

• IRISH OPINION •

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ONE PENNY

Industrial Slavery. Glasgow Rebels "Pro-Irish." The Corrupter-General.

:: Marx, Utopia, and The Class War. ::
By M. W. ROBIESON, M.A., QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

Marx wrote a great deal on philosophical and scientific subjects, but everything he had to say about them was meant to lead up to his Socialism. He belonged in philosophy to a school of thought which was very important eighty years ago but has now almost utterly vanished. Most of his main doctrines are mixed up with ideas and theories which few people can nowadays accept, and it is not easy to disentangle what is true and important. Yet the most useful thing one can do in estimating Marx's contribution to science and philosophy is to point out in what respects he advanced on his predecessors and marked out the main lines which Socialist theory must follow.

(1) Marx made Utopianism impossible, and did it so completely that we are apt to forget how great a service the doing of it was. The Utopian thought that a new and perfect society might be brought into being at any time if only people would purify their hearts and set about it. Some of them wished to set up new states in distant parts of the world; others proposed insurrections and violence to clear away the ruins of the old society so that they might begin anew. As against both Marx maintained that until the economic basis of the new society had been laid down within the old, all this was useless and doomed to failure. Even if an insurrection were successful the result would only be disaster. No Socialist previously had ever realised that societies develop and change in a regular way, and tried to discover the laws which this development follows.

(2) In studying this development, Marx held also, it is all-important to know how the economic basis of society alters. Political divisions and changes really follow the economic. You know nothing about a society until you have discovered what the relations of classes within it are. When Marx talks of a class, he always means an economic class.

(3) What distinguishes the existing state of things is the conflict between the capitalist class (which owns the means of production) and the working class or proletariat. The interests of these two are fundamentally opposed, and must remain so. This gives us a perfectly clear distinction between theories which are really Socialist and theories which only pretend to be. A theory of the former kind is revolutionary and desires to abolish the wage system, in which labour is a

mere commodity, but which is the natural expression of the conflict of capital and labour. On the other hand, reform only aims at improving the wage system or making it less intolerable.

(4) A further essential point in Marx's doctrine is that in the Socialist society which is to take the place of the capitalist there will be no economic classes at all, because private property in the things we now call capital and in land will have disappeared. This further mark of Socialism enables us to distinguish it from a scheme like that advocated by Mr. Belloc, which also recognises that the wage system is the enemy, but proposes to abolish it and restore the independence of men by making the possession of some property universal.

These are the main principles which Marx was the first to state quite clearly and connect with one another, though most of them can be traced in one form or another in previous writers. In working them out he connected them with other ideas, some of which, such as the labour theory of value, have attracted too much attention. The real purpose of the theory of value is only to show or to help to show how the capitalist system must break down and a Socialist society take its place. I think we may say that this will not happen as Marx expected, because Capitalism has in various ways gained a new lease of life. This, however, does not show that Marx was wrong in regarding the wage system as the fundamental thing in existing society, in maintaining that so long as it persisted there must be exploitation, or in his view of what ought to replace it. About the means to Socialism and the structure of Socialist society, Marx really laid down nothing but the general principles I have named. We know what his German followers thought about these things, and we shall disagree with them if we are wise. In both respects considerable adaptation to varying circumstances is possible, and what the disciples of Marx ought to be doing is discussing these questions in the light of changing conditions, instead of troubling about the letter of Marx and the text of his gospel.

In Ireland in particular, Socialists are unlikely to become hide-bound pedants. Marx's doctrine was worked out with

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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

we do not know—has intervened and Longuet's article is a pleasure deferred. Poor as this issue is as a centenary number, we hope it is not altogether unworthy of the man we commemorate and the movement that follows him in Ireland.

Of the general strike we must say something, however brief. It was a magnificent and a complete triumph throughout the whole island, Belfast and some other spots in the North alone excepted. In the East and West, the South and the Midlands it exceeded all expectations and anticipations. Not a wheel turned in industry, not an ounce of wealth was produced for profit, and precious little for pleasure. As a demonstration of the strength of organised Labour, of the determination of the people to resist conscription, and of the passion and pride of a nation aroused, it was an unqualified success. The men who conceived it, the Congress which decreed it, the men who organised it and the men and women who carried it out with great and splendid enthusiasm, with grim, set purpose, and yet with that gaiety of heart and spirit we saw in dear old Dublin, are to be congratulated if ever a people were.

It was only a demonstration, a warning, a portent of what will come should the occasion demand it. As such we commend it to the powers that presently be, though indeed we feel that they appreciate its meaning as fully as we do. To the workers we also commend it as a demonstration of the mighty strength that is theirs when they have the will to use it. Tuesday, April 23, 1918, the anniversary of Clontarf, the anniversary of that Sunday that was to be the first of the Republic, taught the workers of Ireland, and of Europe, we hope, that when they all fold their arms and stand idly by the world is theirs for the taking. It is a tremendous power, not lightly to be used. When the workers of Ireland decide to use it again we know they will use it well and willingly.

Now let us all get back again to our campaign of preparedness.

Dungarvan.—The active work of the local members of the I.T. and G.W.U. is rallying the workers into the One Big Union. There are 275 members in the branch while Stradbally section grows weekly. Various associations in the district are coming over to the Transport Union in order to make their past labours truly effective. Two members of the branch, J. Butler and P. Walsh, sit on the National Defence Fund Committee.

Bradford Trades Council denounces the conscription of Ireland as "the greatest atrocity since Germany invaded Belgium." Right, comrades, we agree.

Trade Union Propaganda.—Trade Union branches desirous of obtaining the services of speakers for public meetings and demonstrations, are invited to communicate with the Lecture Secretary, Room 3, Liberty Hall. The necessity of an open-air educational campaign has been strongly urged in the "Voice of Labour." The Socialist Party will willingly assist in any purely trade union efforts.

The Irish Mission in London.

Last week-end Mr. Thomas Johnson, of the National Executive and a Labour member of the Mansion House Conference; and the present writer were sent by Irish Labour as a No-conscription delegation to London. The purpose of our visit was to explain the situation in Ireland to representative and leading men and women in the Labour and democratic movements in England and particularly to put before them the views of Irish Labour on the conscription issue. During the three days of our visit we were kept busy with conferences, formal and informal, and interviews with many of the guiding spirits of the movement in England.

Amongst those whom we met was M. Camille Huysmans, Secretary to the International. From a Belgian friend who interested himself in an attempt to arouse English opinion after Easter Week, 1916, we learned that the prospect of tragedy in Ireland through the operation of conscription has been a daily subject of discussion with Huysmans and his comrades since the Man Power Bill became law. On this occasion Huysmans was even more cordial in his references to Ireland than he was when met by the Irish delegation at Nottingham in January. He realises the importance and gravity of the present situation and is now, as in the past, in the heartiest sympathy with the aspirations of Irish Labour.

Friends, Old and New.

We cannot say what the immediate outcome of our visit may be since we went not as suppliants but as delegates whose object was to state our position as frankly as lay within our power and inform all who might be involved that so far as we were concerned the responsibility of this grave moment could not be shifted from the shoulders of the Labour movement in England. Both of us are agreed that in this we discharged our obligations with success. In addition we made many new friends and have established a new relationship with the rising element in the English movement that is likely to mean much to Labour if not now, at least in the future. Mr. Johnson was happy too, to be able to convey, on behalf of Irish Labour, our personal congratulations to Michael Farbrman on the Russian Revolution. Farbrman showed a keen interest in Ireland. In London, Russia and Ireland again met in the flesh as they have met, and may again, in the spirit and the deed. To some other friends, to Mr. Langdon Davies, of the National Council of Civil Liberties, and particularly to Messrs. G. D. H. Cole and Kaye, and their friends in the sprightly Fabian Research Department (by the way they are much interested in Connolly and want a file of "The Workers' Republic," if any reader of ours can part company with such a treasure) and Mr. J. J. Mallon of the Anti-Sweating League we owe much service and many acts of kindness. These are among the few who, whatever befall, can say with justice that it will not be

their fault if the English democracy does not come out of this business with clean hands. Personally, we are not much given to blarneying even our friends, but we cannot but acknowledge publicly the debt we owe to the little group of willing and able helpers, men and lady friends, whom Mr. G. D. H. Cole marshalled for us in Tothill Street, and Mr. Langdon Davies in Henrietta Street. We have many pleasant and kindly memories of the Fabian Research.

"A Stern Historical Necessity."

Nobody in England, from the pot-house politician to the Cabinet minister, pretends that the war is now being fought for the rights of small nationalities, or indeed for any principle whatsoever. England is admittedly fighting for the maintenance of her imperial power and in a sense for whatever liberty these years of war have left her citizens. She is fighting now for bare life, says a British Minister. It is well that even at this twelfth hour the romance of the war-makers has given way to this stark realism of the Minister of Education. It is well, we repeat, for the English working class realises now the truth to which it blinded itself to its own undoing in July-August, 1914. But there is another truth that has passed the lips of this maker of a new Irish constitution, and with it we would stay for a moment. To this Minister the conscription of Ireland is not arguable. It is not a matter of morality, of principle, of the rights or wrongs of the case, of a nation's claim to self-determination. No; it is, he says, "a stern historical necessity." We agree to this extent at least. To him the situation is desperate, to us it is desperate too. But to him Irish claims are nothing, English claims are everything. Are we to retaliate that to the Irish people English claims are nothing, Irish claims everything? To him the "stern historical necessity" of his country's need is the only argument he advances for conscripting Irishmen, the only argument that counts, perhaps the only argument that justifies. But to Ireland the argument of "stern historical necessity" is not the only argument that counts against conscription, nor yet the only argument that justifies resistance. From the British Minister's point of view the "stern historical necessity" might well be the most potent argument against conscripting Ireland. From our point of view the phrase embodies in words but one of many arguments against the blood-tax, the argument of self-determination. For self-determination is with us, as with the Poles, "a stern historical necessity," and it is stern and necessary indeed. This Minister has coined a fine phrase that cuts both ways and will live in history. That it is double-edged he shall find out for himself when Ireland uses it to prevent the enforcement of military service. Nor will it save his Home Rule Bill from his own Parliament.

S.P.I.—Sydney Arnold will inaugurate a discussion on the life and work of Karl Marx, on May 5th, at Room 3, Liberty Hall.

Irish Labour Solid Against the Blood Tax.

DUBLIN DOCKERS' PAY.

The Military Authorities and the Standard Wage.

Mr. Anderson, in the House of Commons on Saturday, asked the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether he was aware that the military authorities in Dublin have refused to pay the standard wage paid by private employers to dockers at the port of Dublin, and have sent soldiers to do the work of any docker refusing to accept less than a standard wage; and what action it is proposed to take in this matter.

Mr. Forster said that there must be some misunderstanding about this matter. He was not aware of any refusal to pay standard rates of wages. Military labour had been used where civilian labour was not obtainable.

We don't like to use hard names, but somebody is a liar. As Mr. Forster merely parrots what he is told by the officials, we assume that the liar is to be found at the Military Transport Office in Dublin. Mr. Forster might inquire about the origin of the inspired paragraphs which have appeared in the Dublin dailies, jeering at the men who refuse to work for less than the standard rates.

Father Finlay and National Economics.

The Abbey audience was admirably entertained last Sunday by a talk on National Economy, by Father T. Finlay, S.J., whose treatment of the so-called dismal science was not only illuminating but interesting. The discussion was lively and general.

TRANSPORT NOTES.

The County Dublin rural workers' campaign continues to progress. The menace of conscription is not slackening the determination of the workers to get a share of the product of their labour before Bonar Law confiscates it.

Crumlin had a meeting on Sunday to welcome and confirm a large number of new members.

Dean's Grange.—A branch was formed on Friday night by Mr. T. Farren.

Balbriggan.—Owing to the altered train service the meeting arranged for Sunday last was postponed.

Skerries.—130 new members have been enrolled. Mr. Farren addressed them on Monday night on the wages programme.

As you were, is the word in King's County. A miserable local combination of employers think they can beat the Transport Union. Their lesson will be costly.

Edenderry.—The strikes at William's and O'Brien's continue. The workers look to the people of the town for practical support by patronising fair houses only.

Portarlinton.—Labour Day was a great success. Even the scabs at Russell's stopped work.

Tullamore.—Manager Brown of the Charleville estate has failed to find scabs, and a number of the strikers have

secured other employment. Brown's loss is somebody's gain.

Turran.—The manager of the peat works intends to maintain the lock-out for the next twelve months, at least, he says so. Good. The I.T.W. will wait for him.

Cormanstown has been the scene of trouble. Five imported bricklayers worked on the National Rest Day and broke the rules of their craft by doing their own labouring. On Wednesday the entire staff refused to start. A fussy colonel arrived and gave the men half an hour to get back to work. They refused, and the man with the crown and star on his shoulder straps ordered them to be paid off.

Military Demonstration.

The pay-off next day was a sight worth seeing. The men marched in military formation under command of one of their number, to the works, and then proceeded in single file to the pay-box. The magnificent display of cannon-fodder that refuses conscription made the colonel's teeth water. The dispute was settled on Friday, the men returning to work.

Belfast Dockers.

Employers at Belfast Harbour wish to lengthen the working day to ten hours. The dockers are resisting this demand as its concession would mean that numbers of the men would have less frequent employment.

"LOYAL" SOCIALIST ON IRISH CONSCRIPTION.

Councillor Jack Jones, Deputy Mayor of West Ham, writing in the Government's Socialist organ "Justice," has this paragraph:—

"I have recently paid another visit to Ireland as organiser for the General Workers' Union. I found that all sections, the official Nationalists, the religious communities, the Independent Nationalists, and the Sinn Féiners, and, perhaps more bitter than all, the organised trade union movement, were acting together against the introduction of conscription. All the districts I had the opportunity of travelling through in the South of Ireland were absolutely unanimous and determined in their opposition to any attempt to enforce conscription upon the Irish people; and even worse—the situation has taken such a change that, whatever might have been said about Home Rule at the beginning of the war period and the possibility of accepting conscription with the Home Rule Act, there is now such a resolute attitude being taken up that even if the Government of these islands were to place the Home Rule Act on the Statute Book to-morrow, and carry it into immediate operation, the feeling against conscription would be so strong that even an Irish Parliament which desired to impose it could not enforce such an Act."

CONSCRIPTION AND INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY.

The danger of military conscription is not confined to the hapless conscript who is marched off to fight. It affects equally the eligible man who remains at home. He dare not quarrel with his boss, but must submit to insult and degradation or risk being reported to the military authorities for insubordination. We quote a case in point from last week's "Forward," in the hope that our workers will learn the nature of the menace they have to resist.

No Industrial Conscription! Look here. The "Berwick Advertiser's" report (19/4/18) of meeting of the North and Islandshires Tribunal, held (appropriately enough) at Berwick Workhouse:

"Supper Before Work."

"The National Service Representative asked that the certificate of exemption held by James Forster (22), ploughman, West Ord, should be withdrawn. It transpired that Forster had been formerly in the employ of Dr. William Smith, but that he had a difference with the latter, and had commenced work elsewhere last Monday morning. He was to go to Mr. Whittle at North Ancroft on 12th May.

"Colonel Marshall (National Service Representative)—Is it not the case you refused to obey legitimate orders?"

"Forster—I had a reason for disobeying; I was away all day, and had no food from eight o'clock in the morning. I landed back at ten minutes to five. Stopping time is 5.30. I was at Tweedmouth Station first, then went to Scremerston, then to Haggerston; and back to Scremerston. If I had known I was to be away all day I would have taken food with me, and I was dying with hunger when I got back. After I stabled the horse Dr. Smith asked me to put in coals, and I refused to do so till I had something to eat.

"The Tribunal considered that it was very essential in the interests of Mr. Whittle that Forster should be retained meantime on the land, as he had four pair of horses and was only able to engage three men. The Chairman, however, severely reprimanded Forster, contrasting his recalcitrant attitude with the young lads in the trenches who had to go two and three days without food. He was not justified in refusing to obey his master's orders at any time, and the case would be adjourned for a month."

Plowmen and rural workers must organise against industrial conscription.

"A Grateful Country Will Never Forget You."

The secretary of the Glasgow Federation of Discharged Sailors and Soldiers, Mr. M'Ewan, 57 Hope Street, announces that their flag day brought in £796 8s., of which £564 18s. was in copper. The flag day collection for the Dog and Cat Home secured over £1,200.—"The Forward."

English and Scottish Rebels Are with US.

GLASGOW'S DECLARATION.

Comrade A. H. Campbell, of Australia, known in Dublin as the "Black Tracker," informs us that a great meeting of 15,000 Glasgow citizens assembled at Glasgow Green on Sunday, 21st, and addressed by leading men and women of the labour movement, including Bailie John Wheatley, president of the Catholic Socialist Society, Mrs. Agnes Dollon, Mr. Neil MacLean, and Mr. Campbell, adopted the following resolution with acclamation:—

"That this mass meeting of Glasgow citizens, held under the auspices of Bridgeton Labour Party, expresses its profound sympathy with the relatives and dependents of all men who have lost their lives in the appalling military struggle now proceeding. While recognising the gravity of the situation, we nevertheless feel bound to condemn the action of the Government in deciding to apply military conscription to Ireland, believing it to be an outrage against the principles of liberty of small nations and self-determination of peoples, and calculated to lead to more serious disturbance and unrest amongst the Irish people. Further, whilst recognising that the extension of the policy of military conscription in this country is the logical outcome of the support given to the war and previous conscription acts, we nevertheless declare our conviction that it is the continuation of a policy which, for three and a half years, has brought nothing but disaster and sorrow. Militarism has failed, and in our opinion the continuation of a military policy involving large sacrifices of life and treasure is unnecessary and futile. The time is more than past when the democracies of the various nations, recognising that the interests of the people of all lands are the same, that they have but one common enemy, capitalism and imperialism, should come together in conference and bring an end to the slaughter in Europe by negotiation and mutual understanding. Workers of all lands, unite!"

Irish Labour Press.

Dublin Industrial Co-operative Society Ltd. has affiliated to the Irish Labour Press Co-operative Society. Other societies are expected to follow.

The first trade union to subscribe for shares is the International Tailors' Pressers Machinists, etc., Union, 44 York Street, Dublin, which has lately gained substantial concessions in an important factory. The class of workers organised by this union was formerly excluded from the old tailors unions, which refused to recognize the inevitable changes in the method of production.

The despised and rejected have proved their mettle in fighting the bosses and their prompt support of the educational armory of the Labour Press is merely an attempt to carry out their declared intention to secure to the workers the full product of their labour.

MARXISM IN SCOTLAND.

By JAMES D. MACDOUGALL,

Late of Calton Jail and Perth Penitentiary.

If there is one remarkable feature that would attract the attention of a close observer of the Scottish Labour movement during the past two or three years, it is the extraordinary spread of Marxian ideas among working people.

None of the men who did the hard pioneer work in Glasgow years ago, would have believed it possible that in the course of two decades of teaching we would actually be on the point of establishing a Scottish Labour College on a definitely Marxist basis. It must surely be intensely gratifying to such men as John F. Armour, Organising Secretary of the Scottish Operative Masons' Union and one of the earliest teachers of working class economics in Scotland, to find himself now in the honoured position of Secretary to the Labour College Committee. The strength of the desire for this form of education may be inferred from the fact that at a conference on the college question, held in Glasgow on 16th March of this year, 271 Trade Union, Co-operative, Labour and Socialist organisations and branches were represented.

Two distinct though parallel efforts

have been responsible for the growth of Marxism in Scotland.

We have the Socialist Labour Party and Industrial Union movements which, commencing from small beginnings, have grown to such an extent that last winter in Glasgow alone the S.L.P. and Plebs League in conjunction, had 19 classes with over a thousand students. The men who have most contributed through devoted labour to this result are: Thomas Clark, William Paul, J. W. Muir and John MacLure.

On the other hand there is the Social Democratic Federation tradition represented by the work of Armour, John Maclean and Macdougall. Of all those teachers who have taken part in the classes which have developed into the Labour College movement, the most able and energetic is John Maclean. As your readers are doubtless aware he presently lies in prison awaiting trial for sedition.

The most famous part of the movement is the big Sunday class held in the centre of Glasgow. This one has been held for about eight consecutive years and last session was attended by over 500 students. Over and above that the Labour College Committee organised 16 other classes in Lanarkshire, Fifeshire and Renfrewshire, which had a total enrolment of over a thousand.

Next session we will have 100 classes and 10,000 students.

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KARL MÖR.

Domuigim go bfuilim roim dá éomáirle i dtáobh ádair a' páirde na cumannaíca mar glaoútar an Karl Marx. Móláir é, n' b'neag' liom é an an iomao plí, ac ní réiditigim le n-a lán dáir éneir ré asur dáir éir ré i scéill. Dirigim an t-uatbár raogail de úiríocht roim Marx an Cumannaíca asur Marx an feallraim. A léigean asur a léarsur um neicib' económica; a úilreac' asur a gníomac' ar fon luéc raotair ní raib a páir le páil le n-a beo. Na éonsantóir na úró-úaoine áro-feair a b'eac' é; mar míng-éoir na éruinne asur na beac'ad' daonna ní raib an ac d'ail asur pó-úine dáir liom. D'éir fichte, hegel, jl., da móir an teac' anuar a éuro feallraimac'ca. A leicéir de úeré, de úualirne, asur de úi ann, ní réidit' a páil i n-aon éir taob' annis de'n Séarman!

MARX AGUS S. O'C.

De báir na hoibne do rinne ré mar éumannaíca éairis léir-áirú an an domán raotair, asur an an t'raogail intleac'ca eó mar céarona. Maroir le rcair asur rcairúde tá rian a rmaoince orca le rca, ní amáin an an móir-éir ac i néirinn réir. Marac' go n'rairna Marx a móir-raotair ní beac' "Labour in Irish History" asainn; úi Séarur Ó Conáirle an a luéc léanta an móir áirúce. "Dair Kapital" asur rcairúinní ronnraoac'ca eile le Marx do rraeasraoair meanna na heorra an rligéce éasraíla; go deirinn éair an na leádra a d'áirúis éair an éine; asur náir ac i mbéal a maicéara póir.

Abharac' éair Ríoch'.

Ní mó-rurur, áirac', ríor-úir de t'asair Marx do éir a scéill. A luéc léanta ir éirúla náir an aon intinn i dtáobh bun-neice réir. Denevotto Croce, cur i scár, curraim ré íogna an na mílte Marxac' le n-a mírú an an "materialismo rcairúca": ábarac' mar éairbeáiréir i rcair an domán, i n-imeac'ca an éine ó aoir go haoir. Tá ré amúis an ríar, asur ní gan rca é, nac b'fuil ceora le hábarac' a t'asair feallraimac'ca. Céir ré go rcairann an raogail daonna an ríom-neicib' económica, an rraoái ábarac'ca an raó; go mbíonn ceangal úirac' doirinn roim intleac'ca na rraoine (reac', asur a rraioac' réir) asur a rnaic-rcao raogailca, an móir na b'raoann raó a plí beac'ad' éoirannca. Déantair áirú an an rcair económica, asur béirrair an a malair de éaoi intinní láirreac' ball. Na bun-neice asur na buan-neice neice ábarac'ca raogailca. Níl i rmaoince ac imeac'ca ábarac'ca; ábar a gníonn an rmaoinac'ad'. "Ní réoir an rmaoinac'ad' a úerigle ó'n ábar a rmaoiníseann." Dun a'p báir an rcair daonna ábar. Oídeamái, rraioac'ca, níl ionca ac éairbeánta d'ábar, mar aóeairá. Níl ra doirann rraioac'ca ac rairlac'ca nó aic-éairreann an domán ábarac', "an rraioac'ca" dáir le Marx. Sin b'ir an t'asair'ca dona áiréile. Do réir Croce—marac' móir an beac'ac'—ní raib gan érac' go léir ac móir cance. D'é a úi i n-aigne as Marx, Engel, jl., a éir na luige an daoine eó érom tábac'ca asur a bíonn an éir económica i n-imeac'ca an éine. Ir éineilca an mírú é, ac tá amúis rra na éair.

Saothar-Chumair.

móir cance póir, do réir Croce, an bun-éir eile, an a mbíod' (asur an a m'íonn) gleo táir móir: ar neair a' r canac' oibne t'raoann a mbíonn de luac' asur de t'raoái i rnaic' raóair de gnac', asur dá b'ir rín curleann na hoibneoirí an t'raoái an raó, gan rúinn de a óul do luéc nac n-oibneann, ré rín luéc cairreac'ca. Tá móir-éuro de'n ríunne ran méir rín, rí rín rílte an éir i. Daoine nac réiditíseann le Marx pá raotair-éirac'ca, luac', jl., domuigean rrao nac mbíonn a rcair le páil as luéc oibne, asur bíonn érac' plámarac' acu an "cuairraoái c'cairúca," asur mar rín de. Ní leor ran mar léigear an aon éuma. Tá an rírema an raó mí-éair, mar éir Karl Marx go mí-mac', asur mar éir an Conáirac'ca gléirúinnac', William Thomprón, rraoine. Tá Karl i réir, tá William i rcair a beir i n'raoairac'ca asainn!

L. P. O. R.

MARX, UTOPIA AND THE CLASS WAR.—(Continued from Front Page.)

reference to large scale machine industry, and this is hardly yet common in Ireland, except for the linen industry, which is very much the sort of thing Marx had in mind. The economic problems which are most pressing in this country are those of unskilled or partly skilled labour and of the organisation of agriculture, which are also precisely those to which least thought has generally been given by Socialists. On neither of them has orthodox Marxism thrown very much light, while recent Socialist discussion in England (as amongst the advocates of National Guilds) has been carried on mainly with reference to the great industries. Similarly, if we take the problem of political agitation and the relation of Socialism to the state. It is certainly committed to the principle above mentioned that political conflicts are always the result of underlying economic antagonisms. But errors often arise by taking this principle too rigidly. Syndicalism, for example (which is unquestionably a form of Socialism), has, I think, assumed too readily that the state is and must always be a mere instrument of capitalist exploitation, and that in a Socialist society it would no longer exist. The matter requires argument; it is one of the points on which Marx himself has little useful to say. Again, the doctrine that economic power precedes political power does not mean that political movements can never be of any interest to Socialists, though it does involve that they can only be of indirect importance and must be estimated by reference to their economic consequences. Naturally, various Irish writers, notably James Connolly himself, have realised the importance of discussing these questions, but a great deal remains to be done in this respect. At present Socialist theory, in Ireland even more than elsewhere, contains as many problems as solutions.

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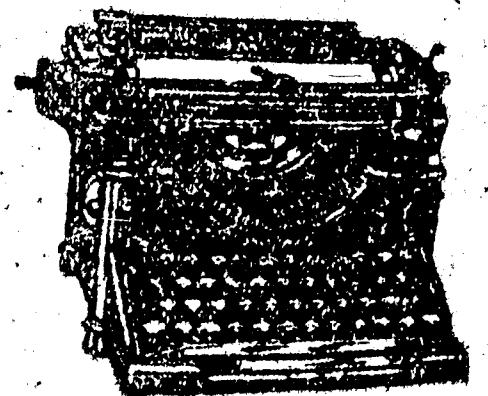
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Irish Labour, no less than the Volunteers, mourns the death of James Gallagher, who met his death preparing for the fray. Labour loses in him a promising worker, who was striving his utmost to bring the Irish bank clerks over to organised Irish Labour.

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BEING DEAD, YET SPEAKETH.

Karl Marx, the founder of international Socialism, was born at Treves, the ancient imperial city which preserves the Holy Coat, on May 5th, 1818. His father was a Prussian State official, who had qualified for the post he held by embracing Lutheranism. Marx was educated at Bonn and Berlin, and became editor in 1842 of the "Rheinische Zeitung," a revolutionary liberal journal, which was suppressed in March, 1843. Marx had to flee, and resided in France and Belgium, but the Prussian Government had him expelled from both countries.

He revived the Communist Alliance in 1846, and with Frederick Engels published the Communist Manifesto in 1847. This document may well be described as epoch-making. It was the first international declaration of organised labour, the first application of evolutionary principles to the study of history, and the first enunciation of the class struggle. It contains in embryo the whole body of Socialist principles and sociological criticism subsequently developed by Marx, Engels, and their followers.

After his settlement in London, and in grinding poverty, Marx set himself to the study and exposition of the prevailing social conditions. "Capital," volume one, was published in 1867.

While massing his material for his monumental work, he undertook the labour of replacing the Communist Alliance, which had been crushed by triumphant reaction in every European country after the 1848 risings, by the "International Working Men's Association," which was established in 1864, to the terror of the rulers of all nations. He acted as secretary until the headquarters were removed to America. With all the effort of organising and with a continual struggle for bread, he kept working doggedly on "Capital," which he was fated to leave uncompleted, but sufficiently advanced to permit its being completed by his fellow-exile and alter ego, Engels.

He died in London on March 14, 1883, and rests in Highgate Cemetery there.

Our peculiar national indebtedness to Marx is the life and work of James Connolly.

Coal Shortage.

The Government is seriously warning us that the supplies of coal will be reduced in future. There are other reasons, however, some of which it is impossible to state why the warning should be heeded and coal economised and stored during the summer. The blockade of Greece should be borne in mind.

THE CORRUPTER-GENERAL AT WORK.

Old Jeremy Bentham compiled a Radical catechism about one hundred years ago to expose the sordid grafting and job-hunting of the packed parliament of King George IV., whose public service, in the time he could spare from drinking, gambling and the society of his women, was confined to distributing pensions, titles and places to the supporters of the Government of the day. The fount of honour had become the spring of moral and political baseness. Bentham was too cautious to risk the attentions of D.O.R.A.'s grandmother, so he made no reference in his catechism to the King, but wrote instead "The Corrupter-General."

George the First, vile was reckoned,
 Even worse was George the Second;
 Never any good was heard
 Of His Majesty George Third.
 When George the Fourth to Hell descended,
 Thanks be to God, the Georges ended!

The gentleman in our own day who wears the numerical suffix (he changed his name recently) no longer counts. He has been described by Shaw as a "rubber stamp," but unfortunately for all who dwell under the shadow of the Union Jack, the "rubber stamp" is wielded by a worthy successor of the four Georges, who carries the prefix of Lloyd.

How well he deserves the title of Corrupter-General is shown by the fact that nearly every ninth member of the House of Commons is a member of the Ministry. Those few who have no salaries have valuable "pickings" or perquisites and large expectations of better things to come.

The House of Lords insists on a distribution of ministerial jobs among their active members. Thirteen of them are among the chief officers of State drawing salaries ranging from £1,200 to £20,000 a year, or to put it so that the wealthy Dublin dockers can grasp it, from £3 5s. 9d. to £54 15s. 10d., per day. In addition to the noble thirteen there are numerous under-secretaries paid to vote for their salaries.

Since 1910, 190 members of the House of Commons have received titles, knight-hoods, baronetcies, privy councillorships and peerages. The less distinguished, no doubt, bought their honour in the time-honoured way, planking down their twenty thousand pounds to the party treasury, but most of the titles are rewards for keeping the Cabinet in office. One member in every three has obtained something since last general election. And that says nothing about what their relatives got.

But what has all that got to do with Ireland? Nothing except that such are

the men who are paid to impose conscription on Ireland. As for David Lloyd George, Corrupter-General is a fitting summary and short title by which he may be cited.

Why Meat is Dear.

Shareholders in the British and Argentine Meat Co. will be hard to please if they are not satisfied with the results for 1917. Profits come to £445,000, and before proceeding to dividends the directors redeemed £30,000 worth of debentures, allowed £70,000 for depreciation, and placed £125,000 to reserve. The ordinary shareholders get 12½ per cent. for the year, which raises the preference rate to 8½ per cent.

Profit in Hides, Too.

Dundee Co-operative Society (boot department) is working under Government control, with the result that it is earning dividends at the rate of 7s. 6d. per £1.

All Irish Films.

The Film Company of Ireland is doing pioneer work on a large scale, and trade unions which wish to help its progress should invite the manager of the local picture house to arrange under their patronage for All-Irish film shows. Mr. Baker, of St. Mary's Hall, Belfast, and of Messrs. Weisker Bros., Dublin and Belfast, has carried out such displays with much success.

"Impregnable.—Austria proposed the following towns as a North-Western frontier for Ukrania: Wydozowskyosee, Prushany, Kamietslitowsk; Wysekeltowsk, Meshiretschei, Radzyn, Pugaszee, Krasnostau, Sroezebertzsyn. These natural fortifications ought to ensure the Ukrainians against any attempt of foreigners to interfere in their affairs."—
 "The Liberator," U.S.A.

Messrs. C. W. Daniel, Ltd., will shortly publish a vigorous and original story called "Despised and Rejected," by A. T. Fitzroy, dealing in an illuminating way with a class of people who are very commonly misunderstood—the Conscientious Objectors, who refuse military service. It will be interesting to see how the author treats of this psychological subject and weaves it into a novel.

R. P. (London).—Writes: "I don't know whether your paper is inspired or whether it is because it comes from a land that has never been subjugated, but we always feel better for the reading of it." Donation gratefully received.

M. J. O'R., L. P. O'R. (London), M. W. R. (Belfast), contributions gratefully acknowledged.

"Bart Kennedy" announces that he is a Catholic. We expect to hear that Cardinal Bourne has entered an action for libel.