

# The VOICE OF LABOUR

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ONE PENNY.

## Scientific Industrial Unionism

By JIM LARKIN. Exposes the WASTE of Capitalism.

Because the Master-Class is rioting in waste, the Working-Class must save Society by taking over all industries

[It has not been easy owing to the equally repressive censorships of Britain and the United States of America to keep the workers of Ireland in touch with the work Jim Larkin has been doing in America for the Industrial Workers of the World (the O.B.U.) and the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of America.

The following article will, we believe, be a revelation of Jim's comprehensive study of the actual conditions of capitalist industry.

It sums up capitalism in the light of its own claims. The advocates of capitalism justify it on the ground of efficiency.

Jim proves here in respect of one commodity alone, viz., coal, that capitalism is waste, waste of raw material, waste of traction, waste of bye-products, and, above all, waste of human energy and human life.—Ed.]

Success in the modern capitalist world implies the obtaining of the greatest amount of profit for the smallest amount of production.

Production for profit results in untold waste and social loss, but the loss is not felt by the present business system; as profits are still obtainable in every industrial activity to-day. But there cannot exist a co-ordinated production of social necessities under the existing system. The economic demand for these necessities always exists.

The so-called law of supply and demand is a purely fictitious one, as, to business enterprise, demand is only recognized when supplying that demand opens a way for business to appropriate its portion. Business administration of industry necessitates that industry shall be kept running in direct ratio to the extent of profit obtaining.

### The Workers shall Rule.

The future of society lies in the hands of the workers under the direction of science.

Scientific industrialism demands the abolition of private property, in the means of Production and Distribution, of industrial administration by the business class, of the business itself, and of all political forms of government.

Scientific industrialism demands possession for production and production for use; a currency based on an exact value for exchange, namely production time, industrial administration by and through each individual industry directed by authorities on that industry, and a government of the country through industries, drawing representatives from each individual industry.

### The Waste of Man Power.

The late world war, by various estimates, wasted over seven million lives, yet this loss is puny and small compared to our annual waste of power if expressed in terms of man power.

To supplant the amount of power in use in this country at the present moment it would require three billion servile slaves, yet from the methods now existing for producing the total power requirements of this country there is a loss of over one hundred per cent. at the source of production of this power, not to mention the waste in application.

With scientific production the three billion slaves could produce an amount equivalent to seven billion. We are, therefore, wasting this tremendous amount of energy every year, and as the total production of the country increases, we have an ever increasing waste.

### The Extent of the Robbery.

Production for price disregards multiple production and concerns itself only with producing a commodity for which a profit can be obtained. The other commodities which are lost by this regard only for original raw material, averages

fifteen times the value of the commodity extracted.

For instance, the cost of bituminous coal at the American mine mouth in the year 1918 was 5s. 6d. yet the multiple product of the same coal is valued at £3 6s. 8d., a conservative estimate.

There were 500,000,000 tons of bituminous coal used in the year for the production of power not to mention the percentage of waste in the remaining amount of coal mined, and used for other purposes.

The price value of the 500,000,000 tons of coal at the mine mouth was over £139,000,000, while the multiple product value of the same coal is over £1,875,000,000, making a loss of £1,636,000,000.

### Lost Through Capitalism.

Using this amount of coal for steam or carbo electric power, we have lost the social use of 5,000,000 tons of ammonium sulphate, 1,000,000,000 gallons of benzol, and 4,000,000 gallons of tar.

Transferring these amounts into other social values we find that the nitrogen contained in the 5,000,000 tons of ammonium sulphate is capable of producing an additional 453,163,904 bushels of wheat, based on 115 pounds of nitrogen to the acre.

The benzol is an equivalent for gasoline, and the above amount is valued at practically £62,500,000, and is capable of accomplishing in terms of miles travelled between fifty and sixty-seven million miles, relieving the present inadequate supply of gasoline.

The 4,000,000,000 gallons of tar would enable the United States to obtain good road materials in abundance and to further unlimited extensions of rural highways.

The above mentioned three are only the primary products that may result from further extraction, and that which is of first importance, is that the above by-products could be extracted from the 500,000,000 tons of coal with no reduction but with actual increase by over 100 per cent. to the power producing content of that coal.

In other words, we would have been able to obtain over 100 per cent. more power, and also the above amounts of ammonium sulphate, benzol and tar. The market value of this waste amounts to between £2 and £4 per head, basing our estimate on 100,000,000 population.

### The Inefficient Master-Class.

The foregoing is merely one of the numerous illustrations that can be given of the present class inefficiency and the magnitude of the losses sustained by the present capitalistic system of industry. BY SCIENTIFIC CO-ORDINATION AND MANAGEMENT THE ABOVE LOSSES COULD HAVE BEEN SAVED FOR SOCIAL USE.

Further, on the subject of coal, one third of the total freight of the common carrier systems of U.S. is bulk coal, the greatest single profit making freight that is hauled. But that statement does not truly represent the actual coal carrying conditions of the railroad group of common carriers.

### Privately Owned Railways Block Progress.

For instance, the Kanawha and Michigan Railway which serves the West Virginia coal fields, transported 3,286,689 tons of West Virginia coal in 1916, while the Kanawha River carried only 1,032,349 tons. In the same year, the railroads of the United States carried 414,475,002 tons of coal, while the waterways of the country carried only 9,191,863 tons.

There are several large common carrier systems in whose total freight carried during the period of one year, coal amounts to over 90 per cent. It logically

## Farmers' War on Women and Children.

Warning Voices to Those Who Hold Land.

### EVICTIONS IN KILDARE

As was to be expected in a campaign officered by the Unionist Ascendancy element, the big guns of the "Irish Times" have been brought up to support the farmers of Kildare who initiated the sympathetic lock-out. In its issue of the 23rd July appeared a sensational article reminiscent of the cattle-driving and resolute government days with scare headings:—

### KILDARE FARM LABOURERS' DISPUTE.

### SERIOUS ASPECT OF THE STRIKE.

### INTIMIDATION AND DAMAGE

But after a column of unverified assertions about boycotting, intimidation and crimes, the "Irish Times" finishes off weakly with the statement, "In one case, prosecutions for intimidation are pending."

We are not going to congratulate the workers of Kildare on being orderly. There is no virtue in quietly accepting the injustices that capital lays upon them. It is significant that the ever-vigilant police specially increased in numbers, and assisted by the English military forces, can only manage to fake up one charge after three weeks' strike.

### War is Hell!

On the other side the war is being waged with savagery. Through Mr. F. Vere de Vere's Castle connections, the farmers of Kildare, mainly Nationalists and Republicans, are drawing upon the resources of civilization, the Army of Occupation, and the R.I.C.

From their new allies, the farmers are learning to make war upon women and children. Flinging all their fine political professions to the winds, the farmers are overworking the Petty Sessions Courts

follows that no attempt will be made on the part of the railroad systems to accept a scientific use of coal, as this would involve a loss of four-fifths of their profit earning coal freight.

Four-fifths of the railroads equipment now used on the railroad systems in hauling coal could be put to other uses and would relieve the railroad congestion of the country.

Every time an individual adopts a mechanical appliance, or purchases an article hitherto made at home or completely lacked, thousands of others will demand the same, and

### Society Refuses to Turn Back.

It cannot turn back any more than it can weave the garments of the present by hand. The convenience of to-day is the necessity of to-morrow, and if we project the present trend of requirements fifteen years into the future, we but begin to gain a true perspective of the burden that shall be imposed on the back of our already overloaded, congested, inefficient system of production for price.

Induce a stress of industrial expansion and waste and the stress communicated to your social fabric is correspondingly magnified. The tendency has been to provide a surplus of slack in lieu of elasticity by maintaining the facilities of production in excess of normal requirements.

### Capitalism is Waste.

Such a condition constitutes a standing invitation to inefficiency and waste, tending in the long run to nullify the so-called precarious potential advantage of readiness for industrial expansion, and hence is forecast for failure when put to the test.

With industrialism in the past less mature and less aggressive these matters were less conspicuous but to-day, under present conditions of growth, these untoward propensities are becoming more pronounced. The handwriting on the wall is visible to those who wish to see.

Disintegration is the only result that can accrue from the present methods of industrial production. Either the workmen must organise and take possession of Industry or see temporary retardation, the last measure of repression that all outgoing eras and systems have used to stop a wave of advance.

for decrees of eviction. The moderate demand of the labourers for the application of the Christian principle of the Living Wage is rejected, and their families are to be flung homeless on the roadside by "Catholic" farmers.

### Silent Voices.

Where now is Fr. Lambert Kane? Where is Fr. MacDonnell? Where are all the other protagonists of Christianity who made the Churches of Dublin ring in 1913 with their denunciations of the un-Christian sympathetic strike?

We do not appeal to these gentlemen in their capacity as priests, but we ask them as publicists who denounced sympathetic action by the Workers, can they in honour and in consistency remain silent when the Employers resort to sympathetic action, and reinforce it by depriving the poor of the shelter of their little houses?

We do not repudiate the sympathetic strike. It is the proof of class loyalty which honour may demand, but we insist that when the phrase is used it should be employed only in accord with fact.

### Murphy Lie about Meath.

The "Independent" of 24th ult., announces a sympathetic strike in Meath. Let us say there is no sympathetic strike in Meath. Every man on strike in the county is fighting for himself. Demands have been served on all members of the Meath Farmers' Association. Meath Farmers' Association, backed by the Irish Farmers' (and Freemasons') Union, has refused to negotiate with the I. T. & G. W. U.

The preliminary strike of the past three weeks gave them warning.

The strike has been extended because of the farmers' intransigent attitude.

They are going to suffer.

Their cattle are blocked at Dublin and Drogheda. They expect to ship them from Belfast. They are welcome to try.

### AGRICULTURE THRIVING AMAZINGLY.

### SWELLING BANK DEPOSITS.

The half-yearly meetings of the Banks have produced the usual comments from the usual quarters. "Nationality" rightly directs attention to the small proportion of the funds of Irish banks retained for the use of Ireland, but surely it errs when it speaks of Irish banks being robbed by the British Government.

There are no Irish banks except the I.A.W.S. Bank which, however, has too narrow a scope to be of much service. The National, the Provincial, the Munster and Leinster are simply agents of that central financial power which has its seat in London.

Their function is to rob Ireland and to place the accumulations of Irish farmers, merchants and manufacturers at the disposal of Empire financiers. While they do this they are accomplices of the Government in robbing Ireland.

### They do it Well.

The Provincial Bank, which pays a dividend of 13½ per cent. has increased deposits in the war period by 7 millions, three millions of which have accrued in the last year.

The National Bank has drawn six millions extra this year from its Irish customers. The Munster and Leinster Bank has increased its deposits by five million pounds, 40 per cent., in twelve months or 86 per cent. in two years.

The "Irish Times," which is not a Bolshevik organ, says these evidences of hoarding prove that AGRICULTURE IS THRIVING AMAZINGLY.

### We agree.

We want to see these bank deposits reduced by the payment of the first charge on industry—a living wage.

Out of 131 million pounds, practically all of which is exported to be invested abroad, the Irish working class could enjoy a very nice dividend.

Of course, when we do get the Living Wage and a little leisure, we shall conduct an inquiry into the origin of wealth and the titles to property. The "Irish Times" dreads this, as witness this

IRISH OPINION

**The VOICE OF LABOUR**

Saturday  
Second  
AUGUST  
1919.

:: ALL-IRELAND LABOUR WEEKLY. ::

**AT DROGHEDA AND AFTER.**

The Congress of Irish Labour, which meets at Drogheda next Monday, can look back on a year of sound progressive work.

It will speak for a larger organisation, larger because the membership is greater, and because the area actually organised is now co-extensive with the Nation.

The labour movement, too, has developed a clearer consciousness of its mission, of its place in the nation, and has come to recognise that it controls the essential productive factor of wealth creation without which there is no nation, no society.

Upon the delegates, therefore, devolves the duty of acting up to their responsibilities. The agenda contains no very contentious matter, and there is only one amendment offered to the resolutions originally circulated. It may fairly be assumed then beforehand that whatever resolutions are adopted have behind them the common will of Irish Labour.

The resolutions which deal with the organisation and machinery of the movement betray a reluctance to face the real issue, that which crops up where any strike involves more than one trade union. A "lamentable lack of cohesion" results because the membership on strike is divided by the unions. Organisation by separate craft unions is disorganisation.

Proposals for local autonomy, like that of Tralee Trades Council, or for control by the National Executive, like that of the Drapers, would necessarily mean the payment of a large part of each member's subscriptions, to the local trades council or to the National Executive. Existing unions will not allow their income to be thus reduced, and that is the rock on which these proposals will perish.

The Drapers' resolution deserves a better fate, and it is to be hoped it will be sent to the new Executive for consideration, and that the rank and file will have a chance of threshing out all the problems it raises before next year's Congress gives its final word upon it.

For ourselves we would have wished that the policy of the Industrial Union had been clearly and directly brought before Congress. But the Congress is not where the claims of rival methods and the privileges of existing unions will be finally settled. It is the rank and file of the labour movement who will insist in the building of the union that in practice, as much because of its structure as its theory, regards an injury to one as the concern of all; that ignores the outworn divisions of craft and trade which capitalism has already destroyed in the workshop, and which exist only in separate unions, to harass and divide the militant forces of labour.

It is the One Big Union alone that can replace the lamentable lack of cohesion by solidarity, not only in profession, but in fact. The coming of the One Big Union will demand the abandonment of old traditions, the scrapping of old forms, but the man and the working class were not made for the forms to bind them. Forms of organisation were fashioned to suit their times, and when they became obsolete they must be abandoned.

The traditions of trade unionism belong to its past. We are living to-day in the present. We are looking to the future. The rank and file who believe in unity and efficiency must look beyond the Drogheda Congress, and within their own unions prepare the minds of their fellow-workers for the acceptance of what the history of our class and the logic of fact and time render inevitable, the Revolutionary Industrial Union.

**MORE ABOUT FARM STRIKES.**

(From Front Page.)

quotation from its leading article last Saturday:

"From one point of view, which nowadays is by no means negligible, the semi-annual advertisement of these garnered millions is a danger to the nation. We may be sure that the advocates of a levy on capital, here and in Great Britain, have not overlooked their existence."

**"Irish Times" and Trades Unionism.**

With all its natural timorousness the "Times" is really advancing. As it has always favoured the peelers, the defenders of property, so it is backing the demands of the bank clerks, docile slaves of capital hitherto, to better wages; and in doing so the "Irish Times" lays down two propositions which it did not admit during the 1913 struggle.

"No company is justified in paying a large dividend to its shareholders until all its servants are receiving adequate wages." Another is that "The whole world now recognises the right of all workers, whether manual or clerical, to form organisations in defence and promotion of their legitimate interests. It is too late in the day to suggest that a right which has been conceded to bricklayers, railwaymen, and civil servants can be denied to bank officials."

**Sinn Fein and Socialism**

SELMA SIGERSON.

Preface by A. DE BLACAM.

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**WARNING VOICES TO THOSE WHO HOLD THE LAND.**

From the "Leader."

In the course of argument recently with a County Dublin milkman-farmer, who has recently blossomed out as a motor-car owner, he said: "These people (the labourers) were never as well off as they are now. There's a lot of them have money in the bank."

"That man is able to spend money draining his land and building new sheds. I'll raise the rent on him next gale day," said the landlords of old.

The Cromwellian law regulating the lives of the Connaught deportees said: "Let the Irish be farmers and labourers, and have a price set on their labour, which will just supply them with food and clothes."

What is the difference between the three?

All based on the idea against which the workers of Europe are now in revolt, that the pleasant things of life are the rightful monopoly of the few, and that unremitting toil, with no margin of time or money for anything beyond mere animal necessities, is the natural lot of the multitude. It remains to be seen whether the old order will stand the strain.

P. DONNELLY.

From the "Republic."

I would appeal to the Irish employer of agricultural labour to study with this spirit of self-criticism his present and future relations with his labourers.

It is England's policy to send another hundred thousand Irishmen overseas. It is Dail Eireann's policy to retain them in Ireland. If the Irish farmers assist the English Chief Secretary, then they will have only themselves to blame if they lose the greatest asset they possess—their skilled and most intelligent workers. Unless they can satisfy labour and induce it to remain in Ireland they will lose, not only the supply of labour essential for their industry, but the goodwill of the residuum that remains after the emigrant ships have been filled again.

We are rapidly progressing towards a state in which a man will be judged, not by what he owns, but by the use he makes of his ownership; and if an Irish farmer fails to make the best use of his share in the ownership of the Irish land monopoly his countrymen will have scant respect for his title.

ROBERT BARTON, T.D.E.

**NEXT WEEK:**

INTERESTING ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEW FEATURES.

MORE ABOUT THE HUNGARIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC.

**JIM LARKIN ELECTED TO REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL.**

The majority of the members of the Socialist Party of America have been expelled by the National Executive of that body. So the expelled majority are bent on forming up on the basis of Sovietism as a Communist Party. Meantime they claim to remain in the S.P. until the National Convention takes place.

A National Conference of the Left Wing, i.e., those expelled and those likely to be, was held in New York on June 21, when Jim Larkin and Eadmonn MacAlpine were elected to the National Council of the Left Wing.

**EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.**

To the Editor of "The Voice of Labour," Drogheda, 22/7/19.

Sir,—As the question of Teachers salaries is to come up for discussion at the Drogheda Congress, might I suggest one important point connected herewith, namely—equal pay for men and women teachers. The teachers are affiliated to, and have the support of organised labour in the country, and trade unionism can scarcely connive at blackleg labour among any section of workers.

I don't know what is the attitude of Irish teachers to the principle of "equal pay," but it has been carried by the National Union of Teachers in England, and by the Educational Institute of Scotland. We await the pronouncement of the Irish teachers.—Yours, etc., M. CORRIGAN.

**WHAT THE DISTRICT WAGES BOARD DOES.**

**DEVICE TO WASTE TIME.**

The first notable example of the use to which the District Wages Board will be put is to hand in the shape of a letter from Lord Barrymore to his agent copies of which have been sent to all the Baron's employees in Co. Tipperary.

Barrymore has been asked to pay his farm labourers and sawmillers an increase of 9s. per week. His answer is that the present Wages Board scale is enough, as it was arrived at after "full consideration of the economic position and the cost of living."

That is a Lie. The Wages Board scale was settled as the result of a tug-of-war between the representatives of farming capital and labour with Charlie O'Connor, a sprig of the land owning class, as "impartial chairman."

The result was always a foregone conclusion, and the I.T. and G.W.U. knew the battle had to be fought out on the soil.

But Barrymore is too discreet to close the door on Hope. He tells the employees that they must wait until the District Wages Boards report on the scales of wages paid at present.

**After Harvest.** The Irish Wages Board after rejecting Tom Foran's motion for an increase on the scale, adroitly abdicated and resolved on the formation of small district boards.

These are now being chosen, but they cannot possibly be in working order until after the harvest is gathered in.

If Barrymore's workers press for the increase he threatens a general sacking, the picking out no doubt of the active spirits. In excuse for this he pleads taxation and that "a large proportion of labour employed is no source of profit to me."

If that is so, will Barrymore clear out and surrender his property to those whose labour could make it of use.

**We don't want Charity.**

Barrymore has too many demands on his wealth and the endowment carried to him by the American Post widow he married, to waste money providing useless employment for the Irish he despises.

He has to keep up, in addition to Fota Island, Queenstown, a house in Hill Street, Mayfair, and Marbury Hall, Northwich, besides paying the recently raised annual subscription to the Carlton Club, London, and the Kildare Street Boozing Ken.

Give the workers the Tipperary estates, my Lord. Your title is only a legal one. By right of use and labour they belong to the workers. By right of inheritance from their free ancestors the workers of Tipperary have a better title than any parchments you can show.

They can make a living on the estates. That is their first duty to themselves, their families and society, your profit is inessential.

**Boot Trade.**

The recent demands of the Boot Trade Section of No. 3 Branch have been conceded by two of the employers. The Employers' Association, however, procrastinates, and drastic action may be needed.

**THE FIGHT IN MEATH.**

Meath is glorious. The South Meath parliamentary constituency is now administered by the Strike Committee at Dunshaughlin. Trim has settled with about a score of farmers. The cattle market last Saturday was proclaimed by the Strike Committee, and the proclamation, was so stringently enforced that scarcely a beast entered the town. An amusing incident was the holding up of what were described as

**"Scab's Ducks."**

They were detected by their quacking, and a quarled watchdog did the hold up. His declaration to the farmer is characteristic of the changed outlook of the hitherto enslaved farm worker. "Them's my orders," he declared as he bestrode the road in front of the farmer—"the orders of the Transport Workers of the World. We own Trim now, and" (swelling his chest) "we have the world behind us."

The scab's ducks went back to the scab's garden. In this town the tailors have manfully co-operated, and the farmers have difficulty in procuring summer attire.

Drumree has its victories. Navan fair is proclaimed. Kilmessan shopkeepers have threatened to close down, and the Union is quite willing. There would be no need for them to re-open.

Duleek and Donore have suffered from the R.I.C. reinforcements, but the result is a brighter flaming of the spirit of revolt. Nothing is better calculated to ruin the farmers than the complete identification of their interests with those of the garrison.

**ARRANT BOLSHIEVISM.**

A few of the County Meath farmers wailed last week into the sympathetic ear of an "Independent" reporter that somebody had said somewhere that the agricultural labourers would not be content for all time with a 35s. wage, that the "workers actually wanted a share of the land," and that this had completely stiffened the backs of the Co. Meath farmers against giving any increase. The assertion that the "workers wanted a share of the land" was characterised as "arrant Bolshivism." If so, Pope Leo was a Bolshivist. One is glad at least to have the implied admission that the County Meath farmers are not workers. A very few decades ago the farmers fought against landlordism for the ownership of the land. The labourers who aided them in the battle now find themselves subjected to as cruel a tyranny at the hands of their erstwhile allies as that from which the farmers then suffered. But the colossal impudence of these Meath farm workers daring to hope in the future for part of the land on which they toil! As Omar wrote:—"Another and another cup to drown the memory of this impertinence!"

**TO TRICK THE DEPARTMENT.**

Shrewd people are saying that what really is "stiffening the backs" of the farmers is the hope of using the labour "troubles" ("troubles" engineered by the farmers) as an excuse for dodging the Compulsory Tillage Regulations next year. The hope will be disappointed.

**FARMERS FALL AWAY.**

Mr. de Vere of Kildare has nothing on Mr. Thomas Austin, the Co. Meath Farmers' Secretary, as a retailer of yarns. Only three of his thousand members have conceded the I.T.G.W.U. terms, he says. It's a worsted yarn, Tommy. But we're too busy and space is too precious to number the settlements.

Here, however, are just a few for Mr. de Vere indicating his much-gapped ranks, which he boasted were unbroken. Settlements were made at 35s. per week and upward. In Lucan, 11 farmers have caved in, covering 43 men; in Rathangan, 14 farmers employing 54 men; in Athy the numbers are 57 farmers employing 160 men; in Dunlavin 9 and 24; in Cloncurry all farmers; in Carbury 15 farmers employing 26 men; in Naas 18 farmers, including one of the joint treasurers of the association; in Monasterevan 12 farmers, including a president of a Farmers' Union Branch employing 4 men; and in Newbridge 67 farmers employing 204 men.

**ALL-IRELAND MOVEMENT.**

In wide areas in Co. Limerick, the offensive has now opened and already many cases have been fixed up at from 32s. to 36s. A good settlement was secured in Kilfinane district at 25s. for boarded men and for casuals 10s. per day.

Buttevant farm strike was successfully won advances averaging 4s. and the men here and at Whitechurch have resumed.

It is expected that the three-months' old stoppage in Piercetown, Co. Wexford, will be finished up this week.

Farm labourers in Drogheda, Co. Louth, area are growing restive owing to the dilatoriness of the Farmers' Union in meeting demands.

A movement is in progress in Cashel, Co. Tipperary, and the men in Killenalee district have handed in a demand for 35s. and a £4 harvest bonus.

Kerry is also on the alert, and in Dingle area 30s. weekly with two meals per day was the settlement won, about the top figure reached so far by any of our branches. The M.F. Union offered 30s. without meals. Will they urge that Meath's luxuriant pastures cannot afford as good a wage as remote Dingle. We have yet to hear that the agricultural industry in Co. Kerry has suffered as a result.

The Co. Galway stoppages in Lawrence-town and Eyrecourt draw to a successful end, although in the former district scabbery up-to-date is being carried on, the friends of one farmer journeying by aeroplane to assist in saving his crops. Looking into the future, one asks himself if Strike Committees will be fully equipped until the air-pickets are properly developed!

**Frauds at the Unemployment Exchanges.**

Peter the Packer would hardly be in it with some of the judges on the Dublin Unemployment Exchanges. Recently, the out-of-work donation was withdrawn from several Athy men for refusing other employment. The men proved that the offer to them of 7s. a day was below the current rate, 10s., and produced written evidence from local employers to that effect. Still, the claims were sandbagged, and the dole cut off. There are more Czars than one inviting dethronement.

# The Truth about the Trouble in the I.T.&G.W.U.

## :: A PAGE OF TRANSPORT UNION HISTORY ::

**THE UNION AND ITS INSURANCE DEPARTMENT.—BEFORE AND AFTER JIM LARKIN'S DEPARTURE.—WHEN LARKIN LEFT.—THE DUTIES OF GENERAL SECRETARY DELEGATED.—THE UNION BEFORE AND AFTER EASTER WEEK.—RESPONSIBILITIES DIVIDED.—ANNUAL ELECTION OF OFFICERS.—MEMBERS' AUTHORITY FUNDAMENTAL.—OLD AND NEW CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE UNION.—DELIA LARKIN'S VENOM AGAINST JAMES CONNOLLY.—UNION SUFFERS FROM INSURANCE FAILURES.—COMMISSIONERS' INTERVENTION.**

A number of members and branches in the country have asked for details of the whole story of the recent meetings and happenings in connection with the changes in the Insurance Department of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

In response to these requests and in view of the false statements and still worse and more venomous insinuations that are being made about the Union privately and publicly, particularly in the capitalist Press, the following narrative is printed for the information of those members and branches outside Dublin, which because of their distance from the scene of events cannot know the truth about what is happening.

When the National Health Insurance Act came into operation in 1912, the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union at the suggestion of its General Secretary, Jim Larkin, became an approved Society under the Act.

This made the whole Union responsible for the conduct and management of the Insurance business of the Union. This responsibility was taken by the Union because the Union wanted its insured members (all wage-earners are insured compulsorily, not voluntarily) to get every penny of benefit which they were entitled to to save them from the extortions and the risks of the ordinary non-labour and anti-working class organisations.

From the time the Union became an approved Society until to-day the whole Union (and not merely the insured members of the Insurance department) is the approved Society, and is fully responsible for all the acts and doings of the Insurance department.

To some extent this has been an advantage, more particularly to the insured department. The Insurance department has all the prestige, the public and private standing, the good will and the moral and material backing of the Union and its great reputation.

To a large extent this, at the same time, has been to the Union as a Union a great disadvantage. All the weakness, all the failure, all the discredit not only of the Insurance department, but of the whole Insurance Act itself, has continuously hurt and hindered the Union's interests.

For instance, the regulations of the Insurance Act are long and complicated, and difficult for the ordinary working man and woman to understand. Either through ignorance of the Government's regulations or through their difficulty, many working men and women are often deprived of benefits to which they think they are entitled. Naturally they get angry. It is not easy for the victimised man to see that, and he blames the thing he knows best, the thing nearest to him, namely, the Union. The Union suffers, not the Insurance department. The Union is blamed for the sins of the Insurance Commissioners, the Insurance Act, and the man who made the Insurance Act, Eloyd George. Many members have been lost to the Union in this way.

From the time the Union became an approved Society until after the beginning of the war, the Insurance department was managed and controlled directly by the Union. Generally it was worked through the Union Executive.

All that time the Secretary of the Insurance Section was the General Secretary of the Union and the chairman of the Insurance Section was the General President of the Union.

In October, 1914, Jim Larkin went to America on a lecture tour and holiday after his strenuous work done in the big fight of 1913-14. At that time, owing to the great fight, the Union was in a rather bad way financially, but its membership if small, was still militant and strong in action and in principle.

Money was needed to help the Union to fulfil its mission, and it was felt that in a short stay in America Jim Larkin would be able to gather funds for the almost empty exchequer of the Union. It was thought that the holiday would do

good both to the General Secretary's health and the Union funds, and that his absence would not only be temporary, but short, indeed of only a few months' duration. Unfortunately the war upset both of these calculations.

However, before his departure the General Secretary named certain officials of the Union to divide between them the responsibilities he held to the Union as a whole, including the Insurance department.

The officials were, the General President, Thomas Foran; James Connolly, Executive member and Organiser for the Ulster District, and P. T. Daly, then an Organiser.

Foran was nominated to act for Jim Larkin "in all things."

Connolly was nominated to act for him in the General Secretary's responsibilities in the trade union business of the Union; Daly was nominated to act for him in the Secretary's responsibilities in the Insurance business.

These nominations were made both verbally and in writing in a letter from Jim Larkin published in the "Irish Worker" of Oct. 24, 1914. The exact passages are:—

(From Jim Larkin's Farewell Letter, "Irish Worker," Oct. 24, 1914.)

"Jim Connolly is in command of the Union, Citizen Army, 'Irish Worker,' and general propaganda work; P. T. Daly is taking over the work of the Insurance. Foran will take charge of Croydon Park and its activities.

"Remember—Jim Connolly is in charge until I return. Thomas Foran, the President, acts for me in all things. P. T. Daly in full charge of Insurance section.

"JIM LARKIN."

Some of P. T. Daly's friends have printed the first part of this extract in handbills. But they failed to print the whole of the second part. They omitted the reference to Foran.

The fact of his nomination was never used by Foran at any meeting or in seeking re-election or election to his office at any subsequent date.

To use his name for this purpose would be entirely contrary to Jim Larkin's principles and practice, and he would be the very last man to suggest that his temporary nominations should override the right of the members to elect whomsoever they pleased at the annual elections.

Now, before Jim Larkin's departure in October, 1914, there was no separation or divergence between the management of the Union as a whole, and the management of its Insurance department, and roughly the membership of the one covered the membership of the other.

This prevailed up to some time in 1915-16, and from that time forward the Insurance department was managed more or less independent of the Union.

In 1915 the annual delegate meeting of the insured members re-elected Jim Larkin as secretary and P. T. Daly as acting secretary. It is important to note that this was the first annual delegate meeting held after the latter's appointment to that post. As with all elective appointments in the Insurance department these appointments stood until the expiry of office at the next annual delegate meeting.

During the reign of repression that followed Easter Week and the bombardment of Liberty Hall, the Union passed through a most serious crisis. But it survived, thanks to the loyalty and self-sacrifice of the gallant Dublin members, who rallied round the Union and carried it to victory.

The annual delegate meeting was again held 1916.

On Foran's return from prison in June, 1916, the Union began that growth that has marked its onward march these past three years. To his duties as General President were now added, with-

of the secretaryship rendered necessary by the absence of Jim Larkin and the murder of James Connolly.

In December, 1916, the committee of the Insurance department appointed Joseph McGrath, a former clerk in the Insurance, to the post of manager of the Insurance department.

In January, 1917, the annual general meeting of the Union was held as usual. At this meeting P. T. Daly was proposed by the Sligo Branch as Acting Secretary of the whole Union in addition to his Acting Secretaryship of the Insurance department.

This proposal was supported by Michael Mullen, an employee in the Insurance office, but was not adopted by the meeting.

At the annual delegate meeting of the Insurance department at Whit, 1917, Foran was replaced as Chairman of the Insurance by Michael Connolly, Larkin was re-elected Secretary, Daly was re-elected Acting Secretary. A number of members of the Union Executive, who had been for years members of the Insurance Committee, were replaced on the Insurance Committee by other delegates.

When these changes in the Insurance Committee took place at Whit, 1917, no defeated minority of delegates walked out of the delegate meeting, no officials or employees left their jobs in the Insurance office, and no row of any kind was kicked up by the defeated parties. This was in accord with the whole history and practice of the Transport Union and the Labour movement generally, namely, no squealing when you fail to get elected or re-elected to office.

During 1917 and 1918 the membership of the Union rose by leaps and bounds. Thousands joined in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Wexford and throughout the whole country. Tens of thousands of new members came into the Union from all parts of the country. To meet the new and growing demands the resources and the efforts of the Union were taxed to their utmost. In all this Dublin took the lead and supplied men, money, time and energy to the grand work. By the end of 1918 the Union had grown from 5,000 members at Easter, 1916, to 66,000 at Christmas, 1918.

Throughout 1918 the Union was faced with crisis after crisis, from Conscription in April through a long series of hard fights and fairly big strikes to the General Election of December. The Union weathered all with the same magnificent spirit it had weathered 1913 and 1916.

Unfortunately the progress of the Insurance department did not keep pace with the progress of the Union as a whole.

Whereas in 1913, 1914, 1915, the membership of the Insurance department was roughly the same as the membership of the Union, in 1917, 1918 and 1919, the membership of the Insurance hardly increased at all, although the membership of the Union increased tenfold.

Although it had its own separate staff the Committee of the Insurance department absolutely failed to rise to the occasion. The Union Executive was powerless to act in view of the independence of the Insurance department and the discredit which its control or want of control brought upon the Union as a whole.

In January, 1919, elections for officials for the Union were held in accordance with the Rules. Jim Larkin was re-elected General Secretary and Thomas Foran was re-elected General President. P. T. Daly was nominated for the General Treasurer in addition to his Insurance work, but was defeated by the plebiscite of the rank and file.

During this time the Union was receiving complaints about the Insurance. Members were writing in to Head Office to say that they found great difficulty and great delay in getting payment of their benefits from the Insurance. All these complaints were made against the Union because to the members the Insurance was the Union. In strict fact this was so, but in actual practice from 1915 the Insurance was run independently of the Union, and no member of the Union Executive and no official of the Union had anything to do with the management of the Insurance. The Union had to take all the kicks, but it got none of the management or control.

Not only were the members complaining, but the Insurance Commissioners began to complain too.

Finally, early in 1919, the Insurance Commissioners wrote to the Union complaining that it was the Union as such which had been approved, and the Union was therefore responsible for the Insurance, but that the Insurance department was apparently separate from the Union. The letter of Feb. 6, 1919, contained the

following extract from the report of the Commissioners' Audit Department:—

"It appears the members of the Executive Committee elected at the delegates' meetings in connection with the State side have not been identical with the members of the Governing Body of the Trade Union, notwithstanding that the Society has not been approved as a Separate Section."

On March 10, 1919, the Commissioners wrote to both the Secretary of the Union and the General President:—

"Special attention is drawn to the arrangement under which the affairs of the Union are, it appears administered by two Committees, one for the State side and one for the non-State side, I am directed by the National Health Insurance, Ireland, to point out that the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union was approved as a whole, and that accordingly there should, of course, be only one Executive Committee responsible for the affairs of the Union both under Part 1 and Part 2 of the Rules. When the Union was originally approved, it was understood that steps would be taken at first opportunity to co-ordinate the rules, and to embody in Part 1 all the rules relating to the constitution and government of both the non-State and State sides of the Union, but nothing has been done in the direction mentioned above. The Commissioners are desirous that your Union should take up the consideration of the question of the embodiment in Part 1 of the rules of all the rules in Part 2 relating to meetings, government, Executive Committee and duties, etc., of officers of the Union."

This was the state of affairs when the annual delegate meeting of the Insurance department met at Whit, 1919.

Now the annual meeting of delegates has been the supreme authority so far as the Insurance is concerned. The delegates directly represent the membership, the rank and file. If they go wrong the fault is the fault of the members, for it is the members who elect them.

According to the rules all elected officials of the Insurance and every member of the Committee retire at this annual delegate meeting, and are eligible for re-election. But any other delegate has just as much right to election as any retiring delegate, officer or member, and nobody who fails to get elected has any right to kick up a row about it, for the election goes by majority rule.

The annual delegate meeting was called by P. T. Daly as Acting Secretary.

In response to Daly's circular the Insured areas—Dublin, Belfast, Wexford, Waterford, Sligo, and Kingstown—elected delegates for the delegate meeting of Whit Sunday, June 8th.

For these areas the figures are:—

	Insured Members.	Delegates	Union Members.
Dublin ...	8,500	50	18,800
Sligo ...	200	2	560
Waterford ...	200	2	1,952
Belfast ...	600	3	729
Wexford ...	200	2	1,079
Kingstown ...	100	1	665

The Dublin delegates were elected on June 3rd, and the delegate meeting was held on June 8th.

At the delegate meeting on Whit Sunday the Acting Secretary, P. T. Daly, failed to produce a report of the year's work, although that is part of every secretary's job.

At the request of the meeting the manager read a statement of the accounts.

This statement showed that at the end of 1917 the deficiency on the administration account was £1,400, and that of this deficiency £503 were a debt due to the trade union side of the Union.

Taken altogether this deficiency would mean a levy of 2/6 per head on the members.

In the elections Jim Larkin was re-elected Secretary and M. Connolly was re-elected Chairman. An entirely new Committee was elected. The important point is that the delegate meeting was quite entitled to elect whoever it wished, to re-elect whoever it wished, and to displace whoever it wished.

The same practice prevails in every branch of the Union, and it is loyally and faithfully carried out.

By a 3 to 1 vote P. T. Daly failed to secure re-election as Acting Secretary. Instead the delegates decided to revert to the old practice which prevailed in Jim Larkin's time, namely, to put the control of both the Insurance and Trade Union business in the same hands. The delegate meeting therefore appointed the General President (who was one of the delegates) to be responsible for the control of the Insurance.

At the same time the delegate meeting decided that in order to safeguard

its position and check the working of the Insurance the Insurance rules should be revised and assimilated with the Union rules, and that the new Insurance Committee should act in conjunction with the Union Executive.

The minority in favour of Daly numbered 19, of these 10 withdrew altogether from the meeting, thus openly flouting majority rule.

Some time after the withdrawal of the ten, Daly himself withdrew from the meeting in spite of the meeting's demand that he should stay until the consideration of the year's work was finished.

That evening a Corporation worker, who is not a member of the Union, and has no connection with the Union, went to a meeting of Hotel and Cafe workers, then locked out, to beat Daly's successor, and attempted to sow distrust of the Union among the locked out workers.

The next working morning three employees in the Insurance office—George Norgrove, Michael Mullen and Miss Delia Larkin—failed to turn into the office, and distributed handbills to the passers-by—outside Liberty Hall—stating that Daly had been "victimised." The other members of the Insurance staff remained at their work. A drunken woman was openly subsidised to attack and blackguard the clerks who remained at their work.

George Norgrove had been employed some weeks previously as a temporary clerk in the Insurance office.

Michael Mullen was employed as a clerk in the Insurance office.

Miss Delia Larkin was also a clerk in the Insurance office, and had been so employed from the middle of 1918.

She had been Secretary of the Irish Women Workers' Union from the time it was founded by Jim Larkin until she left of her own accord in 1915, and went to England.

In 1914 she had quarrelled with a decision of the Committee of No. 1 Branch, then controlling Liberty Hall, about the control of the hall. She attempted to monopolise the use of the large front room, and flouted the decision of the Committee.

In 1915 she again quarrelled with the Committee for the same reasons, and subsequently left of her own free will, went to England, and remained away during the rest of 1915, 1916, 1917, until at the instance of Daly's friends she returned in 1918 to be used in the present campaign.

In 1915 P. T. Daly supported the decision of the Committee as against the attitude of Miss Larkin.

Arising out of these quarrels exactly the same tactics, the same foul charges and the same abuse were adopted against James Connolly by Miss Larkin's supporters, then as are now adopted by the supporters of Miss Larkin and P. T. Daly against the present Union officials.

In the campaign outside Liberty Hall P. T. Daly took no part, but Miss Larkin, Michael Mullen and George Norgrove, none of whom were affected in the decision of the delegate meeting of Whit Sunday, stopped work voluntarily and distributed the leaflets on the steps.

Posters disclosing the private business transacted at the delegate meeting, and showing the votes were posted around Dublin and sent round the country. But in the country, at Sligo, Waterford, Limerick, etc., P. T. Daly joined with the others in a public campaign not against the delegate meeting, but against the Union.

On Sunday, June 15, Daly and his friends held a public meeting on the matter in Dublin, and at Limerick, for June 17th, they had arranged a public meeting on the street, although from the beginning to the end the whole question was an internal one which concerned the Union, and only the Union.

The following are some of the things said by the speakers at their meetings:— (From the "Sligo Champion," June 21st, 1919).

Councillor P. T. Daly:

"... Some of the men who are now blackening me were, at the time I refer to, behind closed doors with the scabs."

"If they are able to bring anything against me I will bow down my head for shame, but as I know they cannot I am keeping my head very straight."

Mr. Michael Mullen:

"... Mr. Willie O'Brien no longer led the Dublin Trades Council, nor had Foran a seat on the Executive, and when he had finished with him, Foran would be a sadder and wiser man."

"... Then we had Foran talking, but of course he knows more about race-courses than he does of coal mines. Two months ago he was at Phoenix Park races, and in the grand enclosure for the members of the Jockey Club, if you please. How did he get there? All I say is that you won't find many members of the Transport Union honorary members of the Jockey Club."

"... Don't send up any cards to the Approved Society. Of course you can send in as many sick claims as you like. That's all the official pickets—

Miss Larkin and I—will allow you to do."

"... If I were to tell you all I know about the officials of the Transport Union, you would take special trains to Dublin, and there would be nothing but corpses hanging outside Liberty Hall for weeks afterwards."

Miss D. Larkin:

"Referring to the officials of the Union, she stated that the Union was now not as clean as it was when Jim left, and she alleged that Foran subsidised a certain coal merchant in Dublin out of the Union funds."

This campaign was carried on around Liberty Hall, in several branches of the Union, at public meetings in various parts of the country, in the ranks of workers fighting against the employers, and in the pages of the capitalist Press.

The "Independent," "Evening Herald," and "Sligo Champion" reported these meetings and this campaign with big headlines about a "split" in the Union.

Old enemies of the Union like Councillor James Vaughan, Merchants' Quay Ward, and J. J. Lawlor, J.P., Chairman of the Co. Dublin Farmers' Association, clapped Daly on the back and honoured him in special circumstances.

The "Saturday Post" of July 5th 1919, says:—

**Portrane Asylum Chairmanship.**— Mr. James Vaughan proposed that Mr. P. T. Daly be re-elected Deputy-Chairman. Some months ago, on his election as Vice-Chairman of the Joint Board, Mr. Daly resigned the post of Deputy on the Portrane Committee. There were very special reasons this year why Mr. Daly's colleagues desired to press on him a further acceptance of the second office. They all deeply appreciated his work, and were particularly anxious at the present moment to pay him a compliment which would convey the confidence and cordial esteem of his colleagues. No doubt they would depart from precedent in asking him to accept two of the honorary positions in the gifts of the members, but this fact would lend additional significance to his election.

"Mr. James McCarthy, J.P., Co. Councillor, Drogheda, seconded the motion. He always found Mr. Daly a man of sterling business worth and of the highest honour. In these labour questions, which interested him so closely, his ability for cogent reasoning, combined with a rare equity, secured the adjustment of many disputes and brought general harmony into their discussions.

"Mr. T. L. Smyth, J.P., Co. Councillor; Mr. James Wynne, J.P., Co. C.; Mr. J. J. Lawlor, J.P., Co. C., spoke in a similar sense, and urged Mr. Daly to depart from custom on this occasion.

"Mr. Daly said he was opposed to the holding of dual positions on a Board, but the kindly action of his colleagues and all it implied placed him in a situation wherein he felt constrained to yield. . . . At the present juncture he felt a gratitude to his colleagues that could only be imperfectly indicated."

And all this was done in total disregard of the whole practice and tradition of the Union, and in total disregard of the big industrial fights of the Union.

The whole practice and tradition of the Union has been: the rule of the majority, the control by the rank and file acting through their delegates, the annual or bi-annual (according to office) election of officials, loyalty and faithfulness to the men elected by the delegates, all questions concerning the Union to be discussed and settled inside the Union, and no public campaign, either in the Press or on the platform, by one elected official against another. From that great tradition and democratic practice Daly and his friends unblushingly departed when they carried their campaign of calumny and abuse up and down the country, into the capitalist Press, on to the public platform and the dead walls of the city.

The industrial situation has been growing more and more serious since the beginning of this year, and in meeting this the Union has played and is playing its proper and prominent part.

Since January big fights have been fought for Hotel Workers in Dublin, Pierce's factory workers in Wexford, saw-milling and grist-milling members, roadmen in Co. Dublin, mill workers in Caledon in Ulster, the town-workers in Boyle, Roscommon, etc., etc.

At the very time Daly and his friends opened their public campaign, the Union was facing four most dangerous and powerful enemies: the British Army of Occupation, the Irish Unionist Alliance, the Hotel and Tourist Association of Ireland, and the all-Ireland organisation of the Farmers' Union. On top of all this was threatened a stoppage in the port of Dublin, a stoppage that would involve nearly the whole of the 20,000 members in the Dublin area.

At Mallow, Co. Cork; at Gort, Co. Galway; at Rhode, King's Co.; at Boyle, Co. Roscommon, etc., members, committees and branches of the Union were being attacked, persecuted, suppressed or broken up by the police and the military, and the ordinary activities of the Union, social, educational and industrial, were being blocked, and branch and local officials were being jailed for Union activities.

The Unionist Alliance at a secret meeting, full particulars of which the Union published at the time, planned a big campaign with five definite objects, and then sent over a delegation to the Bri-

tish Unionists at Westminster (see daily papers of May 30, 1919) to denounce and attack the Transport Union.

The five declared objects of the Unionist Alliance campaign were: a split in the Transport Union; financial support for this purpose; disruption of Irish Trade Union Congress, of which the Union is the largest affiliated body; scaring working women and workers' wives with fairy tales about the Union; and propaganda abroad.

Strangely enough, the Unionist Alliance proposed that "steps be taken to inform workers what the Transport Union means before June 3 (Whit Sunday)." That may be a pure, simple and innocent coincidence, but assuredly Daly and his friends informed everybody from June 8 onwards what they thought of the Transport Union.

All that time nearly 1,000 members of the Hotel Workers' Section of the Union were locked out in Dublin. They were locked out because the Hotel Association wanted to smash that section and involve the whole Union. And the leaders and principals in the Hotel Association were members, friends and allies of the Unionist Alliance.

The lock-out was a hard and stubborn fight fought with great gallantry and fight fought with great gallantry and magnificent spirit and courage by the hotel workers. In the very crisis of that fight, supporters of P. T. Daly went among the locked-out workers denouncing the Union and its officials, and one friend of Daly's set out for Foran's blood. With the prospect of a "split" before them, and at the suggestion of the Hotel Association of Great Britain, the Unionist hotel owners of Dublin refused to give way on any point. Thanks to their splendid fighting spirit, the hotel workers paid no attention to Daly, Mullen and Company, but went on with their fight and won.

The Farmers' Union is well organised in every county in Ireland; it is well financed; it is in possession of the sources of wealth and power, the land; and it has united Unionist and Orange farmers of the North with Nationalist Unionist Alliance and Freemason farmers of the South, and all against the Transport Union. Everywhere the Farmers' Union decided to wage war on the Transport Union, and the war has already broken out in the great lock-out in Co. Kildare and Co. Meath, where the police and military have united to help the farmers against this Union.

In a circular letter to farmers in Co. Kildare, dated May, 1919, and signed Fredk. V. De Vere, County Secretary, Co. Kildare Farmers' Union, the aim of the Farmers' Union is declared: "Our Union is out to strike a blow against the Liberty of Labour organisations."

In the "Kilkenny People" of July 19th, Mr. D. J. Gorey, J.P., leader of the Kilkenny farmers, is reported as saying at a meeting of the Kilkenny Farmers' Union: "He read a speech by Miss Delia Larkin lately, wherein she stated that if justice were done, there would not be lamp-posts enough in Dublin to hang the scoundrels who were running Liberty Hall. She meant the Forans and the O'Shannons, and he believed she was in a better position to know than they were, and he would not in the least contradict her."

Thus the campaign against the Union is making glad the hearts of the Unionist Alliance, the Hotel Association, the Farmers' Union, the Army of Occupation, and the whole host of enemies of the Union, new and old, from one end of Ireland to the other.

As Mr. Thomas Austin, Secretary of the Meath Farmers' Union, said in an interview with the "Independent" of July 24th: "This is a fight to a finish," and the "Independent" links up Carsonism in the North of Ireland and the big strikes in England with the farm workers' fight in Ireland, and loads the dice against us by calling Bolshevism Carsonism as it called Syndicalism and Larkinism in 1913.

All the forces of reaction, tyranny, class domination, ascendancy, are uniting against the Transport Union.

In the face of such a crisis, this action of Daly and his friends can only be described as an act of treachery to the Union in the middle of war and a playing of the enemy's game.

In order to tell the truth and the whole truth, the General President called a meeting of all the Dublin members of the Union for the Mansion House for Sunday, 22nd June.

This meeting was for the purpose of giving information to the members, and not for deciding the question of appointments. The decision of the question of appointments remains with the Union—that is, the whole body of the members throughout Ireland. Nobody but the Union as a whole can change appointments duly made, and the present Insurance appointments were duly made according to rule and practice on Whit Sunday of this year.

At the Dublin meeting on June 22nd, the General President explained the situation. This was followed by an explanation made by P. T. Daly.

In the course of the discussion, a member of the Union and supporter of Daly accused J. J. Hughes of circulating charges of a personal nature against Daly. Hughes took full responsibility for circulating these charges, and by agreement of both Daly and Hughes, the meeting decided to refer these charges for investigation to a Court to be set up by Dail Eireann.

In order to remove even the suspicion of personal profit or interest, the General President, Thomas Foran, offered to refrain from the exercise of his official duty and the wages of same (all his wages being derived from his General Presidency) for one month, so that the charges might be tried, but on condition that Daly, Mullen, etc., should cease their campaign against the Union for the same period. After discussion, the meeting agreed to this.

In the meanwhile, Miss Larkin and Michael Mullen made arrangements for the weekly publication of a paper, subsequently published as "The Red Hand."

By the end of June a grave crisis had arisen in the port of Dublin. The Dublin dockers had rejected the award of the Interim Board of Arbitration. On July 2nd they held a meeting in Liberty Hall, and demanded that Foran come into the meeting, and Foran went in and attended.

On Friday, July 11th, and every week since, Miss Larkin's paper, "The Red Hand," under cover of support for Jim Larkin, has appeared with attacks, abuse, insinuations and charges against the Union and some of its officials of exactly the same nature as appeared in the anti-Larkinite "Toiler" run in the interests of the employers by P. J. McIntyre in 1913.

The charges against Daly mentioned at the Mansion House meeting of June 22nd were not in any sense Union or Labour charges. They were personal charges of a serious nature.

This question was raised and pressed upon the Union meeting by a supporter of Daly's, not by any Union official.

On July 15th the Court set up by Dail Eireann met to investigate the charges. But as the two principals in the case held different views as to the exact form and nature of the charges, the Court adjourned, but at the same time expressed its readiness and willingness to investigate the charges as soon as Daly had Hughes agreed upon the wording of the charges.

On July 20th the adjourned meeting of the Dublin members, to hear the report from the Court, was held in the mansion House.

The General President presided and explained what had happened between June 22nd and July 20th, and read the report from the Registrar of the Court.

The Court's report reads:—

"National Arbitration Court. Decision: As this Court was constituted to investigate certain charges, made at a meeting of the Transport Union on 22nd June, 1919, by Mr. S. Maodha against Mr. P. T. Daly, on the understanding that both parties had agreed as to the nature of the charges and the issues to be decided; and as at the sittings of the Court on July 15th and 16th it appeared that the parties were not in agreement as to the issues to be decided and the charges to be tried by the Court, and as the consent of both parties as to the issues to be decided and the charges to be investigated was essential, and the Court having failed to obtain such consent from the parties in dispute, the Court found itself unable to proceed with the enquiry, and was therefore compelled to adjourn sine die, but stated its willingness to adjudicate at any future date when the parties had agreed as to the definite charges to be submitted to the Court for adjudication. (Signed) P. O'Sheehan."

P. T. Daly then gave his version of the story, and J. J. Hughes gave his. The difference of opinion as to the exact form of the charge was keenly and sharply debated between them.

When Hughes was about to read out his charge as laid before the Court, a small and noisy crowd of Daly's supporters tried to shout him down. They made a rush to put him off the platform, and some of them brandished revolvers and threatened to shoot. They kept shouting that they wouldn't allow him to read out the charges.

The vast majority of the meeting insisted on free speech, and Hughes succeeded in reading the charges and saying what he had to say.

Afterwards Miss Larkin and Michael Mullen and others spoke. Foran had challenged Mullen to repeat at that meeting of Dublin members, who knew all the facts, the false charges he had made at Sligo before members who knew nothing about events in Dublin; but Mullen refused to repeat the charges before the Dublin members.

Finally, both Daly and Hughes signed the charges as read out by Hughes, and it was agreed that the charges thus signed be sent to the Court for investigation. The meeting adjourned to allow this to be done.

When the meeting was over and the members were dispersing, Daly's personal champion, the Corporation worker referred to above as going out for Foran's blood, forced his way into the Mansion House, and without any warning made a treacherous, unprovoked and blackguardly attack on the General Treasurer, striking him without any warning or cause whatever. This is a kind of blackguardism to which the Union members are happily not addicted.

The revolvers were used for the pur-

# John MacLean in Dublin.

## MANSION HOUSE MEETING SUPPRESSED.

### John MacLean to Shop Stewards at Liberty Hall.

John MacLean had a rare pleasure last week in visiting Mr. John MacLean, M.A., honorary president of the Soviet Republics of Russia and Hungary, and Comptroller for the Russian Republic. MacLean is not yet forty years of age, and has spent the past fifteen years working for Scottish Labour, and has acquired world-wide fame for the strength and clarity of his views, and the consistency which he has maintained them. His war record is one sentence of five years' imprisonment, one of three years' servitude, and another of five years' first term of penal servitude was imposed by pressure from the Russian Revolutionary Government; the second because of the growing agitation for his use in British industrial centres, and approach of the General Election, which he was pitted against G. N. Jones.

A reception to MacLean was held in Liberty Hall, on Monday, when he had the opportunity of exchanging views with representatives of various schools of thought in Ireland. The public meeting advertised for the previous two days to be held in the Mansion House on 2nd ult. had to be held in the garden behind 42 Nth. George's Street, as the D.M.P. had blocked the Mansion House. The Socialist Party is not inclined to condemn the Castle's interference in this case. John MacLean's suppression will only help him with actual experience of British rule in Ireland, and he will rely upon to point the moral to the many thousands of British workers whom he will address in the next few weeks.

Comrade MacLean was delighted to join the Shop Stewards Movement No. 1 Branch I. T. & G. W. U., and on Wednesday night he responded to an invitation to address the fortnightly meeting.

In a powerful speech he recalled his association with Jim Larkin in the Belfast strike of 1907, from which he dates the uprising of Irish Labour. Men of all ages, and of all sects, then beseeched Larkin to organise them, but his hands were tied by the narrow craft basis of the National Union of Dock Labourers.

The O.B.U. idea preached in America, and accepted by Connolly, was forced on Irish Labour then. Since the start of the I. T. & G. W. U., the One Big Union has become victorious in Russia, and is sweeping Australia, Canada and U.S. The craft union narrowness must be swept away. No more demarcation districts. The O.B.U. was out to organise every man on the job. It did not ask how to come there. It saw that he got the job and the conditions.

Work should be rationed. So long as capitalists take the responsibility for organising industry they must be prepared to find a place for every available man. If they could only provide the man with ten hours' work every week, the employers must find him a full week's wages.

It was the business of the Shop Stewards Committee to formulate the policy of the union. "Let them adopt their programme, and see that it was carried out. Don't leave it till Jim Larkin comes back. Don't leave it to the officials. Make your plans, fight your battle, and prepare for the next." He wanted them to be an educational force. "Support the Connolly Memorial College, join the classes, and see that the men you represent do likewise." In his classes in Glasgow he had as students the keenest brains in the Trades Council and the Shop Stewards Movement. As lecturer, he could explain the theories of action to them. It was their business to put the theories into practice. The Shop Stewards did not allow him to interfere with their workshop policy. If they thought he was stepping outside his province, they gently pushed him aside. He liked that. It proved that his teaching of self-reliance by the man on the job was being put into practice.

**Un-Official Mine Reformers.**  
The miners' reform committees in Lancashire, Lancashire, Durham, and Yorkshire were modelled on the same lines as the Shop Stewards' committees. They, too, had their programme; £1 a day, five days a week, and six hours a day.

The present Yorkshire strike was an attempt by the miners to save the community from a new tax of 6s. on the ton. There was no shadow of need for higher prices. The Government wanted to divide the community, consumers of coal against producers, artisans against miners. If the miners could be beaten, then Russia would be crushed, and the military forces kept there now would be made available for further service against Ireland.

The miners had to fight this issue, and he was glad they were making it a war against capital. A few weeks ago Herbert Smith, the Yorkshire Miners' Agent, told his Union members—"You must choose between John MacLean and Herbert Smith." Now, Herbert Smith had

his back against the wall, fighting side by side with his men against the most cowardly and treacherous government that even England ever produced.

A resolution was adopted unanimously by the meeting for communication to the English miners, as follows:

"Recognising that the Yorkshire miners are striking to save the consumers of coal from the British Government's tax of 6s. per ton, this meeting of Dublin Shop Stewards sends its fraternal greetings and congratulations; and further requests John MacLean to convey to the miners of Durham our solidarity with them in the fight against capitalism."

Mr. MacLean left Ireland on Thursday en route for the Durham Miners' Gala, held on 26th ult.

### A LIE SQUELCHED.

At the Shop Stewards' meeting the Chairman, Peter Osborne, said he had learned with some concern that John MacLean had been told the Shop Stewards Committee at Liberty Hall was a fake, that the members did not choose the Shop Stewards who were appointed by the executive. He asked if there was one man present who was not chosen by the men in his own workshop. There were cries of "No, No," "It's a lie," and thus one calculated falsehood was nailed, to the entire satisfaction of all present, including John MacLean.

### FARMERS' ASSOCIATION LIE.

Father O'Reilly, P.P., of Kilmacmac, who is president of the Farmers' Association of the district, has announced he will not have the Transport Union in his parish because it is a Freemason organisation!

Yet the Farmers' Association of which he is president has for its organiser a Mr. Drought, who is an evictor, an Orangeman, and a Freemason.

Freemasonry can be tolerated in employers. Father O'Reilly can willingly pay his quota of Drought's salary of £300 a year. Freemasonry is not so very dreadful, after all, when the P.P. can actually subsidise it.

But the man, whatever his station may be, who says that the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union is a Freemason organisation, lies, and probably knows that he lies.

Father O'Reilly is reported as having attributed certain anti-National sentiments to James Larkin. Let us say that we receive at this office the Socialist, Labour and Irish Press of the United States. Naturally, we note every reference to the public work and utterances of our General Secretary—but we have never seen any statement of his that could be construed even by an enemy, into the sense of the words reported in last Monday's "Independent."

We should like to see Father O'Reilly's authority.

As to the Freemason yarn, we refer the reverend gentleman to the "Voice" of May 24th, in which we featured an article, "The Hidden Menace of Orient Masonry."

### IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION.

Liberty Hall, Dublin.

July 28th, 1919.

#### Census of Union Membership.

Two hundred branches, including some of the most important, have failed to send in their Census returns for June 30th.

The information asked for is extremely valuable to Head Office in many ways, and of vital importance to the future of the Union. It is needed to enable the Executive to sectionalise the membership on the lines laid down in "Lines of Progress." This is the only way the work of the Union can be done, responsibility devolved, and efficiency secured.

It is a matter of jotting down on the form the tot of the members in each section of the Roll Book. Ten minutes in small Branches, an hour in the largest, will do the job.

We expect these forms next post.

J. J. HUGHES,

Assistant Secretary.

### CUMANNACHT NA h-EIREANN.

#### All-Ireland Socialist Conference.

Will those delegates to the Trades Congress who are willing to attend an informal Socialist Conference in Drogheda during Congress week, please communicate with the undersigned immediately, so that full particulars can be sent to them.

The proposed Conference will probably be held on Wednesday evening, August 6th, and already the S.P.I. in Dublin and Cork has selected representatives.

A general meeting of the Dublin Branch will be held on Friday, August 1st, at 8.30 p.m., to further consider the matter, when all members are requested to attend.

GEO. SPAIN, Secretary.

42 North St. George's St., Dublin.

## From the French Press.

### A FRENCH SOCIALIST ON IRELAND'S RIGHTS.

[Phedon, whose daily articles on foreign affairs in Jean Longuet's paper, "Le Populaire," are among the best informed in the French Press, dealt again with Ireland on July 2. It will be noted that he has no hesitation in telling in the most friendly way the British Labour Party where the path of Socialist duty lies.—Ed.]

The peace gives the question of Ireland a new aspect.

The policy followed during the war on the other side of the Channel in opposition to those who demanded the freeing of Ireland was quite simple. It was to accuse them of playing Germany's game. In the Entente countries everybody who called for the freedom of a class or the liberation of a people suffered from the same imputation. The patriots neither disturbed nor denounced the existing order or disorder; they respected and glorified it.

When Carson and the Ulsterians, in order to save big landed property, with threat on tongue and rifle in hand, exacted the suspension of Home Rule there was nothing for them but words of esteem and acts of condescension in the ranks of the international bourgeoisie. When Home Rule, already passed by both Houses of Parliament, had been destroyed before it had even functioned, and Sinn Fein, the party of the Republic of Ireland had arisen, Sinn Fein was accused of being subsidised by the Berlin Cabinet.

To-day again this campaign is continuing. . . . Like the pure Conservatives in other days who have now become his allies or his masters, Lloyd George opposes Ireland's protests with martial law and military occupation. Poland, Slesvig, Bohemia, Transylvania, have the right to freedom, but not Ireland. Ireland must bear the yoke because her emancipation would threaten an Anglo-Saxon oligarchy with ruin.

The Irish question will be a dead weight upon England, and perhaps upon Europe just so long as it is not solved according to strict equity. It may be that to-morrow it will provoke a renewal of past distrust between the United Kingdom and America. Nobody is ignorant of the fact that the Irish in the United States, and they represent a very appreciable electoral force, have already

asked Wilson to demand for their own island the application of his political maxims, and at the present moment De Valera, one of the leaders of Sinn Fein, is travelling through the eastern States, and there he is acclaimed as a conqueror and is receiving huge subscriptions.

If England believes that she will prolong Irish slavery by force she is deceiving herself. Other nationalities in ruder ages than this have been liberated. The British Labour Party has a great and noble task to fulfil. Just as it formerly fought for Home Rule, so now to-day it ought to maintain on Irish soil the right of peoples to dispose of themselves.

PHEDON.

### ROSMER WILL WRITE For the "Voice."

We have much pleasure in announcing that we have made arrangements for special fortnightly correspondence on the Industrial and Socialist movement and situation in France.

Our comrade, Alfred Rosmer, has very kindly undertaken to contribute this special feature to "The Voice of Labour."

With Pierre Monatte, Rosmer shares the joint editorship of "La Vie Ouvriere," the brilliant and uncompromising weekly organ of the revolutionary Syndicalists and Socialists of France. He is a member of the executive of the militant organisation, the "Comite de la Troisieme Internationale," and is in close touch with both revolutionary Syndicalists and Socialists, being indeed one of their ablest and most prominent publicists. Practically all the foreign news and comments in "La Vie Ouvriere" are edited by him.

An uncompromising internationalist and anti-militarist, Rosmer was before the war editor of the daily "La Bataille Syndicaliste," then a revolutionary organ; foreign editor of "La Vie Ouvriere," then a fortnightly review, and an occasional contributor to the old "Daily Herald."

In agreeing to write for "The Voice," Rosmer sends best wishes for the comrades in Ireland.

### JUST THE CORE.

Thieves fall out. French and Italian soldiers have fired at each other at Fiume. The war has cost nine millions of lives, says a French statistician.

The Soviet Republic has been declared in the valley of Bisancio a Vacano, in Italy. Also at Catanzaro in mid-Italy.

Some of the best writers in the country are contributing to the first issue of

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