

Mansion House:

LABOUR'S RALLY, WEDNESDAY,
16TH OCTOBER.

Particulars on Page 448.

IRISH OPINION

The VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL O'SHANNON.

NEW SERIES. Vol. I, No. 46.

OCTOBER 12, 1918.

ONE PENNY

Ireland
Replies to
Wilson.

THE LABOUR MANIFESTO.

Labour
Fights in
the West.

BACK TO CONNOLLY:

ELECTION WISDOM FOR IRISH WORKERS

In the heat of the coming electoral struggle and in the clamour of the several parties which claim the working man and the working woman's vote there is grave danger that decisions will be made and votes cast, in obedience to press dictation or in response to party spellbinders, decisions based on no principle, uninspired by thought, and actually dealing deadly blows at the cause of Labour and Democracy. "Back to Connolly" then is our advice. James Connolly was no dreamer or visionary, and never was so regarded in his lifetime. He was a scientific thinker, who deduced theories, only from facts, not from fancy. Those who declare that Labour should not meddle with politics—and there are many such attached to the political parties of the day—and those who demand that Labour should adopt the methods of this non-working-class party or of the other, should calmly study those essays in politics and working-class tactics which are Connolly's precious legacies to the Irish working-class, he loved.

To him political action—the entry of an organised party of workers upon the struggle for the control of the powers of government—was an historical necessity warranted by the example of the capitalist class in its past and timed to occur when the workers were organised industrially and had become conscious of the power they wielded.

"The capitalist class grew into a political party when it looked around and found itself in control of the things needed for the life of the individual and the State, when it saw that the ships carrying the commerce of the nation were its own, when it saw that the internal traffic of the nation was in the hands of its agents, when it saw that the feeding, clothing, and shelter-

ing of the ruling class depended upon the activities of the subject class, when it saw itself applied to to furnish finance to equip the armies and fleets of the kings and nobles; in short, when the capitalist class found that all the arteries of commerce, all the agencies of production, all the mainsprings of life in fact, passed through their hands as blood flows through the human heart—then and only then did capital raise the banner of political revolt and from a class battling for concessions became a class leading its forces to the mastery of society at large."

Labour to-day has learned its power in the sphere of production and distribution. The time has come when it is necessary by political action to safeguard its right to organise from the attack of politicians of the orthodox parties. No one can doubt that necessity who cares to look up the files of the Dublin papers of all parties—the weeklies as well as the dailies—during the years of storm and stress from 1911 to 1914. Labour must establish itself as a political force—for self-protection if for nothing else.

But entering on the fight, let us nourish no delusions. Connolly says:—

"The fight for the conquest of the political state is not the battle, it is only the echo of the battle. The real battle is the battle being fought out every day for the power to control industry, and the gauge of the progress of that battle is not to be found in the number of voters making a cross beneath the symbol of a political party, but in the number of these workers who enrol themselves in an industrial organisation with the definite purpose of making themselves masters of the industrial equipment of society in general.

"That battle will have its political echo, that industrial organisation will have its political expression. If we accept the definition of working-class political action as that which brings the workers as a class into direct conflict with the possessing class AS A CLASS, and keeps them there, then we must realise that NOTHING CAN DO THAT SO READILY AS ACTION AT THE BALLOT BOX. Such action strips the working-class movement of all traces of such sectionalism as may, and indeed must, cling to strikes and lock-outs, and emphasises the class character of the Labour Movement. IT IS THEREFORE ABSOLUTELY INDISPENSABLE FOR THE EFFICIENT TRAINING OF THE WORKING CLASS ALONG CORRECT LINES THAT ACTION AT THE BALLOT BOX SHOULD ACCOMPANY ACTION IN THE WORKSHOP.

"I am convinced that this will be the ultimate formation of the fighting hosts of Labour."

The workers, moving against their one constant enemy, who is their enemy no matter what party banner he flies or what brand of patriotism he professes, must allow no side issue to break their solidarity at the polls. The man who, on any pretext, forsakes the ranks of Labour and casts a political vote for reformist candidates, who have no social policy and who ask the workers to wait this or the other far-off event, is acting the same part as a deserter in battle or the blackleg in a strike.

At their best, political parties that are not backed in their every action by the workers industrially united, must be uncertain in their progress and unreliable in action, for they cannot be sure of the

(Continued on Page 448.)

"IRISH OPINION"
THE VOICE OF LABOUR

Edited by CATHAL O'SHANNON.

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The Labour Manifesto.

The National Executive's Manifesto, published in full in last week's "Voice," has aroused all the interest and varying comment, critical and appreciative, which we anticipated. Its partial publication in some of the daily papers was untimely, but that is not the fault of Labour. Neither is it the fault of Labour that some of our critics should jump, as some apparently have jumped, to a hasty judgment before they had the whole of the Manifesto before them.

In public and in private the policy laid down in the Manifesto has been much discussed and on the whole in a favourable spirit. As we foresaw, and as the whole Executive foresaw, the main line of criticism, both from within the Labour movement and without, has been on Labour's decision to contest seats at the General Election, and since that decision has been taken on Labour's policy of non-attendance at Westminster. We are confident that all this criticism—and we wish it to be clearly understood that we use the word in its best and most welcome sense—is ample justification for the position Labour has taken up on both of these issues.

At this stage let us express our appreciation of the tone of the critical comment in last week's "Irishman," although it is not a correct interpretation of our view and that of the majority in the Irish Labour Party. If this is the spirit and tone in which discussion on affairs is to be conducted in the new Ireland, then we have an additional reason for continuing to lay our little stones on the great national building and for rejoicing that our contemporary itself has changed its editorial control and in good time. We have said that the "Irishman" has not correctly interpreted the view of the National Executive. We regret the fact. But we are not without our compensation.

We rejoice to find in "New Ireland" as correct an interpretation of our view as we or anybody else could find anywhere. Whether "New Ireland" takes it as a compliment or the reverse we have no hesitation in saying that its comment last week on the policy of the Irish Labour Party might have appeared in our own editorial columns. We have no space to quote the whole passage but we can at least quote its essence: "The decision of the Labour Party to abstain

from Westminster and therefore to abstain from taking the Oath of Allegiance to England will have an extremely salutary effect on both the Labour and Sinn Fein movements. The real strength of a Labour movement is its organisation and power for direct action.

If the Irish Labour Party is to remain incorrupt and an influence for real national strength—apart from political issues—it must avoid Westminster. As it is, clearly Labour members will have to consult their constituents if ever (a very long day, we imagine) they should consider it necessary to seek to be relieved of their pledge. In the meantime, there can be no breach of national principle, and harmony between Sinn Fein and Labour must be based upon a mutual acceptance of first principles and the result is certain to be a great increase to the strength of Labour." In addition, "New Ireland" implies, and implies rightly, that Labour's "main strength" is to be used in other than political activities. Substitute for the word **they** the words **Irish Trades Union Congress**, emphasise the words our contemporary encloses in brackets, and avoid rhetorical phrases (we have had a very unfortunate experience recently through using a rhetorical phrase so common that it is a political and journalistic cliché!) and you have our position exactly, and that, we make bold to say, of the majority in Irish Labour. In all sincerity we hope that now once and for all our position has been made quite clear and definite for both those who agree with us and those who differ from us. Any other interpretation but this is incorrect, and it is not ours, and we trust that nobody, inside or outside the Labour movement, will have attributed to him an attitude he has not assumed and has no intention of assuming.

Ireland Replies to Wilson

President Wilson's speech at the opening of the Fourth Liberty Loan on September 27th is, from the point of view of the democratic lover of liberty, the most satisfactory and explicit statement made by any belligerent statesman on either side during the course of the war. To its general and particular terms Labour in Ireland and Labour everywhere, and every Irish Republican will most heartily agree. There remains only the questions of the sincerity of the President and the concrete application of the principles he enunciates.

We submit that the President's sincerity has yet to be proven. We do not deny that he is sincere, we do not affirm that he is sincere. Whether he is or not we do not know. We are willing and would be glad to have the only proof of sincerity which any man can furnish, and that is the application of his principles. The President has not yet furnished that proof. He has indeed called for the application of his principles in the case of Estonia, in the case of Poland, in the case of Tchecho-Slovakia. He has not called for their application in the case of Ireland and Egypt and India. When he does so call the people of Ireland will proclaim the President's sincerity; they cannot proclaim it a moment

sooner. He might have applied his very fine principles when the voice of the Irish reached him directly through the Mansion House Conference. He remained silent. He remains silent still.

While the President is silent the people of Ireland, gagged though they be, will speak and answer the five questions he has put to Europe..

"Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations," he asks, "be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule, except the right of force?" Irish Labour is at one with the people of Ireland in answering: No, it shall not; neither shall it determine the fortune of the Irish. "Shall strong nations," he asks again, "be free to wrong weak nations, and make them subject to their purposes and interest?" Again the answer is: No; and no more in Ireland than elsewhere. "Shall peoples be ruled and dominated," he asks thirdly, "even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force, or by their own will and choice?" A third time the answer is: No, but by their own will and choice, and in Ireland and Russia and Germany as everywhere else. A fourth time he asks, "Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations, or shall the strong do as they will, and the weak suffer without redress?" and a fourth time the answer is that Ireland desires the common standard of right to prevail in Ireland as in Poland and in every country, great and small, strong and weak. To his fifth question, "Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance, or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?" Ireland replies emphatically, By a common concert, but that common concert must compel the observance of common rights in Ireland.

To these questions then Ireland answers in the sense in which President Wilson desires his co-belligerents in Europe to answer. Ireland claims the application of these principles. Is the President going to say definitely that he also claims their application to Ireland and are his co-belligerents also agreeable? Once again in his own words Ireland is the acid test for President Wilson.

IRISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY.

The following statement is issued by the Resident Sub-Committee of the National Executive:—

"Acting upon information which has come to our knowledge we wish to warn the workers of Ireland that so far from having abandoned the intention to impose conscription the Government is at present resolved to carry out its threat. It is therefore the urgent duty of every Trade Union branch to tighten up its organisation without a day's delay so as to be prepared to act immediately on the call being made."

Certain representations as to the best means of resistance were made and approved. Final action was referred to a full meeting of the National Executive to be held immediately.

Amendments to Labour Party Constitution must reach the Secretary, Trades Hall, Dublin, by Saturday, 12th inst.

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

The Prospects of Peace.

Far and away the most important news of the week has been the plain indication that at long last peace and the end of the war are in sight. Unless all the signs are but signals of deception the conclusion of hostilities is not far off and may be as near as the end of this winter, if not indeed Christmas of this year. What the effect of an early peace on the fortunes of Ireland would be it would be rash to say now, for as yet there is not enough material evidence to form a considered judgment. Everything depends on the nature and course of the peace-making, and we do not think that anything that has been made public as late as Monday of this week affords a clue thereto. At the same time we think it would be a false assumption to conclude that the Austrian Note of last month, the peace with Bulgaria, the changes of government in Germany, Prince Max's invitation to President Wilson, and the whole change of front in Germany indicate the causes of the probable peace. Rather do we think that these are the consequences of pourparlers which may have been going on between the belligerents of both groups under cover of all the public military and political activities of the past few months. Neither the Central Powers nor the Allies are to be expected to conduct their diplomacy in the open light of day as did the Bolshevik Soviet, and it is certain that until a cessation of hostilities is an actual fact there will be no official publication of the drift of secret conversations conducted with the authority of the warring governments. The diplomats will come out of the war as secretly, and with as little regard for their peoples, as they entered it.

The only certainties are that a virtual peace is both possible and probable for Christmas, and that by peace the Irish people stand to gain. The gain to Ireland will not be as great, we believe, as we who are Republicans would desire, unless a general election precedes the actual peace. This is the situation as we at least sum it up, and it is not such as we think the people of Ireland need fear to face.

So far as can be judged from the Press of France and Great Britain, it looks as if the Allies are again about to reject the German offer despite its acceptance of President Wilson's statements as a basis of peace negotiations, and instead exact their pound of flesh.

The Teachers' First Fruits.

From every quarter the National Teachers are being congratulated upon their first victory since they entered the Labour movement. In strict truth it can be said that at last they are emancipating themselves. Their one-day stoppage of last week is the sign and symbol of their emancipation. It was good to see them shaking off the shackles and striking boldly for their freedom. The preliminary strike of last week was a well-deserved success, and for what we may describe without any injustice as Labour's newest recruits, it was excellently

and effectively conducted. The small number of timid teachers who blacklegged on their fellows was insignificant, and the stigma they brought upon themselves will be their sufficient punishment. This first experiment of the teachers augurs well for their strike in November should they be compelled to that course, and all their friends hope that if they are they will strike with the same loyalty and hearty good-will as they came out last week.

We are glad to note that the teachers rightly attribute their success in obtaining recognition as civil servants before the Arbitration Committee is due to their connection with Labour and the efforts of Labour's National Executive on their behalf. The Irish Labour Party has done for them what no other party or section was able to do. The teachers acted wisely when they accepted Labour's offer to send Mr. T. Farren, as representing the National Executive, with Mr. O'Farrell, of the teachers' C.E.C., to be the Labour representative on the Committee. The combination of Farren, O'Farrell, and Gosling (one of the few British Labour leaders who figures with credit to himself these last four years) was irresistible, and to-day the Irish teachers are their debtors. Their victory is a victory for themselves, a victory for Irish Labour, and a victory for education in Ireland. It must not be forgotten. The wisdom of the teachers who brought their organisation into the Labour movement has been abundantly proven. We wish them good luck, and they will have it if they conduct their business in the manly spirit they have shown within the last few weeks.

Down Under.

Eight Irishmen are interned in Australia for their activities in pro-Irish and Republican propaganda. They include Willie Magennis, late of Belfast, whom Belfast readers will remember as a familiar figure at Labour and Republican gatherings in the North some eight or ten years ago. From the accounts we have received of the treatment of these internees it is clear that the Australian Government treats its prisoners much better than are, say, the Irishmen and Irishwomen interned in Great Britain, and better even than those interned after Easter Week. His many friends and old comrades in Ireland will wish Billy and his colleagues a speedy release. Bail o Dhia orra agus bas i nEirinn.

The Irish Labour Party.

We commend most heartily the change in title which the revised constitution proposes. Up till now—or at all events since 1914—the name has been Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party. It is now proposed that it shall be Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress. This will give the short title Irish Labour Party, which is both handy and correct, and is in fact that in general use. The change indicates that the political side of the movement will now be more pro-

nounced than in the past, but the predominance of the industrial function of the Trade Unions will remain. As before, the dual nature of the movement, economic and political, will be preserved, and while separate and distinct these two functions will be co-ordinated. This is precisely the form of organisation which the logic of events and the actual position of the Labour movement in Ireland dictate.

Its Immediate Objectives.

Following the ultimate aims as set forth last week the new constitution is admirably clear in its definition of the immediate political objectives of the Irish Labour Party. First, of course, is the organisation of the working class along joint industrial, social and political lines. This will be done through Trade Unions, a political Labour Party, and Co-operative Societies both of producers and consumers. The inclusion of the Co-operative Societies is an important forward step, and it is well that Labour should make it clear that both forms are specifically included, for to exclude either would perpetuate a weakness which all of us would deplore, the neglect of one form to the over-rating of the other. Nationally the political activities of the Party will be directed to securing direct and independent labour representation on all national and local legislative and administrative bodies and to co-ordinating the work of the several sections of the working-class movement. Internationally—and here the new Constitution makes another bold step forward—the Labour Party will seek to promote fraternal relations between the workers of Ireland and of other countries through the medium of the International Labour movement; and co-operate with that movement in promoting the establishment of democratic machinery for the settlement of disputes between nations (without, be it noted, binding itself to any formula of a League of Nations, European or American), in raising the standard of social legislation and generally in assisting in the efforts of the working class in all nations for its own emancipation.

All these objects are eminently practical, and in the Irish Labour Party the machinery for their achievement is at hand. There is plenty of scope for work in each of the several sections, and it is work which is both essential and immediate. When the Party membership throws itself into this work it may be prepared for hard and gruelling labour, but it will be labour that will have its rich reward in the upraising of the workers and the moral and material betterment of the whole nation.

Next week we propose to examine the new machinery in detail.

Meetings.

J. J. Hughes and F. McCabe spoke at Dunboyne last Sunday, and will address meetings at Drumree, Co. Meath, tomorrow. T. Farren will speak at Dunlavin and Baltinglass on 13th inst., and at Bagenalstown on 20th October.

LABOUR IN IRELAND

Belfast Packing Case Makers.

In spite of the difficulties which the packing case makers have faced since the war began—closing of distilleries, restrictions on beer and whiskey output, suspension of export linen trade, etc., the wages which stood at 6½d. per hour have now been raised to 1/1. Belfast shares the grievance of Dublin in that although the mainstay of the box making trade—the export linen and liquor trades—have suffered for the sake of the Empire, practically none of the Empire's ammunition box trade has come to Ireland.

National Strike Against Conscription.

At a very largely attended meeting of the Waterford branch of the National Union of Railwaymen, held on Sunday, the 29th inst., the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"That, recognising that the Government has not yet departed from the idea of enforcing conscription on the people of Ireland, but on the contrary, as circumstances point to every preparation being made for its enforcement, we call upon our Executive Committee to immediately transfer to our Irish office an equivalent of at least three months' strike pay for the protection of our Irish members, and furthermore, to declare a National Strike the moment the Government has formally decided to proceed with their inhuman and undemocratic act, and we again remind trades, and organised Labour generally, of their pledge of the 23rd of April last, to resist it by every means in their power."

Copies to be sent to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, the Prime Minister, J. H. Thomas, Esq., N.U.R.; T. C. Cramp, Esq., N.U.R.; A. Henderson, Esq., M.P.; Secretary, English Labour Party, R. MacDonald, Esq., M.P.; the Secretary, Mansion House Conference; all Labour bodies, and the Press.

Dublin Dockers.

One month's notice has been tendered, with a demand for increased wages, to the Shipping Association and other bodies concerned.

Port and Docks Board.

The lowest paid labourers in Dublin, those employed by the Board, may stop work on 12th inst. unless their request for 10s. a week advance and 12½ per cent. bonus is conceded.

THE WEST KICKING.

All the former wakenings of the West seem only to have produced yawns, but now the bottom dogs are thoroughly alive and are beginning to kick vigorously. So much so that Alderman John Lynch, the able and vigorous representative of the Transport Union, has been hauled before a "Crimes Court" for making an organising speech. Such is the freedom Ireland enjoys from an English Government in which English Labour men hold ministerial posts with the repeated approval of successive Trade Union Congresses and Labour Party Conferences. We ask our readers in Britain to bring this matter before their Trades' Councils.

We can no longer regard these actions as coming from a class as alien in sympathy from the mass of English people as from us. As long as English Labour sanctions the retention of ministerial posts by its members, the tyrannies practised by the English Government must be assumed to have the sanction and approval of organised Labour across the Channel.

Highway Robbery in Kiltimagh.

The Transport Union has brought to the notice of the Agricultural Wages Board the inhuman conditions obtaining in Kiltimagh. Eleven months after the minimum wages scales became law, the labourers of the happy place are getting 10s. a week without any perquisites for a 110-hour week, including 14 hours' work on Sundays. Others receive 11s., 14s., 16s., and 18s. for a 66-hour week.

It is with pain we observe the name of the far-famed parish priest associated with failure to pay the legal wage. He has a long record for his fight for social justice for the farmers, and we hope he will rectify the position at once. St. Louis Convent is also involved in the complaints made.

The Wages Board is expected to send an official within the next fourteen days, but it is to be hoped that claims for arrears of wages will be settled and the legal wage paid in future. It cannot be too strongly urged that the payment of the minimum wage is an essential condition of the present high prices guaranteed to the farmers. Those who take the prices and withhold the wage are robbers.

Ballina Lock-Out.

Three months ago seven of the leading firms conceded the Saturday half-holiday to their employees, thus bringing Ballina in line with the rest of civilisation. But the concession was ungraciously made and without much intention of honouring the agreement. Since then the employers have combined and have undertaken the work of smashing the Transport Union. They announced that the Saturday half-holiday was withdrawn and Thursday substituted. The men refused this arbitrary change and were promptly locked out. Eighty men went out last week and this week the number has reached 110.

The locked-out workers are maintaining solidarity and cheerfulness, and are settled to fight their associated bosses to the end. They enjoy the support of their fellow-members in a branch that is not only strong in numbers but in spirit. The Union has many weapons, but under the advice of W. T. Reilly, it is endeavouring to conciliate the difference, not accentuate it.

It should be borne in mind by the petty bourgeois of Ballina that organised Labour handles their coal at Dublin, Belfast, Sligo, and elsewhere transports their raw material and their products. "Make peace with thine adversary while thou art in the ways with him" is good and very old advice.

Arbitration has been offered by the employers but their past conduct has aroused grave suspicion of their good faith. The domestic servants have formed a new section of the branch.

Castlebar has had a little excitement to celebrate the formation of a Transport Union branch. The local bacon factory locked out the members of the Union but after three days re-opened as an All-Union labour shop. W. T. Reilly has also opened branches at Carrick-on-Shannon and Westport. The main features of the meeting at which the Castlebar branch was opened was an eloquent speech on the Living Wage by Rev. J. W. Meehan.

Glenfarnham victimisation strike has been settled by reinstatement of the Union officials dismissed.

Craigne-namanagh.

Members have secured 25s. for 54 hour week as against 18s. to 20s. for 63 hour week before the war.

Why Fish is Dear.

An owner of four trawlers at Swansea cleared a profit of £20,000 in one month this year.

Co. Dublin Roadmen Want More Money.

The Co. Council has been asked to provide for their workers as follows:—

Roadmen—40s. a week, with boots and clothes.

Quarrymen—40s. weekly—no broken time.

Stone-breakers—Minimum piecework price, 2/6 per yard.

Rollermen—On Sundays and holidays, 1s. per hour.

Between November 1st and April 1st the hours are to be from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., with one hour for dinner. We hope the Council will not repeat its former farce of pretending to have no money.

**EVERY WORKER
MUST READ
THESE
PAMPHLETS.**

1d. each, By Post, 1½d.

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When you read these Pamphlets you will want to join THE IRISH
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LINES OF PROGRESS

A simple outline of the work and place in the Labour Movement of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. Endorsed by the "Voice," the London "Herald," and leading Trade Union papers.

TRADE-UNIONISM

Explained in a pamphlet which embodies information about the rules and working methods of the Union that gives "benefits every pay day."

A DISCLAIMER.

Castledermot Co.-op. Ag. Sy., Ltd.,
Castledermot, Co. Kildare,
October 1, 1918.

Sir,—In your issue of the 28th ult., under the heading, "Strikers Start Store," there is a statement which is grossly untrue and which, if permitted to remain uncontradicted, might possibly misrepresent this Society, as a purely commercial concern, before the public.

The report states: "The (Castledermot) Agricultural Co-operative Society dismissed their manager on account of assistance given by him to the strikers." To refute this assertion it is only necessary to say that the late manager, at a general meeting of the Society on June the 24th, 1918, gave the usual month's notice—which was accepted—to terminate his services. As a consequence, the question of his dismissal on the occasion referred to could not possibly arise. In justice to this Society I hope you will be good enough to give those remarks publication in next issue, as they (the Society) have no desire to enter into the merits or demerits of the local strike.—

I am, sir, yours faithfully,

TOMAS O'FLAITHEARAIGH,
Secretary.

City of Cork Co-Operative Society
10 Great George's St.

for **GROCERIES, PROVISIONS & BREAD**

All our goods are Union Made When you join us,
you strike a blow at Sweating and Adulteration

Co-operation has kept down Prices.

Join To-day—Don't Delay

Milk Prices.

H. M. Hyndman is asking the English Food Consumers' Council to demand that milk during the coming winter will be retailed at not more than 6d. per quart, a subsidy to be paid to producers as in the case of bread, if necessary.

Co-operative Milk.

We should like to see the Industrial Co-operative take up the supply of milk pure and cheap. We believe the Committee is prepared to enter the business whenever the members put up the necessary capital. If each member would undertake to pay up another £1 share the milk business could be undertaken at once.

Sham Co-operatives.

The attention of the Transport Union headquarters has been drawn to certain attempts on the part of employers of labour to set up sham co-operative stores. Workers are warned against all such attempts to re-establish the truck system. Stores managed in the interests of employers will be able to manipulate the prices of commodities so as to rob the worker when he spends as when he earns.

Literature concerning the genuine co-operative movement can be had from W. M. Knox, 18 Frederick St., Belfast.

Don't Burn—Don't Buy.

A correspondent asks us to allow him space to urge that the workers should burn the damned "Independent." Our objection to that advice is that to burn it we should have to buy it.

INDUSTRIAL

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY OF DUBLIN is the largest of its kind in the Capital City, doing business to the extent of over £40,000 per year. All profits are divided each half-year among the members according to the amount of the purchases. Hundreds of workers believe so firmly in the Stores that they invest every penny that can be spared, and there are several who hold £200 of share capital and receive £10 each year in interest alone, as well as dividend on all their purchases.

RECONSTRUCTION

is in the air. Housing, Industry, Trade Unionism, Labour Party: everything is being re-created and rebuilt. More and more the workers are determining the conditions of their lives, and in their policy of reconstruction the Co-operative Movement is playing a very large part. The workers have learned the value of organising their spending power as well as their earning power, and the result has been a steady influx of new members to the Industrial. 1/- makes you a member, and you can join at any

OF

the Branches. You can hold one share or 200 shares, just as you wish, and you can pay them up at 3d. per week or more. You never pay a farthing more for your goods at the Store than in an ordinary shop, and sometimes you pay less. The Bread is an instance of that. Here is a list of the shops:

17, Annesley Bridge Road;	62, Sitric Road;
132, Thomas Street;	69, Phibsboro' Road;
32, Drumcondra Road;	50a, Seville Place, and
19, Bath Street;	144, S.C.R., Kilmainham.

The Bakery is at 165, Church Road.

Call to-morrow and join the movement which is erecting a healthy, educated, independent, happy and prosperous

IRELAND.**33 MEN SHARE £1,102.**

Through the mediation of Mr. Larkin, Chairman, and Mr. Smith, Secretary, Dundalk Trades Council, a satisfactory agreement has been reached between the National Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks and several grocery houses in Dundalk. The assistants here have been organised for over a year but they wisely determined to consolidate the position before seeking advances.

Thirty-three workers are affected by the settlement, and the annual increase of wages totals £1,102, giving an average increase of 16s. 2d. per week to those who live out and 5s. weekly to indoor workers. The branch and the Trades

Council are to be congratulated on their success in negotiations which were carried out with good feeling on both sides.

Food Prices.

Our recent note regarding food prices can now be brought up to date. Prices in July had reached 110 per cent. above July, 1914. In August the increase became 118 per cent. The careful statisticians of the Board of Trade record a decline to 116 per cent. in September. Other items show an average increase of 110 per cent. between July, 1914, and September, 1918.

The worker is being robbed therefore who has not £2 3s. 2d. for every pre-war £1. The labourer who had 25s. ought now to have 54s. a week.

WITH THE AUTO MEN.

MOTOR DRIVERS' STRIKE AT "FREEMAN'S JOURNAL."

The Editor, "Voice of Labour."

Irish Automobile Drivers' and Automobile Mechanics' Trade Union, Head Office, 22 Dawson Street, Dublin.

5th October, 1918.

Sir,—I would be obliged if you would kindly insert the subjoined copy of a letter which has been denied publication by both the "Freeman's Journal" and the "Irish Independent."—Yours truly,

P. BOYLE, Gen. Secretary.

(Copy)

The Editor, "Freeman's Journal."

Sir,—My attention has been drawn to a statement in to-day's "Freeman's Journal" in connection with the strike of the four motor van drivers, members of this Union, in the "Freeman's Journal" Coy., and as this statement seeks to lead the public to believe that the blame and responsibility for the strike rests with the Union, permit me to state what led up to the strike. Some time ago a demand for £1 per week increase over pre-war wages was sent in by the Union for the four motor van drivers employed by the Company, whose wages were, 3 at 32/6, 1 at 35/-, and hours of duty were from 4 a.m. (and 4.45 a.m.) to 7 p.m., with certain hours off during which, however, they had to be available as and when required. Negotiations and correspondence took place between the Company and the Union, and on the 15th instant, at the Company's request, a strike was held over pending a final settlement promised by the Company. This final settlement did take place at 1.15 on Tuesday morning, after a conference lasting 1½ hours between Mr. Hooper (Director) and Mr. Cunningham, Assistant Manager, on behalf of the Company, and Mr. E. Lacey and the undersigned, representing the Union. The settlement was that the four drivers were each to get a permanent increase of 10/- per week, payable as from the first pay day in September, but afterwards when the time came to pay them on the 20th instant they were each asked to sign for their old wages and were handed only 10/- extra, with a typed circular bearing the name of Mr. Flynn, manager, stating:—"As you are aware, you are drawing wages amounting to 42/6 this week, to which we have been forced to acquiesce pending an investigation of the actual rates paid in similar employment. We have ascertained that this amount is very much in excess of the rate paid elsewhere. You will please understand that the rate at which you are paid for this week will have to be readjusted in consultation with the representatives of your Union."

Under these circumstances there was, of course, nothing left for the men but to withdraw their labour until such time as the "Freeman's Journal" Co. sees its way to keep the agreement it entered into with the Union.

As to submitting the matter to arbitration, the Union believe that there is no question to arbitrate on; all we ask

is that the "Freeman's Journal" Co. keep their agreement granting the 10/- permanent increase, which increase will still leave the drivers' wages low, especially considering their hours and the nature of their work.

I trust you will give this letter the same publicity as afforded the Company's statement in to-day's "Freeman's Journal."—Yours truly,

PETER BOYLE,
General Secretary.

30/9/18.

The Irish Auto Drivers' and Mechanics' Union has been instrumental in securing a number of increases for certain of its members, including those employed by Messrs. Williams and Messrs. Hampton Leedam & Co., Dublin (5s. each weekly). Improved conditions have been obtained for the members in the employ of the Dublin Motor Hire Co., after an interview with the firm. Demands have been sent in to other Dublin employers and are in the course of settlement.

The Motor Haulage branch of the Dublin Carriers' Association has replied to the demand of the Automobile Drivers' and Mechanics Union for 15s. per week increase for their members together with payment of 12½ per cent. bonus as well as certain rates for overtime and a 50 hour working week by offering 10s. increase on a working week as from first pay day after the 21st inst., of 56 hours, bringing wages to 55s., and overtime at 1s. per hour; this arrangement to hold for 6 months. The offer was considered at a special meeting of the men to-day, and the 10s. accepted conditional on the 12½ per cent., the overtime rates asked,

and a 51 hour working week being granted, the increase to be paid from first pay day after 24th ult., date of application. This decision has been communicated by the Union to the Carriers' Association.

Similar demands have been sent by the Auto Drivers' Union to The Dublin Motor Co., Messrs. Brooks, Thomas & Co., Messrs. Taylor, Foley St.; Archer, New Wapping St.; May & Millar, Howth; O'Leary & Co., Wood Quay; A. Corcoran, Balbriggan; Drimnagh Paper Mills.

Encouraging reports come to hand from the different Branches. Messrs. Cleaves' drivers in Limerick have been granted substantial increases, as has also Messrs. Smithwick's driver in Kilkenny.

The Light of Asia.

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**DERRY AND DISTRICT NOTES.
Forty-four Hour Movement.**

In the Guildhall on Wednesday evening, 2nd inst., a crowded audience of workers, presided over by Councillor Logue, listened attentively to able though superfluous speakers setting forth the evils of a long working week. The insistence by several of the speakers that a shorter working week would mean increased production led Mr. Cameron, Patternmakers, to inquire why the demand for a reduction in hours was not accompanied by another for an increase in wages. A reference to the position of the teachers by Mr. Conaghan, N.T., who described himself as the latest recruit to the ranks of Trade Unionism, evoked great applause, showing that the turning worm can count on the support of organised Labour in Derry as elsewhere.

Profiteering License.

In view of the prices fixed in other areas the action of the local Food Control Committee in allowing the milk saharks to charge 2s. 4d. per gal. is causing considerable discussion. The inquiry of a local paper as to what is the matter with the Labour element of the Committee is being widely re-echoed, but readers of the "Voice" know that many moons ago Labour, finding its protests useless, withdrew its representatives from the Irish Food Control Committee. If they had remained they would be as ineffective as Clynes for anything, except as decoy ducks and tools of the profiteers.

Trades Council Library.

The above is now in full swing. Intending members can enrol with the secretaries of their Societies, or at the Council rooms on Saturday evenings, from 3 to 5, and Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock.

FREE LANCE.

SOUND CRITICISM.

The following resolution appears on the agenda of London Labour Party's annual conference to be held on 23rd November. The points made against the Memorandum on War Aims are just what we urged in these pages when the English Hare and Hound compromisers were delivered of them.

Allied Labour's War Aims.

That this Annual Conference of the London Labour Party regrets that the Memorandum on War Aims adopted by a Conference of some of the Labour and Socialist organisations of the Allied Countries held in London on February 20th to 24th, 1918, reflects to a considerable extent the aggressive aims and imperialist tendencies of the Governments of the Allied Powers; that in its concrete proposals it violates the principles it first lays down; that it only demands the evacuation of territory occupied during the course of the present war by the

Central Powers, and not the evacuation of territory occupied by the Allied Powers; that it proposes the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire, in violation of treaties entered into by Great Britain to maintain the independence and integrity of that Empire; and that it proposes only to apply the principle of self-determination to those peoples at present or recently under the rule of the Central Powers and Turkey, and not to those peoples at present under the rule of the Allied Powers such as the peoples of Ireland, Corea, India, Ceylon, Egypt, Morocco, Tripoli, and the Philippines. This Conference is therefore of opinion that while the Memorandum may be accepted as a draft statement for discussion at an International Conference it cannot in itself form any basis for a just and lasting peace.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

Waterford Trades Council convened its Electoral Conference on Thursday, 3rd inst., when Mr. W. O'Brien represented the National Executive, and discussed the manifesto at length. The Conference heartily endorsed the N.E.C. programme.

Wexford Council has its Conference on 10th inst., when Mr. M. J. O'Lehane, I.D.A.A., will attend on behalf of the N.E.C.

Cork Council has summoned a Labour Conference for the selection of a "candidate or candidates" for the Parliamentary honours of the Lee-side Burg.

Dublin Trades Council, at its adjourned Conference on 1st inst., selected Wm. O'Brien for St Michan's Division, Jim Larkin for Harbour, Thomas Farrow for St. Patrick's, and Thomas M'Partlin for College Green. Miss Bennett was nominated for the latter but declined to go forward. In her letter she acknowledges the recognition of woman's right not only to mere citizenship, but to a place in the inner counsels of the nation implied in her nomination, and warmly commends the choice of Comrade M'Partlin. Thus the first stage of Labour's electioneering has been entered upon. Much must be done to secure the victory, but the watchword all through must be "class loyalty."

Newtown.

Castlecomer branch, I.T. & G.W.U., has been doing missionary work here, and has enrolled miners, railway workers and agricultural labourers.

Ballinasloe.

A great demonstration of Labour's power for the exposition of Labour's policy will take place here on 13th inst.

Kells.
Fitzsimons, baker, Kells, has been paying labourers 18s. a week. Demands have now been served on him for the following increases:—Underhand bakers and ovenmen, 15s.; bread servers, 12s.; labourers, 10s.

TRADE UNIONISTS!

The Refuge Assurance Company's Agents are on STRIKE.

Full information from Secretary, National Union of Life Assurance Agents, 35 York Street, Dublin.

A MESSAGE TO BELFAST.

Mr. Baird may take heart in Belfast. South of the Boyne we are not in the deplorable position he imagines. I was the editor of the suppressed "Irish Peasant," and recall the resulting experiences with zest and even joy. When the proprietors—the chief of whom was a scrupulous and sensitive lady—decided, on the Eminent Ecclesiastic's intervention, to discontinue the paper, a host of friends, including young Catholic clergymen, came to the rescue, and the result was a new paper of wider and deeper scope. For four years—from February, 1907, to the end of 1910—we discussed and interpreted all sorts of Irish issues and ideals: intellectual, social, industrial, spiritual, without fear or favour. It is gratifying to remember the causes and contributors and enthusiasts that were linked in one way or another in what now seems a far-off struggle. Of those who are gone but remain an inspiration: James Connolly, Padraic MacPiarais, Roger Casement, Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, Eamonn Ceannt, Peadar O'Maicin, they were always of our guides and helpers. Of the living and striving: the list were long, and I shrink from the invidious task of making a selection. But there are two points that should interest Mr. Baird and set him thinking. One is that the struggle for freedom of thought and criticism was comparatively easy; the conservative clerics never proved a formidable force, and we had many friends amongst the younger priests (though few amongst the Ulster Protestants). The second is that our real difficulty arose through our battle for the workers and social justice. We were denounced and banned as "Socialists"—it was too early to call us "Bolsheviks." The turning of the tide in Irish democratic affairs was not to come till a few years later. To-day—or to-morrow—our fortunes would be very different.

I could tell Mr. Baird a good deal more that might cheer him, but we are all more concerned with the present and the future than with the past. Furthermore, I prefer to write for the "Voice of Labour" in Irish.

LIAM P. O'RIAIN.

NO MILK FOR CORK! Farmer Freedmen's Insolence.

The Cork Dairy Farmers' Association announce that owing to the refusal of the Food Committee to concede their demands they will supply no milk after Wednesday, 9th inst. Beef and mutton production, they say, pays better. This from the tenant serfs whom the nation but latterly free is surely the limit in insolence.

If they fail the workers then the workers may justly take possession of the farms and operate them for the common good.

BACK TO CONNOLLY.

(From Front Page.)

support of the men who have voted them to power.

"Ordinary political parties are composed of men and women who meet together to formulate a policy and programme to vote upon. They set up a political ticket in the hope of getting people, most of whom they do not know, to vote for them, and when that vote is at last cast, it is cast by men whom they have not organised, do not know, and cannot rely upon to use in their own defence. We have proven that such a body can make propaganda, and good propaganda, but it can never function as the weapon of an industrially organised working class. To it, such a party will always be an outside body, a body not under its direct control, but the political weapon of the Industrially Organised Working Class will be a weapon of its own forging and wielded by its own hand. I believe it to be incumbent upon organised Labour to meet the capitalist class upon every field where it can operate to our disadvantage. Therefore I favour direct attacks upon the control of governmental powers through the ballot-box, but I wish to see these attacks supported by the economic organisation. In short, I believe that there is no function performed by a separate political party that the economic organisation cannot help it perform much better and with greater safety to working-class interests."

So then, comrades, as we work unitedly and loyally together in the workshop, field and factory, let us at this coming election unite to vote for the same objects as we pursue in our Unions, the control of our means of life, the comfort and happiness of wife and children, the consecrated hearth and the fullness of worthy lives.

COLKITTO.

DUBLIN TRADES COUNCIL.

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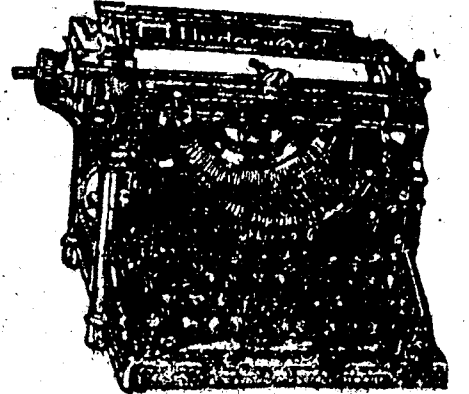
By Messrs. THOS. MACPATELIN, CATHAL O'SHANNON, THOS. FARRER, WM. O'BRIEN, THOS. JOHNSON, and MISS LOUIE BENNETT

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BELFAST I.L.P.—Winter Indoor Propaganda Meetings commence Sunday, October 13th, on which date the speakers will be: Comrade Kyle—Central Hall, 77a Victoria St., at 7 o'clock. Comrade Haslett—North Belfast Hall, Langley St., at 7.30 o'clock.

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