

## The Nationality of Bolshevism.

By R. CONNOLLY.

Bolshevism, as extreme Revolutionary Marxian Socialism is now named, is the application of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat during the transition stage of the Social Revolution, not so much for the reconstruction of society along Socialistic lines as for the preservation of the Revolution from its enemies, internal and external. Institutions are gradually, in some cases, and immediately in other cases, socialised and nationalised in order during the transition to carry on as best possible the productive processes necessary to the life of the country. But the dominance of the most numerous class—the workers, peasants, soldiers, and sailors—is maintained primarily for the effective destruction of the power of the bourgeoisie, aristocracy, and in Russia the clerics of the Greek Orthodox Church. It is necessary for the defence of the Social Revolution, which, as Jaures foresaw and events daily prove, would be attacked by the capitalistic countries of the world by every means in their power—by hunger, by armed intervention, by financing and actively supporting every reactionary

The interests of different classes are different. Mutuality of interests between capitalists and their wage slaves is a mythical sham. Between these classes exists a war, a struggle to maintain their position in one case—and to abolish their subjection and their oppressors on the other. Standing on the fundamental principle of this class war it is ridiculous to imagine that the Bolsheviki in their endeavour to realise the People's revolution and the People's Commonwealth, could tolerate the existence of any class antagonistic to the aims and aspirations of the Proletariat. Hence, at crises, the Red Terror—the ruthless extermination of all enemies. "Have the English forgotten their "glorious" and the French their "great" Revolution?" asks Lenin. If the Bolsheviki have sinned, they sin in their war as do the common people invariably—on the side of leniency.

Not only the Russian Workers are narrowminded. Some intellectuals prate about the narrowminded, incompetent, ignorant Irish workers! Despite the "Voice of Labour" and the I.T.W.U. They imagine chaos and ruin to all things if the Workers take power! How can they manage an industry when they can't run a co-operative store in a back street in Cork! Look at the failure of Limerick! But a slight knowledge of Sovietism reassures us. The workers control in the largest sense, the industries, the social and political life of the community, but they avail themselves of the experts of the middle class, the intelligent professors, and intellectuals to manage and conduct the details of the processes of production and distribution. In Hungary the intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie assist the Soviets to the best of their ability. In Russia at the commencement they sabotaged industries—went on strike—refused to perform their functions. The Bolsheviki relieved them of their food coupons—they could starve or work. When they returned they found Lenin and Trotsky liberal and generous masters. In Ireland the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is coming. We'll have to fight—yes! internal as well as external enemies. Ergocracy is not such a foreign thing as Swiss Federalism or Freddy Ligt's wavering polity. Rather it is known that the first to apply the principle of the dictatorship, were inspired by James Connolly of Ireland and De Leon of America.

"They knew the influence he (J. Connolly) had been on the great men who had made the Russian Revolution (Lenin in particular had been powerfully affected by his writings)" says W. P. Ryan in his "Irish Labour Movement."

To become competent to achieve and maintain their Revolution, the Irish workers will be assisted almost wholly in their task by an earnest study of the second part of "Socialism Made Easy," by James Connolly, where the broad principles of the Dictatorship may be gleaned; and by learning how Connolly's friends applied these principles in a country so like Ireland as Russia, as detailed in Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution."

## Liverpool, Sheffield and Amsterdam

A TOUR : : By CATHAL O'SHANNON

### INTERNATIONAL LABOUR'S DEMAND.

The Labour and Socialist International demands that the principle of free and absolute self-determination shall be applied immediately in the case of Ireland; Affirms the right of the Irish people to political independence;

Requires that this self-determination shall rest upon a democratic decision expressed by the free, equal, adult and secret vote of the people, uninfluenced and untrammelled by any force of occupation and without any military, political or economic pressure from outside, or any reservation or restriction imposed by any Government;

Calls upon the Peace Conference to make good this rightful claim of the Irish people.

### A Mixes Company.

The Amsterdam meeting of the Permanent Commission of the Berne Conference was fixed for April 26 and the three following days. But as the date drew near it became quite evident that owing to the Limerick general strike and other troubles brewing the two Irish members would not be able to attend, and for a time it was doubtful if either of us could go. Finally it was decided that Tom Johnson should represent the National Executive at Limerick and that I should face Amsterdam alone. That meant leaving Ireland before Easter and I need scarcely say that it was not with the greatest will in the world I crossed to England on Good Friday after a meeting of the hotel-workers on strike.

At the pier at Kingstown I met Sean Numan and Sean O Muirthile, the former on his way to London, the latter to Liverpool, and incidentally, of course, the usual trio of G men whom a watchful Government always details off to see that foreign going Irish travellers come to no harm when entering or leaving Ireland. And as we chatted in Irish and joked at the expense of the guardians of Empire we were hailed by an American chaplain and a Dublin silver-smith, neither of whom we knew, but both of whom warmed to us when they heard the blas of Mumhan mingle with the blas of Cuige Uladh. The chaplain brought along three of his friends, American officers returning from furlough in Ireland, with the purest of American blood but as warm sympathy for Ireland as I have found anywhere. They were full up with Ireland, her wrongs and rights, her beauties and her charms, her position and prospects. Like most other American soldiers who came over to fight for liberty and justice with no prejudice, they were returning with none too complimentary opinions of England and her Empire. Indeed, they were sending home various English journals to show their friends what the most typical of the English Press thinks of America and President Wilson's interference with the scramble for power and territory in the Old World. One of them even said that in the United States army their initials, A.E.F., stand for "After England Failed!"

### Scotland Road to Sheffield.

Going on to Liverpool I attended the great Self-Determination for Ireland meeting in the Stadium on Easter Sunday. It was a huge demonstration of the Liverpool Irish, eager, enthusiastic, and defiant. It was exhilarating to hear these Irish exiles, some of whom had never seen Ireland in their lives, take up O Muirthile's arguments in Irish and receive them with round after round of applause. There was a certain satisfaction in feeling that if Easter commemorations were prohibited in Dublin here in Liverpool the Irish were able to rally in thousands and listen to the most uncompromising speeches in both Irish and English. O Muirthile's fire struck the spark in them and they rose again finely when I sketched an electoral programme for them in England. There is good stuff in Liverpool, much of it is enthusiastically in favour of

Connolly's Workers' Republic. The cheers of Liverpool were still ringing in my ears on Monday when the chairman called upon me as fraternal delegate from the S.P.I. to address the British Socialist Party's Conference at Sheffield. The speech has already been reported and I need say no more here than that I challenged the English working class to action and called for closer revolutionary co-operation between the Left in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and England to further the social revolution and put an end to the White Terror now ruling these countries. The Conference listened closely to what I had to say, and John MacLean was not the only delegate who interested himself in my story of the Siege of the Limerick Soviet. The resolution on Limerick was moved by our old friend and colleague, Coates, and seconded by Alexander who, by the way, lived in Ireland many years ago.

### Across the North Sea.

From Sheffield I hurried to London for the Dutch visas. In London again Limerick was the burning question. The newspapers gave long accounts of the strikes and many of them gave their posters to it. The "Daily Herald" was keen on it, and even in the Dutch Consulate I was asked the latest news. On Wednesday evening I succeeded in getting away, meeting Ramsay Macdonald at Victoria, and thence to Holland. In the next evening's Dutch papers I read reports on not only the Limerick Soviet but as well the hotel and restaurant lock-out in Dublin! Verily, the paper wall has been scaled. We did not reach Amsterdam until almost midnight on Thursday, and we had all Friday to explore the city, meet the delegates at the secretariat, and examine the agenda for the meeting of the Commission. On Friday Dutch and other journalists got on my track and I was kept busy on Ireland.

### The Preliminary Session.

The first sitting of the Permanent Commission had been fixed for 10 a.m. on Saturday, but it was not held until the afternoon on account of the non-arrival of many of the delegates. Even in the afternoon these had not arrived, but in their absence the proceedings were formally opened by a discussion on the agenda. In the meantime I had put in a declaration on Irish self-determination, independence, and the Peace Conference. At the evening session I had an opportunity of speaking—when Macdonald was called upon to report on the interview which the Berne delegation had had with Lord Robert Cecil in Paris. To the discussion on this I shall return again. Macdonald had said that in demanding some recognition of nationality in the League of Nations the delegation had had before them the case of Ireland. But this did not satisfy me. I wanted to know whether Ireland had been mentioned specifically, and if not, why not. The only reply was that Cecil had promised careful consideration, and even Macdonald said that this answer of Cecil's like most of his other statements, was unsatisfactory. I went on to join with the criticism other speakers had directed against the International's attitude on the main question of the Peace

Conference. Were the leaders as strong, as sincere, as determined as the rank and file? Everywhere the workers were wanting results, deeds not words. If Paris would not give what the workers wanted then the workers would take what they wanted as they had done in Russia, Bavaria and Hungary. In Ireland the workers gave not lip sympathy but active adherence to the principles of peace laid down at Berne, and on the 1st of May the Irish general strike would align them with their comrades on the Continent. To be effective the International must be prepared to use the mass forces which the workers gave it, and there must be neither pleading nor entreating, there must be warning and threatening, backed up by action. Having shown the results of imperialism within the British Empire and retailed the atrocity committed within Ireland since Easter, 1916, until the Limerick general strike, I wound up by repeating my question to Macdonald about self-determination within the Entente countries and pointed the moral of India, Ireland, Egypt and Korea.

### Ireland's Independence.

I shall pass over the general proceedings until next week and come to what, from the direct point of view of the Irish workers, was the most satisfactory declaration made by the Commission, the recognition of Ireland's political rights outside the International. As Mistral, the Berne reporter on territorial questions, is not a member of the Permanent Commission, Troelstra took the chair at the meetings of the Territorial Questions Sub-Commission, and as a good friend of Ireland, he exerted his power on our behalf. The meetings of the Sub-Commission were long and protracted, and Troelstra's reports to the full Commission were given piece-meal at each session. Finally Ireland's turn came on Monday evening. Ryan, on behalf of Australia, and Macdonald, on behalf of Great Britain, attended while I made the case for Ireland. A report of my speech is unnecessary as it followed the general lines of previous declarations both in Ireland and in the International. In the course of it I drew attention to the present state of Ireland under the Occupation, the significance of the recent Irish movements in America, Australia, and Great Britain, the relations between Ireland and America on the one hand, and Great Britain and the Continent on the other, the position of the Irish and Irish-American delegations in Paris, the reported joint action with the Egyptians, and the declarations concerning President Wilson, Col. House, and Mr. Lloyd George. The resolution was discussed and spoken to by Premier Ryan, who explained his mandate from Australia Labour, and by Ramsay Macdonald. After a slight verbal alteration or two it was agreed to unanimously, and thus, unlike some others on Territorial questions, it was assured of easy passage through the plenary Commission.

### The International's Declaration.

At the final session on Tuesday morning Troelstra reported on the German colonies, Ireland, and some other questions. The Irish declaration, when it was pointed out that it had been agreed upon, was carried unanimously. It reads:—"The Labour and Socialist International demands that the principle of free and absolute self-determination shall be applied immediately in the case of Ireland; affirms the right of the Irish people to political independence; requires that this self-determination shall rest upon a democratic decision expressed by the free, equal, adult and secret vote of the people, uninfluenced and untrammelled by any force of occupation and without any military, political, or economic pressure from outside, or any reservation or restriction imposed by any Government; and calls upon the Peace Conference to make good this rightful claim of the Irish people." As will be seen, it is substantially the Waterford declaration of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress. And Mr. Arthur Henderson, in the presence of Branting, presided and put the question at the sitting at which the Irish declaration was carried.



## "TA FERSON SWORE A FEUD."

In right good style the old feast of Bealtaine was re-instituted this year by the workers of Ireland, not only as a resurrection of the historic past but also as a proof of Irish Labour's vital presence in the nation's life as the all-powerful influence, the continual creator of new wealth and the sole fructifier of old. One day's cessation of toil is more instructive than many volumes of economic theory and it is to be hoped that the lesson has not been lost on the Dublin leader-writer who disputed Charles Edward Russell's thesis that Labour is the sole source of economic wealth. Not all the bright intelligence and organising ability and skill of the enterprisers could produce an "Evening Herald" when the comps., machinemen and transport workers, usually engaged in its production, stayed away. This is the lesson of May-Day. Without the workers there is no wealth produced. The working class possesses the power that turns the wheels of industry and when its individual components realise that they can dictate the terms on which Society can have and use their services.

Nay, more. When the workers realise that industrial organisation can give them control of the world's wealth-producing machinery they will not consent to make terms with "Society" or with any group in Society. Their numbers constitute them so large a part of Society that, on the nose-counting principles of political democracy, they are Society. The minority, the Capitalist class, owns the wealth-producing machinery by titles based on past extortion and present injustice. To make terms with that class is to compound their felony. Workers who know their power will not strike for better wages but to obtain the soil from which they have been disinherited and the instruments and social organisation of wealth-production and distribution. For these are either the result of the labours of the present generation of workers or of the labours of past generations. In either case, their maintenance and productivity are due to the daily toil of the working-class. "It is just and right," says Leo XIII, "that the results of labour should belong to those who have bestowed that labour."

May-Day in Ireland was marked by a general declaration of hostility to organised labour by the de facto Government which rests not upon the consent of the governed, but upon the armed force of England. Speaking in the congenial atmosphere of the Belfast City Hall to the capitalist clique who hold the hardy Northmen in bondage to their jobs by weekly wages, James Ian Macpherson, roundly charged Irish Labour with using its legal privileges for unconstitutional and political objects and threatened to use all the forces at his disposal to suppress Irish Labour. We are not disposed to accept the limitations that this climbing Scots lawyer

would impose on Irish Labour, nor will we quibble about what is or is not unconstitutional.

Jamie Macpherson's salary is dependent on the fraud and force that robbed Ireland of its right to rule itself. He, as Chief Secretary, is as much or as little "constitutional" as were the Invincibles. There is no sanction for his presence in our midst more moral or respectable than the large army already at his disposal, or the additional forces for which Mr. Churchill tells us he is clamouring. We know of nothing proposed or contemplated by the Irish Labour Party that is more unconstitutional than Macpherson himself.

We note that his threat of violence was warmly applauded by the Belfast capitalists. They in their extremity during the 44-hour strike had not failed to secure for possible employment against the Protestant and Unionist workers of Belfast, the same "force" with which Mr. Macpherson threatened Limerick. And nowhere can we imagine Macpherson's threats would be more heartily approved than amongst the Catholics and Nationalist employers whose Press organs were ceaselessly inciting the Government to interfere on May-Day. The warning to Civil Servants and the universal threats of police interference if Red Flags were carried in procession are as clearly due to Wm. Martin Murphy's journals as were the executions of James Connolly and Sean MacDermott.

Irish Labour treated the threats as a challenge. The Red Flag displaced even the tricolour, and the universal cessation of work on May-Day is a plain intimation to James Ian Macpherson that the most potent force in Ireland is definitely arrayed against him. He has, like his namesake in the student song, sworn a feud. He is now employing all the resources at his command against labour, and condescending to the trick of his notorious countryman, Graham, and spying upon the correspondence of labour men. In this he is not merely acting the historic part of Chief Secretary, but performing the duty of agent of the capitalist class. In fighting labour in Ireland he is assuming the same function as his fellows in England, France, Spain, and America. It is the first duty of a Parliament and of a Cabinet Minister in this age to suppress the aspirations and endeavours of the toiling masses towards social freedom and personal liberty; and to prevent their associated efforts from bursting the bondage that economic servitude and the enactments of law impose upon them.

As in our slavery so in our struggle, we are comrades and fellows of a world in revolt. From the east came the glad tidings of the workers' rule in Hungary and in Russia. From the nearer east has come "Ta Ferson," and with him the coercive pressure that is forcing the Irish worker to become class conscious as well as nation conscious, and teaching him to be more than a republican, a worker in and for the Workers' Republic for which James Connolly died on May Twelfth, 1916.

Despite the threats of 40 D., the Temporary Clerks in Government Offices joined their fellow-workers in the strike.

Space does not permit us printing the numerous accounts of local meetings which we have received from all quarters. A remarkable feature was the participation of soldiers, Irish and Colonial, in khaki, and silver badge men in many districts.

At Cork and Waterford several of the local clergy participated in the meetings. Demonstrations were held at the following (among many others unrecorded) places:

Athlone, Ashford.  
Bray, Birr, Boyle, Baltimore.  
Cork, Castlebar, Clonmel, Cashel, Clonakilty, Clara, Castlereagh, Castletownroche.  
Dublin (many meetings), Derry, Drogheda, Dundalk, Delgany, Dunshaughlin, Ennis, Enniskillen, Enniskerry, Fermoy.  
Galway, Glin.  
Killarney, Kingstown.  
Limerick.  
Maryboro', Monaghan, Millstreet.  
Newbridge, Nenagh, Newry, Newport.  
Philpstown.  
Queenstown.  
Roscommon, Rathdrum.  
Sligo, Strokestown, Skibbereen.  
Thurles, Tuam, Tullamore.  
Waterford, Wicklow, Wexford.

# The Workers' Republic

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

## The Hypocrites.

The Peace that was to have been based on the Fourteen Points is gone. The new peace of violence to be ratified at Versailles has its meaning and purpose explained in advance by the forcible denial of Hungarian self-determination by the treacherous attack of Mr. Wilson's Allies upon the Red Hungarian Republic. When we see the Wilson policy differ so much in practice and precept, and remember that Ireland is a pawn in the world game played by the Imperialist powers, of which America is not the least Imperialist, we are not inclined to build a fabric of hope on the visit of the American envoys. Their personal aims, and those of the friends of Irish freedom, are to release Ireland's bondage, and let her take her place in a League of Nations. The aims of those who facilitated their visit to Ireland, in their capacity as advocates of the Irish Republic, are much more subtle. Mr. Lloyd George would not permit them to see Limerick under siege, so the military ban has been lifted. Can it be that a jerrymandered Ireland, with a Belgian class and wealth franchise, is to be awarded Dominion Home Rule?

## Railmen May Reflect.

Writing about the celebration of May Day and the efforts to prevent it made in the Capitalist Press (from which we expect such) and in other quarters whence we might have hoped for better things, "Work-a-Day Worker" in last Saturday's "Telegraph" (Dublin) says:

"Having been rendered impervious to ridicule by overmastering conceit, the English leader of Labour, who last year thought even a hint from such a mighty man should suffice to smash to smithereens that all-Ireland strike against militarism which on the 23rd of April, 1918, gave the world an eye-opener and himself the coldest of cold douches, this year again plunged, and got another almost equally unpleasant immersion. People are now wondering will he next year venture—for luck—the proverbial third try? **The one thing which this right hon. gentleman appears to be endeavouring to prove to Irishmen is the rottenness of the English link in the industrial chain, and the necessity for the establishment of one big Irish Union.**"

The conceit of the Welsh (not English) toady who bosses the National Union of Railwaymen in England, leads him constantly to assume that naturally the railway workers of Ireland are dependent upon and must humbly follow their English comrades.

## Ireland Leads.

Despite the incubus of a foreign and unsympathetic chief official in Ireland, the Irish railwaymen have proved time and again that they can fight their own battles and win. And in every dispute since 1912 in which they have had to resort to the strike weapon, they have had to use it as much against Unity House as against the Companies, the Railway Executive Committee, or the Government. Their efforts to obtain some control over their own organisation by the establishment of an Irish Council, equally insisted upon by the members in every province, have been burked by the officials.

The understanding and co-operation among the Unions catering for traffic, permanent way, clerical and engine shop-workers which is attained through the Emergency Committee, has been gained in spite of the active hostility of Unity House and its deputy in Dublin. Disputes with the craft Unions in England absorb the greater part of the activities of the N.U.R. staff there. The Rank and File in Ireland know better than fight their fellow-workers. They conserve their strength for fight with the bosses.

## Treacherous Tip to the R.E.C.

Being unable to coerce the Irish Railwaymen or to punish them for disregarding his orders—

**Our members cannot, and must not cease work without the authority of the Executive Committee.**

Mr. Thomas passes a straight tip to the Irish Railway Executive Committee to fine the Irish workers. "It may be," he says, "in an instruction to Irish railwaymen, 'that the Railway Executive Committee will adopt a like course and refuse to put into operation the settlement agreed to with this Union.' The meaning of that is plain. If the Irish railway companies victimise N.U.R. men for participating in the May Day demonstration resolved upon by the Irish Labour Party at the instance of the N.U.R., that Union will abandon its members to the ill-will of the railway managers. It is for Irish railwaymen to find a means of emancipating themselves from dictation by Downing Street through Unity House.

## Industrial Action and Politics.

In the Limerick dispute Mr. Thomas hastened to aid the military authorities and his colleague on the Privy Council, 40D Macpherson, by warning Irish railwaymen not to support their fellow-countrymen in Limerick. That he knew nothing of the question at issue there, is plain from the wording of his circular: "Advise our members that they must not take any official part in what appears to be an industrial move against political action." This local preaching,

Welsh revivalist ought to remember Scripture warning against judging appearances.

We cannot understand his prohibition of industrial action for political purposes. Mr. Thomas has repeatedly threatened general strikes and railway strikes against the Government. The Tri-Alliance constantly uses this threat. But, perhaps, we have taken Mr. Thomas too seriously. He ran away from the Conscription issue in England. His political prestige, such as it is, is but a pale reflex of the massed strength of men organised on the railroads and vaunted sagacity which has earned him his "Right Honourable" distinction and several invitations to join Capital Cabinets has been mainly displayed trying to prevent the railway workers of England and Ireland using the power given them by their unity.

## The Coming Congress.

The National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress has issued to the affiliated bodies a list of all Trade Unions and Trades Councils in Ireland a reminder of the annual Congress to be held on Monday, 4th August at Drogheda.

Propositions for the agenda must be received by the Secretary not later than June 8th. Here is afforded to the rank and file of the Unions an opportunity facing the problems of the movement and devising means of hastening the solution. The emergencies of the past three years found the Labour movement not without courage or hope, but without plans or machinery or men ready for the work. That so much has been accomplished in spite of these deficiencies may entitle us to applaud the doers, but it should not hide from us the quality accident in all our successes.

There is a grave lack of effective and sustained Labour propaganda except that which accompanies the strikes and lock-outs and the other normal incidents of Trade Unionism. There is usually amongst us a community of spirit which reflects itself in action, but it may be questioned if that is based on any intellectual agreement.

## Fewer Unions More Unity.

The structure of the older Unions having been generally adapted from the bigger but younger Unions of Britain is not always suitable for prompt and harmonious co-operation in battle. The large number of local Unions which retard progress of Capitalist industrial development is always rendering less and less useful to their members, constitute a serious menace to Labour's solidarity. While effective action to remedy this evil is work for the members of these Unions and the National Executive, it would well for the Congress to face the general question of amalgamation and industrial unionism, and to give the Executive definite instructions to promote closeness of unity in specific industries.

## The Northern Trade Unionists.

We are not sure that all has been done to secure the affiliation of the Belfast Trade Union branches to the Congress. In not a few instances branches of Unions in Cork, Dublin, and Limerick are affiliated, while branches of the same Union in Belfast stand apart. The main responsibility lies of course with the branch members in Belfast. We hope that they will take steps to remove this anomaly and bring their industrial organisation into direct relations with those of the South and West. A branch which has not yet received the circular may obtain it from Wm. O'Brien Trades Hall, Dublin.

## Direct Action Wanted.

In too many of our Unions the preparation of resolutions for the Congress is left to the Union Executives, who have to interpret the wishes of their members without any specific guidance from them. The results may be good, but that is a matter of chance. We suggest that before June 8th every Trade Union branch in Ireland should have its special session to formulate and debate proposals for the consideration of the Congress. At the least, such a session would have a definite educational value, while the process of discussion would elicit the views of the rank and file, and give the ultimate decisions of Congress a weight which none could question. The old method of giving the Union Executives and Congress delegates a free hand in these matters reduces our potential national soviet of delegates to the impotence of a talking shop.

## The Value of Resolutions.

Last August after a full debate the Congress adopted, with unanimity, a resolution pledging the support of the Unions to the Irish Labour Press, and on the strength of that, circulars were issued to the Trades Councils and affiliated Unions inviting their financial support. It is a useful index of the worth of unanimous resolutions that the net cash results did not exceed twenty pounds!

## Round the Maypole.

The Irish National Union of Grocers' Assistants, etc., has succeeded in inducing the Maypole Dairy Company to abandon its policy of keeping shops open for an extra hour each day. This result is in strange contrast with the futile agitation going on in England. Where the Assistants mean business, and are backed by their unions, things can be done.

# MAY DAY.

## GREAT MEETINGS.

### All-Ireland Celebration.

May Day in Ireland gives reason for pride in the solidarity and determination with which the celebrations were carried out. "No Red Flags" was the Government's order, and it was universally ignored.

The Labour Party's resolution was enthusiastically supported at all meetings, and should not be without its influence upon the present negotiations. There can be no settlement of the so-called Irish Question unless on the basis of the resolution adopted by the International Socialist Commission at Amsterdam at the instance of

### CATHAL O'SHANNON,

which calls for self-determination by the free and equal vote of the Irish people on the basis of Adult Suffrage, uninfluenced by any military, economic, or political pressure.

The jibe that May-Day was an extravagance of "Wild Irish Paddy," was belied by the news from Paris, Madrid, Berlin, and the leading American cities, in which there was a general suspension of work. In Great Britain, Glasgow and Coventry had the most remarkable demonstrations.

# JAMES CONNOLLY, Revolutionist.

By NORA CONNOLLY.

It seems odd to me, not to say strange, that so much time and space has been given to the task of making plain the puzzle of James Connolly's action in the Insurrection of 1916.

To those who knew James Connolly there is no puzzle. His action at that time and since has been no cause of wonderment to his friends and those who were associated with him. Those who knew James Connolly, knew him as a revolutionary. To him there was never the slightest doubt that the social revolution would be a revolution in the popular acceptance of the term. He knew that the Workers' Republic would only be achieved at the loss of the lives of many of its adherents, that the theory of the evolution of the social revolution was only acceptable to theorists, with which practical Socialists could not be content. He accepted the fact that sooner or later the capitalist governments of the world would sink their separate differences and assist each other in smashing any attempt at establishing a Socialist Republic—just what is happening to-day with Russia. And foreseeing this he held it the duty of those who were social revolutionaries to study revolution and revolutionary methods, so that when the time came they would be able to direct the action of the social revolutionists against the armies of Capitalism. He conceived that the social revolutionists who did not prepare themselves to be capable of meeting and defeating the trained and disciplined armies of the capitalist powers were not true to the people they were urging to fight and prepare to take the government of the world for their own class. Always he studied revolution. Every book dealing with revolution, social or otherwise, was read and studied by him in the hope of gleaning some plan or method that would assist him in his preparation for the Social Revolution. In this he was a militarist. He was anti-militarist against the militarism of the capitalist class which armed and made war for the purpose of the industrial or political enslavement of the people and nations, but as he believed in the militancy of the working class, he believed that there should be a military arm or wing to the working class.

An article in "The Socialist" of April 17th, by A. McManus, has caused me to write this article. It is so full of mistakes and contradictions that some exception must be taken to it. In a paragraph he states that "with the declaration of war Connolly found his responsibilities increased as generations of political suppression of Ireland had engendered a hatred of all things British." Shall I answer this with James Connolly's own words in an editorial in "The Irish Worker" of October, 1914: "The working class has ever refused to be drawn into any mere anti-English feeling; it refuses to be drawn into it now. It has always refused to consider that hatred of England was equivalent to love of Ireland, or that true patriotism required an Irish man or woman to bear enmity to the toiling masses of the English population. It still holds that opinion." He also states that the arming of Ireland cannot be attributed to Connolly. What of the Irish Citizen Army which he established in 1913? In the constitution drafted for that body there was inserted a clause pledging the members to fight for a Workers' Republic. Was Connolly the man to ask

his followers to fight with their bare hands? I remember after a lecture on things revolutionary and methods someone asked him "How does it come that you know so much of military and revolutionary matters? He laughed and answered, "You forget that my business is Revolution."

So much for the change from anti-militarist to militarist. As to his change from Internationalist to Nationalist—well, all my knowledge of things economic and national came from him and from books which he advised me to read. After reading an article on Internationalism I came to him and said, "I'm puzzled; according to this article Internationalism means the obliterating of nationality, is that your conception of Internationalism?" "No," he said, "Internationalism means the free federation of free nations." To have Ireland take her place in the International it would be necessary, according to his conception, that Ireland should be free. He always insisted upon Ireland's right to be free, and always counselled Labour taking part in the fight to that end. In the "Irish Worker" of October 31st, 1914, he writes: "The Irish working class sees no abandonment of the principles of the Labour Movement in this fight against this war and all it implies; sees no weakening of International solidarity in their fierce resolve to do no fighting except it be in their own country, to secure the right to hold that country for its own sons and daughters. Rather do they joy in giving this proof that the principles of the Labour Movement represent the highest-form of patriotism, and that true patriotism will embody the broadest principles of Labour and Socialism. The Labour Movement in Ireland stands for the ownership of all Ireland by the Irish; it therefore fights against all things calculated to weaken the hold of the Irish upon Ireland, as it fights for all things calculated to strengthen the grasp of the Irish people upon Ireland and all things Irish."

"The Irish working class as a class can only hope to rise with Ireland."

"Equally true is it that Ireland cannot rise to Freedom except upon the shoulders of a working class knowing its rights and daring to take them."

That anyone conversant with Connolly's writings and with his spoken word can ever wonder at his taking part in the Insurrection of 1916 seems impossible. His love for Ireland was as deep and as true as his love for the working class.

Let me quote once more his own words:—

"Recognising in this awful hour the fearful forces arrayed against us, Labour in Ireland sees in this war a fiendish plan of the British Capitalist class—the most astute ruling class in the world—to plant the Iron Heel upon the heart of peacefully progressing peoples, and so recognising stands ready to draw the sword, to die if need be, that Freedom might live. None have suffered more than the Irish workers, none will do and dare more."

In view of the many comments since his death I am called upon once more to do homage to his wonderful foresight when on the last day of his life he asked me in Dublin Castle, "Have you seen any of the Socialist papers?" "No," I answered, "why?" "They will never understand why I am here," he said, "they will all forget I am an Irishman."

## LIMERICK. The Drapers' Win.

Six weeks ago the Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association declared war on John McBirney and Co., Limerick. The directors of the firm would not meet the workers' claim, so the fight commenced. While McBirney lay in his bed surrounded by a little clique of blacklegs, suckers, and house-rabbits, the men and women paraded the street, being reinforced at night by the workers of the city, accompanied by bands and banners—the latter were always deepest red. Impromptu meetings were addressed at intervals by Messrs. Duffy (the assistants' organiser), Dowling (Transport Union), Cronin (Trades Council), and many others. From the first day Duffy issued a daily "Bulletin" with much effect, and the shop was closed. On April 30th the fortress fell, and the enemy capitulated, but even though the Limerick Trades Council would not celebrate Labour Day, Duffy did, and the staff did not return to work until May 2nd. The Drapers' Assistants were congratulated on their magnificent fight on all sides, and, amongst others, the shop assistants throughout the country may with pride Remember Limerick.

## Up, Murphy!

Arklow Sinn Fein Club has banned all foreign Sunday papers, and will take its Billie Carleton dope only from the "Sunday Independent" in future. So Democracy is made safe for Maxwellism.

## TRALEE'S TRIUMPHS.

I am proud to inform you that my Council has made much progress within the past six months, that we have just completed our task of organisation, with the result that every Trade and Labour body in the town is now affiliated and under our command. Our latest additions are the Clerical Workers and the Poor Law Officers. This latter section were in a shocking state regarding pay, and we were successful in handling their case and procuring for most of them an increase of 100 per cent. in wages. This achievement in itself declares for the Council as a power to be reckoned with.

The management of all kind of labour in the town and district is directed by the Trades Council, and we have the whole industrial situation in hands. Disputes amongst any of our workers are immediately handled by the Council, and the assistance of all is placed at their disposal should they so require it. We are confident of maintaining our present position in the management of labour, and have observed Labour Day in its fullest.—Yours fraternally,

PATRICK CASEY, President, Tralee Trades and Labour Council.

## Tullamore Unions.

A recent note about trade unionism in Tullamore has elicited the information that there are vigorous branches of the Irish Drapers and Clerical Workers' Unions there, both of which have done good work, and are co-operating with the Trades Council.

# JAMES CONNOLLY

WROTE IN DECEMBER, 1914:

"May the boys of the Fianna realise that it is their destiny to receive, work upon and transmit to another generation that priceless heritage of noble human endeavour and progress, and, so realising, strive ever to so shape their lives that they, as custodians, may be worthy of the trust."

READERS OF THE "VOICE" are asked to help the Fianna to carry out our dead Leader's wishes by attending

## THE FIANNA AERIDEACT

in CROKE PARK on SUNDAY 11th MAY, 1919,

Gate opens at Two o'Clock. MADAME MARKIEVICZ will preside.

Irish Ireland Songs, Recitations and Dances, Bands, Ceilidh and other numerous attractions.

ADMISSION - - - - - 6d.

## DUBLIN SOCIALISTS FINED £5.

### All Meetings Suppressed.—English Socialists Indifferent.

It will be of interest to British Socialists to observe that meetings for the propagation of Socialism are illegal in Dublin. Comrades Burns and O'Leary, who addressed a meeting in Beresford Place on April 27, were then summarily arrested and confined, without trial or even appearance before a magistrate, until May 3. During most of that time John Burns was on hunger-strike. For several days their friends were refused the privileges of visiting usually allowed in the case of untried prisoners, and were thus unable to make any arrangements for legal defence. Neither of the prisoners recognised the authority of the court to try them, and after the imposition of a fine of £5, both left the court before the conclusion of the debate between the magistrate and the Crown prosecutor.

We are not concerned to protest specially against the prohibition of Socialist meetings. They share with all other gatherings the ban of English law and order, but by directing the attention of English Socialists to the suppression of a form of activity which they understand and freely enjoy under the British Constitution, we hope to bring home to them the difference between England and Ireland. It is curious to reflect that while the literature of English Socialism, in all its varied phases, deals with every political, social, and economic phenomenon under the sun, it is absolutely silent about Ireland. The Socialists themselves are peculiarly ill-informed on the subject. Mr. Morel has excited their generous hearts about African niggers; Miss Pankhurst and the "Daily Herald" want to know why England fights Russia; Jack Arnall and the sleek-haired youths of the City of London I.L.P. plead for the poor Turk, and all of them fume against Imperialism while implicitly supporting by their silence the most ancient and pernicious adventure of English piracy a few miles from their own shores.

### LIMERICK AND WEXFORD.

The restriction of the strike in Limerick to those workers who have to cross the river to home or work has not lessened the heavy financial responsibilities incurred by Limerick Trades Council. The National Executive of the Irish Labour Party has opened a fund in aid of the Limerick strike, and has already passed on large sums. A considerable number of workers are still unemployed, and it is to be hoped that the current talk of a collapse at Limerick will not cause subscriptions to fall off.

Nor should the claims of Limerick defect needed cash from the workers of Wexford, who are once more fighting the little band of oppressors in the foundries of that town. Nothing has been learned by these gentlemen during the past ten years, and they fight as bitterly a demand for a 40s. weekly wage as they would an attempt to seize their plant. If Wexford workers are not Bolshevik, the bosses are determined to convince them that nothing short of workers' control and ownership will yield justice. Meantime seven hundred men are locked out and funds are urgently required to supplement strike pay and to provide for the women and children. Subscriptions for Limerick should be sent to William O'Brien, Trades Hall, Dublin, but moneys for the Wexford victims of Irish industrial development greed should be sent direct to Alderman R. Corish, Charlotte Street, Wexford.

### Wexford's Slogan.

Since the formation of the Trades and Labour Council here, in March, 1917, labour has made extraordinary progress, and brought about such a state of affairs so that to-day the motto in Wexford amongst all wage-earners, from the school teacher to the docker, is, "An injury to one is the concern of all."—With best wishes, yours, fraternally, R. CORISH, President.

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HOROUGHLY

### 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  
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For Treatment and Advice.  
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Any good class Druggist can obtain this remedy to your order, or it can be obtained direct from us upon receipt of cost.

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THE BRUCE FAMILY MYSTERY, A Thrilling Detective Drama.

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Thursday, Friday, Saturday:

MARY ANDERSON

WHEN MEN ARE TEMPTED.

"SOLIDARITY FRACTURED."

Thomas MacPartlin's Rejoinder.

Carpenters' Hall, Gloucester-street, 26/4/19.

Dear Sir—The article with the heading "Solidarity Fractured" in the "Voice" of this date was written either by some one with no knowledge of the building trade negotiations or by some one trying to injure men who do things in the trade union movement in Dublin.

There is no use in trying to shift the responsibility on to other shoulders. All of the unions in the group were to hold meetings on Friday night and report result of their voting to the group secretary, so that reply could be sent to employers on that Saturday, as we were all to cease work if offer was not accepted on that day.

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THOMAS MacPARTLIN,

Chairman of Building Trade Group.

INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY, DUBLIN.

A REUNION FOR MEMBERS AND FRIENDS, THE MANSION HOUSE,

On SATURDAY, 10th MAY.

Concert at 8 p.m. prompt. Dancing 9.30-12.30.

Artistes:

Miss Bridie Moloney, Mrs. Cogley, Miss Florence Marks, Miss Crosbie, Mr. G. B. Taylor, Mr. Chris. Butler, Mr. J. J. Hughes, Mr. J. Lennox (Conjurer).

Speakers:

Mr. L. Smith-Gordon, Mr. Thomas Johnson, Mr. L. P. Byrne, Mr. P. T. McGinley.

Tickets (including Refreshments), 2/6, to be had at all branches of the Society, or from 77 Botanic Road.

CUMANNACHT NA HEIREANN.

JAMES CONNOLLY BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION.

GRAND MEMORIAL CONCERT In the ROUND ROOM, MANSION HOUSE, DUBLIN, On THURSDAY, JUNE 5th, 1919.

Violin selections by "Casey." Connolly Songs and Recitations. Souvenir Programme. Address by Chairman, Mr. Wm. O'Brien.

Proceeds to be devoted to the establishment of a Connolly Memorial Workers' College.

Commence at 8 p.m. - Admission, 1/-

WANTED.—The International Tailors, Machinists and Pressers' Trade Union require full-time Assistant Organising Secretary (Women). Applicants must have practical experience of the trade.

Transport Union Notes.

Labour Day.

A thundering big congratulation to all our branches on their magnificent display on May 1st. The rawest recruits answered the call with the spirit of veterans.

Hair Shirt for Shackleton.

The one lock-out of note on account of the stoppage occurred in the Anna Liffey Mills, Lucan. Shackleton's vindictiveness has been slumbering since 1913, and we have not yet forgotten his tactics then.

Graiguenamanagh.

The employers here ought take lessons in arithmetic. The lengthened strike has now ended, wages being advanced to 29s.

Caledon.

The strike at the woollen mills has come to an end after ten weeks of heroic struggle. The spirit of the workers is beyond all praise. The employer's utmost efforts to rouse prejudice and religious bigotry against the Union were unsuccessful.

Crist Mills.

Employees in two Drogheda firms stop work this week-end if the owners refuse the reasonable proposal that the recent Grist Mill Award be put into effect.

Carlow.

Starboard ahoy! The six tailors of Carlow town have had a log heaved at them by their employees, whose wages are far below town labourers' rates.

Enagh.

Mrs. McCurtin, baker, who pleaded that the business would bear no increase to the men, was made a straight offer to submit her books to an auditor to decide the point. She rejected it. Verdict: A general demand is in train on town employers.

Kilmallock.

A deportation order has been served on Greenall's scabs, who were imported from Warrington to break the Mount Coote dispute and who are out of a job owing to last week's settlement, under which all farm labourers for whom work could be found have been restored and their wages advanced to 30s.

Rathcoole.

The recently-organised girl employees at the Sagart Paper Mills, who previously worked the inhuman hours 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., are now getting a 45-hour week.

Tralee.

Procrastination by local millers in giving effect to the recent Award resulted in stoppages in two firms on Saturday. Demands are being served for egg and butter store workers.

Flour Mill Carters.

The arbitration on the 48-hour week claim fixed for last week was postponed, and the Ministry of Labour is being pressed to expedite the re-fixature.

Balbriggan.

Talks about starting a co-op. store. Good! But we look for more than talk. Mat Caul opens up shop in Swords in a week or two. Every possible Piggallian is wanted as a customer.

Monaghan.

The Union here has led to a real union of hearts amongst the workers, S.F., A.O.H. and L.O.L. being all well represented in the membership.

Limerick.

Things have now settled down after the protest against Militarism, and the very few instances of intimidation are in small jobs and will soon be set right. One result of the Big Strike being handled efficiently by a central committee is a lesson in unity and action and a decided impetus for the O.B.U. ideal.

Enniskerry.

A strike threat brought farm labourers by 5s. to 30s., but an actual 3-day stoppage was necessary to convince Lord Powerscourt of the error of his pay.

Leix.

A 5s. increase for all grocers' porters is the latest exploit in Abbeyfeix. Shop assistants to the last man and woman are joining up in Maryboro'. All branches in the county are active and several new ones have been set going.

Despite the Farmers' Association, who were arranging to sow the crops on McRory's farm near Oldcastle, the two-months strike was settled, each man

getting £3 on resuming, 26s. for a 53-hour week and various perquisites. Newtownsandus.

A recent wages push raised farm workers to 2ls. and 22s. 6d. with diet, casuals to 5s. daily with diet; creamery general workers advanced by 15s. to 37s. 6d., engine drivers and butter-makers to 40s.; grist mills are also coming up.

Cooney Brothers' employees are on strike for shorter hours and longer wages.

THE IRISH LABOUR MOVEMENT.

The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union has arranged with the Talbot Press to supply its branches with copies of W. P. Ryan's book at special terms. A circular giving particulars will be issued shortly.

IRELAND AT BERNE.

The summary of Ireland's case presented to the International Conference has just been published by the Talbot Press, price 6d., post free 7d. Trade unions and trades councils should obtain supplies for sale to their members from Wm. O'Brien, Trades Hall, Dublin.

I.C.W.U.

GOVERNMENT CLERKS:

No Work Labour Day.

The annual general meeting of above branch was held on Wednesday, 30th ult., when over 1,200 temporary clerks attended, and the proceedings were of a very enthusiastic nature.

The General President of the Union (Mr. T. Murphy) occupied the chair, and in opening the proceedings congratulated those present on the great progress made by the branch during the last couple of months.

Mr. P. J. McGuinness, branch secretary, then made a report of the working of the branch during the past year. He stated that from Belfast to Cork and Dublin to Galway over 2,500 temporary clerks had now enrolled under the banner of the I.C.W.U. Continuing, the Secretary read correspondence between Dublin head office and Cork which proved that the clerical workers, Government or otherwise, were unanimous in their decision to demonstrate their solidarity on Labour Day by refraining from work.

Mr. D. Logue, general secretary of the union, pointed out to the meeting that several statements lately appearing in the Press were erroneous and entirely misleading. More especially, he said, statements coming from English trade union officials which were calculated to sow dissension amongst the ranks of the united Irish workers.

Other speakers included Mr. W. J. French, secretary Food and Drugs Branch; Messrs. M'Arde and Grace, Printing Branch; Mr. P. M'Guirk, vice-president I.C.W.U., etc., etc.

Nominations were then received for officers of the branch committee for ensuing year and voting will be by ballot on Saturday, May 3rd, at 1 College street, 2 to 7 p.m. The result will be declared in next week's issue of the "Voice of Labour."

P.S.—As we are going to press we learn that all members of the Irish Clerical Workers' Union employed in Government offices refrained from work on Labour Day, and so far no cases of victimisation are reported.

"THE IRISH HOMESTEAD."

A Weekly Journal founded by Sir Horace Plunkett, keeps you in touch with Modern Agricultural Economics. It is obtainable only by Subscription, 10s. a year, 6s. half year (post free), from the Manager, 18 South Frederick Street, Dublin.

EDITED BY "Æ."

IRISH FUND FOR THE FAMINE-STRIKEN.

First Irish Consignment has gone to a Maternity Hospital in Central Europe. Help to send further supplies quickly to the Starving Mothers and Babies. Contributions received by Treasurer, Irishwomen's International League, 29 South Anne Street, Dublin.

Haircutting by skilful hands. All trade union labour at Mallon's, 30 Eden Quay.

The WORKER'S HOME

The Model Cottage and Home Exhibition, which is to be opened Whit Monday for week in the Leicesters Hall, Dawson St., is being organised by the Dublin Watch Committee with the co-operation of the Irish Women Workers' Union, the Institute of Architects and the Dublin Industrial Development Association.

The idea is that the exhibition will be a stepping stone towards a garden suburb built on the Copartners Housing scheme. The suburb to be within easy access of Dublin by train to enable the workers to go to the office for their work, and yet sleep in the fresh air, where the mothers and children can live during the day.

In the garden suburb each cottage has its own garden, and as the garden suburb develops, play-grounds for children are made, a club room for men, which can be used for concert and plays. In the copartners scheme each tenant takes a share in company which promotes the suburb. Dividend is paid, and each shareholder has an ownership in all the houses and keen to improve the property, and that it is kept in good order. If family have to leave the neighbourhood they can still keep their share and get the dividend or they can sell the share.

If an amount is earned on the estate above the dividend the surplus money put into the estate to improve the property.

Copartnership is the growing idea of the times. An excellent one which fosters good will and peace among the community.

Morality and religion are but words him who fishes in the gutter for the means of sustaining life, and crouches behind barrels in the street for shelter from the cutting blasts of a wintry night.—Horace Greeley.

Several articles of interest held over until next week.

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