

The Workers' Republic.

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

IRISH OPINION.

The
VOICE OF LABOUR

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ALL-IRELAND LABOUR WEEKLY.

THE NEW KINGDOM OF HUNGARY.

It is now quite plain that the Allied and Associated Powers of Europe and America are not only opposed to Bolshevism, but to every form of democratic government in which the workers have the predominating power.

Hungary is the proof, and Hungary is the terrible example.

Against the Soviet Republic of Russia, European, Asiatic, and American capitalism has failed. Against the Soviet Republic of Hungary it has succeeded.

The capitalist Powers are all birds of a feather, and they are all guilty of the same crimes against democracy and the working-class. England is guilty; France is guilty; Japan is guilty; the Republic of the United States is guilty.

In their hands the newly-liberated peoples of Europe are only tools to be used against the workers. Finland, Lithuania, Poland and the Ukraine have been used against Russia, Tchecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia and Roumania and Serbia have been used against Hungary.

After this we begin to think that some good angel has preserved the Irish people from liberation by the Peace Conference at Paris, and the exploitation of the canting and hypocritical phrase-monger of Washington.

When the Soviet Republic of Hungary fell fighting against odds that were too great for it, it might have been thought that the respectable trade union government that succeeded it would have been

spared the fate of its predecessor. It certainly took steps not to incur the hostility of the Powers, and even went so far as to reverse the whole new system set up by the Soviet. The land was handed back to the landlords, the socialisation of housing was cancelled, all the social changes of the Soviet regime were abolished, and ordinary western European democracy prevailed again.

But that did not save Hungary from the Roumanians, and the Roumanians were only the agents of the Entente.

Archduke Joseph of Hapsburg, the famous loser of the battle of the Piave, who had renounced all his titles to the throne, has been installed again in Budapest. He is ruler of Hungary by the might of foreign bayonets. He is related to the royal houses of Belgium and Roumania, and he was installed in Budapest by a Roumanian army under a French Republican general, and in the presence and with the sanction of a British military agent and British troops.

The restoration of the Czardom in Russia, the restoration of the monarchy in Hungary, the crushing of the workers everywhere, these are the aims and objects of capitalism, whether it be European or American.

But Soviet Russia still defies the capitalist imperialist enemy. After the most peaceful revolution in history, and the most orderly government in any country in Europe, Bela Kun has gone, but Lenin and Trotsky remain.

Increase of Wages does not cause Increase of Prices.

Labour power is a commodity, just as stoves, coats or flour are commodities. And the value and price of labour power are determined exactly as the price and value of all other commodities are determined.

Wage-workers are always trying to get higher wages or a better price for their labour power.

It is easy to understand that the gold-miner, who secures a rise in wages from two dollars to three dollars a day, leaves less surplus value for the mine owner. He receives back more of his product. And the aim of Socialists is to become owners of their entire product.

Marx Refutes the Confused Economists.

Confused economists have repeatedly claimed that a rise in wages was no benefit to the proletariat. They insisted that the capitalists would raise the price on the necessities of life, so that the workers would be just where they were before.

But in "Value, Price and Profit," Chapter II., p. 17 (Kerr's edition), Marx says: "How could that rise of wages affect the price of commodities? Only by affecting the actual proportion between the demand for, and the supply of these commodities."

A Temporary Rise in Prices May Follow.

"It is perfectly true that, considered as a whole, the working class spends, and must spend, its income upon necessities. A general rise in the rate of wages would, therefore, produce a rise in the demand for, and consequently TEMPORARILY in the market prices of, commodities."

"The capitalists who produce these necessities would be compensated for the risen wages by the rising market prices of the commodities."

Note that Marx says that TEMPORARILY the prices of necessities would probably rise, owing to the increased demand for food, clothing and better houses, not because the capitalist decided to raise prices. And then note what begins to follow immediately.

But the Permanent Result is a Fall of the General Rate of Profit.

"What would be the position of those capitalists who do not produce necessities? For the fall in the rate of profit, consequent upon the general rise in the price of labour, they could not compensate themselves by a rise in the price of their commodities, because the demand for their commodities would not have been increased."

"Consequent upon this diminished demand, the prices of their commodities would fall. In these branches of industry, therefore, the rate of profits would fall."

"What would be the consequence of this difference in the rates of profit for capitalists employed in the different branches of industry? Why, the consequence that generally obtains whenever, from whatever reason, the AVERAGE RATE OF PROFIT comes to differ in the different spheres of production."

The Equalisation of Profit Rates.

"Capital and Labour would be transferred from the less remunerative to the more remunerative branches; and this process of transfer would go on until the supply in one department of industry would have risen proportionately to the increased demand, and would have sunk in the other departments according to the decreased demand."

"This change effected, the general rate of PROFIT would again be EQUALISED in the different branches. As the whole derange-

ment originally arose from a mere change in the proportion of the demand for, and supply of, different commodities, the cause ceasing, the effect would cease, and prices would return to their former level and equilibrium."

"THE GENERAL RISE in the rate of wages WOULD, therefore, after a temporary disturbance of market prices, ONLY RESULT IN A GENERAL FALL IN THEIR RATE OF PROFIT, WITHOUT ANY PERMANENT CHANGE IN THE PRICES OF COMMODITIES."

A Concrete Illustration.

We will use a concrete illustration to explain Marx's point. In a mining camp the miners secured a gain of wages from two dollars to three dollars a day. The man who ran the only restaurant in the camp thought he could raise the price of board from four dollars to five dollars a week. For a week or two the miners paid the advanced price, but the third week a new restaurant was opened by a man who heard of the "prosperity" in this particular camp, and inside of two months there were four restaurants competing for trade in Golden Gulch. This competition among the restaurant-keepers forced board down to three dollars a week. Some of them moved away, until board fell to the average rate of board in that State.

As long as prices were better there new investors came to Golden Gulch, and when they fell below the average price for board, investors went away.

How it Works.

Marx says that, when workmen and work-women get higher wages, they spend the increase in better food, better homes and better clothing. This stimulates the demand for food, clothing and houses. More capitalists begin to invest in food production, in houses and in the manufacture of clothing. The competition among capitalists often brings the prices on these things below the rates charged before the workers received their increase, until these capitalists find they can make more money in other fields, when they invest in other industries, and prices fall to what they were before the rise in wages.

On the very last page of "Value, Price and Profit," Marx says again:

"A general rise in the rate of wages would result in a fall of the general rate of profit; but, broadly speaking, would not affect the prices of commodities."

—Mary Marcy, in "Shop Talks on Economics."

Note.—"Value, Price and Profit," by Karl Marx. Price 4d. Post free, 5d. "Shop Talks on Economics," 6d.; post free, 7d. From S.P.I. 42 Nth. St. George's St., Dublin.

Cashol.

Many more farm settlements recorded at Union rates. Police are gallantly protecting the one scab of Mrs. Saddler, Ballydoyle.

Limerick.

Builders' Labourers got 49/- for 47-hour week. Drawing very near that 50/- for 44-

Our International Columns.

Our readers will note that in the enlarged "Voice" we are resuming the publication of notes, news and comments of an international character, temporarily suspended some twelve months ago. For our international correspondence we have secured not only the good-will but the actual help of some of the best-known and most uncompromising internationalists in Europe. Of the political, industrial, and social movement and situation in other countries our readers will thus have direct and first-hand information regularly from the men and women who are making contemporary history. Of no other weekly in Ireland or Great Britain can that be said. And we are only beginning with France, Holland and England. As circumstances permit enlargement, we shall extend our international correspondence, and add other essential features which, little by little, will make "The Voice" a complete and up-to-date newspaper and review for the workers.

The Watson Case.

We do not know what foundation, if any, there is for Mr. Shortt's allegation in the House of Commons last week, that W. F. Watson, of the Shop Stewards' movement in England, now in prison for delivering a seditious speech at the Hands-off-Russia meeting in the Albert Hall, has been a paid police spy in the service of the Government. We in Ireland are far from inclined to take Shortt at his word, for we know him to be an unscrupulous and unblushing liar and discoverer of bogus plots. So long as he is in prison, Watson can say nothing in his own defence, and the privileges of M.P.'s effectively safeguards Shortt. The wife and friends of Watson, and even some opponents, have asked for a suspension of judgment until Watson is his own master. Watson may be guilty—and in some quarters, we are informed, he is suspect—but until he is free, suspension of judgment is the only just and fair attitude to take up. We protest, therefore, against the implied verdict of guilty against Watson contained in last week's note from the Labour News Service of the British Labour Party. The Labour News Service said: "It is extraordinary to find the Government admitting that a man who has been one of the most disturbing personal influences in industry during the past few years, was at the same time one of the Government's paid informers." The animus of official British labour against anti-official critics is here clearly revealed. And we are surprised to find Mr. Tracey both accepting Shortt's word and at the same time allowing his own officials to reveal their opposition to independent criticism so openly.

After Drogheda.

With all its sins of omission, Irish labour acquitted itself with credit and honour at the Drogheda Congress. Compared with previous gatherings, Drogheda was young, enthusiastic, and, on the whole, intelligent, even if it did not always show itself at its best. It was lacking in much, of course, and we find ourselves in agreement with the strictures which a candid but friendly critic passes upon it elsewhere in our columns. At the same time it is only fair to say that Drogheda showed a growing sense of the responsibilities of labour, and in every sense it marked an advance over last year's gathering at Waterford.

The Rout of the Corruptionists.

It is to be heartily congratulated on the staggering blow it gave those who, within recent months, have attempted to throw labour back into the old rottenness and the old corruption. To its consciousness of the need for cleanliness, straight dealing, and no humptiousness or personal interests, and to nothing else is due the heavy defeat of the minority, of which Messrs. P. T. Daly, D. Logue, and R. Blackburn were the banner-bearers. Congress has left no shadow of doubt about that. If these gentry thought for a moment that they could bulldoze Irish labour, and play the goat with it, as they have done in the Dublin Trades Council, and to some extent in their own organisations, Congress will be a salutary lesson to them. It will be a salutary lesson, too, we hope, to those few who either consciously or unconsciously were their tools. Above all, we trust that the twenty-seven members of the Dublin Fire Brigades Union, the Dublin Trades Council, and the Irish Clerical Workers' Union, will never again be dragged into the humiliating and undignified position some of their representatives dragged them into at this year's Congress. For our attitude towards them is one more of sorrow than of anger.

The Limerick Debate.

Frankly, we have nothing but contempt for the manner in which the critics of the National Executive ran away from their discussion on the Limerick strike. When we are opposed by anybody we always like to see our opponent coming out manfully in the open and having his say like a man. But, like dirty cowardly dogs, those who had threatened all sorts of things outside Congress, sat as silent as mutes when Congress reached the N. E.'s report on Limerick. Beginning with the Secretary, challenge after challenge was thrown out from the platform and the floor before anybody had pluck enough to deal with Limerick; and even then the solitary critic found himself utterly and openly deserted by the loud-mouthed but cunning gang who had previously run away in silence when they found that their little game of nominating for office excellent men whom they knew perfectly well were unfortunately ineligible. Congress, as we have said, took the proper measure of this cowardly little gang of skunks, and would have nothing to do with them, rejecting them, in fact, by majorities unparalleled in the history of Congress. At that we may leave it.

A Worthy Deed.

The occasion should not be let pass without our paying a tribute to the excellent spirit of self-effacement displayed by L. J. Duffy, of the Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association. "The Voice" is not given to personal puffs of any man, however, worthy, and we shall not break our practice, even for Duffy. But his action at Congress was that of a man, and a good fighter, and better comrade. There were no nominations properly made for the vice-chairmanship, and Congress decided that nominations should be made on the spot by the delegates, and Duffy was one of three nominated. When he found, however, that the Limerick men had nominated the Secretary of the Limerick Strike Committee and Trades Council, he withdrew his name in order to allow Congress to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Limerick Strike Committee. The third nominee, D. Logue, we were sorry to see had not as much manhood in him. As your seconder, Duffy, here's our hand to you.

The Speeches.

On the whole, the speaking, while on a fair level, was not so much above other years as one would like. But there were some memorable speeches all the same. First amongst them was Davy Campbell's splendid little oration in seconding the vote of thanks to the municipality. Tom MacPartlin's, too, in the discussion on amalgamation was admirable, and Bill O'Brien's challenge to discussion on Limerick was as spirited as Tom Johnson's on local government and amalgamation were clear and logical. We purposely gave a coming orator who has already made his mark in industrial battle an opportunity to show what we know is in him, but to our great disappointment he only spoke seven to ten words on each occasion.

TRANSPORT UNION "RUINING BELFAST MARKET ALSO."

The papers have been proclaiming in every edition that the "Transport Union" is ruining the Dublin Cattle Market to bolster up the cattle trade in Belfast. The Union undoubtedly has a strong interest in Belfast as the following incident will show:

On Monday last, 18th inst., Messrs. Robson, Salesmasters, Belfast, had arranged a large sale of cattle and sheep. A number of the Meath and Kildare farmers had sent stock to this sale, which as the papers stated were bravely loaded under the protection of police and military at their respective stations. On Monday morning the entire staff of Messrs. Robson struck work, and only resumed a couple of hours later on the understanding that all tainted goods on the spot be returned to their place of origin, and no more be accepted for sale.

FAIRVIEW FETE,

HORSE SHOW WEEK.

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The Fete of FETES

Season Tickets 3/- Hon. Secs., Gresham Hotel.

MacD. A.A.

What the WORLD is THINKING and DOING

LETTERS FROM FRANCE.

THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR DEMONSTRATION OF JULY 21.

(Below we print the first of the letters from France which Alfred Rosmer is undertaking to contribute to "The Voice." This will be followed by other letters in which our comrade will deal the same critical spirit and the same frank language with the most important and significant events in the working-class movement in France.—Ed.)

Paris, August 6.

It is not yet too late to comment on the international Labour demonstration of July 21.

For this date the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labour) had given an undertaking to proclaim a 24 hours' general strike. At the last moment, on Saturday, July 19, the C.G.T. informed the workers of France that the strike had been "adjourned."

This somersault, I am sure, will want some explaining away to many of our Irish comrades, and they must be seeking a vain for the reasons. Even here in France, where much has been said and written about it, discussion still remains open.

On the gravity of the fact it is not necessary to insist. The leaders of the C.G.T. had solemnly pledged themselves to the proletariat of England and Italy and before the proletariat of the whole world, to take part, by a general strike of 24 hours, in the labour demonstration planned with definite objects. They had taken their decision with full and absolute liberty of action. The Southport Conference had left to each of its constituent bodies its own choice of method, and the representatives of the British labour organisations had declared that they were limited to organising demonstrations and meetings without a general strike.

Now on the part of the C.G.T. there was neither a strike nor a meeting in France. And the final decision of the C.G.T. had a still more serious consequence: it provided the Italian Government and the Italian employers with a moral pressure and tactical advantage which seriously hampered our comrades in the Socialist Party and Confederation of Labour in Italy who had decided upon having the strike at all costs—and had to. But their resentment against the C.G.T. has been very strong; and they have shown it in the bitterest terms, saying that the C.G.T. considered its pledges as "scraps of paper" and that all this was not done to forward the final common action which had been prescribed.

What reasons has the C.G.T. given in explanation of the "adjournment" of the strike?

In its first note, published on Saturday, July 19th, it declared that an immediate strike was no longer necessary because the Government's policy had suffered defeat in the Chamber of Deputies. The evening before the Food Minister had, indeed, been put in a minority. But that was a fact of quite secondary importance and had had no other outcome than the displacement of one Minister by another. M. Bovet went out, M. Noulens took his place, and that was all.

This explanation of the adjournment of the strike was only a poor excuse and a temporary expedient. When the Comité Confederal National (National Council) met on Monday, July 21, there was no question of any particular single moment. All the speakers who intervened to defend the decision to adjourn declared the responsibility for the failure lay at the door of the rank and file (la masse syndicale). "The rank and file are not educated," said one. "They are wanting in solidarity," said Guinchard, Secretary of the Transport Federation, adding that "many new trade unionists have come into the union more for the sake of their stomach than for an idea." According to these the rank and file had been frightened by the violent anti-strike campaign carried on by the Government, and the bosses and many of the workers would have disobeyed the order to strike. And then the strike would not have been general, so it was wiser to postpone it.

But the truth of these statements was contested by several representatives of the provincial Labour organisations, notably by Jullien, secretary of the important Federation of Unions of the Branches du Rhone—comprising Marseilles—who proposed the following resolution over the signature of several delegates:—

"The Comité Confederal National disapproves of the attitude of the administrative commission (executive) and calls upon it to resign."

Even supposing that the rank and file had really been frightened by the Government's threats none the less the entire responsibility would have remained with the leaders of the C.G.T., for they did nothing to prepare seriously for the strike. The walls of Paris and the large towns were covered with posters of every description drawn up by the bosses' associations, by university groups, by combatants, by the National Confedera-

tion of Labour (the organisation of the "jaunes" or blacklegs, which has few members but plenty of money), etc. And against all that not as much as a single poster from the C.G.T. Nothing. Then when an active propaganda became necessary in order to explain the objects and necessity of the proposed demonstration to the working masses it is possible that a certain irresolution had been produced in these circumstances, but it certainly wasn't the rank and file who were to blame.

Over and above all that there is the capital fact that the leaders have lost the confidence of the rank and file—a fact which is not confined to France. The great majority of the leaders took no part in the war. They were exempted by the Government, and this was the highest mark in their favour. They worked alongside the Government throughout the war. They did nothing to shorten the duration of the war. No more did they do anything to help the workers of Russia, Hungary and Germany, fighting against the forces of the world counter-revolution, to bring about their economic emancipation. If they had taken up any other attitude they would not now be running the risk of not being followed when they decide upon a movement. The example of Italy, where the Socialist Party and the Confederation of Labour remained faithful to Socialism and the defence of the working class, is visible proof of that. All the movements taking place now are without their knowledge: they are brought about without them and often against them. Hence a certain lack of co-ordination between these movements which brings certain inconveniences, and must be remedied. On this matter profitable debate will take place at the forthcoming Confederal Congress to be held September next.

But what can truthfully be said is that the rank and file are far better than those who are their leaders at present, and represent them only imperfectly. It is the same story, moreover, in the Socialist Party where the deputies invariably represent the extreme Right, and only obey the decisions of the Congresses half-heartedly when they do not flout them openly.

ALFRED ROSMER.

WYNKOOP WILL WRITE FOR "THE VOICE."

We have again much pleasure in announcing that another Socialist comrade with a Continental reputation will write regularly for "The Voice of Labour."

Our militant Dutch comrade, D. J. Wynkoop, of Amsterdam, has very kindly undertaken to send us correspondence dealing with the Socialist and Trade Union movements, etc., in Holland similar to the correspondence which Alfred Rosmer is sending from France. The first of the letters from Holland will appear early in September.

Wynkoop is the President of the Communist Party in the Netherlands, and as our readers know that Party is affiliated to the Third International at Moscow. In addition he is President of the Revolutionary Socialist Committee to which are affiliated both the revolutionary political Party and the revolutionary Trade Unions as well as other revolutionary groups in Holland. Originally founded to oppose impending war this Committee is the central fighting organisation of the Dutch revolutionaries.

He is one of the Communist members of the Dutch Parliament, and a member of the Common Council or Municipality of Amsterdam. With his friend, Dr. Van Ravesteyn, of Rotterdam, he is joint editor of the Communist daily "De Tribune." The Communist Party has made him a member of the Executive of the Third International, and the Soviet Government has appointed him Russian Soviet Consul in Holland.

We are glad to welcome this militant Dutch revolutionary to our columns, and we hope that his contributions to "The Voice" will help to make a close and lasting friendship between the workers of the Netherlands and the workers of Ireland.

Food Prices Have Risen.

Secretary Carmichael, reporting to London Trades Council on the work of the Consumers' Council, deals with the official statement that the cost of living has fallen 4s. 9d. per week per family. He has compared prices ruling now with those of July last year, and finds an increase of nearly that amount.

Engineers' Note!

At Barrow, recently, it was decided that Messrs. Vickers, having changed the basis on which rates of pay were computed under the Premium Bonus system, had committed a breach of contract with their employees.

The Rising Tide of Discontent in England.

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

(Our readers will welcome Sylvia Pankhurst's appearance amongst the regular contributors to "The Voice." The founder and editor of "The Workers' Dreadnought," London, will find herself in good company with our correspondents, Rosmer, Paris, Wynkoop, Amsterdam, etc. The story of the Bolshevik £8,000, which she did not (unfortunately) receive, will only add to her already high and well-deserved reputation amongst the Irish workers. This sturdy English revolutionary is putting up a splendid fight in England on behalf of the Soviet Republic of Russia, and her work on behalf of the Soviet Republic of England is bearing fruit from day to day. One of the most militant of the militants in Suffragette days, founder and secretary of the Workers' Socialist Federation (Communist Party), organiser of the People's Russian Information Bureau, London, and friend and champion of the Social Revolution everywhere, England as well as Ireland included, Sylvia Pankhurst's fortnightly articles in the "Voice" will help to build up the Workers' Republic in her country as in ours.—Ed.)

We are now seeing in Britain a remarkable growth of unconscious revolutionary feeling amongst the masses. In many places the discharged soldiers seized the occasion of the Peace Celebrations to manifest their discontent by rioting; at Luton they even burned down the Town Hall. The discharged men have good reason for discontent. The majority are discharged without pension, and large numbers of them find it impossible to obtain employment, whilst many have left the Army with health greatly impaired. Men who are scheduled by the authorities as slightly disabled, and granted small pensions, on which it is impossible to exist, are often quite incapable of working.

POLICE AND THE SYMPATHETIC STRIKE.

The police strike is symptomatic of the great change coming over the spirit of the working class. That the men struck though they were warned that to strike would mean dismissal, and in spite of some sops in the direction of increased wages and pensions, is remarkable, and so is the fact that their strike took place suddenly and without warning. The sympathetic strike by the railway workers on the London and South-Western Railway is very important.

In this country the sympathetic strike weapon has hitherto seldom been used, though it has long been advocated. In the terrible Dublin strike of pre-war days, the British workers were implored by their Irish comrades to use it, and its use would undoubtedly have achieved a sweeping victory for the workers, and have relieved conditions of most appalling sweating. But the appeal was disregarded, and the Irish strikers were beaten.

British trade union leaders are still firmly opposed to the sympathetic strike, and the mass of the rank and file have hitherto seemed incapable of nerving themselves to strike on any question not of primary importance to themselves.

THE SEETHING POT.

Bakers all over the country are striking against night work. The Yorkshire miners, in spite of all negotiations, still remain on strike, and very significant is the fact that the men who pump water from the pits struck with the rest. This has never been the case in any previous trade dispute. It shows a disregard for the employers' property not hitherto shown. Members of the general public are manifesting great sympathy with the police strikers, and in some cases police on duty have been mobbed.

THE BLIND—

All this unrest, I must repeat, is in the main unconscious. The people who are defying authority have not realised, as yet, that they desire to change the system, but the fact that many of those who are striking or rioting have not formulated definite reformist demands shows that they are dissatisfied with the whole system, and have no faith in any particular panacea.

AND THE BLIND LEADERS.

Meanwhile the gulf is growing between the official labour leaders, both Parliamentary and trade union, and the rank and file. Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, during the war opposed conscription and profiteering, and retained popularity long after Henderson, Hodge, Barnes, and those who openly supported the policy of the Government, had lost it.

THOMAS HAS NOW MADE THE DECLARATION IN PARLIAMENT THAT HE IS PREPARED TO SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT IN USING THE TROOPS AND ALL ITS RESOURCES AGAINST STRIKERS WHOSE ACTION INTERFERES WITH THE PUBLIC SERVICES, FOOD SUPPLIES, AND SO ON. HE SAYS THAT ANY GOVERNMENT MUST DO THAT, AND THAT HE WOULD DO IT HIMSELF WERE HE PRIME MINISTER.

In that utterance he clearly shows himself to be opposed to the social revolution. This is not the first time that he has made that clear, but on no previous occasion has he made a statement so certain to cause a cleavage between himself and the railway workers. His utterance will provoke much discontent in the National Union of Railwaymen, and as all discontent leads to a quickening of thought and ultimate increase of class consciousness amongst the workers, this means a step forward.

THE LEADERS' BAN.

The "Down Tools" policy against Russian intervention is making headway. It will be remembered that the response made by British official labour to the appeal of D'Aragnona of Italy and the leaders of the French Confederation Generale du Travail, was an almost negative one; it was agreed to hold some meetings, but a general strike was tabooed by the leaders, though the Southport Conference, by a 2 to 1 majority, had declared for direct action to be used against intervention in Russia. Though the strike was not officially declared, the London District Committee of Dockers advised its members not to work on 21st July, and the appeal was responded to by a large section. Northampton, South Wales, and other places also made a good response, but, in the main, the official ban had its effect. How tragic that British labour should just now seem to be getting to the point of making a stand against intervention, when news has come that the Hungarian Soviet has fallen!

We comfort ourselves with the thought that the Hungarian Soviet Republic was always precariously placed, and that the Russians, owing to the great size and resources of their territory, are in a much stronger position, having maintained it for the greater part of two years.

CHURCHILL'S HOPES.

Nevertheless, we feel considerable anxiety, as Churchill definitely told the British House of Commons, on July 29th, that the Government will continue to send munitions and supplies of all kinds to the counter revolutionaries in Russia, and as his statement that the British troops are being withdrawn from North Russia and the Caucasus has been made with so many reservations and loopholes, and with so much vagueness, no reliance can be placed upon it. In any case, the promise of withdrawal is not to take effect before the winter, and Churchill openly states that he hopes the Soviets will have fallen before that time arrives.

Practically it comes to this: British troops will be withdrawn from Russia when the counter revolutionaries can do without them. That is Churchill's policy, and, of course, he speaks for the Cabinet; the unity of Cabinet responsibility is a constitutional fact.

The French workers, whose general strike was called off by the leaders of the Confederation Generale du Travail, should note Churchill's statement that France "has a larger body of troops on the western frontier of Bolshevism than we have employed even at the present time in all the various theatres." He added: "The Japanese have a large army—a substantial army—the largest allied army concerned in Russian affairs, which is in Siberia, and is distributed along the Siberian railway. The Americans have a substantial force on the Siberian railway, and I observe from the daily papers that President Wilson, last week, informed the Senate that it was intended to keep it there."

The report that the British Revolutionary Socialists have to make regarding our country is that, though things are moving very slowly here, they are definitely moving, and that Lenin is right when he says that the Revolutionary virus has already reached this country.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE REAL HARRY FORD.

Cork people have been asked to fall down and worship the great Harry Ford, the American miracle-worker, who was to regenerate Irish industries, and pour forth of the shores of his ancestral land showers of gold.

Harry has got to business in Cork. We have no object in denouncing him, as we have been accused of doing.

We have pointed out, of course, that he imposes a rigorous discipline in the factories. He gets more, many times more, out of his employees than other bosses.

He pays higher wages and he gets bigger results. There is no mystery and no philanthropy about Ford.

When we have tried to make that plain we have been denounced as an enemy of Cork's industrial development, and by the mean, stingy Cork employers, to whom Cork's backwardness industrially is mainly due.

Good well-intentioned people, too, have expressed the fear that our candid remarks would drive Ford back to Detroit, and for the implied compliment to our influence we thank them. What worries them most, however, is that we are dispelling illusions.

What a fascinating romance was Ford. The humble son of humble Irish parents, in less than fifteen years he amassed the fabulous sum of seventy-five million dollars.

As with a magic wand, he placed Ford cars upon every road in the world, and now he is planning to give every farm its tractor.

In all he has done he has made few enemies. No big corporation gave him money. No corrupt railway directors gave him secret rebates on freight rates. No politicians rigged Congress to favour him.

He has become a great illusion. Newspapers invent wonder-stories about him. A worthy journalist in Seattle sends us columns of copy about Ford, Ford's doings, and Ford's sayings.

He is invested with the halo of romance. He is the wisest of men. A world waits with hope the sailing of his peace-ship, that will make wars to cease o'er all the earth.

When he turned jingo he was to invent the submarine strafers. He had not ceased to be the one undoubted miracle worker to question whose power was rank heresy.

Now is the idol broke! "Henry Ford," says the New York "Nation," "is a Yankee mechanic, pure and simple; quite uneducated, with a mind unable to 'bite' into any proposition outside of his automobile and tractor business, but with naturally good instincts and some sagacity."

"Enter any of the great factories that line the railroad between New York and Boston, and you will find a dozen foremen, just like Harry Ford. Many of them are better educated; many of them have far more sagacity, and a keener understanding of what is going on in the world; they would make much more useful senators, some of them, than Mr. Ford."

"He does not know who Benedict Arnold was, because no one has ever taught him; his schooling has been of the slightest."

"He is a pacifist to-day; and to-morrow favours another war, if it is necessary to obtain a League of Nations—the Covenant of which he has probably never read."

"He contradicts himself; he uses words whose meaning he does not know. He sometimes forgets promises solemnly made."

Such is the real Harry Ford. We are not sorry to know him as he is. He is just a very ordinary workingman; and it is to his credit that when he might have squeezed a few extra cents an hour by keeping down wages, he remained loyal to the ordinary workingman's ideal of Big Wages and Constant Work.

He has tried to do good. Not many millionaires make the effort.

Therefore, despite the contempt of the New York "Nation" and our own knowledge that his method of wage slavery is just a more scientific plan of social robbery, we are glad to know that, like ourselves, Harry sometimes uses bad grammar.

TWELVE MONTHS AGO AND NOW.

To the Editor, "Voice of Labour." Fellow-Workers,—Many of you will have read a report in the Press of 16th inst., giving a glowing account of a day's outing, supposed to represent the generosity of the Refuge Assurance Company, who have an office at 105 Stephen's Green, towards their unfortunate slaves (who in reality had to stomp up), who, during the day, had to listen to speeches eulogising this great Capitalist concern, and be catechised on the methods to be adopted in future by them in order that they might enrich the shareholders; no mention being made of the rights of the workers to participate in the profits.

All of you will remember that this is the Capitalist concern that refused to recognise the right of their employees to collective bargaining through their trade union for a living wage, during one of the most bitter struggles of Right against Might in the history of trade unionism.

It may not be out of place to recall the fact that after due notice had been served on this capitalist concern by the National Amalgamated Union of Life Assurance Workers, and the demands made not being granted, all the agents, except three, came out on strike on 4th September, 1918.

The struggle was, and is still, being fought very bitterly. The Refuge Company has deliberately denied the rights of the workers to trade union recognition, the proof of this being (1) they ignored the demands of the men's trade union; (2) they refused the offer of Dublin Trades Council to discuss matters with a view to settlement; (3) they not alone refused the offer made by our esteemed Lord Mayor to arbitrate, but they had the audacity to ask the Lord Mayor to find employment for seventeen men whom they were determined to victimise, in order to introduce the obnoxious block system—a system by which one man does the work of three, with a wage equivalent to 1 and 1-16 average weekly earnings of the agents on strike. This capitalist concern adopted the tactics of the present-day farmers in Co. Meath by employing ex-soldiers to do the work, and thus those who were heroes during the war were made serfs, so that the greed of the capitalist might be satisfied.

Now, the most vital question to-day is organisation to prepare for the coming inevitable struggle for labour's rights; and if my information is correct, the Irish Automobile Drivers' Union and the Hotel Workers' Section will want to get going. I believe that the drivers of the char-a-bancs, on the occasion of the above outing are not members of their trade union. One of them, at least, is an ex-service man. If those drivers trade unionists, they would not have had anything to do with the strike breakers of the above-mentioned capitalist concern, neither would the hotel workers of Glendalough have served them with refreshments.

If you desire to make our small nation blackleg-proof you will be doing a good day's work by making sure that none of the earnings, which has to be fought for by trade unionism and self-sacrifice, should be paid to any assurance agent who is not a member of the N.A.U.L.A.W., the only recognised trade union for assurance workers, being affiliated to Trades Council and Congress. See to it that your agent has this card, and no other. Remember what blackleg labour is doing in the Co. Dublin with the farm labourers; remember that the master printers don't care what you or I suffer if they could only beat the workers, men and women, who are, not for the first time, engaged in the struggle to free themselves and all concerned from slavery.

Don't be led astray by sentiment; put your principal first, and rather than allow your insurance premiums to go towards supporting blacklegs or "free" labour, put your money in the coffers of the trade unions, who are making such a great fight against tyranny and serfdom.

Yours fraternally,
JAMES DOUGLAS.
98 Rialto Buildings,
Dublin, 18th August, 1919.

DUNCARVAN COUNCILLORS SHIRK.

On Saturday, 9th inst., a special meeting of the Council was held to consider the employees demands. The chairman declared the meeting illegal, and a further meeting was summoned for Monday evening. Only one member attended.

500 SECOND-HAND BICYCLES, Ladies' and Gent's; Prices £4 10s. 0d., £5 10s. 0d., £6 10s. 0d., £7 10s. 0d. to £8 10s. 0d.; carriage paid. Also 500 stove-enamelled frames, all sizes, ladies' and gent's; Trade supplied. New Covers from 5/-, 6/6, 9/-, 12/-, 15/-. Tubes from 2/6, 3/6, 4/6, 5/-, carriage paid. New Machines from 11 to 15 gns.; Dunlop Tyres and Brooks' Saddles. No shortage of anything.

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INCHICORE BRANCH

I. T. AND G. W. U.

A very large and enthusiastic meeting of the above was held in Emmet Hall on Sunday last. The branch president, Mr. R. Flood, presided, and Mr. T. Foran, general president, also attended.

The Chairman, in his opening address, briefly reviewed the activities of the branch, and announced that, in addition to the increases already won, an increase of 6s. per week for the tubers was the latest fruit of their activities. This brought the tubers' wages up to the sum of 59s. 6d. per week, plus the twelve-and-a-half per cent.

They had also, he said, co-operated with the other unions in the matter of the pension scheme, holidays, etc. These would all be explained by the branch delegate on the Railway Emergency Committee. Mr. Ralph James explained the scheme of pensions recently adopted by that committee, and informed the meeting that the question of holidays for all railwaymen was at present receiving the earnest attention of the Board of Trade. The meeting unanimously approved of the pension scheme, and adopted the following resolution with regard to the holiday question:—"That, failing a satisfactory reply on this question from the Board of Trade by a certain date, the members of this branch approve of the withdrawal of all labour, provided all other unions are prepared to do likewise."

Isolated instances of non-compliance with instructions of delegates were reported, and it was decided that all such in future would be brought before the Branch Committee, who were given full powers to deal with such, drastically if necessary.

TOM FORAN,

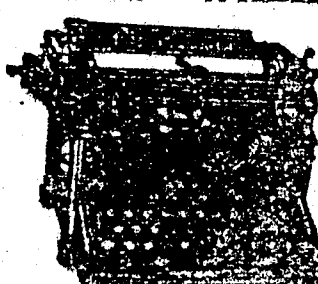
on coming forward to address the meeting, received a very hearty ovation. He congratulated the branch on the magnificent work done, and the great progress made in a very short period. Referring to the various disputes in which the Union is at present involved, he dwelt at some length on the fight on the land, paying a very glowing tribute to the agricultural labourers. They had been reduced more than any other body of workers to a state of vassalage and serfdom. But the manner in which they had asserted themselves came as a revelation to their friends, and something in the nature of an earthquake shock to their enemies.

He felt very grateful to the branch for their promises of support. While such an excellent spirit animated their members there was no reason to fear the attacks of the enemies of the Union. The spirit and solidarity of the Union had frustrated the plots and plans of the unholy alliance at present arrayed against them.

They would be glad, he felt sure, to learn that, in spite of the financial strain to which they were subjected, the weekly income of the Union was, so far, equal to the task. He, of course, agreed with the other speakers that it was deplorable that at such a crisis in their history anyone professing to have the interests of the Union at heart should be found willing to hamper the Union in its fight by the creation of internal troubles. That effort had also failed, and he was pleased to learn that the men of Inchicore were not for a moment deceived by the promoters of the new campaign, and were not to be misled from the principles of the Union by false issues nor false battle cries. He thanked them all for the assurance of continued confidence.

A vote of thanks to the General President for his attendance terminated the proceedings.

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To-day even the Capitalist Press devotes column after column and page after page to the growing evil of Profiteering in this and other countries. The powers that be are almost at their wits end endeavouring to map out a plan which will in some way appease the anger of the masses suffering under this scourge.

But while Governments think and pause it is consoling to know that the organised workers of this country are acting, and acting in a manner which clearly proves that they have grappled this question with a resolve not to be beaten.

Ten days ago a section of the Charleville profiteers—believing that the time was opportune—suddenly jumped up the price of one of the vital necessities of the masses—to wit—milk, by 20 per cent, or an increase of 1d. per quart.

But the organised forces of the army of Labour in Charleville were on the alert. The old order had truly changed. A mass meeting of the workers was held, addressed by Organiser McGrath and Comrade Desmond, and a determined stand immediately taken. The ring of profiteers were told in no equivocal terms that such a scandal would not be tolerated. A plan of campaign was outlined, and within two days the ring was broken, completely and finally.

What a lesson for the proletariat! Unity, Self-reliance and Determination are the watchwords—the sign posts on the road to victory. Now the working class knows that the Transport Union does not merely stand for better hours and higher wages, that these are but stepping stones to higher things.

The Charleville members are turning their thoughts to the question of housing, and should they even half the resolution on that question they need have little fear of the result.

J. McGRATH.

M. Corrigan (Drogheda).—Your letter appeared in our issue of August 2nd. We know of no other.

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