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ONE PENNY

Making the World
unsafe for Bolsheviks.

McCaw the Grabber.
The Long View.

The Revolutionists

By E. GUFF.

Some short time ago I read a little pamphlet entitled: "The Faith and Morals of Sinn Fein." The author is the Rev. P. Gaynor, of Ennis. The object of the pamphlet, as far as I can see, is fourfold: (1) To show that the policy of Sinn Fein is the old, age-long policy of patriotic Irishmen; (2) to show that the policy of Sinn Fein is in accordance with the moral law; (3) to show that the policy of Sinn Fein is the only possible policy for all patriotic Irish men and Irish women; and (4) to give an outline of what the Irish Government would be. With the second proposition I have nothing to do; but I would challenge the reverend author on the other three.

In the very first paragraph I find:—"The principles of Sinn Fein are the principles Emmet held when he raised the flag of revolt in Dublin City—the principles O'Neill held when he battled with Elizabeth, the principles St. Laurence O'Toole held when he urged the Irish chiefs to crush the invading Normans. Like those fighters of the past, we proclaim the principle that Ireland is ours to have and to hold."

Neat and well-balanced sentences indeed—but what a pity that the statements in them are totally at variance with the facts of history! Sinn Fein represents only a part—and that the least important part—of the principles held by these dead heroes of a glorious past. Sinn Fein aims at political and economic freedom for a part of the Irish Nation—the Irish manufacturer and industrialist. But, for the workers of Ireland—the real people of Ireland—it visualises the same old tyrannical round of wage-slavery. These men aimed, not at the mere shadow of Freedom; but at the real essence of Freedom—full economic and political freedom for every man and woman—the same Freedom that the Russian Soviets of to-day are proclaiming to the workers of the world. St. Laurence O'Toole, McMurrugh Kavanagh, Shane O'Neill, Red Hugh, Hugh O'Neill, Owen Roe—all these men fought for the Gaelic and communal as against the Norman and private property system of society. Sinn Fein, if you like, holds the same principles as Silken Thomas, Sarsfield, Grat-

A Vigorous Article Raising Questions
which must be discussed.

tan, O'Connell, etc.—freedom for the dominant class in Irish society. Wolfe Tone and Emmet—these Protestant Irishmen resurrected the old Gaelic tradition from the oblivion into which the snobbery of a foreign-educated Catholic middle class had thrust it, and showed it to the working and peasant classes for what it really was—a thing of grand and lofty simplicity. These two men aimed at a two-fold revolution—a political revolution, the driving from Irish soil of the last remnant of foreign domination—a social revolution, the re-establishment of the Gaelic communal system in place of the imported private property system. Do I understand the reverend author to say that Sinn Fein aims at the same thing?

I find again (page 2): "To-day our flag is the Republican, green, white and gold—the flag of Easter Week, consecrated to Ireland in the blood of Pearse and his comrades." Another nice sentence. But again I challenge—the ideals of Sinn Fein are not the ideals of the Proclamation of the Irish Republic of 1916.

Again (page 4): "We shall set up the Irish Government, and thirdly, to make the issue plain, and leave an Irishman no choice except to back the Irish Government or else take his stand on the side of Dublin Castle."

By the way, who are we?

In 1782-1800 we had in Ireland a so-called free "native" Parliament and we had a Viceroy and Dublin Castle. Yet, during that time, Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen revolted against both Irish Parliament and Dublin Castle. I submit that an Irishman of the present day who took Tone's choice and refused allegiance to either Dublin Castle or Sinn Fein, would be a far more patriotic Irishman than any mere Sinn Feiner. What does Father Gaynor say?

"The Irish Government will have the same right to command the support of the Irish people as the Belgian King and Government have to command the support of the Belgian people." (Page 5.) I am in entire agreement. The Irish Government will have just the same right—namely, the

right of force. I have no doubt Father Gaynor is very sincere. But I would strongly advise him to study the question of the origin of "states" and "governments," when he may possibly discover that "government" is an euphemistic way of saying the "armed force of the ruling class."

"For this object (i.e., promotion of health and happiness) we also require a Department of Social Reform. The workmen have the keenest and most direct interest in social reform; therefore, I should like to see Labour organised as a social reform party. In other words, the Department of Social Reform I contemplate is organised Labour. The three great forces in Irish life to-day are the Catholic Church, Sinn Fein and Labour. . . . Neither is there serious danger of a conflict between Sinn Fein and Labour. The Socialist theories which repudiate nationalism are unpopular with the Irish worker. Still, Socialism is gaining ground, even in Ireland, and a Socialist Labour Party might easily break with the Church. Therefore in the interests of religion, of Labour and of Ireland, a Catholic Socialist Party is urgently needed." Pages 8 and 9.

I wonder does the reverend author know the difference between a Social Reform Party and a Socialist Party. To judge from the way he mixes the two terms, I should say he does not. Still, he has time to learn.

Again, I wonder is that a slip—that he admits the working man has "the keenest and most direct interest in social reform," but insists that he must have a definite kind of social reform. I wonder.

Will the reverend author point to any item in the Sinn Fein programme which can induce an educated Labour movement to support it?

What exactly does that mean, "the Socialist theories which repudiate nationalism?" Again, I am driven to wonder.

Yes, Socialism is gaining ground in Ireland despite all that reactionaries—Republican as well as Imperialist—can do to prevent it. The reverend author does not seem to be enthusiastic over the prospect. But will he deny that the policy of Sinn Fein is utterly powerless to cope with the problems which Socialism alone—extreme Socialism, not any of your drawing-room stuff—is capable of solving?

What does Father Gaynor mean by the "Church?" If he means the Catholic religion—then, I challenge him to point out where the danger of a break between a Socialist Labour Party and the Church lies. But if he means the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood—then I admit that there is not alone danger, but the certainty, of a crash. But then, the Socialist Labour Party would be in good company. The "Church," in this sense, has opposed every real live move-

ment since first Irish priests were educated on the Continent during the Penal Days. The "Church," in this sense, was always worldly wise—success and success alone was the standard by which it measured movements.

A Catholic Socialist Party or a Catholic Social Reform Party, says Father Gaynor. But why a "Catholic" Party? "The workmen have the keenest and most direct interest in social reform," and are all the workmen and working women and children in Ireland Catholics? And if they are not, what place does Father Gaynor assign the non-Catholics? And if we must have a Catholic Socialist Party, why not also a Catholic Sinn Fein Party, a Catholic Gaelic League, a Catholic Volunteer Force, a Catholic Gaelic Athletic Association, a Catholic Farmers' Association, a Catholic Industrial Association, a Catholic Department of Food Supply, and, might I suggest it, also a Catholic League for Raimish? By the way, did not certain people about ten years ago make an attempt to start a Catholic Gaelic League, and was not the object of this to make the Gaelic League do just what Catholic clerics wished? And would not a Catholic Socialist Party be about as effective for any real good as was the Pope's brass band; and is not this the real reason why so many good people are anxious at present to start a Catholic Socialist League?

Sure, we have a Catholic Social League in Cork—save the mark! Its pamphlets are published by Purcell and Co.—one of the four Cork firms which fought, and got well whacked by, the Cork girl strikers before Xmas. Purcell and Co. were paying the majority of their girl workers from 4 to 10 shillings a week. Does Father Gaynor still feel surprised that extreme Socialism is gaining ground in Ireland?

"The farmers of Ireland deserve well of their country—they have borne the brunt of the battle for many weary years." (Page 9.) Really! There are some who think that the workers of Ireland deserve well of their country and that it is they who have always "paid the piper," no matter who "called the tune." What is your own opinion, workers of Ireland?

"Our choice is made. Before us lie the rugged mountains. Be our fortune weal or woe, be our journey short or long, be our vision fact or dream, our way lies over the mountain road to hail the Republic in the golden dawn." (Page 12.)

Well, for a grand finale, that is superb.

To the workers of Ireland, as they march to hail the Workers' Industrial Republic in the dawn, I send the message of their dead comrade—James Connolly:

"'Tis Labour's faith and Labour's arm alone can Labour free."

CORRESPONDENCE.

Journalists May Join The Transport Union.

The Editor "Irish Opinion."

Sir,—Your correspondent, W.B.W., asks if the Irish Labour Party constitution cannot be altered so as to make room for the non-Trade Unionist who is sympathetic with its aims and methods? Perhaps I may be allowed to reply.

The recently published scheme was not an amendment of the constitution, it was merely a plan to organise the active supporters within the bounds of the existing constitution. It is not an attempt to copy the revised constitution of the British Labour Party, having been passed as long ago as June last. There is a good deal to be said in favour of enlarging the bounds so as to allow the "intelligensia" the freedom of the Labour Party. But the number of such who cannot find a way through a Trade Union is small and the climate of Ireland assists the growth of political wire-pullers!

There is no doubt, however, that when we know a little more of the future political conditions of the country some amendment of the Labour Party constitution will become necessary. It may be that it will be found desirable to affiliate other organisations than Trade Unions having a definite democratic basis and outlook, through which individuals of the professional and literary classes may find a place in the Labour Party. Room must also be made for the women, few of whom are eligible for membership through Trade Unions. But in the meantime there is really nothing to prevent any ardent sympathiser joining the organisation. The Transport Union, for instance, is a general workers' Union, and so far as I know places no barrier against membership because of social standing! Where there's a will there's a way.—Yours fraternally,

T.J.

London, 21st January, 1918.

(To the Editor, "Irish Opinion.")
Dear Sir,—Of course, we must have the O.B.U. for trade unionism is a failure.

The working class is the producer of all wealth, even of the higher wages. Let us see how it is done. First, the railway workers get a rise. The rest of the workers pay the companies increased fares and freightage. So with coals and boots. When the miners and the bootmakers secure an advance, the owners of these industries use the trifling increase of wages as an excuse for a whopping rise in prices. To put an end to this robbery and exploitation, it is necessary to get rid of the thieves who own and control industry. For my part, I have been a member of the I.W.W. since its formation in London five years ago. The I.W.W. organises the workers along the lines of modern industry, all workers in One Big Union, but each section regulating its own industry. By organising thus we shall eliminate the parasites, whether politician capitalist or labour fakir.

I am a London Scot, and am glad to support "Irish Opinion" because its columns are free and open.

R. P.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

The Beginning of the End.

The Allied pet, Ukrainia, whose virtues have been lauded by the calumniators of Bolshevism, has made peace with the Central Powers. French comment upon the subject will be particularly illuminating, for France, which has not had a good word to throw at the Russian Revolution, crowned its eulogies of the Ukrainians by a loan of £7,000,000 and an offer of military assistance. While Lenin and Trotsky, the "tools" of the Hohenzollern, were denying the right of the Ukrainian Rada to speak for the Ukraine, and were fighting bravely for a democratic and revolutionary peace, the familiar champions of liberty have done all they could to undermine the influence of the Bolsheviks in Russia, and to libel and misrepresent them abroad. The reward for this display of enlightened statesmanship is that the rich corn lands of the Ukraine are now at the disposal of the Central Powers, and a nation of 30,000,000 is definitely lost to the Allies. Moreover, it is highly probable that this peace will enable Germany to dispense with further negotiations for a general cessation of hostilities. It will certainly strengthen the German demands, render conciliatory tactics unnecessary, and possibly ruin the greatest experiment in revolutionary diplomacy known to history.

Making the World Unsafe for Bolshevism.

The countless and varied enemies of Bolshevism will doubtless welcome this rebuff to Trotsky and Lenin. Secretly, at least, they will bless the "separate peace" hitherto anathematised, and only when it is too late—as usual—will they realise what their bungling hatred of democracy in action has cost them. On the other hand, if the word goes forth that the Ukrainians must be disowned, then we may expect the press to discover the virtues of the Bolsheviks. But such a somersault will be difficult, since the unanimous efforts of reaction have been steadily directed against the Bolsheviks. Much as they dislike a separate peace, the virtuosi of liberty hate Bolshevism even more, for there they recognise the conscious forces of that freedom which has been so skilfully camouflaged by its professional gladiators. It is touching, for example, to observe the joint indignation of the "Freeman's Journal" and the "Church of Ireland Gazette" when they warn us against the irreligion of the Bolsheviks. Whatever else Sinn Féin may be accused of, atheism or anti-clericalism is not one of its characteristics. Yet, these estimable organs of two very different sections of Irish opinion endeavour to identify Sinn Féiners and Bolsheviks as the enemies of Christianity. They hope to add to the discredit of both by this puerile distortion of half-ascertained facts. "The Church

of Ireland Gazette," the voice of anti-Irish Protestantism, is peculiarly fitted for this sudden display of tender consideration for the faith and morals of Irish Nationalists!

The Next Bolshevik Move.

To understand the cause of this solicitude one has only to refer to the pronouncements of the Bolsheviks. In the latest declaration from the International Bureau of the Council of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies there is nothing to comfort the Ascendancy soul of the "Church of Ireland Gazette," but much that will appeal to every Irish democrat and Nationalist. "The Russian working classes are not striving for a republic of the type of the American trust magnates or of the French Stock Exchange sharks." And more pointedly in explanation of the current press criticisms: "It is not only the Russian bourgeoisie that protests against this impertinent intrusion of the 'Workmen Barbarians' into the holy of holies of Capital—into the Temple of Profit. YOUR BOURGEOISIE ALSO FEELS THE BLOW." Need we be surprised at the zeal of our bourgeois newspapers for the religious and moral welfare of those whom they allow to rot in slums, without a protest? Finally, there is a passage which, in view of the Ukrainian peace, may help us to foresee the turn of events in the near future:—"Your Governments abuse us by stating that we are bent on concluding a separate peace. Hypocrites! **It depends on them alone whether a general peace is declared or not.** They accuse us of leaving Alsace-Lorraine in Prussian hands, and of not giving freedom to the South Slavic people. Well, let them come along to the peace table with the festal present of a free Ireland, Egypt, India, Morocco and Indo-China, of the tortured Congo, and no Kaiser William, no Hindenburg, and no Ludendorff would ever dare to crack the whip over the backs of the Alsations, the Poles, or the Serbians. . . . Just as Russians are ready to defend with the last drop of blood the Russia of the Socialist Revolution, should German Imperialism refuse an honourable peace, **so will they conclude a separate peace if Germany guarantees the security of democracy, a general peace then being made impossible by the obstinacy of the English, French and Italian imperialists.**"

"My Country, 'Tis of Thee, Sweet land of Liberty."

When the American transport "Tuscania" was torpedoed last week the papers refreshed us with pathetic tales of the troops singing "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," while the vessel sank. The coun-

try referred to in the patriotic song is America, where the following blow for liberty has been recorded by "The Christian Commonwealth":—"Rev. Robert Whittaker, of the People's Institute, Los Angeles, California, has just been sentenced, with two colleagues, to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 1,200 dols. at the court in Los Angeles, for organising a religious conference "to protest against the militaristic interpretation of Christianity by the Churches." Commenting on this, "Forward" says:—"Nearly as bad as the decision of the South African Government to prohibit the republication of the Sermon on the Mount during the war."

The Last Straw.

The inter-Allied Council's Note, after the Versailles conference, is regarded in France as a definite challenge to organised Labour, and is interpreted as being sufficiently imperialistic and aggressive to warrant a refusal on the part of the Socialist deputies to vote the war credits. The Minority Socialists are already satisfied that the refusal would be justified, and the question will be considered by the Party as a whole, when the National Council meets on the 17th of this month. Meanwhile all the Socialists and a few Radicals have voted against the Bill authorising a grant of some £16,000,000 to pay interest on the French loans to Russia, which the Bolsheviks have repudiated. This is the French counterpart of the transaction referred to here last week, when we mentioned that the British Government had made itself responsible to the speculators in Tsarist loans. Klotz, the French Minister of Finance, made an impassioned and heroic plea for the sacred obligations incurred by the Nicholas-Rasputin combination, which the "honour" of France demanded should be safeguarded. When loans are involved, it appears, "the interest of France is that the ties which attach it to Russia shall not be loosened," but the Minister of Finance has no such feeling when it comes to greeting the birth of democracy in Russia. When challenged as to the necessity for paying interest out of the French taxpayer's money to speculators, Klotz majestically declared: "I am defending the cause of France before this House." So now we have it on official authority that the interests of French financiers are synonymous with "the cause of France." Yet, one member was unkind enough to remind Mr. Klotz that "the policy of Russian loans had been disastrous to the interests of France." He accused the Government of trying to make the people pay "an insurance premium against the responsibility" of the blunders arising from the Franco-Russian alliance.

The Engineers and Lloyd George.

Contributed by an Official of the A.S.E.

Arising out of the Government's manpower proposals, the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers recently summoned the delegate meeting to consider the question in relation to the agreement entered into by the Government with the A.S.E. in May last.

The Agreement.

In April, 1917, the trade card scheme, which had been set up after protracted negotiations with the late Government was withdrawn, and in its place a Schedule of Protected Occupations was issued. The A.S.E., as the trade union responsible for the trade card scheme, objected to its withdrawal on the ground that the A.S.E. had a right to be consulted before the scheme was in any way altered. As a result of the protests of the A.S.E. delegates against the Government's action, an invitation was received from Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., and Dr. Addison, Minister of Munitions, to meet them and discuss the matter. An arrangement was arrived at at the interview that the operation of the Ministry of Munitions' circular 130 was postponed to enable the delegates to consult their constituencies and to allow time for further negotiation.

A further conference was then arranged, at which an understanding was arrived at, and the agreement signed on behalf of the Government and the A.S.E. It will, therefore, be clearly seen that in respect of the trade card agreement, and, later, the Schedule of Protected Occupations, the A.S.E. had been consulted as a society, and settlements arrived at apart from other organisations. The reason for this is clear; the A.S.E. is the trade union most affected by proposals affecting skilled men in the engineering trade, and the agreement arrived at specially related to its members.

Pledges Must be Kept.

The position of the A.S.E. now is that, following past precedent and practice, the society is entitled to be consulted in relation to the new proposals, and an explanation given why the pledges given in the May agreement concerning skilled men cannot be carried out. From the A.S.E. point of view, the military needs of the country do not justify the Government in abrogating its pledge, wherein it is emphatically laid down that all male diluted labour liable and fit for general military service shall first be withdrawn. It is therefore not a question of leaving young men in the workshops and taking older men for military service. It is a question purely and simply of fulfilling pledges and taking

first the "dilutees of military age and fitness" who, had it not been for engineering industrial activity, would not have been in the engineering industry.

The present delegate meeting which met on the 15th inst., had been trying, without success, to get the Government to meet them to discuss the position now created. A telegram was sent to the Prime Minister in the following terms:—

"Instructed to inform you that Amalgamated Engineers' Society's delegate meeting is now in session, and in view of the fact that the delegate meeting was the body that carried out negotiations on the Amalgamated Society of Engineers' agreement, we ask you to grant the delegates an interview at the earliest moment, having regard to previous agreements with them.—Young, General Secretary."

Davy Wriggles.

To the foregoing a reply was received from the Prime Minister intimating readiness to meet A.S.E. with the other societies. The other societies, however, were not parties in negotiating the May agreement. The A.S.E. is alone responsible for it. It was, therefore, decided to wire the Prime Minister as under:—

"Amalgamated Society of Engineers' delegate meeting request you to meet a small deputation to explain the position in relation to agreement of 5th May previous to any negotiations taking place.—Young, General Secretary."

To this a reply was received from the Prime Minister referring us to Sir Auckland Geddes, and Sir Auckland Geddes also informed us that he would meet us with the other societies. The A.S.E. delegates could not accede to this. It is **their agreement which is being destroyed by the Government**. The delegates, therefore, feel, in the interests of those they represent, that the Government should meet them to hear their views regarding the serious position created by the abrogation of the May agreement.

Recognising to the full the consequences to the country which serious industrial dislocation will entail, the delegates made another effort to get in touch with the Government. They appointed the Chairman and General Secretary, with two delegates, to interview Sir Auckland Geddes re the position of delegate meeting and its agreement. Eventually the deputation saw Sir Auckland Geddes, and it was arranged that a small number of the delegates were to meet him on Friday morning. The meeting duly took place. Sir Auckland Geddes explained he was willing to meet the A.S.E. delegates provided the other trade unions agreed to him having a

separate conference with two or three representatives from the other societies present; these, however, to take no part in the proceedings.

The Great Auk.

We understand Sir Auckland Geddes placed our proposal before the General Conference. Our suggestion was not accepted. We were informed we could be met with the other engineering groups and representatives of the other trade unions.

As the A.S.E. looks upon the agreement of May last as one which especially affects them, and as they consider they should be consulted in relation to it, without interference from other bodies, before it is withdrawn, the Minister of National Service was, therefore, informed "that the delegates of the A.S.E. are favourable to accept the basis of the Conference as suggested, on the understanding that other trade union representatives take no part in the deliberations of the Conference."

This was not accepted by the Minister, and, therefore, the Conference will not take place.

The position of the A.S.E. delegates is perfectly clear. They request a special hearing to lay their position before the Government. They hold that the provision of the May agreement should and can be carried out. They were told dilution was necessary, but would not be used to force skilled men into the army. This agreement made provisions for dilutees being first taken from the workshops. They still maintain that position, for shipbuilding and engineering skilled men are required. We cannot agree to the skilled men being taken and the dilutees left. It is a plain and straight issue. Let the Government fulfil its pledges. We do not ask special treatment. We ask that the skilled men of the engineering trades shall not be withdrawn from it while others of military age and fitness who have entered it since the war began remain in it.

Arthur Henderson's Comment.

"A strong point is made in the Government statement of the objections offered by the other Unions to a separate conference with the A.S.E. They have always objected to the separate conference of the A.S.E., not without reason; but since the Government has established the practice, the only question to be considered is when the practice is to be abandoned, and whether proper notice of the intention to change it has been given.

"Surely the proper time to change it cannot be at the moment when the Government requires a revision of an agreement entered upon with the engineers separately, however desirable the joint conference may be, and whatever may have been our intentions last May."

**SAEUILIS INS NA
BUNSGOILEANNAIB.**

Cé leif na bunsgoileanna i nÉirinn? agus cár ion go bhfuil teanga na héireann, teanga ar rinnfeap, agus teanga éimh Saedéal dnuirte amac arca? Ir ceirteanna bpiogmara iad reo agus níl aicme eile i nÉirinn go bhfuil sábh níor séirne le n-a bhparfáilc 'na tá as luét oibre na héireann. Daoine go bhfuil aifgead aca agus éirim aca tá a beas nó a mór de roga aca ar an rsoil in a gcuirtear a gcuid páirtoí agus ar na hadbairtáib léiginn muintear dá bpáirtoib; ac an fear oibre nó an bean oibre níl a dat de roga aca. Ir éigin dóib a sclann do cup go dtí an rsoil poiblíde ir neapa dóib agus glacad le ciber bit reort oideacair tuhtar dóib annim. Tá iud eile ra rgeal ffeirín. Daoine go bhfuil aifgead agus uain aca ir féirtoib dóib cup leif an muinteacair tuhtar in na rsoilcaib agus, móran iud do teagars do na páirtoib iad féim; ac ní féirtoib do luét oibre é reo do deannam. Bíonn ceap na rglábarde gnótae ar fead an lae agus nuair tís ré abailc triáchnona bíonn ré nó-cuirteac le cromad ar teagars do deannam agus ir nó-minic nac mbíonn an teolar aige féim dá mbead an t-am nó an bpiis aige. Maroir leif na mnáib bíonn a raotair féim oirca agus ir beas ir féirtoib dóib do deannam, do na leanbairt diom-bainte do bíad agus éadair do folácar dóib. Dá bpiis rin tá luét oibre i muinteir na rsoilca amáin le muinteacair do tabairc do'n dor ós agus rin i. dcaoirb ircis de'n beagan bliadan ir féirtoib dóib caiteam ar an rsoil. Ní mór dóib mar rin na rsoilca beir oirneamnac dóib agus rreagartac do'n tpradar oideacair a ceartuigeann uata. Glac mar eiriomplar an Saedilic. Ir beas duine d'ar oibre nár bpeas leif an Saedilic do beir as a élamn oir ir iad luét oibre ir díre do éiredeam agus do, ducáir agus náirúntacé na tíre de muintir na héireann. Ir cinnte mar rin dá mbead deif aca air go mbud maic leo an Saedilic do beir as a n-ar ós. Anoir adeir muintear na Saedilge do éoraint go mbud fupar an Saedilic do tabairc do sae rsoilairc in na bunsgoileannaib agus san cup irteac nó-mór ar an oideacair eile do ceartócae uata. In don bliadan amáin adeir Connrad na Saedilge bud féirtoir an Saedilic do cup i mbéalair na bpáirtoí agus san ac

uair a élos ra lo do caiteam ar teagars. Már píor an rgeal agus éireom féim sup píor b'fupar an Saedilic do tabairc do páirtoib Daile áca Cliaé eadair páirdear agus dairdear (caoirb ircis de bliadan nó do. Náir mór an teacé é rin dá gcartacoir deanta é? Tá na muinteoirí le páirail agus tá na rsoilca le páirail agus ca na-caoir nac noeantair an t-éacé?

Tá baint as an rreagria le rreagria na cead ceirte noctuirgear iud. i. cé-leif na rsoilca agus ce'n fáe nac muintear teanga na héireann ionnta. Ir rgeal rada é le réirteac ac ir éigin a réirteac agus luigeann ré oirnam a réirteac. Inr an cead dul amac ré Riagaltair Sarana bpiir ar rean-rsoilca ducáracá agus do cead-ceap na bunsgoileanna acá agáinn pá lácar; ac rinne, muintear na héireann, acá as ioc arca. Tá rreim an rir báirde as an fear call oirna ó cuirtead ar bun iad ar dtúr agus ní rraoirpó ré an rreim rin díobta go dtí go mbeir ré féim bpiirte agus ar lár. Saigideac de Fall-Saedéal dáir b'áinn do Maolmúire Ó Staircais agus comluét de Fall-Saedéalair de'n comémeal ceurona acá i gceannar na mbunsgoileann le hia do comneairc ar an iúl as Saegán Duirde. Ní nac iongnad tá an dpeam reo díleat do'n fear call agus com fáo ir céro a rreumacé ní beir de cead as muinteoirib na mbunsgoileann don iud do teagars a rreacá i dcairbe go éimreacé (náirúntacé) na héireann. Ac ó tá laige oirde as Sabail rreama ar a maigearcar tá an galair ceurona as bpiir ar na Fall-Saedéalair agus [b'értoir go mbud éirtoir a nreim do rraoirleac beagan amac annreo.

Ac tá dpeam eile ann go bhfuil baint aca leif na bunsgoileannaib poiblíde agus tá Connradna Saedilge, pá lácar as iarrair oircaran a nroualgar féim do comlíonad do'n émead Saedéal. Nuair cuirtead ar bun na rsoilca reo acá agáinn ar dtúr sup tuaró an t-áinn bpiirge "Náirúnta" oirca, ceartuirg ó'n fear call leanbarde na héireann do bpeasá irteacé ionnta. Da minic noime rin cup ré rsoilca Fallca ar bun ac éir ar na rsoilcaib rin de bpiis sup reacáin dor ós na héireann iad. Cuir iud go maic sup mar maic leif féim cup Saegán ar bun iad agus sup contabairc mór do anam agus inncinn Saedéal. iad. Bíod a

Scerodeam i gcontabairc agus bíod a n-áirne náirúnta i gcontabairc agus do reacáin rrad an contabairc agus an baogal mar ba duat dóib. Maectuirg Saegán ar feall leif na páirtoib bpiisá irteac in a rsoilcaib. Dubairc ré or dro nár ceartuirg uair ac múnad galanta do tabairc dóib san cup irteac ar a scerodeam nó ar a náirúntacé, "agus reuc!" arca ré, "mura scerodeann rir mé, cuirpó mé na rrairte r' agáirbe irteac mar bairteoirib in na rsoilcaib agus cead aca na muinteoirí d'áinnú agus do beir páoi rreacé aca, agus an éiredeam Catoiliceac do éraob'raoirleac do na páirtoib ar leactacoirb anoir agus arir." Glac na rrairte leif an rreir oibre reo agus tá ré i bpiirtoir ó rion. Ceap na rrairte sup do éoraint éireom na bpáirtoí do bíodair féim ann agus comlíon rrad an roualgar do bí oirca i dcaoirb an éireom ac níor glacadair le haen roualgar mar rreall ar anam agus náirúntacé na tíre do éoraint agus níor rreimreacá a gcoraint; agus rrair an fear call cead a éinn a toir féim d'imirc ar na páirtoib i dcaoirb náirúntacé. D'imirc ré dállad inncinne oirca go nac leif dá lán agáinn sup émead Saedéal rin ar éor ar bit, agus tá an cleat ceurona d'á imirc aige ar dor ós na héireann go nuise an lá inoir. Meapann Connrad na Saedilge am, agus daoine nac iad, sup mirc tabairc air rrad nó ar a lageo enaprtarra nó conrtac do cup in a rreige; agus mar acá cumacé éigin as na rraircaib acá na mbairteoirib agus supab iad do meall páirtoí na nSaedéal irteac in na rsoilcaib míonáirúnta ar dtúr tá rrad a iarrair oirca an cumacé acá aca do cup i bpiirtoir do éoraint na tíre agus anam na tíre. Ir cinnte go bpeurpá rrad an Saedilic do cup in na rsoilcaib go láirtoir, agus go héireacéac, agus 'uirge nac rreimreoir? Ir Saedil iad agus ní rraill iad. Mura noeantair rrad an méro reo ní reicim féim sup rir móran iad mar bairteoirib. Berd rocrá nuad ar na rsoilcaib nuair éiofcar rreocáin na boillpibicí ar ball agus mar féirtoir a rrad go rreimreacé go noeairna na bairteoirí rraillige in obair na tíre agus sup éurigeacáir le muintir na héireann do Fallú ní mór an meap a beap oirca mar luét rreirca oideacair. Reucá dair éurige nuair feileat an t-am ar ní féirtoir an obair do leará in an rraic.

C. U.

Notes and Comments

Dublin's Octopus.

At the recent meeting of the Dublin United Tramways' Company the chairman, Mr. W. M. Murphy, invited us to gaze in open-mouthed admiration at the magnificent system he presides over, and was largely responsible for bringing into being. "The most successful carrier in the United Kingdom," he termed his company, but as modesty is not usually the most striking trait in the modern capitalist, we may pass his egoism with that contemptuous smile which it so richly merits. We can smile all the more contemptuously if we know anything about the systems in other cities and in other countries. The Dublin trams are run in the best traditions of bourgeois capitalism, Murphyism, if you will. There are, perhaps, two good lines, two good services in the city, and these two good services are at the disposal only of middle class suburbia. Imagine a Dublin dockerman going into the Rathmines tram, and try to think of what would happen. The *Independent* next day would certainly contain at least one column of indignant protests, not, perhaps, overtly protesting against the entry of a mere worker into their tram but demanding an accelerated service. We, in Dublin, who know the tramway service, have no desire to go into ecstasies about it. On the contrary, for ourselves, we think Mr. Murphy and his fellow directors have very much to learn. They must provide good cars, first of all, and most of their lines to-day have not good cars; they must learn what a good tramway service consists of, and they must give some attention to the revision and gradation of their fares. They are about to revise their fares, it seems, but merely by way of increasing them. What about halfpenny fares for children and for short journeys? And, above all, what about that revision of fares that will enable the Dublin worker to live away from the factory gate. Mr. Murphy will talk about housing reform, he holds one of the keys and will do nothing.

Encroachment Upon Municipal Electricity.

Mr. Murphy justifies his proposed increase of fares in Dublin by a reference to Belfast. It is true that the Belfast Corporation has increased its tramway fares, but even now, with the increased fares, the Belfast fares are lower than those of Dublin. The Belfast Corporation has not proven itself an ideal tramway owner, but when it is compared with the Dublin United Tramway Company, its record shines out brilliantly. Evidently the reason, the sole reason, for Mr. Murphy's choice of Belfast for competition purposes was that in Belfast the trams are owned and run by the municipality, and Mr. Murphy does not look with any

friendly eye upon municipal ownership. He prefers what is by courtesy termed private enterprise. He prefers that everything humanity needs should pay a tax to some set of individuals, so that they may grow fat upon the resultant profits. From its inception the Dublin Corporation Electricity undertaking has been severely attacked by Mr. Murphy, not only in his Tramway Company speeches, but in his Press as well. He has pursued the municipal undertaking with such vindictiveness and misrepresentation that some of the readers of his Press probably believe that Mr. Murphy could do the work much more efficiently. He would certainly pocket the profits very efficiently, indeed. And what of his workers? The Dublin Corporation has at least treated its workers reasonably. Now Mr. Murphy is attacking the electricity undertaking in a more insidious way, he is contracting to supply electric current from his tramway generating station to the British Government, despite the legal rights of the Dublin Corporation, granted by Act of Parliament. The Corporation must prevent this, and in any action they may see fit to undertake it must have the full support of the citizens of Dublin and of all who believe in municipal ownership.

Food Grabbers.

Food hoarders and grabbers must be treated to-day as the land grabbers were treated in the days of the Land League. They must be treated as what they are, enemies of the community. They must be ostracised, they are unfit for the company of decent people. We have them in plenty in Ireland no less than they have them in England. There are people even in this city of Dublin who, because they are more wealthy than their neighbours, deprive those neighbours of the right to live. We are not permitted by the law that governs us to shut out the light or the air from our neighbours, but evidently we are permitted, if we have sufficient money, to deprive our neighbours of food. Such people are not deserving of any rights; they are essentially anti-social, without any saving grace of patriotism or citizenship, and they must be treated as they deserve. They must be hunted down vigorously, without mercy and without relenting. These people know that the food supplies are very short, and because they know that, because they will not curtail their own demands, they wilfully deprive their fellow-citizens, their fellow-countrymen, of that food that sustains life. The pure-souled imperialist, McGeagh McCaw, who would die in the last ditch to maintain the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, will not deprive himself of sago pudding to save the British Empire which he would die to defend. He grabs his tons of food for his

family of three, and keeps no less than fifteen servants to minister to their comfort. The man ought to have been deprived of all the rights of a citizen, instead he is merely deprived of his hoarded "grub" and a small amount of his money. McCaw is "loyal," perhaps that is the reason. As Bernard Shaw remarks in this week's *Nation*, "A Conservative . . . may steal a horse when a Radical . . . dare not look over the hedge." There are McCaws in Ireland as well as in England, and we must search them out. In these days, with the famine wolf at the door, the grabber is an enemy of the community, and he must be so treated.

Irish Food Control.

We are pleased to note that the scheme of food control recently outlined by us, and adopted by the All-Ireland Conference at the Mansion House, is being got under way rapidly. The basis of the scheme is the parish committee. We want in every parish in Ireland a committee representing Sinn Fein, Labour, and Co-operation, together with the best brains of every other body interested in food production and distribution. In every parish the initiative must be taken by either the local Sinn Fein Club, the Trade Union or the Co-operative Society, and we would urge upon our readers within any of these organisations to get a move on immediately. The danger of famine is much too great to take any risks. We probably have food enough in Ireland to keep our people from the horrors of '47, but if such horrors are not to be repeated in our day we must take all the precautions necessary. We would urge, therefore, that immediate effect be given to the scheme of the All-Ireland Conference, which is the joint work of a smaller conference of Sinn Fein, Labour and Co-operative representatives. Get your committees into being at once; then proceed to a discovery of the food supplies in your district, and let the committee know what you have and what you require. That is the first and most essential step. When you have taken that step, proceed to the organisation of your county committee. We know that there is butter, for instance, enough in Ireland at present to give all our people adequate supplies for at least a month. It is being hoarded presumably till the embargo upon export is removed. It is our duty to provide for our own people first, then we can discuss the wants of others. Let our Sinn Fein Clubs, Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies come together and get their local committees into being without delay. Delays are always dangerous, our copybooks told us, at present delays may well be disastrous. We must keep the horrors of '47 well in mind, and act-

IRISH OPINION

THE VOICE OF LABOUR

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EVERY THURSDAY, ONE PENNY.

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Matter intended for publication in the following issue must reach the Office not later than Monday forenoon.

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The Long View.

There are many divergent views about the Russian Revolution at present. In every country in Europe the Revolution is acclaimed, and at the same time it is being denounced. The workers in every country free or unfree have given the Russian Revolution such a welcome as only the oppressed can give. On the other hand, the middle classes, the so-called nobility, the property owners, and the capitalists have denounced the Russian Revolution in every mood and tense. The greatest event of the war period has accentuated and emphasised the idea of the class war, and has given new support to the Marxian doctrine of materialism as a conception in historical action. Those who own things look upon the Russian Revolution as an act of spoliation greater even than that of 1789-93, while those who have nothing, but who ardently desire freedom, look upon the Revolution as a great forward step on the road to human liberty. The great outstanding fact of the Revolution is the demolition of Tsardom. The greatest organised tyranny of our time has disappeared, and in its stead has appeared an insurgent democracy. Is it not something to rejoice about that Tsardom has disappeared? Is it not tremendous that even an organised democracy—a mob if you will—has replaced a system that was not only a curse to Russia but a standing menace to all Europe? The Power that loosed the horrors of war upon Europe of our day is now no more, and it is surely our duty so to aid and succour its successor and supplanter that its return will be impossible. But we cannot look upon any such return with equanimity. Revolutionary France was diverted from its purpose by extraneous events; revolutionary Russia may also be so diverted; and it is the duty of democratic Europe to prevent such a diversion as much in its own interest as of that of Russia.

Every effort is being made by the "respectable" classes to discredit the Revolution. Day by day our newspapers serve up for the edification of our people all the most lurid details real or imaginary. Burke on the French Revolution is tame when compared with the "Freeman" or the "Irish Times." It is only too obvious that our bourgeoisie elements dislike the Russian Revolution. Some times one might conclude

that it is merely some episode of the Revolution that these good people dislike. For example, they shriek when the two ex-Ministers were shot in their beds, and with this shriek all civilisation will join; they dislike the cavalier way in which the Constituent Assembly was dissolved. Our newspapers, too, dislike very much the repudiation of indebtedness by Russia. Of course they regret this because Russia will be injured and her development impeded. There are no regrets expressed when Russia's repudiated debt is partially put on to our shoulders by the British Government. The sacred rights of bondholders must be protected at whatever cost. And then the worker will pay. He may as well pay the Tsar's debts as Lloyd George's. Finally our papers are concerned in the maintenance of the supremacy of the Greek Church in Russia. For the first time in her history Russia now has the right to think freely. The Greek Church has been disestablished and has retorted by excommunicating the Bolshevik leaders. Yet while we get lurid tales of anti-Christian conduct on the part of the Russian revolutionaries, it is almost by accident that we hear of the release of the Archbishop of Lemberg who has been for three years a prisoner of the Tsar. It is not so much social and political purity that actuates our journals as a desire to thwart the Revolution at any cost. There is an organised attempt to turn our minds from the great central fact to the comparatively insignificant incidents.

The desire of the propertied people is to smash the Revolution. The same classes and the same weapons with which the French Revolution was assailed are being used to-day to attack the Russian Revolution. Danton's reply was the heads of a King and a Queen; Lenin and Trotsky reply with the magnificent gesture of repudiation of debt. The French Revolution was apparently killed by a "whiff of grapeshot"; it was not really killed, it survived even Waterloo, and lives to-day as surely as it did in '93. Its spirit lives because it is essentially the spirit of democracy, because it inspires men and women on the road to liberty. The Russian Revolution is a milestone upon the same road; it is a cheering milestone where milestones are not numerous. It has cheered Ireland and we rejoice that Ireland has risen to the time. The great demonstration at the Mansion House to welcome the Revolution and to show the Revolutionaries that they have our sympathy was an inspiring gathering. Rarely have we seen such a crowd, never have we witnessed such a display of enthusiasm. The Russians have brought Ireland into the international limelight, and upon their formula of the right of peoples to determine their own government some of our future hope must rest. It is right that Ireland should range herself on the side of European progress. It is the correct tradition. Ireland responded to the appeal of France at the end of the 18th century; Ireland responds to Russia at the beginning of the 20th century. We must keep a tight grip upon principles, for which Russia contends, and not allow ourselves to be drawn aside by mere incidentals. The great principle is national freedom. All the rest—whatever our "Freeman" and "Times" may say—are merely incidental. To the principles let us cling.

One Irish Trade Union By TADHG UA BARRA

In a former article I tried to demonstrate that Irish Trades Unionism was incompetent because it leant on the broken reed of English control. Before I go further let me say that even if—as Tom Johnson so ably claims—the English connection was really beneficial, such trades unionism is based on wrong foundations. Mr. Johnson's argument is based on the Cross-Channel trades unions being international. If they were they would have a claim on us, but they are not, they are English, or British if you like, but international? No they have not even a connection with the nearest country to them, France, or any working agreement worth talking of with even the British Colonies. But even if they had they are on a wrong basis. Each trades union is independent of the other for all practical purposes, having no claim on the assistance of the other outside the natural sympathy of fellow feeling. The engineers strike, and the others consider the fight no business of theirs other than to give sympathy, practical or otherwise. So with the others, until we have the common sight of one set of trades unionists working in with a firm where another section are fighting for some right. Now if the oft-quoted labour motto is "an injury to one is the concern of all," a strike should mean that all trades sections should declare war at the same moment. Sometimes we have even seen one section ordered back by their leaders whilst the strike is on. Moreover, how often is the boss enabled to break a strike because of the help given him by trade unionists who, whilst their sympathy is with the strike, must obey the order of his own society and work on. Surely something rotten in the state of Denmark, where this occurs.

The remedy for Irish trades unionism therefore is: Irish control and unity of control. Irish control is necessary to build up Irish trades unionism to its proper level, so that it may be strong enough to assume its proper place in the nation when we follow the Bolshevik example. Surely to heaven, we cannot be asking Henderson and Wilson to permit us to do this. Henderson has said, speaking officially as chairman of the British Labour Party, that Ireland's fate is to be left in the hands of the capitalist Lloyd George Convention, and we are yet awaiting a refutation from the Irish Labour Party. If they were at Nottingham, they seemed to have been good boys and kept quiet.* We have seen men victimized in Cork and their comrades having to await permission of their English leaders before taking action, and we have seen what happened during the great Dublin strike, when those who since sold their own members as conscripts manoeuvred the withdrawal of Cross-Channel help. Irish conditions require separate consideration to those of England. If that consideration is to be through a Cross-Channel view it will be of necessity different from an Irish view. I say Irish matters should be dealt with from an Irish view point in labour as in all other matters. Irish capitalism is different from English capitalism in that it is detached from the country. English interests make the Irish capitalists ape their trade and accept their control instead of seeking direct trade with other countries without having to send through England. This mean spiritedness is commensurate with their outlook as a slave nation and reacts on their dealings with employees as they believe with the English capitalists that their business is to sweat as much profit as possible out of their workers. They unite to be all the more successful in this and victimize all who oppose their sway in the confidence that the law is on their side and even immunity is theirs from condemnation by those who preach from the pulpits that boycotting is immoral when the workers ostracise a sweater.

The only hope of the Irish worker is unity. In action and in demand the worker must act as a unit. How is this to be brought about. The machinery is already here in the Irish Labour Congress. This should control the Irish workers as one big trades union, making the cause of the individual the concern of the multitude, insisting on fair wages and

conditions, and we hope before long insisting on the control of industry itself in peace as it is in war in the interests, not of the capitalist, but of the nation; consolidating Irish funds to secure the necessary war chest and having various departments for the control of pensions; poor law, education, technical and otherwise, and of all the other interests which affect the Irish worker. Proper organisation can secure all these even under the alien system at present in existence.

To my mind the whole system of trades unionism badly wants overhauling. Workers' combinations have been more conservative than the most crusted Tory aristocracy in its traditional exclusiveness. Close borough trades even obtain to-day, debarring other than the blue-blooded from entry into particular crafts, and the mediaeval system of apprenticeship is held holy by those who fail to see that the mentality or ability of one individual would make him as proficient irrespective of time as another would fail to be even with the full term of apprenticeship served. The present writer is entitled to go to a certain trade and earn according to his ability at any time he fancies, even though he knows nothing about the business at the present moment. These absurdities should be put an end to and a boy—no matter what his father might be—be entitled, by the acquisition of technical knowledge, to perfect himself in the handicraft that gives best promise to his talents.

To protect such against unfair exploitation should be the root idea of workers' organisation. The standardisation of the work and the craftsman, the combination of each class of craftsman for self-advancement, and the union of all such combinations for the control of output and the securing of the rightful share of the profit, or better still the securing of a wage which will enable the dependents of the craftsman (and by craftsman I mean the man with the shovel as well as the man with the plane) to be properly clothed and fed, should follow as a matter of course. Then, whilst waiting for the time when we may follow the example of Russia's workers, we should centralise control of organisation in the local trades councils who, and not the sectional organisations, should have the control of the strike weapon, these again to be under control of district or provincial councils which would be in turn directly responsible to the Trades Congress. The agricultural labourer is to me as much a craftsman as the city man and should be brought in, if only to protect him against the self-seekers who exploit him at present. All should be organised, each unit to be self-contained, but co-ordinating and co-operating with each other in such a manner as to be each a company or regiment in labours' army of moral force, ready to insist that as the essence of good government is the greatest good for the greatest number, that the worker, being numerically entitled to the greatest good shall and must secure such, not by the favour of king, capitalist, or politician, but as his right.

Where are we to begin? Let the Labour Congress call an embargo on the funds of Irish trades unionist going abroad and it will be a good start. We must not allow others to make our agreements for us. Least of all, such as those who have been the willing tools of a capitalist government, who have sold their trust even as Redmond was unable to sell his, and who deny to Ireland the right of self-determination which they have in their power to give whilst hypocritically demanding that Germany will give such to countries over which England has no control.

Irish Labour must get ready for freedom by learning to stand without help. When are we going to begin?

* The Irish Trade Union Congress is not affiliated to the British Labour Party and therefore was not represented at Nottingham.

THE "NATIONAL LIBRARY."

I.

Dear Sir,—As a long-suffering student of the Anglo-Irish literary revival, may I, through the medium of your hospitable columns, ventilate a grievance which I share, I believe, in common with other equally unfortunate individuals? Wishing to consult the text of a powerful and highly successful drama recently enacted at the "Abbey," I hied myself to an institution having its home in Kildare Street and commonly known as the "University College Flirtation and Debating Society," but officially described, I am informed, as the "National Library of Ireland." I filled out a form for "Mixed Marriage," by St. John G. Ervine, and had the satisfaction of seeing it handed to a small, sad-looking boy. The small, sad-looking boy vanished, and with him, unfortunately, all my hopes of seeing the volume; for I waited—I shudder to think how long. To beguile the time, and may be deceive myself with false illusions, I entered into conversation with a benign, spectacled gentleman seated at the counter, on the general subject of library classification. The gentleman informed me that books in the "National Library" were classified according to an ultra-scientific development of the "Dewey System." My heart sank, but still I waited on. At last a search party was organised for the purpose of rescuing the sad-faced boy, from out the nebulous mists of that Dewey-land, whence only the bravest, it appears, are ever known to return. I continued to wait. The voice of the benign, spectacled gentleman murmured near me to the Christopher Columbus in charge of the exploration party, "Try Social Science, Sex Relations, Number 3461." I fled. The boy, it is said, has never returned. May the earth rest lightly on his bones!—I am, dear sir, yours repentantly,

FRANKENSTEIN.

A complete authorised edition of the writing of James Fintan Lalor, with a Preface by Arthur Griffith, will shortly be published. The volume will contain some personal letters hitherto unpublished, and many articles from the pages of the "Irish Felon" and the "Nation," which have not previously appeared in book form. A biographical introduction forms part of the volume.

The special Russian number of *The Socialist* is packed with exclusive articles on the aims of the Bolsheviks—one by Lenin. *The Revolution* and the *Young Rebel* for February are excellent numbers. John S. Clarke's article on Giordano Bruno will not commend the former to Catholics. It may be remembered, however, to the credit of Mr. Clarke, that when the ultra-Protestants of Edinburgh raised a riot over the erection of a crucifix on the outer wall of a church, he was foremost in defending the priests' liberty of action.

Professor Gilbert Murray has published a statement of the war and after-war

policy of the Liberal Party, with a preface by Viscount Grey of Falloden, but between them they add nothing to our knowledge. The pamphlet is published by G. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, at 1s. The same house published Harold F. McCormack's *Via Pacis*, the production of a simple-minded American, who expects the belligerents to place their cards on the table while the game is going on.

SAFE AND IRISH.

Although the number of new insurance ventures rising in Ireland suggests that there may not be room for all of them, we feel that we can welcome the New Ireland Assurance Society. It is managed by an elective committee responsible to the insured members, and in the committee we recognise several names that are a guarantee of careful and scrupulous management. Although designed to capture Irish business for the mutual benefit of Irish policyholders, the New Ireland Society is basing its tables of contributions and benefits on the experience of the soundest English Friendly Societies.

The dispensary doctors are contemplating the formation of a union to obtain redress for the injustices they suffer. There are 810 of them, and the suggestion that they could not organise effectively with a less contribution than £10 per annum is nonsense, but if there is not among them a sense of mutual loyalty £100 a year would be too little. A conference of representative medicos from each county could settle the programme of reforms, make the necessary plans, and fix the contribution accordingly, within the space of two hours.

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A little knowledge saves much medicine. [Copyright.]

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The following Meetings will be held on Sunday, 17th inst. :—

Labour Hall, 77a Victoria Street.
3.0 p.m.—Mr. J. Thom, Govan. Subject—"Socialism and War."

7.0 p.m.—Mr. A. Lynn, B.A. Subject—"Philosophy of Socialism."

North Hall, Langley Street (off Tennent Street).
7.30 p.m.—Mr. J. Thom, Govan. Subject—"The Failure of Capitalism."

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TRADE SUPPLIED WHOLESALE.

LABOUR IN IRELAND.

Socialist Party.

It has been arranged to hold a series of lectures in the Council Chamber of the Trades Hall on Sundays at 8 p.m. Mr. P. Coates will be the speaker on Sunday, 17th inst. The Socialists of Dublin are urged to enrol in the Party. We guarantee "work for all," in Spreading the News. The business meetings are held in Room 3, Liberty Hall, on Fridays at 8.30 p.m. Comrades in the country may become members at large. Money is urgently needed so that the work of organising a vigorous campaign over all Ireland may be planned early and carried out in the summer.

Mr. Thomas Foran, I.T.W.U., presided over a packed meeting in the Trades Hall on Sunday, when P. Coates, K. Peterson, W. Carpenter, and S. Arnold expounded various phases of Socialism. A lively discussion took place as to the precedence of political and social revolutions. A good collection was taken and many pamphlets sold. Next Sunday P. Coates will lecture.

Litvinoff's Message to Russian and Irish Socialists in Dublin.

"Dear Comrade Sidney Arnold—Please accept my hearty thanks for your most encouraging message, and permit me to express my warm appreciation of the loyalty of our comrades in Ireland towards our great movement in Russia.

"Please convey to them my fraternal greetings. With best wishes.—Yours fraternally,

"MAXIM LITVINOFF.

"Plenipotentiary for Great Britain of the Russian Workers' Republic."

Aerodromes.

Despite the late outcry about the withholding of labour at the aerodromes, it would seem that the managers don't know what to do with the labour they have. Large numbers of men formerly engaged in agricultural work are being dismissed to help to grow more food. Unfortunately no situations are provided for them. They must starve until the farmers want them. The practicability of arranging these transfers of labour through the expensive Labour Exchanges has never been tested.

Food.

The All-Ireland Food Committee is getting into its stride. Finance is sound and the local forces are being carefully organised. Circulars are being sent this week to branches of the political, industrial, and co-operative organisations affiliated.

Belfast I.L.P.

During the summer months of 1917 the Belfast I.L.P. held forty or more open-air meetings in order to propagate the principles of Socialism. At all these meetings collections were taken up and literature sold, and we are now setting our house in order in preparation for the summer of 1918. A Joint Committee of the two I.L.P. branches is responsible for the open-air meetings. In November last when we started our indoor meetings

our intention was to secure a large hall in the centre of the city, but alas! the powers that be denied us every large hall, denied us all the music halls and picture houses, so that we are compelled to split forces and hold meetings in North Hall and Central Hall; each Hall is capable of seating about 300 persons.

We are having a visit next Sunday from Mr. Thom, of Glasgow. Mr. Thom was the first person on the Clyde to be prosecuted for resisting increases of rent, and he defended his own case in a very able manner. Mr. A. Lynn, B.A., is also advertised to speak in Central Hall at 7 o'clock, p.m.

At the present time we are trying to collect £100 so that we may appoint a whole-time organiser for Belfast and surrounding districts.

We carry on a Socialist Sunday School. We meet every Sunday, at 3 p.m., in the North Hall, and have an average attendance of about fifty children. On last Sunday we had a special address entitled, "James Connolly—Martyr," by Comrade Carson (not Sir Edward). I might say the I.L.P. allow the young people to control their own affairs in the S.S. School, and we do not impose the I.L.P. programme on them, nor the S.P.I. programme either. They not only learn economics, but they learn the importance of character and gain a high conception of life and conduct which will make them worthy citizens in the socialist commonwealth.

Portarlington.

On Monday, 4th inst., a special Munitions Tribunal, consisting of Mr. Drury, R.M., and two assessors, heard six complaints against Russell Bros., saw millers. In two cases the firm was convicted of contravention of the Munitions Acts. The Court was adjourned to meet in Dublin on 18th inst. It is believed the dispute will be settled by mediation and the prosecutions dropped. In any case, the Union has been vindicated.

THE IRISH NATIONAL ASSURANCE SOCIETY, Head Office: 2 St. Andrew St., Dublin.

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[Founded January, 1909.]

Head Office:—Liberty Hall, Dublin.

Affiliated to the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party, and with all local Trades Councils. Reg. No. 275. Approved Society No. 52.

THIS organisation was established in order to provide for the workers of this country a Trade Union with headquarters in Ireland, having its affairs managed and controlled by Irish Workers, and its policy and programme based on Irish conditions, so as to secure for all workers in Ireland higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions of employment, improved housing, a higher standard of living, and a fuller and freer life for all who labour.

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PUSH THE SALES.

"Irish Opinion" is making progress. We have had to meet suspicion and even a partial boycott, but the class loyalty of Irish workers has sustained the paper since its revival as a Labour weekly. But the growth of our circulation is hampered. We cannot issue posters. Our capital is small. But for the voluntary work of our contributors we could not appear at all.

At this office we believe a Labour paper ought to have such a circulation even in war-time that, without a single advertisement, it would pay its own way on sales.

The German Working-Class Press used to contribute large sums out of profits to the Social Democratic Party and Trade Unions. That is the position we want "Irish Opinion" to attain. We are as yet far off.

We call upon our comrades in the Trade Unions to bring before their branches the question of organising the sale of "Irish Opinion." We want more readers, and we want them because we wish to build up the vigour and intelligence of the Labour movement.

You can help us by asking your newsagent to display "Irish Opinion": by undertaking to bring orders to the agent from your workmates.

Arthur McManus has said that hundreds of copies of the "Socialist" are sold every month in the Clyde workshops. Why not introduce "Irish Opinion" to your workshop? If your own newsagent cannot arrange to supply you, write to us.

You can distribute specimen copies to your friends, at branch meetings—everywhere. We send specimen copies anywhere carriage paid. Ask for a bundle.

Let us have a Big Push for Labour. The people's Press will bring the people's Freedom. Boom "Irish Opinion"—and tell us what you are doing.

JOSEPH McDONNELL,

Manager,

P.S.—To I.L.P. and S.P.I. branches—'Nuff sed.

How Fellow-Workers are Helping.

One comrade in a small Midland township gets a parcel every week. He loses 2d. weekly.

Limerick is 6 dozen up.

Alba takes 12 dozen more this week and Sasana 9 dozen.

Sligo Trade Unionists employ a boy to sell the paper. He pockets the profits.

The Western Trade Union branches are faithful backers.

Some Dublin newsboys have done well out of "Irish Opinion," we haven't.

Belfast is the Black Spot.

Derry sales are up—but are not what they should be in such a strong Trade Union centre.

One polite Derry man calls "Irish Opinion" "a b— Sinn Fein rag." Another says it is "the organ of the Redmondites." If they pay their money they are entitled to their "Opinions."

Comrade Joe Metcalfe keeps a bundle on the counter at 31 Eden Quay. Other Trade Union offices please copy.

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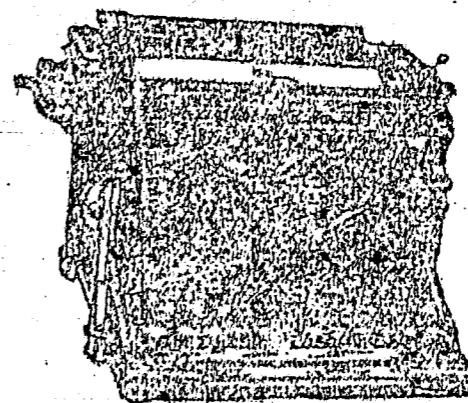
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The Irish Labour Party & the Middle Classes

By P. COATES.

"W. B. W.," in "Irish Opinion" of January 19th, drew attention to a serious defect in the constitution of the Irish Labour Party, viz., the exclusion from membership of all but trade unionists. It was fitting that that defect should have been pointed out by one who is apparently willing and eager to help, but precluded from doing so by the constitution.

It is difficult to believe that the framers of the constitution wish to shut out those members of the middle-class who are desirous of assisting the party in the herculean tasks in front of it. If that is the intention of those responsible for drafting the constitution, I hope the rank and file will insist on the matter being reconsidered.

We are all agreed that the party is, and must be, essentially a party of the working class; that its aims are, and must be, the betterment and ultimate economic and social emancipation of the toiling masses of Ireland; that under no conceivable circumstances can we allow it to be diverted from these aims.

I readily admit that any middle class person who, whilst not endorsing our objectives, yet joined our ranks, would be a danger to the party, and, as such, should be rigorously excluded. But, why exclude those who do subscribe to both our objectives and tactics, and are willing to work, as comrades, for their attainment? Even the most sanguine amongst us will, I presume, admit that the realisation of our ultimate ideals will require years of persistent educational work. Then why debar any who are honestly keen on helping? There is no country in Europe where the political organisation of the workers is as backward as in Ireland, and none in which the movement is confined solely to trade unionists.

Throughout the whole Continent, and for that matter in every country on the planet where a political-labour-movement exists, it embraces within its ranks members of all classes, who are in agreement with its aims and tactics, and who accept its discipline. Then, why should we in Ireland say: "We don't want your aid."

In this country, apart from the writings of James Connolly, the movement has got scarcely any literature, whilst on the Continent it possesses a magnificent literature, scientific and scholarly, without which the Labour parties there

could never have reached their present strength. In Germany—which possessed the best politically and industrially organised working class in the world—great stress was laid by the leaders on the importance of a good working-class literature, also of an efficient press. (The German movement had 110 Labour dailies prior to the outbreak of the war.) That literature was largely penned by middle-class members of the party, and the journalistic force behind the press largely consisted of middle-class adherents.

We want a similar literature in Ireland, badly want it, yet the constitution of the Labour Party excludes many who could help us in the necessary research and journalistic work. On what grounds are those people to be shut out? Are some of our members afraid that middle-class adherents would use the movement to get political careers for themselves, and side-track or betray it when it would suit their own purposes. Well, any man, either from the working or middle class, may join the movement with such intentions, that danger is in the nature of things, it cannot be wholly avoided, it can and will be minimised as the education of the rank and file progresses.

True, many middle-class English Socialists, during the war, such as Hyndman, Bax, Cunningham-Graham, etc., have out-jingooed the jingoes; have, from their armchairs, been as callous and inhuman as the most brutal militarists, but the same applies to some English trade union leaders, such as Hodge, Roberts, Barnes, Thorne, etc. On the other hand, middle-class English Socialists, like Snowden, Macdonald, etc., have remained faithfully to the principles which they preached in peace times, and the same can be said of many English trade union officials, like Smillie, Robert Williams, etc. If it is urged that middle-class people have more often betrayed the workers than men who have come from the ranks of the toilers, it is for those who maintain that view to let us have their facts. Surely if there was any weight in the contention, the movement in those countries where it has opened its ranks to middle-class people would long ago have expelled them, and, so far as I know, such a proposal has not even been discussed.

I sincerely hope that the party will devise some means of enrolling members of all classes who endorse its aims and tactics.

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