other concessions pending a national settlement. Action with other Unions is to be taken on coalmen's demands.

IRISH OPINION

Saturday  
Fifteenth  
MARCH,  
1919.

**THE VOICE OF LABOUR**

:: ALL-IRELAND LABOUR WEEKLY. ::

## Why the Jail Doors Swung.

There is bitter irony in the mercies of English Governments. Their gifts and concessions are always wrung from them by pressure, and the gracelessness of their performance robs an intended boon of every aspect of goodness. We need not speculate on the reasons for the prisoners' release. We know. They were incarcerated on the strength of a lying story of a plot with Germany, that the envoys of England abroad might identify the cause of Irish independence with that of German imperialism.

Not even England's Allies have been deceived. Decadent France and its tiggerish bourgeoisie, tied to England by a common bankruptcy, alike financial and moral, does indeed continue to suppress and distort news from Ireland, but in France we have firm friends in the great working-class organisation, the United Socialist Party, and in the French Press, as far as the censor permits, in "L'Humanité" and "Le Populaire." Italy, intent on securing her dominion over both shores of the Adriatic, at the expense of the Jugo-Slavs, has opened the Press of Italy to plain statements of the Irish case for freedom. The Italian Liberal monarchy has no love for Ireland. Irish troops resisted the march of the Savoyard upon Rome, and Ireland's unflinching loyalty to the Holy See is a perpetual rebuke to united Italy's infidelity.

But the Italian Government requires support at home, for the struggle it is conducting in Paris, with France and Britain, as well as the Jugo-Slavs, Albanians, and Greeks, and it suits the purpose of the Government-subsidised Press of the Peninsula to expose the hypocrisy of England, when it tries to prevent Italy over-riding barbarian cultures and inferior races, for their own good, as England overrides Ireland.

But the Continental nations have always, in the absence of special reasons to the contrary, justly estimated "perfidie Albion." Therefore, however significant the free discussion of Ireland's case among the Continental Allies of England, that of itself would not have opened the jail-doors.

The deliverance of the captives must be attributed to the adoption of a resolution in support of Ireland's claims by the American House of Representatives. We do not credit that resolution to the clamour of the political associations that have for the lifetime of the American Republic used the flag of Ireland to rally the immigrants to their side. In so far as domestic reasons actuated the Congressmen, we see being played at Wash-

ington, that game practised so long before our admiring eyes by the skilled politicians of Westminster. An expiring majority of Democrats has pledged their party to uphold Ireland's right, knowing that they have lost the elections, and must give place to the Republicans. That resolution will serve the Democrats well at next election. Until after that, they will have no chance of acting upon it. It is the old confidence game.

But the resolution stands on the books of the House of Representatives, as the Home Rule Bill on the Statute Book. It provides for Wilson an argument that Lloyd George will find it difficult to answer or ignore if it is brought forward. The expressed will of the American Lower House that Ireland should obtain the right of self-determination, will be as useful to American Capital, the creditor of England, as a county court warrant in the hands of a bailiff. At the Peace Conference the freedom of Ireland is not a prime American interest. Its advocacy may be a useful instrument of pressure on England.

Thus the English Cabinet has found itself under the necessity of tacitly admitting that French and Shortt lied when they promulgated the proclamation of May 16th, 1918. To free themselves from the tangle of falsehood they must release the untried prisoners, remove an "Irish grievance," and when we recall the tortures endured through these long winter months, tell us we must not brood over the past. The necessities of England at the Peace Conference and the antagonism developing among her Allies, have released the prisoners.

There are no conceivable circumstances in which we could thank England for restoring the chosen leaders of our race to their homes, but in this case there has been no softening of Pharaoh's heart, no alteration in England's policy in Ireland. The arrests of R. C. Barton, Piaras Beaslai, and J. J. Walsh, and their detention, with hundreds of other political prisoners, penned as criminals in Irish jails, under conditions the censor forbids to be described, proves England the old Carthage that we know, fertile in hypocrisies, adept in shifty dodges, incapable of good faith, or even of that honour that rules among thieves.

If anywhere among the nations there are people who accept England's own valuation of her deeds, it will be the business of Irishmen to expose the pretended release of the prisoners as an expedient as fraudulent in fact and in intent as the plea on which they were incarcerated. It is fortunate in these circumstances that the delegates of Irish Labour were at the moment in Paris to make clear to our working-class allies in Europe the incompleteness of England's repentance.

# The Workers' Republic.

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

### The Annual Tribute. (As Passed by Censor.)

Must it go on? Year after year since the birth of the Republic, we have paid a toll of lives wrecked by the prison system. The latest sacrifice to the English Minotaur has been made, and we have honoured the remains of Pierce M'Cann, and sought in prayer peace to his soul. We know the authors of the slaying of Richard Coleman and Pierce M'Cann. But for their committal to prison, they might yet have been with us. Viscount

### The Clique of Crooks.

Professor Robert Donovan is a distinguished and scholarly gentleman (although he is not held in very high esteem at 6 Harcourt Street). He is also very industrious. His speciality in international politics is the League of Nations stunt. Sincerely believing that the Crooks' Convention at Paris is bent on establishing a new world, according to the "eternal prescriptions of Justice and Right," he suggests that nations (e.g. Ireland) which "enjoy inferior rights," should be allowed to appeal to the League of Nations to determine their national status and settle the boundaries of their domain.

Britain, France, Italy, America and Japan dominate the proposed League of Nations. Just picture a meeting of the League called to hear the appeals of Ireland and fifty other nationalities in the belly of the Anglo-Hun whale, Morocco, Siam, Tripoli, Albania, Jugo-Slavia, Syria, China, Cuba, Hayti, the Philippines, etc., etc.

Yet, according to Mr. Donovan, without such power to decide these matters, the League must soon find itself estopped! Yea, verily, and why should it not be "estopped"?

Already the Professor scents danger. The Constitution proposed for the League, he declares, would "vitiate the moral foundations of the New Europe," and the "dissatisfaction of such peoples (e.g. Ireland) expressing itself through the political action of their kindred in other countries, endangers the results of the labours of the Allied Statesmen assembled at Paris." There is the rub. Bob is resolved to criticise, but the crooked endeavours of the "Allied Statesmen" (big "S" in the original) must not be "estopped" by the wiles of small nations.

### The Servile State.

The inheritors of the parliamentary tradition, dropping for once the direct method, are busy organising a demand for a Ministry of Health for Ireland based on the lines of the English scheme, but adapted to fit in with the jobbery system of local government. No established interests are to be disturbed, old privileges are to be conserved, and to prove that the scheme is quite Sinn Fein, it is to be blessed by a conference of Irish local authorities before the Westminster law-makers are asked to legalise it. In fact, the new machinery of the Servile State is to be the dying kick of the Redmondite County Councils at the nation they have betrayed.

A writer in the London Labour "Herald" warns us against the new English Bill which the wisecracks would fain adopt for Ireland. It confers absolute and general powers upon the Minister of Health "to take all such steps as may be desirable" for the prevention of disease, the treatment of the physically and mentally defective, and "the collection and preparation of information and statistics relating thereto."

There is in the Bill no pretence of constitutional safeguards. The population under the rule of the Westminster Parliament is handed over to a Cabinet Minister, who, to ensure the prevention and treatment of disease, will compile records of the age, occupation, and fitness of every subject. Need we enlarge

on the possibilities of a Health Ministry established in Ireland on the solicitation of the "Freeman's Journal"?

### Cutting the Nation's Throat.

The Health Ministry would correct the over-caution of the Asquith-Henderson Government, which shirked the application of the National Registry to Ireland, and in the event of Description its records would make medical examinations unnecessary. The tyrannies of the eugenics fanatics, the vagaries of the medical theorists, and the supervision of personal life by State inspectors are not only possible infliction, but would be quite unescapable if this beneficent project becomes law. Former attempts were defeated largely by the vigorous activity of Prior M'Nabb. In the present proposal, as it is to be modified for Ireland by gracious concurrence of Carson and Devlin, the pretence of saving the individual life is the cover for an attack on the nation's existence.

### Robbery by Rent.

Other Parliamentary Bills certain to be accepted by the wealthiest House of Commons on record will prove the futility of participation in the farce. The Rent Restriction Act is to be extended for a few more months, but as a bribe, the non-working house-owner who, in most cases, did not build the house, is to be pressed by law to accept a ten per cent. increase in the rent he draws for doing nothing but "house-owning." A house-owners' House of Commons will pass that measure despite the fiery protests of Mr. M'Guffin, who has chosen to assert himself on this question. He expects the Belfast workingman will applaud his manly and independent stand even against Mr. T. Moles, of the "Belfast Telegraph" and "Morning Post." Mr. Moles supports the Present-to-the-Landlord Bill. Mr. M'Guffin, knowing his dissent will not disturb the Government, denounces it. That is how Belfast Unionists play their little game. But will they speak out when the R.I.C. and the soldiers come to evict the tenants of Agnes Street and the Shankhill who refuse to pay the land-shark's tax? Not only in Belfast, but all over Ireland, this robbery by rent will be opposed. No rent rather than extra rent is the motto, and the nation cannot be evicted wholesale.

### Stealing the Ports.

We do not expect to find ourselves in agreement with the Ports and Docks Boards of Ireland on many questions, but we welcome the opposition that the Cork M.P.'s have initiated to the Ministry of Ways and Communications. The coal shortage and general war experience has convinced even the staunch Unionist that cross-Channel control of Irish traffic is inimical to every Irish interest. The ports and harbours are to the community what the mouth is to the body. The controller of the harbours controls the nation's trade and industry. Inefficient and unrepresentative as the existing boards are, they present possibilities of local control that an English Ministry would forbid. Messrs. O'Beirne and Daly, on the Dublin Board, have voiced the general opposition to the new Ministry, but it is doubtful if the other members of the Board can be trusted to keep hold of the Port of Dublin for Ireland. The Irish Shipping Capitalist has no special care for Irish prosperity. A big dividend from the Pirrie-Ellerman-Phillips Shipping Trust weighs more with him than his duty as a trustee of National Wealth. When so many minatory phrases are flung by a certain Bishop at the Irish working class, it seems a pity he should have no word of condemnation for those ship-owners who are following the example of the ecclesiastically favoured "National" Bank and placing the nation's ships under English control, as the National and other banks have placed the nation's finance.

### MORE BELFAST ECHOES.

**Northern Irishman.**  
That's the non-de-plume of a Belfastman who wants to flay Wm. Lorimer for voting for resumption of work and gloating over defeat. We want controversy on the late strike to be constructive, not personal, and we won't allow Lorimer to answer such queries as: Why was he dumb when the full forces of labour ought to have been utilised by the Federation?

Lorimer is quite unimportant. What matters is the lesson that Lorimer and others learned from the strike and its failure, in so far as it did fail. If correspondents treat the issue from that standpoint we'll endeavour to find space for their comments. This paragraph from N.I.'s letter alone is worthy:—

"With regard to his (Lorimer's) confederation of international labour at the present moment it seems Utopian. A National Industrial Federation may be practicable, and unfortunately Ireland to-day is in that respect nearly helpless."

NEXT WEEK:  
**SAM HASLETT**  
Beards  
**JIMMIE BAIRD.**

**Caledon.**  
Whether its owner be orange, green, or tri-colour, a skull must be cracked if it impede the capitalists' progress. Prospects are bright for a clean win through by the strikers.

**Cavan.**  
Some 45 farm and saw-mill employees have been locked out by Lord Farnham for refusing to work extra hours without an increase.

In Glenravel, Co. Antrim, branch, D. In Glenravel, Co. Antrim, branch, D. Houston is handling a demand for the iron ore miners, whose lot is a difficult one.

### BELFAST W.E.A.

We have received a long letter from the Secretary of the Belfast Workers' Educational Association in reply to our remarks about that body the other week. The main points are: (1) T. Johnson was at one time a Vice-President and Cathal O'Shannon was a student; (2) Belfast members control the classes; (3) The local branch will receive no benefit from Sir Ernest Cassell's half-million donation to London Headquarters. The kernel of the letter is in the last paragraph:—

"The real difference between us is, I think, due to a misconception of the function of the W.E.A. Its function is not that of a propagandist body for any particular social theory. It aims at providing a means for the intellectual emancipation of the workers: at enabling them to think for themselves. This, you will agree, is a fundamental necessity for any free democracy."

That is, as the music-hall gentleman used to say, "all very fine and large." An association to promote liberal education is a very desirable thing, and its professed principles may be admirable. It is in the application, the difference arises. The statement that Belfast W.E.A. is not a propagandist body of any particular social theory is inaccurate, for during the past winter an official of the British Government delivered a series of lectures on Economics which, being based on the work of Marshall, were really propaganda for Capitalism, with all the usual "Marx out of date," "Marxian theory generally abandoned by younger school of Socialists," and such like phrases to mislead any effort on the part of Belfast workers to discover the source and fount of the robbery they suffer.

### Warrenpoint.

During the strike of shipyard employees at watch on the Liffey was vigilantly maintained. The short stoppage has ended successfully, an advance of 1d. per hour being conceded, bringing rates to 1/1.

### INTERNATIONAL SUMMARIES.

**Tohoko-Slovakia** has adopted the 8-hour day by law.

**Sweden.**—After one week's strike, the 8-hour day has been established on the railroads and railway workshops.

**Connecticut.**—The labour unions have established a political labour party.

**U.S. Builders' Strike.**—From 17th Feb., 100,000 men in the Building trades are on strike. Labour in Europe is asked to oppose contracts being placed with American building firms until they can show a clean bill of health.

**New York.**—Seven-tenths of the women workers are getting less than a living wage, says State Industrial Commission. Women Garment Workers have won their demands in 970 out of 1,200 factories struck on Jan. 21. Women pickets were savagely assaulted by male gunmen.

**Norway.**—The trade unions and Socialist Party are jointly establishing Soldiers' Councils.

**China.**—Y. P. Hsieh, Socialist member of National Assembly, denounces Chinese representatives at Paris as tools of a military clique at Peking, upheld in power by the Japanese arms and American money.

## LABOUR'S LYRE.

YOU SAID HIM NAY.

He asked no more than, giving you his life,  
You give him back an hour: you said him Nay:

You asked his body's sweat the live-long day,

And you at ease in bosom of home and wife:  
Answered he Nay? He asked with all the strife

Of toil well done, but one brief spell to stray

Toward the sea-sweet mountains: said you Yea?

Why then this discontent so strangely rife?

'Tis that you said him Nay to everything:  
Save toil: and he must say you Yea to all;  
And give you gratitude, albeit you give Nought but mean wage like charity, and fling

Him out to die when he shall used fall,  
The blood-fount failing, where you drink to live.

Edmund B. Fitzgerald, Belfast.

**IN FUTURE ISSUES** we shall publish "A Defence of Capital," by Geoffrey A. Dunlop, and "Towards the One Big Union," by Eamonn Lynch.

**THE PRELUDE TO BOLSHEVISM.**  
(Continued from Front Page.)

to the contrary) were advancing on Petrograd.

From this moment the narrative, despite the difficult form in which it is presented, becomes thrilling enough. Kerensky's conversation that night by direct wire with Kornilov is a masterly implication of the general in the treason narrated by Lvov; and Kornilov that night is dismissed. He refuses to hand over authority; and the chiefs of the army decline to accept any other authority than his. Kerensky issues a proclamation to the Russian people. Kornilov does the same, charging the Premier with betraying a proposal that emanated first from himself, and with being in league with the German general staff. Kerensky's friends and colleagues endeavour to get him to agree to a compromise; but he stands firm by the principle that Kornilov's action is a crime against the State, and that he will hold no parley with a criminal. He calls upon the railwaymen to refuse to carry Kornilov's troops; and they obey. He sends for the general in charge of Kornilov's advance-guard, who comes to see him, shows him an order that reveals the intended coup d'etat, and then goes out and shoots himself. Left in the air, Kornilov finally surrenders, and is arrested.

But the faith of the people in national unity is shattered, for Kornilov has revealed to them that the Right has no thought of national unity save in terms of themselves. The Left swings into power. Within a week the Soviets are Bolshevik; and within two months the Bolsheviks are in possession of the State.

That is the real meaning of the episode. It was bound to happen, as Lenin had foreseen. In several passages Kerensky very clearly, and very thoughtfully, gives his conception of the State, of which his Coalition government was the expression and the defence. It was bound, he says, "to act only as the people's common authority, without inclining towards the Right wing for an agreement with the rebels, or towards the Left wing for combating whole groups and classes of the population under the pretence of suppressing the counter-revolution." In a word, Kerensky conceived of the Revolution as a political affair, whereas the Revolution intended (as all revolutions intend) not merely a political balance, but an economic reconstruction. For that, clearly, the people were but waiting. For that they demanded immediate peace; peace, even, "at any price." If Kerensky did not see that, the forces behind Kornilov did; and that is why they acted.

**"Defending Their Economic Grasp of Real Power Through Military Autocracy."**

Kornilov, it is clear, was only a tool in the affair. Kerensky refers to the "financial circles that were supporting" him; and in an illuminating letter from General Alexeiev to Miliukov these "financial circles" are threatened with exposure if they do not support the relations of the arrested officers. These same financial circles are now scattered throughout Christendom, issuing forgeries against Russia and its present rulers, buying allied armies to support their cause, suborning allied diplomacy, and backing butchers like Admiral Koltchak in Siberia, and General Deniken (who has his part in this book) in the Caucasus. Even in Ireland the connection between Capitalism and army officers is not unknown; and Kornilov was the agent of men concerned to defend their economic grasp of real power through military autocracy. They were indifferent to political forms; they were afraid of a revolutionary menace that meant quite other things than political change.

Kerensky, for his part, was concerned with a fine political equilibrium, and did not perceive that a true political equilibrium cannot be found until it is based on economic equilibrium. The balance he achieved, however, was real. His honesty, and clear political thought, were sufficient for that much. Had it not been real it would not have lasted a week. It was real because the circumstances were exceptional; but for that very cause it was temporary. The financiers were shrewd enough to see that, and therefore sought to capture him. He proved too single-minded for them; and so they turned to the soldier, offered him a dictatorship, and found him money. But with that they showed their hand; and their doom was signed.

**It is Purely Ironical.**

Ozarism arranged a Revolution, and got a Revolution that destroyed Ozarism. High Finance arranged a coup d'etat, and got a coup d'etat that destroyed High Finance. What a splendid thing it would be if the scope of such ironies were to spread more widely in the world!

DARRELL FIGGIS.

"The Prelude to Bolshevism: The Kornilov Rising." By A. F. Kerensky. Fisher Unwin. 16s. nett.

**Killed by Capital.**

Last Friday, the winchman of s.s. Tiger, at Dublin, fell into the hold, sustaining fatal injuries.

**LABOUR IN IRELAND**

**A Message of Condolence.**

The following telegram has been received:

Paris, 8th March. O'Brien, Liberty Hall, Dublin. Greatly shocked Pierce McCann's death. Convey our deep sympathy to family and colleagues. O'SHANNON, JOHNSON.

**DELEGATES RETURN.**

Messrs. Cathal O'Shannon and T. Johnson arrived in London from Paris last Sunday.

**A CHANCE FOR OATH VICTIMS.**

On the 19th inst. the Dublin Guardians will appoint several clerks. How many dismissed Civil Servants will be appointed?

Will the good jobs be kept in the Family?

**MONDAY LECTURES.**

Mr. H. C. Neill-Watson, of the Court Laundry, will speak in the Trades Hall on 24th inst., on The Employer's Sphere in Industry, explaining the functions of the employer as organiser and director. Admission is 3d.

The Committee regret the sudden death of Mr. A. Williamson, M.A., of Rathmines, who had undertaken to give the next lecture of the series. Mr. Williamson had gladly offered his services, and had expressed his gratification at being asked to co-operate with the Workers' Educational Conference. His loss will be widely felt.

**CUMANNACHT NA HEIREANN.**

None who were present will readily forget the inexpressibly charming entertainment provided last Sunday evening in the Trades Hall by Mrs. Cogley's lecture-recital illustrating the evolution of French popular songs.

The devotion, love, and humour of the French workers, from the eleventh century, were revealed in snatches of song sympathetically rendered by the lecturer, admirably accompanied on the piano by Mr. Cogley. The fiercer passions, the bitter ridicule of monarchy, the deep-throated chant of what must be, the flaming love of humanity, that consumed France in her revolutionary period, and the hope that still inspires France's noblest sons and daughters and bids the world still look for the "French Initiative," were exemplified by such undying songs as La Carmagnole, Le Marseillais, Ça Ira, and L'Internationale.

Seumas O hAodha presided, and fittingly expressed the gratitude of the Socialist Party for a unique and instructive lecture conveyed in the international language of music. At the request of the lecturer, the Chairman closed the meeting by singing Connolly's "Watchword of Labour," composed by himself.

Subject to possible change, owing to the return of the Delegates from Berne, the lecturer next Sunday will be Seumas O hAodha.

The Commune Celebration next Monday, at 43 N. Gt. George's Street, will be a great success. The programme of songs and dances will be thoroughly "International." That word, in this instance, will not be a disguise for an English Beanfeast. Tickets are 3s. 6d., and should be paid for at the Hall.

**AUTO-MEN MEET.**

Important Matters Discussed at Annual Meeting of I.A.D. and A. M. Union.

The annual meeting of the Irish Automobile Drivers and Automobile Mechanics' Union was held in the Trades Hall, Dublin, on Thursday, the 27th ult. Mr. J. J. Traynor, President, presided, and there was an extremely large attendance, including delegates from the following branches—Ballina, Clonmel, Kilkenny, Limerick, Sligo, Waterford. Apologies were received from the Derry and Wexford, Tralee and Newry delegates for non-attendance. A vote of condolence was passed to Messrs. P. Talbot and P. Hogan on the deaths of their wives, all members standing.

The President, in his address, referred in detail to the great growth of the Union during the preceding twelve months, the many new branches which had been formed, and the numerous requests to open branches in different parts of the country. The balance sheet, copies of which were in their possession, would convince them from even a casual glance that the membership and finance of the Union had rapidly increased.

**The income was double**

that of the previous year, while, naturally, the expenditure in the shape of strike pay and benefits, etc., had also increased, leaving, however, a very substantial balance to the Union's credit.

The War and its after effects were matters which vitally affected their members, especially the overcrowding of the labour market as a consequence of the demobilisation of soldiers, many of whom employers would avail themselves by employing them at reduced wages. This was true particularly in the driving line, and it was up to them all to stand loyally by the Union to fight against this method of seeking to reduce wages by unfair competition.

Mr. P. Boyle, Gen. Sec., said it was with regret he found it necessary to resign his position, as owing to the rapid growth of the Union he felt he could not devote the time and attention necessary to the General Secretaryship. He believed the services of a full-time official were necessary.

Mr. J. Mitchell, V.P., said they all learned with regret of Mr. Boyle's decision, especially as it was just now the results of his labours were bearing fruit. They would miss him from his post, and he was certain he was voicing the opinions of all the members, not only in Dublin, but in the provinces, in proposing that, as a small recognition of Mr. Boyle's valuable services, the Union make him a suitable presentation (applause).

Mr. E. Lacy seconded, and the motion was carried with acclamation.

For the position of General Secretary, Mr. M. J. O'Connor, Organiser, was nominated and pressed to go forward, but declined to do so. Mr. E. Lacy, Organiser, was then proposed and seconded, and there being no other nomination, he was declared elected unanimously.

**The New Executive.**

The voting for the other positions resulted as follows:—Mr. J. Traynor, General President; Mr. James Mitchell, Vice-President; Mr. J. Madden, Gen. Treasurer; Messrs. J. Mitchell, P. Talbot, W. Crosbie, Trustees; and Messrs. P. Boyle, John Brennan, J. Manning, P. Kennedy, W. Noone, C. Magee, H. Bowie, P. Talbot, R. Farrell, T. Larrigan, Management Committee.

The Irish Labour Party's National Programme of a 44-hour week; 50s. minimum wage, and 150 per cent. over pre-war wages was left to the Executive Committee for favourable consideration, as was also the following motion from the Clonmel Branch:—"To consider the fixing of standard hours and rates of pay for private, hire, and lorry drivers, with overtime rates."

The following resolution in the name of the Derry Branch was adopted unanimously:—"That we are not in favour of customers standing over a repair job when it is being done in a garage, and that we will not work under any supervision other than that of the garage."

On the proposition of Mr. E. Lacy, seconded by Mr. J. Toft, it was decided unanimously that any member transferring from one job to another should acquaint the Union before doing so, and that no member shall do work for any employer other than his ordinary employer.

**WANTED for Trade Union Office in Cork, reliable Shorthand-Typist; Trade Unionist. Replies, "Typist," "Voice of Labour."**

**Portlaoigh Branch, I.T. & C.W.U.**  
Result of ballot—1st prize, 1648; 2nd, 604; 3rd, 1654; 4th, 1991; 5th, 1902; 7th, 1285; 8th, 1166; 9th, 174.—Roger Hogan, Secretary.

**THE NIGHT OF THE SEASON!**

International Tailors, Machinists' and Pressers' Trade Union.

**AN ALL-NIGHT CEILIDHE AND DANCE,**  
In the UNION ROOMS, 44 YORK ST. ST. PATRICK'S EVE (Sunday, 16th March).

Double Tickets, 6/6; Single, 3/6.

Kick-off at 10 p.m., Sharp.

**GOOD MUSIC — GOOD GRUB**  
BEST OF SPIRITS (non-excisable.)

**:: International Number ::**

Cathal O'Shannon and Thomas Johnson tell the Story of Berne Next Week.

Next week's "Voice" will be a Special International Number, in which Cathal O'Shannon and Thomas Johnson will relate the full story of the Berne Convention and their work for Ireland at it, and on the Permanent Commission at Paris.

The attitude of the Congress to the League of Nations, Russia, Bolshevism and the dictatorship of the Proletariat, will be reviewed at length.

All who believe in Labour's Mission and Ireland's future in full partnership with the workers of the world must have this International Number of the "Voice."

**DENTAL SURGERY**

NEW SETS FITTED TO A "T" WITH ROUBLES REATED THOROUGHLY

**PEACE & GOOD HEALTH**

You cannot enjoy good health if you have a mouthful of Bad Teeth, because you cannot masticate your food properly, and because stomach trouble and indigestion are sure to follow. Then you do not know the minute when they will start to ache and rob you of your sleep, giving you no peace.

Go at once to **MR. M. MALAMED,** 16 HENRY ST. For Treatment and Advice. MODERATE TERMS.

**M. MALAMED, 16 HENRY ST. DUBLIN.**

ADJOINING ARNOTT'S

**Irish Transport & General Workers' Union.**

PAORAI O CONAIRE

Will Read a Paper on **LABOUR AND THE NATIONAL OUTLOOK,** in Liberty Hall, On Tuesday, 18th March, at 8 p.m. Deis Fáilte roim Saé Saébeal.

Discussion invited. Entire proceedings will be conducted in Irish.

**CUMANNACHT NA HEIREANN.**

**SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES.** Trades Hall, Capel Street, Dublin, J. J. HUGHES Will Lecture On Sunday Next, the 16th Instant, at 8 p.m.

Admission Free. Questions and Discussion. Collection.

New Club premises at 42 North Great George's Street; open every evening. More members wanted. Applications for membership will be considered each Friday at 8 p.m.

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**EDITED BY "Æ."**

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**Notice.**—New orders and alterations for the "Voice" should arrive at the office not later than Tuesday evening.

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# On January 1st Nineteen Hundred and Nineteen there were

## Two Hundred and Twenty Branches and Seventy-Six Thousand Members in the IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION.

### Transport Union Notes.

**Kilmore.**  
Branch condemns the man who "laid out" one of its members.  
**Castlecomer.**  
Comar has no wageless workers, but all the fossils are not in the mines. One has been discovered in a farmer's menagerie, who has been passing rich on a tanner a week. The Co-op. looms up, funds are growing.  
**Kilrush.**  
We suggest that Sir T. W. should include in his projected book "Fifty years of Irish History" the episode of the Department's Forestry men here who were dismissed on refusing the small increase offered them.  
**Athy.**  
Residents are paying three times the pre-war price for clothes, but the tailors are still on 1914 rates, about 33s. weekly. They claim 50 per cent. advance.  
**Kilrossanty.**  
Not content with refusing to pay the A.W.B. minimum, the Farmers' Association actually publish in the local press their defiance of the Board and its regulations. And, so far, St. Stephen's Green is sunk in slumber deep.

**Castlecomer.**  
Under M. Healy's generalship, the town demand was brought to full fruition. Labourers now have 36s., an advance of 16s. to 21s.; shop assistants secured bonuses amounting to £375; carpenters, coach-builders, tailors, and other tradesmen, have about 10s. more than in Athlone and Galway, where British Unions operate.  
**Graiguenamanagh.**  
T. Farra found matters lively here. 99 town-workers being out owing to refusal of a mere 5s. demand. Measures are being taken to bring the employers to reason. The men evince a good spirit, and Canal Co. and other employers refuse to handle tainted goods.  
**Newbridge.**  
The Curragh Turf Club employees, who are about the worst paid in the Branch area, have demanded an increase of 13s. on 32s.

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**To Branch Secretaries.**  
To our regret it is not always possible to publish reports sent to us in full. Often they arrive late and would be stale when room could be found for them. We try to give everybody a show, but we are bound to fail some time.  
**Bray.**  
Saw-mill employees at Bower's, Ballybrack, seek 10d. per hour, 2d. advance on present rates. The Earl of Bray's farm labourers demand Co. Dublin rates.  
**Thurles.**  
A general wages movement for town workers has opened.  
**Castlecomer.**  
The re-laying gang on the new railway downed tools to secure demand for 2d. per hour increase.  
**Kilmallock.**  
Work has been resumed at Walsh's, a more acceptable offer of increases, ranging from 8s. to 16s., being put up as a result of the ten-day strike and Organizer O'Donoghue's exertions. Mineral water employees demanded 10s. to 12s. on 22s., and rejected a 6s. offer.  
**Dean's Grange.**  
The 25 men at Dickson's Nursery ceased work on Saturday, having rejected an offer of 3s. increase on 27s., their claim being for 50s. An obvious hint from Sir Horace Plunkett to the non-Unionists at his Foxrock farm would save trouble.  
**Boyle.**  
Under the general wages' movement now in swing, labourers demand 36s., boys 20s., and a 48-hour week.  
**Kilkenny.**  
Corporation employees claim a 48-hour week and 41s., instead of the present 40 hours and 31s.  
**Carlow.**  
Organiser Heron fixed up an impending strike of farm labourers who secured 2s. extra as compensation for extra hours.  
**Ballinasloe.**  
is coming into line with other Western branches by inaugurating a general wages' uplift movement in the town and district.  
**New Ross.**  
The full demand of Cherry's Brewery employees has been conceded after a long struggle. Other smaller movements are in course.  
**Go. Limerick.**  
M. O'Donoghue opened a new branch at Castleconnel, and spoke at Bruff and Effin, which are growing steadily. A stoppage has taken place in Askeaton Carbide Works. Lax Weir fishermen are out in Parteen.  
**South Kilkenny.**  
D. Branniff has gingered up Knocktopher, Ballyhale, Mullinavat, and Knockboy, and, with Secretary Dunne, secured for attendants in St. Patrick's Institute, Waterford, a reduction of hours from 73 to a maximum of 48, with increases of from 20s. to 30s. per month.  
**Nenagh.**  
Talks of opening a Co-operative Bakery. (Other branches ought be more alive on the Co-operative Stores question.) U.D.C. men claim 10s. on 25s.  
**Birr.**  
Contemplates an extensive wages' movement, covering all classes of workers in the town and district.  
**Labour Demonstration in Drogheda.**  
A Labour demonstration was held in Drogheda on Sunday, under the auspices of the Drogheda Trades Council, to make preparations for the Irish Trades Congress in August next, and was addressed by T. Farren, Vice-Chairman National Executive, and Wm. O'Brien, Secretary. Prior to the meeting a procession took place, which was the largest Labour demonstration ever held in the town. A notable feature was the big turn-out of I.T.G.W.U. members. Two large banners were displayed with appropriate mottoes, and a large number of red flags were in evidence. Women members of the I.T.G.W.U. sold small red flags, which were profusely worn. We understand that Miss Mary Galway, Secretary Irish Textile Operatives, Belfast, sent instructions to her Drogheda members not to participate in any demonstration at which the Red Flag was displayed.  
**Co. Waterford.**  
Secretaries Phelan, Veale and Co. talked some sense at last meeting, into the Co. Councilors, who, as a result, have given up secret diplomacy, and are to consider demands at a full house meeting on 15th inst., when the Union officials will be present. A new branch has been started in Tallow by L. Veale.  
**Go. Limerick.**  
Organiser Dowling is working up a county move for creamery employees. Go. Kerry is ripe for a similar movement. At Meenakeela, near Templeglantine, creamery men have demanded 12s. advance on 16s. for boys, and for men, 12s. to 15s. on 23s. and 30s. Dowling is attending to Knocklong Creamery, the

manager of which is looking for trouble, and will get it.  
**Nenagh.**  
Malthouse men got 5s. increase, to 35s.  
**Kilmacthomas.**  
The demands, tactfully handled by N. Phelan, for woollen mill employees here, and at Kilmeehan, have resulted in a splendid success, an average increase of 8s. per head having been gained, as well as a big reduction of hours to 49 weekly.  
**Kilrush.**  
All bakery firms have been served with demand for 50s. foreman, 40s. table-hands, vanmen 38s., and a 60-hour week. The Shannon S.S. Co. dispute has been satisfactorily adjusted.  
**Thurles.**  
In a week recovered A.W.B. arrears totalling £96. E. Hayes is negotiating bakers' demands.  
**Co. Dublin.**  
A. Heron winged to Clonsilla, and put new fire into the workers there, with the help of Jem Moore, and both spoke at Celbridge. Women in the latter district are organising, and candidates for D.C. election have been chosen. Rathfarnham branch secured £32 arrears in one case. Employees in Balbriggan Linen Mills have sent in demands, which elicited an unsatisfactory response. Skerries is promised a bread shortage if Baker Bennis does not mend his hand.  
**Offaly.**  
Last week's new branches include Philipstown and Bailinagar, for which J. Connor and other Tullamore officials are responsible.  
**Collooney.**  
Has won many successes recently. The saw mills dispute was settled at a 4s. increase. Brickworks' men claim double present rate, 20s., and 48 hours.  
**Mohill.**  
A demand is in progress for farm workers, town labourers, drapers, and shop assistants.  
**Newry.**  
Is still aggressive. Membership is now 200. Employees in timber firms claim 12s. on existing wages, 23s. to 34s.; and girls in hosiery trade also seek improvements.  
**Waterford.**  
Builders' labourers and carters secured an increase of 2d. and 2½d. per hour (making 12/6 to 17/6 advance weekly since July), and brewery draymen 8s. to 14s.  
**Arklow.**  
Simultaneously with the entry of workers in Parnell Quarries, an advance of 1d. per hour was granted, but, of course, not because of the Union, says the boss. All town bakers and tailors have joined the branch, which will shortly be visited by E. Rooney.

**Carrickmacross.**  
One Westminster law is a dead letter here, and shopkeepers, whether Sinn Fein, Dillonite, or Unionists, are wonderfully united in keeping it so. That is the Shops Act, 1912. No half holidays are given, but the employees have organised, and if the U.D.C. will not enforce the Act the employees will take their own way of securing a reasonable leisure. We do not presume to advise them, but if they have to take action the assistants should seek something more substantial than a half-holiday.  
**Blood Money.**  
Messrs. Vickers have not done badly out of the war. Their balance-sheet for 1915 shows a balance profit of £1,099,679, and an available sum of £1,323,884, out of which the dividends (7½ per cent., tax free, on the ordinary shares) absorbed £445,780, and £250,000 was transferred to general reserve. The directors state that they have a peace programme under careful consideration, and are deciding immediately to increase the ordinary capital to a round £12,000,000 by issuing at once new shares at 30s., in the proportion of one for every three now held, which, while giving shareholders a bonus of 7s. per share, will produce two millions sterling for the general purposes of the company. It should be noted that at the end of December, 1915, the general

reserve premiums and balances stood at over three millions, and there are two years' balances to be added to that. Truly it is an ill wind that blows nobody any good.  
**Murphy Won't Publish This.**  
It has been stated in the "Times" that the Government of Finland is still being run under the traditions of the "White Terror." The "Times," which is not unduly given to statements which are unfavourable to capitalist governments, states that out of 80,000 "Reds" taken prisoner about the end of April, 1918, more than 30,000 men and women are now dead. If atrocity is to be reckoned by numbers, this "White Terror" is more than thirty times as bad as the executions which took place in Finland when the Socialists were in power. The only explanation the "Times" can make is to say "The rebels were crushed with a ferocity which forcibly recalls the fact that Finland, even more than many other parts of the late Tsar's domains, belongs more to the East than to the West." It may be so. It may be the fault of the East. But it recalls only too clearly the ferocity displayed in the West in the suppression of the Paris Commune after the Franco-Prussian War, and elsewhere too.

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OUR SPLENDID SELECTIONS OF FLOWER SEEDS, at 2/6, 3/-, 3/6, 5/-, and 10/-. Free by post.

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RHUBARB ROOTS—12/- and 15/- per doz.

POTATO ONIONS—12/6 per stone.

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John Mac Cormaic, Cappamurra, Dundrum, Co. Tipperary;

Padraig Mac Cormaic, Gork Jail, or direct to

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**DWYER, 4 (V) ARRAN QUAY, DUBLIN.**

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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 Hicks-pittle and the toady, and it combined them and taught them to abhor these arts and rely proudly on the defensive power of combination."  
**IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION.**  
**THOMAS FORAN, GENERAL PRESIDENT, LIBERTY HALL, DUBLIN.**