

# Irish Socialist

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"To substitute the common name of Irishman in place of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter."  
— Wolfe Tone.

## Cement Workers Show Trade Unions How To Fight

by SAM NOLAN

A New concept in Industrial struggle has emerged during the strike of 750 cement workers from the Limerick and Drogheda plants.

From the first week of strike, disagreement existed between the strike committee and the full time union officials of the I.T.G.W.U. and the A.T.G.W.U. on the importation of cement from Britain and the 6 Counties.

The strikers argued that all cement should be "blacked" in order to pressure the Builders' Federation and through them, the F.U.E. and the Government.

The union officials on the other hand advocated the policy of keeping as many building workers in employment, as long as possible.

This line of policy meant leaving the cement workers to fight their battle alone.

These two concepts of struggle have been argued in many disputes over the past few years. The maintenance strike is a case in point.

### IMPORTED CEMENT

Cement was imported from the 6 Counties in lorries, travelling mainly at night with gardai escorts. It was blackmarketed here at about £28 per ton, over 3 times its normal price.

This in itself should have prompted the union executives to call on all building workers to refuse to handle it.

However, a large number of lorries were intercepted by the strikers and the cement destroyed.

The most dramatic hijacking took place in O'Connell Street, Dublin one Saturday afternoon, when before thousands of cheering shoppers, about 25 tons of cement was dumped on the roadway.

A perplexed American visitor, complete with camera, remarked to a bystander, that this action was interfering with private property. "No", said the bystander, "they are not interfering with it, they are destroying it!"

### ARRESTED

A disturbing feature of this affair is that some men were arrested in their homes up to a week afterwards for their alleged part in attacking the lorry.

Another dramatic destruction of "black" cement took place on the E.S.B. Pidgeon House Site.

A mass meeting of workers took place to discuss the importation of this cement to build the 750 foot chimney for the new power station.

The men marched to the chimney and discovered that hundreds of tons were stored up the chimney itself.

They destroyed the lot. Stockpiles of "black" cement have also been destroyed on a number of building sites at night-time, under "mysterious" circumstances.

### MEETINGS AND COLLECTIONS

In the early weeks of the strike a number of public meetings were held under the auspices of the Building Workers Action Committee, to express solidarity with the cement workers. A wider committee of representative rank and file trade unionists was later formed, which together with the cement strikers held regular Saturday afternoon meetings in Dublin.

This committee also organised financial support, through building site, factory and pub collections.

### SIT-INS

The militant spirit of the strikers was manifest when some of them occupied the head offices of Cement Ltd. in Dublin for a whole day. The same week during a conference on the strike in Liberty Hall, about 40 strikers staged a sit-in in the hallway of that building, to drive home to the union officials, that the unions were soft peddling the fighting of the strike.

### LACK OF TRADE UNION SOLIDARITY

An example of the lack of trade union solidarity arose in the Dublin Council of Trade Unions.

A resolution from the A.S.W. criticised the inactivity of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions during the dispute, and called on Council to organise a protest meeting to bring pressure on Cement Ltd. to enter into serious negotiations. After a heated debate the resolution was referred to the E. C. of Council.

The E.C. in turn merely sent the resolution to Congress. The militant forms of struggle initiated by the cement workers will set a headline for other sections of the working class in the coming months, particularly in the period ahead when the union leaders, in collaboration with the Employers and the Government, will attempt to impose an Incomes Policy on the workers.

## UNITY AGAINST UNIONISM

by JAMES STEWART

SINCE the victory of Paisley in Bannside and Beattie in South Antrim the Unionist Party has split into three major sections with an overall swing to the right. The recent Unionist conference reflected this trend. James Chichester Clark, had one vote less cast in his favour in a vote of confidence than the Hon. Terence O'Neill had before the Rightwing beheaded him.

The Stormont Government's Central Housing Authority scheme was soundly trounced by delegates, who in the main were composed of the local 'gombeen' men, used to giving out 'grace and favour' houses to the 'right' people.

Overall Chichester-Clark's Cabinet is giving way to the slightest pressure from the Craig, Paisley, West element. Faulkner now announces a compromise on his Central Housing Authority plans designed to placate the back-

woodsmen of Tyrone and Fermanagh. He consistently refuses to give a timetable for the establishment of the C.H.A. At the same time Clark refuses to have written into the 1970 Government of Ireland Act (the Constitution of

N. Ireland) clauses safeguarding the rights of all citizens against the outrages of sectarian hate-mongering and discrimination.

The first major division in the Unionist Party embraces those  
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## British Pressure Caused Government Crisis

says SEAN NOLAN

ON May 6 last two Ministers of State were sacked, another had resigned a day earlier at request of the Taoiseach; yet another flung in his resignation in protest against the "manner" of the sacking of his two fellow-Ministers, and a Parliamentary Secretary, for the same reason, retired from his post. All this happened, one might say, in a matter of hours, to be followed by a quickly-convened meeting of the Fianna Fail Parliamentary Party, the outcome of which was, having heard a statement from the Taoiseach, to give full endorsement of the dismissals and resignations and to vote "full confidence" in the Taoiseach. Those of the resigned or dismissed who were present did not, apparently, dissent.

The cause which gave rise to this upheaval in the ranks of the Government was that the Taoiseach had received information that two of his Ministers (Haughey, Finance and Blaney, Agriculture) were in some way connected with an attempt to have a quantity of arms imported and passed through Irish customs without scrutiny for transfer to the Six Counties.

### DENIALS

As might be expected, there have been denials by the two ex-Ministers.

The Taoiseach has gone to no end of trouble in his many statements on the matter to assure and re-assure all concerned that he only acted on information made available to him by the Irish security forces and by no other source or agency. Possibly formally true, but in fact it is so much humbug. The Irish security forces in a matter of this sort would, in the first instance, have been alerted by the British secret service; it has been admitted that for months there was the closest collaboration between the British and Irish services; the security forces here were merely the instrument used by the British to have conveyed to Lynch the information about the comings and goings on the Continent with arms dealers and the transport arrangements.

The Taoiseach has filled the vacant places in the Cabinet and is hoping to avoid a general election for as long as possible. The dismissed and resigned Ministers, for the present at any rate, are making no public challenge and express loyalty to the Party and the Taoiseach.

### NO REAL CONFLICT

In relation to the incident that precipitated the crisis or in any other respect there have been no public manifestations of real disagreement or conflict about the essentials and direction of the national and economic policies of the Government. Closer political co-operation and actual economic integration with Britain has been the main plank in Fianna Fail policy for some years. Step by step the Government moves with Britain in the effort to get into the Common Market and all that that will involve to the detriment of the country's independence.

The dismissed or resigned members of the Government have never indicated any dissent with the policies and actions which have brought the country more and more under the grip of Britain and her monopolies.

Arising from the August events of last year in the Six Counties there were disagreements in the Cabinet about what, if any, action should be taken. The Lynch position won, and there followed a T.V. speech, facilities for refugees, hospital units at the Border, Hillery went to the U.N. and got only a polite hearing; it has been since confirmed that Army intelligence men went into the Six Counties; it would seem however, they were less concerned to harass the Unionists than to disrupt the Republican movement. As is now known, the Republican movement has been disrupted in both areas of the country to the advantage of British imperialism, the Unionists, the Fianna Fail Government and all reactionary forces in the country.



### FINE GAEL

Fine Gael has not concealed its delight with the crisis development; it takes on the appearance of being rejuvenated; it has, of course, no policy positions in any essential different to Fianna Fail.

In the long debate in the Dail on the attempted arms landing (May 8 and 9) the speeches and behaviour of the Labour Deputies could hardly have been more disappointing. The Labour speakers expressed great shock at the "misbehaviour" of the dismissed Ministers; and even greater shock that the institutions of the capitalist state could be harmed and undermined by such misbehaviour. The responsibility of British imperialism for the problems that confront the country and the sell-out policies of the Government had no reflection in the speeches from the Labour benches.

# BALLAD CORNER

by John McDonnell

**THE CUTTY WREN**  
 Oh, where are you going said Milder to Malder?  
 Oh, we may not tell you said Festle to Fose.  
 We're off to the woods said John the red nose  
 We're off to the woods said John the Red Nose.

What will you do there said Milder to Malder?  
 Oh, we may not tell you said Festle to Fose  
 We'll shoot the cutty wren said John the Red Nose  
 We'll shoot the cutty wren said John the Red Nose.

How will you shoot her said Milder to Malder?  
 Oh we may not tell you said Festle to Fose.  
 With bows and with arrows said John the Red Nose  
 With bows and with arrows said John the Red Nose.

That will not do said Milder to Malder  
 Oh what will do then said Festle to Fose?  
 Big guns and big cannons said John the Red Nose  
 Big guns and big cannons said John the Red Nose.

How will you bring her home said Milder to Malder?  
 Oh we may not tell you said Festle to Fose  
 On four strong mens' shoulders said John the Red Nose  
 On four strong mens' shoulders said John the Red Nose.

Oh that will not do said Milder to Malder  
 Oh what will do then said Festle to Fose?  
 Big Carts and big wagons said John the Red Nose  
 Big carts and big wagons said John the Red Nose.

In what will you cook her said Milder to Malder?  
 Oh we may not tell you said Festle to Fose  
 In pots and in pans said John the Red Nose  
 In pots and in pans said John the Red Nose.

Oh that will not do said Milder to Malder  
 Oh what will do then said Festle to Fose?  
 Bloody bright brass cauldrons said John the Red Nose  
 Bloody bright brass cauldrons said John the Red Nose.

How will you cut her up said Milder to Malder?  
 Oh we may not tell you said Festle to Fose  
 With knives and with forks said John the Red Nose  
 With knives and with forks said John the Red Nose.

That will not do said Milder to Malder  
 Oh what will do then? said Festle to Fose  
 Big hatchets and cleavers said John the Red Nose  
 Big hatchets and cleavers said John the Red Nose.

Who'll get the spare ribs said Milder to Malder?  
 Oh we may not tell you said Festle to Fose  
 We'll give them all to the poor said John the Red Nose  
 We'll give them all to the poor said John the Red Nose.

**THE CUTTY WREN—NOTE**

Our song this month "The Cutty Wren" is about the English peasants rising of 1381. I don't know much about the song itself and can only find one published version of it. This is in a song-book published by the Workers' Music Association (London) called "Songs for Children Growing Up" It will be known to some of my

readers who will have heard "The Press Gang" folksong group sing it.

They sing it in a fine spirited fashion as I think it should be sung and with a strong sense of determination. In folk song and in other forms of poetry there is much use of symbolism. Where words with a particular meaning are used to symbolise something else. An example of this would be where in love songs the term "Morning Dew" is often used as the symbol of virginity which will be lost at the appearance of the male sun. A further example of this symbolism is the example contained in this present song. "The Cutty Wren" is the symbol of oppression which the peasants are being urged to fight.

It is interesting to notice the symbol used "The Cutty Wren" one of the smallest of birds, this is to show that although the oppression is heavy and strong its power is as insignificant as the strength of a small bird when they were organised and united — in fighting it.

This is not that the power of their oppressors was underestimated because we are told in the song, that bows and arrows will not do, big guns and big cannons would be required and that four strong men would not be able to carry "The Cutty Wren" big carts and big wagons would be needed and again, that knives and forks would be no use, they would have to have big hatchets and cleavers.

When the Bubonic Plague, or "The Black Death" as it was called, hit England in 1348 it had a dreadful effect, it is estimated that the total death roll may have been one third of the total population. It left large areas of England unsown and unrecaped, which led to the labourers demanding more money.

In 1350, in an attempt to stop this trend the Parliament passed "The Statute of Labourers" which among other things bound workmen and servants to their masters under penalty of imprisonment. One of the declarations of this statute is interesting to us today. It read:

"The old wages and no more shall be given to servants". The Feudal system of serf labourers which this statute was trying to perpetuate was already being broken down and more and more serf labourers were going to the towns or joining the ranks of wage labourers in other areas. The Statute of Labourers was largely ineffective. The labourers were changing the system of serfdom and were organising into an organisation known as "The Great Society to oppose the Lords and their Parliament. The "Statute of Labourers" was altered and re-enacted in 1357 and in 1360 each time with increased penalties for defaulters. In 1377 part of it read they (the wage labourers) "Do menace the Ministers of their Lords in life and member, and, which is more, gather themselves in great routs and agree by such confederacy that one should aid the other to resist their lords with strong hand, and much other harm they do in sundry manner to the great damage of their said lords and evil example to others."

The peasants rose in armed revolt in the spring of 1381 against high poll taxes. They rose in various parts of the home counties and soon all of the south of England was in revolt. Two armies of rebels marched to London. It is a measure of the strength they commanded and of the support they received that on June 13 they entered London unopposed. The next day the King met the rebel leaders and agreed to grant all their demands. Many of the peasants then returned home thinking their demands would in fact be conceded. But the developing situation soon proved that "the

rich always betray the poor", for not only were their demands not implemented but there was soon a bloody revenge mounted and many hundreds of peasants executed. Although the rising was unsuccessful there was to be no complete return to the old conditions. The next year in 1382 a new poll tax was placed only on the landowners.

The names of two of the leaders of this rising have come down to us, Wat Tyler and John Ball. John Ball and the rising is the subject of a story by William Morris "A Dream of John Ball". The rising is also the subject of an historic novel "Who Was Then The Gentleman". There were many messages sent backwards and forwards through England before the rising.

One such still extant reads.

John Ball to the Peasants of Essex 1381:

"John Shepherd, one time priest of St. Mary's of York, and now of Colchester, greets well John Nameless and John the Miller, and John the Carter, and bids them beware of deceit in the town, and stand together in God's name; and bids Piers Plowman go to his work and chastise well Hob the Robber; and take with you John Trueman, and all his comrades, and no more besides, and elect for yourselves one leader, and no more —

John the Miller hath ground small, small, small;  
 The son of the King of Heaven shall pay for all  
 Be ware ere ye be woe,  
 Know your friend from your foe:  
 Have enough and cry halt.  
 And do well and do better, and flee from sin,  
 And seek peace and hold yourselves therein,  
 And so biddeth John Trueman and all his comrades.

Another fragment of a poem which has survived from this period is "John Ball's Rhyme" and there is also the epic poem "Piers Plowman", by William Langland. The fragment "John Ball's Rhyme" is worth quoting as a conclusion to this piece.

**"JOHN BALL'S RHYME"**

When Adam Delved and Eve Span  
 Who was then the Gentleman?



**"I said Charley had still a bright political future. But what about me?"**

# NOTEBOOK BY NORTHSIDER

**WHILE** the press reports thousands of cancellations of Irish hotel bookings by English tourists Aer Lingus appeals to us Irish to "try an English speaking holiday in Britain"! "No language problem unless of course, you bump into a foreigner!"

So Aer Lingus tells us in a big splash advert last month in all our daily papers. Right in the centre was a picture of a Grenadier Guardsman.

No Foreigner, of course and speaks English, and is one of the sights of swinging London.

**BELFAST**

The same symbol of British rule but with battle dress and tommy gun, instead of busby and red jacket with gold braid is an everyday sight in Belfast, Derry and other towns in Ulster.

Aer Lingus is a State financed company. The big salaries of its directors are paid in part out of State funds. What right has Aer Lingus to urge our people to go to England to spend money to the advantage of the British Tourist trade? What right has Aer Lingus to insult the Irish nation with a picture of a British soldier which for the majority of our people is the symbol of oppression and terrorism?

Will Blaney and company regard this new tie up between the Irish and British Tourist trade as nothing unnatural? After all it is part of the Fianna Fail policy of integrating ourselves with Britain, a policy supported by both Fine Gael and the Socialist Labour Party in Dail Eireann.

We have Irish Army Staff training courses at British Army centres in England. There is harmonious and efficient working together of Irish and British Special Branch police. Most of our Industry including Irish cement, our banks and insurance companies are now controlled by British directors. We have a vast proportion of our population working in England. So why not spend our holidays there and help to bolster the British economy, which has completely free access to the Irish market resulting in ever increasing redundancy among Irish workers.

**BOSSES VIEW**

During the last month debate on the budget in the Dail an interesting contribution was made by Fine Gaels Deputy Donegan. It is interesting because it reveals very clearly the mind of the political bosses who represent not the interests of the working people of our country, but the interests of our capitalists, bankers and big farmer class who are to-day preparing to sell out to the highest bidder be he British, U.S., German or French, the independence of the twenty six counties in order to ensure for himself his own selfish interests.

Deputy Donegan declared we were creating an economy in which there is no incentive for investment for people coming from abroad. He then went on to relate to the Dail how he had been in touch with a gentleman in London who already had invested money and was preparing to invest more but because of industrial disputes shied off. He told Mr. Donegan that instead he was taking a plane to South Africa because it was a lot safer there. "That" said Deputy Donegan "is what I mean by the right climate for growth. Our position as far as employing people today is concerned, leaving out Government helps, is that we are regarded in international business circles as being less safe than South Africa".

If Deputy Donegan and his party were in power tomorrow can we take it that strikes would be made illegal, wages would be

controlled and trade unions outlawed? All for the benefit of the foreign investor? And there are people in the Labour Party who would like to share a coalition Government with Fine Gael!

**WHO'S TALKING**

"The Gardaí are the very basis of solidarity in this State, and for 50 years they have done a tremendous job of work. In fact they are probably the best police force in the world in spite of attempts over the past few weeks to undermine confidence in them".

Quotation from a speech by the new Minister of Justice—Irish Times 18/5/70.

In the Dail on the day of Mr. O'Malley's nomination for Minister of Justice an account was given by Deputy L'Estrange of a party at the Shannon Shamrock Hotel some weeks previously when it was reported that Mr. O'Malley threw a glass of liquor at some of the guests, used obscene language, assaulted the barman and when the guards arrived told them that if they reported the case he would see that they were stripped of their uniforms.

**THEY** have a damn cheek with their milk maids and the money they're spending on it and just after they put the price of milk up."

"Let them reduce the price of milk first and then we might take an extra bottle."

These are two comments by housewives on the current campaign by the National Dairy Council to increase our consumption of milk. The meaning behind this costly advertising stunt which involves giving away fivers by pretty girls riding around in brand new Hillman cars is the fear of an increasing volume of milk products; which can find no market abroad and must be consumed on the home market.

Many of the E.E.C. countries because of over production of milk have been pouring tens of thousands of gallons down the drain and selling their milk cows to the abattoirs.

To-day dairy products from E.E.C. countries can only be allowed in on a quota basis. Tomorrow, as a member country of the Common Market there will be an unrestricted flow of dairy products onto the Irish market. It will require more than an army of milk maids to protect our dairy industry.

**PROFITS BEFORE WORKERS**

William and Woods one of the largest manufacturers of jams and confectionery, established back in the thirties under the protective tariff policy of the Fianna Fail Government is now beginning to feel the wind of free competition.

At the annual general meeting last month the Chairman announced "stringent remedial pressures" These include the laying off of staff and the employment of consultants to examine production methods, etc., No doubt the consultants will recommend further lay offs. This of course is the reality of free trade that faces thousands of workers. When is the leadership of the trade union movement going to make up its mind?

**MORE EMIGRATION**

The Bishop of Kerry the Most Rev. Dr. Casey, is not over confident of the future facing the Irish in the seventies. In a lecture delivered at a Seminar held in Dublin recently entitled "The Development of the Emigrant Service in the Seventies" Dr. Casey expressed the view that the system of free post primary education

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## Unity Against Unionism from p. 1

who support the Government—the landed gentry and those sections of the business community whose interests are tied-up with British and other foreign monopolies. (Although vacillating in their allegiance, we can include in this section, the landlord class of West of the Bann, who are now hell-bent on erecting a 'holy' sanctuary for Unionist landlordism in the counties of Fermanagh and Derry).

The second major division is the New Ulster Movement — Alliance Party grouping, composed mainly of Business interests who are not involved directly with the large industrial and distributive monopolies. Some sections of this grouping really reflect the attitude of wanting "things to return to normal" so that they can get on with the business of making profits. This grouping finds considerable support amongst the professions.

### PAISLEYISM

The third major division, and rapidly gaining control of the Unionist Party machine in the localities is composed of the Protestant Unionists (the Paisleyites) and the 'Portadown Parliament' led by Willie Craig. They are mainly small businessmen, small farmers and sections of the working class. They are based completely upon the Protestant population and religious bigotry plays an important role in their policies and activity.

They are the section of the Unionist Party which still cling tenaciously to the hard-line bigoted attitudes of Carson and Brookeborough in a time when British imperialism's interests lie in a solution of "The Irish Question" by a new understanding between Dublin, Belfast and London. Paisleyism did not arise with the birth of the civil rights struggle in 1968, rather it is an extension of the old Carsonite line of the beginning of this century, resurrected and nurtured by the new pressures of the second half of the 20th century.

### LEMAS — O'NEILL

O'Neill met Lemass in 1965 under the pressure of British Monopoly Capital's need for closer and better economic relations between both parts of Ireland so that imperialism could exploit this island as a unit. It was then that Paisleyism raised its ugly fascist head and the vile preaching of sectarian hate was renewed on a wide scale. Thus in 1966 the Malvern Street shootings occurred.

Underneath the sectarian backlash lie the class reasons for the Protestant Unionist support. It comes from small businessmen driven to the wall by the influx of British and other foreign monopolies in the manufacturing and distributive trades. It comes from the small farmer driven off his land by the demands of the farm food-stuffs, fertiliser and farm machinery monopolies. It comes from the unemployed workers and the working class families who have had fifty years of slum conditions imposed on them by a Unionist Government, and as yet cannot recognise the real cause of their problems.

### DERRY

When the peaceful civil rights movement was launched as a mass movement after Derry October 5, largely through the ham-fisted coercive efforts of Willie Craig (then Minister of Home Affairs), two great frustrations combined for Unionist Party members to create a crisis which they could not understand, nor could they come to terms with the new conditions without major splits in their Party. And the Unionist Government's reaction to the civil rights struggle, their coercive measures, their vacillating on reforms, their pandering to Carsonite attitudes — all added to the frustration amongst this section of the Unionist rank-and-file. Thus they became easy

prey for the demagogic hate-mongering of Paisley and the "law and order" chants of Craig.

When the August 1969 pogroms in the North threatened the industrial and commercial stability of the six counties, and with it the profits of British concerns, then and only then did Britain directly intervene. For fifty years they have permitted Unionist Government after Unionist Government to rule as they liked, but when Unionist policies threatened British profits the army was called in and Callaghan imposed a limited reform programme on the Clark regime.

Since then Britain's role has been to attempt to maintain calm without becoming more directly involved in the situation. Calm is essential if Britain is to work out her new 'federal' solution for Ireland.

### DIRECT RULE

It is against this background that we must rule out the possibility of U.D.I. or Direct Rule from Westminster. Britain recognises the political truth of the moment, that even the divided Unionist Party of today is still the only viable Political Party which can govern the North in her interests. If the Right-wing does a complete takeover we can rest assured that perfidious Albion will do a deal with them. Britain does not want to drive the mass of the Unionists into direct conflict with her as would result from a policy of direct rule.

In fact at the present moment the Westminster Government is dragging its feet on essential reforms. No real pressure is being imposed on Stormont, rather appeasement of the Unionist Right-wing is being indulged in. The Westminster Government made no effort to prevent the Stormont Unionists from bringing in the Public Order (Amendment) Act 1970. Their unseemly haste to raise the Ulster Defence Regiment is only to fill the vacuum created by the political necessity to disband the discredited B-Specials and to disarm the equally tarred R.U.C.

### SUBVERSION

The composition of the U.D.R. and the tasks before it indicate that Westminster views it as an essential weapon to subvert the advances of the labour and democratic movements in the North. Alongside this, strenuous efforts are being made to increase the size of the R.U.C. and the reserve police. The army issues 'tough' measures against anyone caught in the street during riots. It is the old ruling class policy "law and order" before "bread, homes and civil rights".

Britain still refuses to legislate a Bill of Rights for the people of the North which would outlaw the propagation of religious hate-mongering and discrimination.

For the entire labour and democratic movements in the six counties, Britain offers no real solution in their interests. Westminster operates in the interests of Big Business and financial concerns who determine British policy for both parts of Ireland. It is essential that all sections of the Parties opposed to Unionist Rule grasp this fact, and especially those Parties who are part of the labour movement.

### UNITY

The present situation in the six counties represents a crisis for British imperialism and her confused Unionist landstewards. But the present divisions in these forces have not as yet been matched by the essential unity of the Left and Democratic forces. At the moment there is a dangerous political void — united action in the mass movements has split the Unionist monolith, but as yet the forces for democracy and social advance have not yet united to provide the political alternative. Here in the North it means

## EDITORIAL

# Labour's Blind Spot

ONE THING the crisis has done is to bring out the state of ignorance of the most basic principles of socialism in the official Labour movement. The Labour Party has out-Cosgraved Cosgrave. All its wrath is reserved for the "extremists" — on both sides it need hardly be added. Imperialism doesn't exist. If only these nasty extremists could be silenced everything in the Orange Lily garden would be lovely.

It has been left to the Communist Party and Sinn Fein to point to the real culprit in the whole affair. At the Mansion House meeting on May 12, Tomas MacGiolla was the only one to drive home the role of imperialism.

Most of the speeches suffered from a form of political migraine. Only half the reality was on view.

Dr. Conor Cruise-O'Brien is unquestionably a very brilliant man. As historian, literary critic and playwright he shows an outstanding capacity for detailed analysis. He is a forthright opponent of imperialism and apartheid in Vietnam and South Africa. When it comes to his own country, however, the un-national Labour virus, which Connolly tried to kill,

has heavily infected his thinking. When asked by a questioner in the Mansion House about the role of imperialism he answered that he did not agree with the speaker about British imperialism, except in the sense that British colonialism created the problem in the 17th century!

All those on the platform want socialism but the majority of those who spoke after Dr. O'Brien attacked him for exactly the wrong reasons. Eamon McCann, Bernadette Devlin and Michael Farrell were opposed to the very valid point made by Dr. O'Brien that a united front against fascism was needed. Their attitude is that they won't co-operate with any forces who aren't socialist. This line means that the only one you can have a united front with is yourself.

The main weakness in Conor Cruise-O'Brien's definition of the united front is that he confines it to the so-called moderates. This term in fact means those who were in favour of doing nothing until the "extremists" on the Left, and this includes Michael Farrell, Bernadette Devlin and Eamon McCann but is by no means confined to them as they seem to think, rocked the rotten sect-

arian boat of Unionism until it split at the seams.

To equate militants on the Left with Paisley is facile opportunism. To think of a united front which excluded Republicans, the Communists and other Left forces means to think in terms of a harmless cliché factory whose fumes would act as a handy smoke screen behind which Paisleyism would sneak to power.

Bernadette Devlin and others opposed the question of Left-wing unity as an alternative to the idea of unity of all those opposed to Paisleyism. This is another sign of the galloping sectarianism which is afflicting sections of the Left.

There is no contradiction between the two ideas. A strong united Left is the essential core of a strong united front against reaction. Both Fianna Fail and Unionism are in a state of crisis because, under pressure from imperialism, they are abandoning the basis upon which they were founded.

The forces exist to build an alternative but until the ideological blinkers on the Left are torn off, Fianna Fail and Unionism will go tottering on, until forces on the Right take them over.

## NORTHSIDER

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may be reflected in increased emigration. Talking of the return of emigrants (a favourite of Fianna Fail at election time) Dr. Casey said that such a proposal would never come to anything unless two necessities were established: credible guarantee of continuity of employment and the availability of housing.

With a Government that is selling the country lock, stock and barrel and which regards the housing shortage as an illusion fostered by subversive groups, there is little hope of Dr. Casey's two conditions being realised in the near future.

Did you know that last year 32,000 cases of distress were handled by the St. Vincent de Paul Back Lane Night Shelter in Dublin and this is only the figure for one of a number of similar shelters in Dublin which provide beds for homeless people.

This fact was revealed by Mr. Con Murphy a speaker at a recent seminar held at Holy Cross College, Dublin.

### WHO OWNS IRELAND?

It is high time that someone in the trade union movement Socialist or Republican Movement got down to the job of finding out how much control of our industries, banks, insurance companies is exercised from outside the country.

mounting now a programme for a democratic alternative to Unionist Rule and the domination of our economy by British and other foreign monopolies. The major task before the Left and Democratic Parties and mass movements is 'unity' if advances are to be made and any move towards fascism is to be defeated.

Last month at a luncheon given by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce in Dublin, Mr. M. J. Killeen, Managing Director of the Industrial Development Authority speaking on the occasion referred to the part played in Ireland by American industry "During the 1960's 80 of the 350 new industries set up here were American representing almost 30% of the total overseas industrial investment in Ireland during that period. The present American restrictions, went on Mr. Killeen, on overseas investment were, therefore particularly serious in our case and Ireland had a very real stake in the rapid return to full health of the U.S. economy.

Mr. Killeen's reference to the health of the American economy is only further confirmation of the correctness of what we, and the Republican movement have been saying that as our economy becomes more and more tied up with the economy of Britain, France, Germany and the United States, whether it is through investments of capital, take-overs or the operations of foreign banks within the country so will our economy be subjected to every crisis and fluctuation that takes place in any one of these countries. Their interest in setting up industries here is motivated by only one concern — cheaper production cost made even cheaper by Fianna Fail's inducement of free-grants and no profit tax.

Mr. Cecil Vard is another of our native capitalist types who fears for his profits because of free trade. Mr. Vard a big man in the Irish clothing industry has issued a warning to the industry that the reduction of duties under the Anglo Irish Free Trade Agreement will facilitate an even greater inflow of garments and one of the great dangers facing the clothing industry in this country is that we will be subjected to garments being imported here, not at the genuine price as a result of surplus production in the United Kingdom. He called on the Government to do something about it.

I couldn't agree more, especially when the livelihood of thousands of Dublin workers could be involved. Has Mr. Vard thought of what will happen when we go into the Common Market and we get the surplus production of the French clothing industry unloaded in Dublin. He will hardly get any change from the Government on this. The Tanaiste, Mr. Childers, made it very clear only quite recently in a speech he delivered to the 10th European Seminar what we are to expect when we join the E.E.C. "It was in the area of manufacturing industry" Mr. Childers told his audience that most people expected the strongest challenge from our partners (mark the word partners) since the manufactured products of the other member countries would have unrestricted access to the Irish Market. So, Mr. Vard you must export or die.

## NEXT MONTH

### A LABOUR VIEW OF THE CRISIS

by  
JOHN SWIFT

# These are the Monopolies Who Control Cement Ltd.

By JOHN MONTGOMERY

GOVERNMENT statisticians, newspapers, and T.V. announcers have made a practice for some time now of broadcasting as loudly and as often as possible that Irish workers strike much too often. Since they are aware that not many workers believe what they say, it would seem that they would try to prove their point by publicising every hour lost to Irish industry. In spite of this the workers employed by Cement Ltd. in Drogheda and Limerick have been on strike for 16 weeks now and this action has been given the very minimum of publicity.

The basic wage before the strike took place was £13-16-0 and the strikers aim is to raise this to £20 per week at least. This would seem to be an easy wage bill to meet in a company which after paying taxes and overheads still makes a profit of £20 per week on every worker employed by them. Of course, they don't state it so bluntly, in fact the managing director, Mr. A. G. Larsen stated at pre-strike negotiations that the company had an obligation to the national economy and could not agree to a rise at that time as this could lead to a spate of wage demands by workers in other industries!

When you clear the verbal smog from Larsen's noble sounding statement you discover that what he is really saying is:

"We bosses must stick together when we face the workers no matter how much we may hate each other in business deals". He is loyal to his class not because he is an honourable man but because he knows that only with a united front can the bosses hope to defeat the workers in the endless war of the classes which exists under capitalism. Workers must also unite if they are to even hope to be the victors.

## THE ENEMY

To start with they must realize who and what they are fighting, because you cannot hit your enemy if you don't know who he is or where he is. The boss knows this too and hides his face and whereabouts as much as possible. Cement Ltd. are experts at this type of tactic and information about them has been concealed from the public for all too long and when we look at this parcel of thieves we can understand why.

In June 1967 Cement Ltd. had issued 14.2 million shares at 5/- each, of which 6.9 million were

for cash, the other 7.3 being for "other than cash". (The monopoly barter system).

The largest single shareholder is Tunnel Portland Cement Co., Croydon, Surrey, England who hold 1.3 m. shares.

The second biggest block of shares is held by F. L. Smith & Co., P.O. Box 137, Croydon, Surrey, England.

Tunnel again?

Other shares are held by:

Irish Life Assurance Co.;  
The New Ireland 0.32 million  
The Norwich Union 0.24 million  
These are the only holders above the 100,000 shares mark.

On the board of directors we find:

A. G. Larsen (Technical Man);  
F. H. Boland (Ex. U.N.) who also directs on the boards of Guinness, Powers, Gouldings, Esso(I.), The Gresham, The Insurance Corporation of Ireland & I.B.M.(I.).

Another director is J. J. Stafford of Wexford Steamships, Liffey Dockyard, Munster & Leinster Bank plus 12 other local firms including the family firm of coal merchants in Wexford.

There's also Mr. Leydon of The National Bank & Thompsons of Cork.

Mr. M. Rigby-Jones of Irish Ropes.

O. H. Lund, classed as a Technical man.

Tunnel has its interests looked after by S. Pederson & J. A. Mackintosh. The latter is also a director in Clyde Portland Cement Co., The Nigerian Cement Co., Ribblesdale Cement, Asbestos Cement and, of course, Tunnel Cement of Croydon.

## POWERFUL

Looking at this line up we realise just how powerful an enemy the cement workers have taken on, a very strong alliance of comparatively small local capitalists willingly led and dominated by very strong representatives of monopoly capitalism. It would seem as if they have an almost complete world monopoly on cement pro-

duction and they have gained this power by ruthlessly crushing all opposition and any worker who looks for a decent wage or even basic human working conditions is enemy number one in their eyes. Unity against the workers is the keystone of their strength.

This unity can and must be destroyed if the cement workers are to win and win they must for whatever gains are made by the strikers will be the basis of negotiation when workers in other industries make claims for increases over the next twelve months or maybe more.

It is to their shame that the Dublin Council of Trade Unions and The Congress of Trade Unions have not used all their powers to see a swift and just conclusion brought about in this strike. The unions of which the strikers are members have strong representation in the building industry and yet instead of putting an embargo on imported cement they in fact, in some cases ordered their more militant members who questioned their policy to handle the "scab" cement and thereby aided the cement company in their fight with the workers.

## IT'S TIME FOR THE CORK COUNCIL OF UNIONS TO STOP LECTURING AND START FIGHTING

SAYS JIM SAVAGE

WHEN ever a statement or an opinion is expressed by a responsible person in the trade union movement the press take a very lively interest.

Arising out of the address by out-going President Mr. Liam Stack at the annual meeting of the Cork Council of Trade Unions, condemning unofficial strikes, Mr. Stack said the placing of pickets on such occasions could not be condoned. So far the trade unions movement had been particularly ineffective in dealing with them.

"There can be in my opinion only one effective antidote to the poison of unofficial strikes and that is for the workers to refuse to recognise pickets placed in pursuance of such strikes. The solution lies in our own hands and we must have the moral and perhaps sometimes the physical courage to act accordingly."

The following day the local capitalist newspaper "The Cork Examiner" was so jubilant with Mr. Stack's remarks that it devoted its leading article to this subject, "Attitude to Pickets" —

"In the complex and often vexed theatre of industrial relations it takes a man of courage to point bluntly to the shortcomings apparent on his own side of the fence. Mr. Liam Stack did not mince his words when he commented on "the poison of unofficial strikes" and the placing of pickets on such occasions. It is probably safe to assume that a great many trade unionists would agree with the outgoing President of the Cork Council of Trade Unions. But how many are prepared to act in accordance with their beliefs when the crunch comes? The whole difficulty of course is that the approach to pickets has been permitted to assume an importance out of all pro-

portion to reality. The picket has become sacrosanct, and it matters not at all whether the strike be official or not: The ultimate is employed and respected, simply because nobody wants to be termed disloyal — a blackleg. It seems to be forgotten that those who place such pickets without union consent or authority are being less than just to the very fellow workers from whom they demand instant and arbitrary support. The country has seen many such instances in recent times, and the damage to the national economy and to the incomes of uninvolved individuals has been considerable."

They then went on with the moral aspect of the issue and added that "Mr. Stack was quite correct when he declared that the only solution is refusal to recognise unofficial strikes and therefore unofficial pickets." It then concluded by saying that it would be for the good of the movement itself.

## BRAINWASHING

No doubt this is a most refreshing article and is a part of the ceaseless brainwashing by the press that strikers are committing a social crime against the public. "The consumers", "the community" or "the nation", including of course, the employers who are in business not so much for profit but to give employment.

The answer came within one week when 500 Corporation worker struck unofficially demanding higher wages, union recognition of the strike and a meeting with the City Manager. The Corporation conceded immediately. The local press here always believed that the fortunes of workers were best taken care of by their employers. Any trade union official will

tell you that the management of the "Cork Examiner", grant all union demands without even discussion, which leaves no room for conflict which gives the worker the idea that employers really have the interests of the workers at heart, and that the worker can get all needs by individual bargaining without a union.

This is one of the few places where this exists, but it is dangerous to the trade union movement.

## DISCIPLINE

Other employers have no use for trade union officials except to discipline the workers and make unions an integral part of the corporate system, for letting off steam, and whose only function is to obtain little concessions for their members and become junior partners in corporate capitalism through codetermination."

## CLASS COLLABORATION

The Cork Council of Trade Unions get very little press except when they attack workers and should know by now, that all attempts to cling to old out-dated notions of class collaboration are doomed to failure.

The time has come for the unions to stop being merely an agency for employers in making workers whipping boys for the bosses. Most strikes are caused by the mean and stubborn attitude of employers.

If the trade union officials don't change their ways, they will lose their effectiveness especially when they get too close to the "Establishment". They must get back to trade union militancy and learn that it is not their job to lecture workers publicly how they should act and give the rank and file the impression that they are making too many concessions.

The idea of class collaboration is not at all popular among the workers, on the contrary the class struggle has become sharper as can be seen by the great number of unofficial strikes. Officials should stop becoming a sort of junior partner in capitalism, with the trade unions taking no part in the class struggle, and believing that bossism and management are in collusion, because they also have been spreading this fraudulent idea which the anti-strikemongers have been peddling that this country's economic ills are due to strikes, or high wages or both.

The troubles of this country arise from the fact that it is run from the top by the representatives of the capitalist and the bankers and their political allies. It is terrible that workers regard trade union dues as another tax on their wages and one Cork shoe company deduct trade union script for the union, from its workers' wages and hand the total over to the union. This type of agreement is the heart of class collaboration. Between the trade unions and this company, such a bargain with employers is supposed to insure the survival of the union within the company.

## UNOFFICIAL STRIKES

The unofficial strike is not only a protest against industrial management it is also against the limits imposed by union officials their unwillingness to take up issues and to accuse them of sell-outs and paternalism.

## COMPROMISE

Compromise seems to be the objective of both unions and management. The union surrenders some of its demands and the company selects those issues which

will cost it less money and keeps its prerogatives intact. At times we get reports in the local press of the meetings of The Cork Council of Trade Unions. Mention is made of issues discussed in no way related to real trade union problems such as street lights, etc. They should be working on demands to improve working and living standards, improve wages and pensions, improve the application of the principle of equal pay for equal work and guarantee the real earnings of the workers against the rising cost of living.

They should be discussing everything to do with the workers life, their pay, their working conditions. They should negotiate agreements, defend individual and collective interests and represent the workers whenever necessary. The rank and file workers are not informed of what takes place at Council meetings except for little news items that meetings were held in newspapers whose hostility is well known.

In view of the attacks of employers on workers it will be necessary in future for them, the Council to take more effective steps to protect the workers' interests. It is up to the trade unions to increase and strengthen their activities.

## THE WHOLE COUNTRY IS IN CRISIS

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# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## FASCISTS AND OTHERS

Dear Comrades,

I was delighted to hear, or read, about the coming together of the North and South once more. And reading about it brought back very fond and amusing memories about the first meeting of the Irish Communist Party in Ireland in 1932. I claim it was in 1932, but it seems to be recorded as in 1933. I know that I was home from America in 1932, on a 6 months' trip. And it was in that year that I set out on a push bike ride from 16 miles north of Derry, through Sligo, Clifton, Connemara, Dublin, the Wicklow mountains, and back home again the same way—all in 8 days.

Then when I was going back again to America, I decided to go by Cork — and, when Sean Nolan heard of the date I was sailing, he wrote and told me to report at Madame Despard's in Eccles Street. I did and was rather surprised to find the house full of mostly Belfast men. And none of us, I think, had the slightest idea of what it was all about.

Next a.m. women arrived to act as guides, and each took two or three men with them. And, even yet, at least I didn't know what was happening. And when they were all gone, here I was left all alone, and wondering what my lot was to be. Then, eventually, Mary Donnelly, the writer came and took me with her. We went up this street, down another, across another and I thought it would never end when, at last, she showed me an Indian statue outside a tobacco shop. She told me to bid her goodbye at a big doorway just past that statue, in the usual way, enter the doorway, go up one flight and enter, without knocking, a door marked: "Temperance Meeting. Please be quiet." just as if I was going to work. I was told after that this was to evade the police who were working hand in glove with the fascists, and "Catholic" Action Groups, and were to tip them off if they could find out where we were meeting. For Doctor, or Bishop, Browne, Galway, had said something about us being put in the river, which inspired Peadar O'Donnell later to write his book: "On the Edge of the Stream."

Betty Sinclair was speaking when I went in, and I very soon realised what the meeting was about. That was I think on a Friday and we finished on Saturday night with instructions to meet on Sunday at the Mansion House for a James Connolly Commemoration meeting, which, although open to the public, was really the final to the first meeting of the Irish C. P.

I got to the Mansion House rather early and met Sean Nolan outside, busy counting the fascists passing in with their black armbands and red crosses. And we were figuring that there were more in than was healthy for us when along came Peadar and Frank Ryan, with a company of I.R.A. behind. Peadar and Frank spoke as they passed us but not a word from the men as silently they passed inside and completely circled the body of the hall. And we three followed after just that little bit more happy than we were a few minutes before.

I noticed a tough looking gent standing too dangerously near the book stall for my liking so I decided to hang around there, just in case. And all through the meeting I noticed that he was just as interested in me as I was in him. Then a commotion started, and, while I didn't know what hap-

pened at the time or how it started, I soon saw a fellow pass out with as neat an eye-cut as ever I saw. His eyebrow was hanging over the eye. I was told after that he went directly to the copper on duty outside and told him he had been assaulted inside. The copper asked him if he had gone in looking for trouble, and thinking it was an honour, he said yes, so the copper replied in effect: "Well, didn't you get it."

It seems that one of the I.R.A. men had recognised him as the one who beat up someone in north Dublin some time before so he vaulted over the rail and belted him. And now the fascists demanded an apology and Mrs. Skeffington promised them they'd get it, but the I.R.A. man had other ideas. He just refused to give any apology, at least until Peadar got talking to him. He (Peadar) told him that he often saw bad losers but never a bad winner, and: "for the pleasure of giving a man like that such an eye, man, I'd give a thousand apologies for it." And on that basis he gave it. But my most pleasant surprise came when later, at lunch in Peadar's, I found myself sitting beside the tough looking gent who hung around the stall. Apparently he had been put there and I was self-appointed. Peadar would remember it all, and likely Sean Nolan, but the book stall incident was strictly between ourselves two. How I'd like to meet him again!

Yours fraternally,

Paddy MacLoughlin.

## SONGS

Dear Sir,

I am compiling a collection of songs having, mainly, a Labour or Socialist significance. The number of songs of this type published in this country appears to be very small, and for this reason I would be pleased to hear of any your readers might have.

I am particularly, though not exclusively, interested in hearing any songs of the Irish working class or of any aspect of the Labour Movement. The greatest care will be taken of any material sent, and it would be returned safely if such was desired.

Yours fraternally,

JOHN MacDONNELL,  
87 Balcourris Road,  
Ballymun,  
Dublin 11.

## THE WEST

Dear Sir,

IF people are to remain living here in the West of Ireland, then the better land must be used in the interests of the ordinary people and must not be allowed to be grabbed by a few rich men, who propose to use it for their own personal gain at the expense of the whole community.

At present in Uachtar Ard, West Galway, a few businessmen backed by the Western Regional Tourism Organisation are planning to build a golf course on some of the best land of Connemara, while local small farmers are looking for good land and while poorer land is available for the golf course.

It is no surprise that a semi-state body is supporting the construction of the golf course when we realise that it is stated government policy that 9,000 more people are to leave the land each year between now and 1971.

Sinn Fein calls on the people of Uachtar Ard, to continue supporting the farmers land league in their just demands.

Is mise, le meas,

BREASAL O CAOLLAI.  
Connacht Sinn Fein Organiser.

## POEM

### A WISH FOR IRELAND

"We do not forgive in the name of love the sins of men: we firmly avenge in the name of love the starving lives"  
(Jaroslav Seifert)

### FRIENDS,

I want to write a poem for Ireland For which to die.

A poem to prevent the screams of children not born betrayed by the fear on the faces of their mothers as the police boot sinks its forceps in.

A poem to cover people from the social rain filtering down as spittle from the jowls of sweating, centrally heated homes.

A poem to build the barricades with something other than corpses bodies and walls of terror erected from experience of betrayal.

A poem to linger as a cancerous sore in the minds of those legislators, who are hell-sent on criminal persuing justice bills.

A poem to provoke the clergy to be honest, take off their throttling collars, and be seen to lead not bleed their subject masses.

A poem to free the old from the indignity of iniquity, the soothing interest of the money-lending chameleon, and the wish to die.

A poem to drown the sledge-hammer destroying grandeur in decay, feeding our senses with a philistine sense of the future, an aesthetic ignorance of the past.

And also friends

I want to write a poem for Ireland which will dissolve all prejudice — and for the military salute substitute a friendly wave.

This indeed would be a poem for Ireland For which to die.

HAYDEN MURPHY.

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## LENIN ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION

We Print Here extracts from Lenin's ideas on the right of Nations to independence. The letter to Kamenev was dictated by Lenin on his death-bed.

"COMRADE Bukharin says, 'Why do we need the right of nations to self-determination?' I must repeat what I said opposing him in the summer of 1917, when he proposed to delete the minimum programme and to leave only the maximum programme. I then retorted, 'Don't halloo until you're out of the wood'. When we have conquered power, and even then only after waiting a while, we shall do this. We have conquered power, we have waited a while, and now I am willing to do it. We have gone directly into socialist construction, we have beaten off the first assault that threatened us — now it will be in place. The same applies to the right of nations to self-determination. I want to recognise only the right of the working classes to self-determination', says Comrade Bukharin. That is to say, you want to recognise something that has not been achieved in a single country except Russia. That is ridiculous . . .

" . . . we say that account must be taken of the stage reached by the given nation on its way from medievalism to bourgeois democracy, and from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy. That is absolutely correct. All nations have the right to self-determination — there is no need to speak specially of the Hottentots and the Bushmen. The vast majority, most likely nine-tenths of the population of the earth, perhaps 95 per cent come under this description . . . To reject the self-determination of nations and insert the self-determination of the working people would be wrong, because this manner of settling the question does not reckon with the difficulties, with the zigzag course taken by differentiation within nations . . . We are contending with desperate difficulties in creating the proletarian dictatorship in our country. As long as the bourgeoisie, or the petty-bourgeoisie, or even part of the German workers, are under the influence of this bugbear — 'the Bolsheviks want to establish their system by force' — so long will the formula 'the self-determination of the working people' not help matters. We must arrange things so that the German traitor-socialists will not be able to say that the Bolsheviks are trying to impose their universal system, which, as it were, can be brought into Berlin on Red Army bayonets. And this is what may happen if the principle of the self-determination of nations is denied.

"Our programme must not speak of the self-determination of the working people, because that would be wrong. It must speak of what actually exists. Since nations are at different stages on the road from medievalism to bourgeois democracy and from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy, this thesis of our programme is absolutely correct. With us there have been very many zig-zags on this road. Every nation must obtain the right to self-determination, and that will make the self-determination of the working people easier . . . The Polish proletarian movement is taking the same course as ours, towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, but not in the same way as in Russia. And there the workers are being intimidated by statements to the effect that the Muscovites, the Great Russians, who have always oppressed the Poles, want to carry their Great Russian chauvinism into Poland in the guise of communism. Communism cannot be imposed by force. When I said to one of the best comrades among the Polish communists, 'You will do it in a different way', he replied, 'No, we shall do the same thing, but better than you'. To such an argument I had no objections. They

must be given the opportunity of fulfilling a modest wish—to create a better Soviet power than ours. We cannot help reckoning with the fact that things there are preceding in rather a peculiar way, and we cannot say: 'Down with the right of nations to self-determination! We grant the right of self-determination only to the working people'. This self-determination proceeds in a very complex and difficult way. It exists nowhere but in Russia, and, while foreseeing every stage of development in other countries, we must decree nothing from Moscow. That is why this proposal is unacceptable in principle".<sup>1</sup>

"The independence of the Ukraine has been recognised both by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of the RSFSR (Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic) and by the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik). It is therefore self-evident and generally recognised that only the Ukrainian workers and peasants themselves can and will decide at their All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets whether the Ukraine shall amalgamate with Russia, or whether she shall remain a separate and independent republic, and in the latter case, what federal ties shall be established between the republic and Russia . . .

"Capital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, and international workers' brotherhood is needed.

"We are opposed to national enmity and discord, to national exclusiveness. We are internationalists. We stand for the close union and the complete amalgamation of the workers and peasants of all nations in a single world Soviet republic.

" . . . We want a *voluntary* union of nations — a union which precludes any coercion of one nation by another — a union founded on complete confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolutely voluntary consent. Such a union cannot be affected at one stroke; we have to work towards it with the greatest patience and circumspection, so as not to spoil matters and not to arouse distrust, and so that the distrust inherited from centuries of landowner and capitalist oppression, centuries of private property and the enmity caused by its divisions and redivisions may have a chance to wear off.

" . . . consequently, we Great Russian Communists must repress with the utmost severity the slightest manifestation in our midst of Great Russian nationalism, for such manifestations, which are a betrayal of Communism in general, cause the gravest harm by dividing us from our Ukrainian comrades and thus playing into the hands of Denikin and his regime."<sup>2</sup>

"Comrade Kamenev, I declare war to the death on dominant nation chauvinism. I shall eat it with all my healthy teeth as soon as I get rid of this accursed bad tooth.

It must be *absolutely* insisted upon that the Union Central Executive Committee should be *presided over* in turn by a

Russian  
Ukrainian  
Georgian  
etc.

*Absolutely!*

Yours,  
Lenin".<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Report on the Party Programme March 19th, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to the Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine, Dec. 28th, 1919.

<sup>3</sup> Memorandum to L. B. Kamenev, Oct 6th, 1922.

# THE UNMARRIED MOTHER

BY ONE OF THEM *contd. from last month*

AS my time came near I was unable to do the work in the kitchen and so was put to work in the sewing room. A nun taught me how to do a type of stitch and put me to work on part of a tablecloth. I learned to do my part which was a stalk on a rose. I did about eight of those where they were marked and then passed it on to another girl who did another part and then she passed it on and so on until the cloth was finished.

## FRIGHT

The result of this procedure was that each girl learned to do her part very well but could not do any other part. We were kept at this work eight hours a day except Sundays and Holy days, and so my days passed until my time came. I was very frightened as I went into labour as I had no idea what to expect. There was a nun and two girls who had had their babies in the Labour Ward. I was crying all through my labour which was a long one, and I received no comfort from the nun, all she told me was not to be silly. My child was a little girl, and I remember the nun showing her to me and saying "Oh, wouldn't you love her father to see her," this set me off crying again.

As soon as I was up and around again, I was put to work in the kitchen again and the months went by. Then one afternoon I was taken to the Reverend Mother's office to sign the papers for the adoption. I told them I did not want to give up my baby. That put the cat among the pigeons. Three or four of them went at me "How would I bring up a child? What would I use for money? Did I want the child to starve?" and so on and on until about two hours later I gave in and signed my baby away. I went away then and back to my baby. I regretted signing the form as soon as I saw her.

I spent two or three days trying to get the forms torn up but it was no use. The nuns all told me that once I had signed that was that, there was no backing out. Then they told me that my baby was being offered for adoption in the United States, so it would be a long time before we would have to part, a year or more perhaps.

## TRUSTY

This news took the urgency out of it for me. I soon found out that if I was a good girl and "Yes Sistered" and "No Sistered" and kept my nose clean I got better treatment for my baby and me. Soon I became a "trusty" and was sometimes sent out into the town for messages. This was a great joy for me after being cooped up for about a year. My baby was about 14 months old at this time. The procedure for the adoption was going slowly and surely ahead. Sometimes I would look at my child and think that sometime she would have to go away from me. This thought used to make me break my heart. One time when this thought came to me I decided to run away with her to Dublin, I made no plans or arrangements but just watched my chance. Another girl who had a little boy decided to come with me.

## WALKING

One evening we wrapped our babies up in blankets put some nappies and baby food into a paper bag and sneaked out. We went to the Dublin road and started walking. We just walked and walked. We were so happy to be free that we gave no thought to where we were going to stay that night or anything like that. There were a few cars going past but we didn't think of thumbing a lift at first, when we did we

watched out for cars that weren't local as we were afraid they might guess who we were and take us back. So as we went along we thumbed this car and skipped that one until one stopped and gave us a lift to the next town about 15 miles away. We walked through the town and started thumbing again. It was getting late by this time, about 10.30 or so. We walked about a mile but got no lift so we sat down on a bank beside the road and gave the children some food. We were cold and so we thought of knocking on some door and asking for some food and a bed for the night, but we were too afraid. It had been drummed into us at the home that to be un-grateful was bad trouble and running away was being un-grateful in the extreme. So we were mortally afraid of being sent back and our fears were increased by the stories the girls used to tell about others who had been caught and brought back.

## SQUAD CAR

All these thoughts passed through our minds as we sat on the bank. About 11.00 we got up and went on, saying that we would get further from the town and then knock on some farmhouse door and hope for the best. We had just set off when a squad car screeched to a halt beside us and without any ceremony we were bundled into it. The car then turned around and took us back the way we had come. They were very angry with us because we had got that far, they thought we had left the main road and they had spent two hours driving up side roads looking for us. They told us that they might charge us and this made us more frightened. Of course we did not know that we had done nothing illegal. When we got to the side road that led to the home the car went straight past and on into the town. They took us to the police station and questioned us for an hour or more trying to find out how we got so far. They seemed to think that it was a conspiracy and when they found out we had got a lift they wanted to know the number of the car and the description of the driver.

Luckily for that kind man we did not know the number of his car or have a good description of him. They told us that thumbing was an offence as well but they said that they would forget everything if we promised not to run away again. They said that if we did run away we would get jail. So in our fear we promised. Then they took us back. The treatment we got in the police station was kind compared to the treatment we got from the nuns. For being ungrateful and keeping everyone up all night we were told that we would be a lot older before we were released from the home. This sentence was carried out. Both of us were kept there for over two years after that. The other girl's baby was adopted shortly after but even so she was kept. My own child was not adopted until she was over three years old and next month I will describe how I was parted from her and how I got on in the outside world.

TO BE CONTINUED.

**NEXT MONTH  
"THE INCOMES POLICY FRAUD"**

# STRONG GIRL WANTED FOR LIGHT WORK

BY EILEEN BROWNE

SMART woman wanted for part-time cleaning, hours 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. Monday to Friday; 9 a.m. to 12 noon Saturday; 10 a.m. to 12 noon Sunday. Wages £5 per week. Widow might suit.

Apply to Box 12121". Priding myself on being a smart woman, mother to five fatherless children. I replied to Box 12121 and was accepted to join the ranks of suitable widows who earned their living as the "Mrs. Mops" of Society.

The housekeeper introduced me to my buckets, mops, polishes and cloths, after a conducted tour of her closets, shelves and cubby holes she escorted me to the basement kitchen where I met the other 'women'.

## MY BUCKET

At 9 a.m. we grabbed our buckets. Following her advice I etched my initials on my bucket so as to avoid staff squabbles. Several scrubbed flights of stairs later my vacuum cleaner whirled into the hushed Library, crowded lounge, halls and offices. Whilst genuflecting to polish the floors, I became aware of my new world; feet. They crowded round me, big ones, small ones, all shapes and forms circled into small groups, chatting casually, others smartly leaped over my bucket, some clumsily tilting my bucket sideways.

Conversations were over my head, students, businessmen discussed burning topics. I was pleased to hear most of them were going to do something about the

plight of the workers. Alas! they were only feet.

Feeling just a little less 'smart'. I tackled the baths, lavatories and showers, gingerly scooping up vomit and other messy substances. I darted in and out as quickly as possible, startled occupants slammed toilet doors in my face, or beat a hasty 'button-fastening' retreat as I hurried along with my distasteful chores.

## COAL

I raked drains, and firegrates, feathered ceilings and walls, scrambled up ladders, replaced curtains, erased pigeon droppings from window sills, polished brasses antique chairs all under the charming guidance of the 'housekeeper' who delighted at my ability to carry up two, instead of one bucket of coal from the cellar.

Following all this I accomplished the greatest contortionist feat of all, by climbing seven flights of stairs with a bucket, mop, vacuum-cleaner, polishes and cloths on one arm and a forbidden 'fag' in the other.

Yet! Something was puzzling me! You know that sort of feeling you get as if something was wrong and you just couldn't put your finger on it, but I was too busy handling a workman's spade. My next task was transferring a stinking heap of accumulated garbage to empty bins. With increasing agility I dragged the loaded bins out into the back lane. 'Housekeeper' smiled quite a lot, and I began to wonder where the real stench came from.

## DINNER

Dinner was 'all in', all found, whatever the label, it was rotten. She watched as we swallowed Saturday's stew on Mondays (providing Cook wasn't using the biggest pot for boiling her corset.) Tuesdays the dressed chicken wore Sunday's pastry, and so on. The staff talked piously of the things "she" liked and spitefully of the things "she" hated. I became a vegetarian.

Luckily 'Housekeeper' had three vacations. Spring she went to London, Summer to Spain, & Autumn back 'home'. It was during these periods I tried to get the staff to join the Union. Unfortunately our senior member, an old-age pensioner didn't think it was the right thing to do. Being well-in with the management she promptly transmitted this news back to headquarters. As a result the big row between Housekeeper and myself followed.

## SACKED

I forgot whom I was talking to she tried to remind me. I forgot my position she tried to enlighten me. I forgot she had my cards. She gave them to me. I was sacked!

I've got another job now! working alongside men. Trade Union rates—doing the same work. Same hours — same conditions. Yet! something is puzzling me you know that sort of feeling you get?

I reckon I should be getting the same wages. What do you think?

## DAILY REPORT BY G. PALMER

PARLIAMENT makes us all brothers or so it seems judging by some of the utterances of the T.D.s of the Labour Party.

Take for example Barry Desmond speaking on the Blaney gun running.

"I share no sense of pride or pleasure in making any contribution to this debate" said Deputy Desmond. "It is no particular pleasure to me to see the leader of any national political party in this country, more particularly of a political party which objectively it must be said has made a long and honourable contribution to the evolution of this State, in the dock."

"I personally" went on Deputy Desmond "and I am sure this sentiment is shared by many members of the House—would offer to him (Honest Jack) not in any snide way the sympathy of the vast majority of the Irish people for the fact that he should be let down so badly by fellow Irishmen in a quite disgraceful way."

## MAKE AMENDS

Deputy Desmond then proceeded to urge Honest Jack "to try and make amends, this was necessary, said the Deputy in order to forestall "any further disenchantment such as has existed in many sections of the community with parliamentary democracy and disillusionment with all political parties. By acting further the Taoiseach would ensure that the position is not eroded further and that the 144 members of the House acting with collective responsibility would not fall in to disrepute.

Referring to Charlie Haughey Deputy Desmond obviously holds the view that Charles will be a serious loss to the whole Irish nation.

"I, frankly, get no pleasure" said Deputy Desmond "in this denunciation of Deputy Haughey. It must go on the records of this house that we have lost in Deputy Haughey much as we may disagree with his budgetary strategy, a man of talent, expertise and charm, a

man who is a profound loss to Irish Parliamentary life" concluded Deputy Desmond.

## ZERO CREDIBILITY

During the debate on the budget last month another Labour Party spokesman Deputy Keating expressed himself as worried about our economic prospects, not, mark you, as it affected the wage earner, housewife and old age pensioner but as it affected our application to join the Common Market.

"We now have" said Deputy Keating "a Government which in large areas of the whole nation has practically zero credibility. That Government is faced with a serious economic prospect. Perhaps in July the opening of negotiations with the E.E.C. will start. This will be done by a Government, firstly of practically zero credibility and secondly about which everybody will ask the question "When will the knives be drawn again?"

## FIGHTING WORDS

Fine Gael Deputy Richie Ryan during the Budget debate strongly attacked the Government for its failure to seek a new trade agreement with Britain in place of the present Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement which from the very date of signing has given the British all the advantages.

Mr. Ryan told the Dail "Is it not high time we said to Britain 'All Right, we can both play at this game. No British goods will be allowed into Ireland unless the British exporter deposits the money in Irish Banks in London. The British are walking on us and will continue to walk on us as long as we reserve our activities to mild diplomatic talks in London. The British to-day may be nice people to meet socially but make no mistake about it" went on Deputy Ryan "their bond in international agreements is no more respectable to-day than it was when they signed the Treaty of Limerick.

The whole balance of advantage has gone completely away from us and in the face of that I regard it as nothing short of treason for our

Government to give any further reduction in custom duties. The reduction of 10 per cent in tariffs next July should not be granted until the British learn to respect their bond and stop using a little country like Ireland in order to maintain the financial health of the British Empire."

Referring to trade agreements in general Deputy Ryan told the Dail that "the British of course are not the only people to whom we have to talk tough. There is no nation in Europe either East or West of the Iron Curtain which gives us any balance of advantage in international trade. This is a situation which is keeping us in the difficulties that we are in.

## CEMENT STRIKE

Dr. O'Donovan (Labour) speaking on high level profits of public Companies referred to the Cement strike.

"Anyone" said Dr. O'Donovan, "who does not realise the dirty conditions in which workers operate in the cement factories learnt a lesson when they passed through O'Connell Street, as I did by accident and saw that every car that passed through got covered in a greyish dust, and it was no harm to bring home to the people of Dublin what conditions must be like if you work in a cement factory.

"That company" continued Dr. O'Donovan, "with a new manufacturing licence had a net profit last year of £1.6 million and the cost of this £7 per week increase to all workers would have been £250,000, that is not quite one-sixth of their net profit. Of course" went on Dr. O'Donovan, "Cement Ltd., may be foreigners but I do not think people who are making this kind of profit will engage in the kind of rumpus they are in unless there is some other force behind it. There is the general idea that they were urged to stand up to this situation by The Federated Union of Employers and by the Government on the ground that they would be pace-setting" concluded Dr. O'Donovan.

# CAMBODIA: NIXON'S LAST THROW

by GEORGE JEFFARES

**RATHER** than concede defeat at the hands of a small Asian people, Nixon has chosen to turn yet another country, Cambodia, into the same corpse-littered, defoliated desert that he has made of much of South Vietnam. Not just that, but with his invasion of Cambodia and his resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam, he has begun not only the Second Indochina War, but a criminal adventure that could well lead to World War 3.

Whoever resists his lunatic policy of ending the Vietnam war by escalating it will be gunned down—if a student on the campus, by the National Guard; if an Indochinese peasant, by saturation bombing. Or worse: as the Administration carefully leaked to New York Times correspondent, James Reston, Nixon "will use any weapon to prevent a major defeat".

The American attack on Cambodia is a confession of the utter fiasco of the policy of Vietnamisation of the war next door: of getting the Saigon forces to do the killing and the dying in place of G.I.'s. A typical comment on the stage of military prowess attained by the Saigon forces appeared in the New York Post on the eve of the invasion of Cambodia: "The Thieu regime in Saigon demonstrated again this week that it is ready to take over its full share of the fighting in Vietnam . . . in a combined operation with police, Thieu's troops 'captured' Saigon University and surrounded the headquarters of demonstrators protesting the arrest and lengthy detention of student dissidents. Meanwhile, Saigon police again engaged platoons of disabled veterans in the streets: the ex-soldiers were further disabled with tear-gas".

## VICTORY

The invasion of Cambodia was dictated by the military demands of a policy aimed at victory, not withdrawal, in Vietnam, and which requires an uninterrupted imperialist line running from South Vietnam through Cambodia, Thailand and Laos. The obstacle to this was not any "Vietcong" in Cambodia, but the neutrality of Cambodia.

That is why the Sihanouk government had to be overthrown.

Nixon's claim that he went into Cambodia because North Vietnamese were "invading Cambodia and encircling the capital of Phnompenh" is strictly for the birds. The forces threatening the Lon Nol puppet regime were CAMBODIAN, who had quickly set up pro-Sihanouk administrations all over the country. *What's more, as is now known, the first American troops to rush to the defence of their Cambodian stooges did so, not on April 30th, but on March 20th—only two days after the overthrow of Sihanouk.*

## QUICKSAND

Ignoring previous experience, the Americans gave the invasion the code name "Operation Total Victory". Whatever else the source of their intelligence — the Fish-Hook, the Parrot's Beak or the Dog's Head—it can hardly have been the "horse's mouth". The resistance to the invading American and Saigon troops proved so widespread that at the time of writing, pro-Sihanouk, National United Front forces have been set up in 17 out of Cambodia's 20 provinces.

The U.S. now finds itself plunged into a quicksand every bit as deep as the quagmire of Vietnam.

The danger is that Nixon, finding himself bogged down even further after this latest escalation—described by Johnson's former negotiator in Paris, Averell Harriman, as "another fruitless effort to achieve by military action the 'total victory' which is unachievable"—will flake out even more desperately at what Dean Rusk used to describe as "the ultimate source of the aggression": North Vietnam. Or its suppliers on the high seas.

Never was it more urgent for world opinion to make itself heard—against this latest and most dangerous escalation of the war, in solidarity with the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Indochina, and in support of the mounting and courageous opposition to the war in the U.S.

## RENTS

By

John McDonnell

**SINCE** the article in last month's paper on the rents situation there have been some developments. I do not propose to detail these changes but will merely refer to some of them up to the time of writing. The most important has been the concessions announced by Dublin Corporation on April 27.

These are, that for the purpose of assessment one fifth of overtime earnings will be disregarded. Another concession is that when assessing rent the amount disregarded of the income of each subsidiary wage-earner will be increased from the present figure of £3 to £4.

In other words the first £4 of each wage-earner other than the householder will not be included in assessment. These two are the most important concessions. Others are that the allowances for wives earnings will be increased from £3 to £4 which is in fact already covered by the second concession I mentioned.

## IN ENGLAND

Another two are that allowances for husbands working in England will be increased from £4 to £6 and Home Assistance will be excluded from assessment. All of these concessions and some other minor ones will come into effect on June 1st. My own feeling and the feeling of many tenants is that these concessions are not good enough to cause us to be jubilant or to encourage us to call off our campaign. They should nevertheless be accepted on June 1st. as they will lead to tenants paying less rent.

Although they are only small concessions they would not have been won without a campaign and are a small example of what can be won by a properly organised and unified campaign.

## REJECTED

I must point out that the four main tenant demands have been rejected by the Dublin Corporation Negotiations are still being conducted in various parts of the country. These demands are:

1. That rent be only assessed on basic wages.
2. That rent be only assessed on the income of the principal wage-earner.
3. That the maximum rent be reduced.
4. That transferred tenancies remain on the same rent scale.

Continued on page 8

## QUOTES

By

John Montgomery

MILKMAN DELIVERS BABY.

—Daily Mirror Headline 21-3-70.  
Where will the big monopolies take over next?

U.S. Gives Recognition to Cambodian Regime.

—I. Times Headline 20-3-70.  
Why not? The U.S. spent enough time and money placing them in power.

Additional Garda mobile patrols were put into operation on Border roads last night in Monaghan, Louth and Cavan, following the attack on cement lorries entering the Republic in different areas over the past few days.

—Irish Times 6-3-70.  
These patrols are expensive things paid for by the taxes paid mostly by workers. They (the patrols) are to protect imported scabs bringing imported cement to help an imported capitalist defeat local workers. Long live F.F. the Republican Party.

In Switzers pamper yourself with an Elizabeth Arden face treatment and see what a difference one hour can make.

Social and Personal column, Irish Times.

Jack Lynch gets cut price treatment for both faces.

"The Irish voter might be conservative, but he is one of the shrewdest political judges in the world".

Mr. M. Mills,  
Irish Press Correspondent.  
If that's so how did F.F. get in?

Reporter: "Where would a black man with a white heart stand, racially?"

Dr. Barnard: "A stupid question".

—Press Conference, Savoy Hotel, London, 25-3-70.  
So it is, how would he get one?

A threatened all male strike to get equal pay for a girl colleague was called off to-night at Short and Harlands missile factory, Bel, fast, when the firm conceded the men's demand.

—B.B.C. News 20-3-70.  
The power of united workers defeats the bosses who divided workers for too long.

Russia has a drinking problem.  
—Evening Press Headline, 19-3-70.

Our problem is finding the money to create a drinking problem.

Mr. Lee said that despite the trials and tribulations of the past 12 months they should take pride in the fact that the (Orange) order had not split.

—Orange Order Meeting in Coleraine.

He then appealed to the ten groups in the hall to sit down and stop fighting.

The Irish Government were yesterday accused by the Ulster Unionist Council of positively encouraging subversive groups in Northern Ireland last year.

—Irish Press 7-3-70.  
The British Government subversive?

# FROM THE BIG SMOKE

BY JOHN RIDDY

**EVER** since James Bond was launched on a receptive public in the early sixties, spymania has become one of our most beguiling mental aberrations. Everyone from six to sixty-six is playing the game, and the only people not at all amused is British Intelligence. Word has it that M.I.5 has become thoroughly demoralised by having to follow so many false trails, and a number of agents have resigned and left for a new life in South Africa and Rhodesia. But let me tell you about my own experience. There I was, standing by the kiosk in Charing Cross Station, minding my own business, when I was approached by one of those anonymous City agent types—you know, bowler hat, umbrella, dark suit, etc. "Do you use a British cigarette lighter?" he demanded, quite fiercely. "Well, no-o . . ." I stammered, apologetically. "Do you mind telling me what kind you do use?" "Well, I-I . . ." then, putting a brave face on it, "A Japanese lighter." "Oh, good show!" he said, smiling, and thrust a brown paper parcel under my arm. Before my slow wits could function, he had jumped onto a District Line train and disappeared around the bend. Leaving me, I must add, wondering if I, too, hadn't also gone around the bend.

## SECRET FILES

What to do? Hand the parcel to the first copper I met? But what if it contained State secrets, industrial secrets, or even grimy, used fivers? On reflection, I decided to open the parcel and examine its contents, as befitted any intelligent man-of-the-world. And this I did, later, in the smallest room of my pad. What a disappointment! There were secret files without a doubt, but none that related to the State or industry per se: and, as for dirty, out-of-circulation fivers—well, State secrets are easier to come by, as any reader of the newspapers knows. Alas, these confidential files had come from the Head Office Staff Department, Unilever House, and concerned the workers in that world wide exploiter of underdeveloped countries, especially Africa. *Unilever!* For the people in the poverty-stricken countries of the world, it has all the impact, if spat out, of a four-letter word shouted in a church. But those secret, personnel files . . . One concerned a Scottish painter and decorator named Bowers. After a month, he was described thus by a gentleman in the "Establishment Department": "Average labourer mentality. We could do with some one a little more intelligent, but this man seems to fit the bill of lower grade." How charming! But even better followed. Mr. Bowers was sacked, because "He has no tools and he is not prepared to provide any." He had lasted just on six weeks. If this is how British workers are treated by Unilever, it is easy to imagine how African and Asian workers are *maltreated* by this vampirish monopoly.

## "A SOUND MAN"

Some middle-class people will think: "Well, it's true that the working class isn't very intelligent, and why shouldn't they buy their own tools? We have to buy our biros!" Alas for them, the lackeys in the Personnel Division of Unilever haven't a very high opinion of their intelligence, either. Another secret file deals with the application for a job by a R. F. Hughes Esq. (Social note: Bowers was described as *Mr.* of Queens' College, Cambridge. The

University of Cambridge Appointments Board did what it could for poor Hughes. One of its Assistant Secretaries wrote to a friend in Unilever House, an executive, suggesting that Hughes would "make a decent candidate for your U.M.C.D.S. scheme", and added that he was "a sound man". Then came the sting in the tale: "I can see him making a distinct success of a production post that would not demand extremely high academic knowledge". The upshot of all this was that our student was sent an application form to fill in, which he gladly did. The people in "Personnel", in their god-like wisdom, saw fit to scribble the following in pencil on his application form: "This man seems from his form to be semi-moron, but we shall have to see him." So unfortunate Hughes was invited to travel from Cambridge down to London to be interviewed for a job that, as far as he was concerned, did not exist. He did so and, a few days later, received a letter in Cambridge that began: "I very much enjoyed meeting you the other day, and it is with regret, therefore . . ." Poor Hughes! But it explains, in part, why the students over here are apprehensive about the secret files on their activities, both academic and political, kept by the university authorities. They might also insist on seeing the files kept on them by the firms to which they apply for jobs, for it is in these that their character and potential is really assassinated.

## IN IRELAND, TOO?

Of course! We and the Chinese invented, and thereafter polished, the art of spying, many centuries ago. Unfortunately, *our* best spies (called "informers" were in the pay of the British, but that's another story. Spymania has always existed in the Left-wing movement throughout the world, and with good reason, for the secret police always endeavour to get their men into Leftish organisations. And the less disciplined the organisation, the easier to plant their men. Which explains why radical students, wild anarchists, blinkered Trotskyists and the like, constantly play into the hands of the State and the Right-wing forces. But spymania in Ireland has its funny side as well. When I was in Dublin recently, I had a few drinks with two Left-wing friends in the Pearl Bar. We discussed world politics quite openly, and anyone who wished to listen in could have done so at the far end of the room, for at least two of us had very powerful voices. After several hours of this, one of these men noticed a squarish, black-leather covered object lying on the counter before us with, what looked to him, suspicious innocuity. "It that a tape-recorder?" he demanded. I explained that it was by 304 Kodak camera and, as he still looked doubtful, took a shot of the two of them sitting at the bar. "Ah yes," said he, "but part of it could be a tape-recorder!" I gave in there and then and confessed to having recorded everything he had said during the previous three hours, and that I was going to forward the tape to the CIA in Washington D.C. It was only then that he believed it was a camera pure and simple.

## BEWARE—THE CASTLE!

A few days later, I was sitting in Mooney's of Upper Baggot Street, when I noticed an old acquaintance from the Mediterranean-kissed shores in earnest

Continued on page 8

# HOW U.S. BIG BUSINESS IS TAKING OVER IRELAND.

BY MICHAEL O'RIORDAN

"Multi-National Companies and Conglomerates — The Problems for Trade Unions." published by I.T. & G.W.U., Liberty Hall, Dublin 1. Price 7/6d.

**MERGERS** and takeovers are proceeding at a more rapid rate than ever in the capitalist world. Power is passing quickly into fewer hands. In Japan, the figure for mergers has gone from 300 in 1958 to 800 at present. In France, the average number of takeovers in 1946-53 was under 40, in 1968 it was 2,000. In the same year in West Germany you had such leading corporations as Thyssen and the steel firm of Huttenwerke Oberhausen, and a number of chemical, aircraft and other concerns merging together. In Britain, the British Chartered Bank and Standard Bank have combined into one banking house with the fantastic total capital of £2,000 million.

The accelerated concentration is taking place also in Ireland, with the same results as elsewhere, with power and wealth in fewer hands, and of that few the majority are foreign. The banks are now in two main groups: Allied Irish Banks and the Bank of Ireland Group. Both are linked with the British Banks, and we have an even more ominous development in the penetration into Ireland of the First National City Bank of New York; the Bank of Nova Scotia; the Bank of America — and we have the giant Chase Manhattan Bank taking a 50% interest in the Irish National City Bank.

But it is in the U.S. itself that the greatest concentration is taking place. The biggest industrial monopoly in the world is General Motors, employing 760,000 workers at a net profit of 1,700 million dollars. It is followed by the Rockefeller Standard Oil and Ford Motors. A feature of this development is its international character i.e. 'multi-national' companies. A good example is given (page 31) in the case of IBM (International Business Machines) which "has rationalised its production globally in a sense that it produces one type of a product in one

country, another part in another country, assembles in another country on a basis of optimising all of these factors into a world optimal situation. In fact, they have management conferences in closed T.V. circuits in six or seven countries every week, hooked into Paris, and it is interesting enough to note that in very few of their companies do they have trade unions."

#### REVELATIONS

The I.T.&G.W.U. deserves congratulations on the publication of this booklet which is based on the proceedings of a seminar held in November last. It reveals that the new giant companies are British, Dutch, French, German (our future Common Market competitors!), and even Swiss, but that the majority and most powerful are American.

Ireland is far from immune to the ill-effects of this super-trust development. Recently, the Dunlop firm which has factories in both Cork and Derry merged with the Italian Pirelli counterpart thus joining the U.S. Rubber, Michelin, Kleber-Colombes, and Continental as one of the dominating monopoly groups in the rubber industry.

It is in that field of production there shows also clearly the increasing cosmopolitan or multi-national features: the four American companies have more than 120 plants in foreign countries, more than two-thirds of which are in Europe. The Pirelli group has plants in France, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Belgium, West Germany, Latin America, etc.

So well, might the Transport Union publication quote the words of Michael Treillis of the French national Planning Commission; "By the year 2,000, some 200 companies will dominate the world's industry."

The emphasis in the ITGWU book is on the problems concerning industrial relations with such firms. It is obvious that it learned a thing or two from the experience with the American "E.I." firm and its arrogant attitude to the Shannon workers joining a trade union. The attitude of that firm is not an isolated case. Recently, the 15,000 workers of the GEC in America, the fourth largest corporation in that country, had to fight a bitter strike. GES does not accept collective bargaining. This giant has intimate ties with the Government and the Pentagon, one fifth of its production being military in character. It does not agree with trade unions, but believes in the doctrine of "Boulwarism", so named after its chief of labour relations. This doctrine means confronting the unions with a fixed labour agreement saying, thirty-seven years after Martin Murphy, "take it; if you don't want to take it, strike and starve and then come crawling back to us on your empty bellies and ask for terms."

#### MONOPOLIES

What are the conglomerates that feature in the title? They are merged corporations which have no rational connection with one another in the kind of production in which they are engaged, and

which seek to dominate not just one field but a broad range of production and services; domination by a handful of companies and individuals through corporate structures which cut across industry lines.

For example, there is the U.S. Corporation, Gulf and Western which embraces musical instruments, car parts, films, horse racing, records, a wide range of machinery, zinc mining, ready-mix cement, sugar, tobacco, trade journals, paper, real estate, banking and insurance.

Nearer home we have the activity of the Imperial Tobacco Group, which at its Annual Meeting on March 25th last, revealed that its turnover in the food industry rose from £35 million in 1968 to £63 million last year. In the current year the food sales are likely to exceed £170 million. This tobacco monopoly has valuable and increasing business in frozen and canned food, potato crisps, sauces and pickles, and in the case of poultry it now supplies 27% of the total British market in broiler chickens and some 10% in turkeys. A far cry from producing Woodbines!

#### FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

The development of the super-trusts poses fundamental issues to all of the people, the small farmers, the small shopkeepers, but above all to the working class. For trade unionists, there is the obvious threat that the cost of a strike in one sector of the conglomerates can be offset by the latter's continuing profit-making in its other sectors.

What's to be done against this growing octopus like development of world capitalism that threatens national independence? Primarily, it needs an equally growing and tight link between the various national sections of the international trade union movement. In this respect, it is to be welcomed

that representatives of the International Metalworkers Federation, and the International Federation of Chemical and General Workers' Unions were present at the ITGWU seminar. But what is really needed is the closest unity in action between the two world trade union bodies: the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. It is worth noting that steps are at present being taken to examine the problems and the ways of fighting the multinational firms in a meeting, planned for this year, of the various Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe.

An elementary thing to be done in Ireland is to scrap the bipartisan policy of dependency on foreign firms that is at present being pursued by Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, and the working out of safeguards, like the 51% Irish control of all firms (at least) which was a feature of the Control of Manufacturers Act.

Lenin foretold the present alarming development of the big trusts, but he also pointed out that "inevitably imperialism will burst and capitalism will be transformed into its opposite." To hasten that day, one could certainly do worse than read and study all that he wrote on capitalist concentration, the development of the monopolies and the emergence of imperialism. To understand our times and its problems and to see what the future can bring it is essential to study Lenin. This was the sound advice given one time by a famous occupant of Liberty Hall, 'Big Jim' Larkin.

Who knows but that this publication of the ITGWU might indeed lead many to do this?

We are going to experience more and more of the multinational companies and conglomerates, and the ITGWU have done a wise thing in putting this issue in print.

## INLAND FISHERIES CONFERENCE

**AN Educational Conference** took place in Liberty Hall on Sunday April 5th, on the subject of Inland Fisheries. This public conference was organised by the National Waters Restoration League. Reports were heard on all aspects of the objects of the N.W.R.L. and were followed by keen discussion.

The attendance passed a resolution which read:

"That public ownership be proceeded with on the principle that all inland waters being a natural resource, belong by prior right to the whole community. That compensation, if decided upon, be payable to the public, whose right has been disturbed for more than 300 years now following upon an Act of Conquest by main force. That any money paid out to present owners during the re-possession be paid only in cases of proven hardship and be termed gratuities, i.e. money freely paid out by a magnanimous public to avoid personal hardship.

That the profits of commercial fisheries be used to investigate and develop areas of rivers neglected under the present administration of private profit-pursuing interests.

That the most immediate task consequent on the act of re-possessing our inland waters, is scientific investigation and the mapping of an overall development blueprint designed to repair the neglect of the past and

bring each river stretch and lake to the highest possible point of development both from the commercial and amenity point of view. That the Iontaobhas Iascaigh Intire (Inland Fisheries Trust) be enlarged and given the important task of scientific and ecological investigation."

The Conference ended with a private session of 75 delegates from 23 branches of N.W.R.L. and elected the following officers:

National Chairman—Seamus O Tuathail; Secretary—Aine Nic-Giolla Chuilinn; Treasurers, Donnchadh Mac Raghnaill and Seamus Reid; Vice-Chairman — Sean O Tuairisc; Nominee to the Commission on Inland Fisheries—Donnchadh Mac Raghnaill; National Co-Ordinator—Sean O Cionnaith.

## RENTS FIGHT

from page 7

The campaign must be continued with renewed vigour against the present system of assessment until such time as these demands are met. An inspiring example to tenants everywhere is the case of Ballymun tenants who accepted the concessions but voted to continue the rent strike, now in its second month. The chairman of the Ballymun Estate Tenants Association was summing up the feeling of Ballymun tenants a few weeks ago when he said "The Battle of words is over."

#### DISSATISFACTION

There is some dissatisfaction among tenants with N.A.T.O. The feeling is that N.A.T.O. have conducted a campaign of words to a large extent. I personally endorse this criticism and would urge the N.A.T.O. delegates of the different Associations to press for a more active campaign than the one so far. Up to the time of writing it

has consisted mainly of threats. Although these threats are important, they do not adequately show the tenants dissatisfaction with the differential rent system in the 26co. area.

At the present time when N.A.T.O. is rapidly increasing in size a real show of tenants' strength and solidarity on this burning issue would be most opportune. Tenants in many parts of the country are determined to conduct a vigorous campaign to back up our just demands but need the leadership and co-ordination of N.A.T.O.

If the tenants in N.A.T.O., 400,000, now stand together and not as in the case of Ballymun, alone, we will certainly win. I would like to finish this piece by saying that this and previous articles on this subject are the writer's personal point of view and do not represent, or claim to represent any particular association's view.

## BIG SMOKE

(Continued from page 7)

confab with a balding, middle-aged gentleman down at the other end of the bar. As both of us were in company, there was no immediate opportunity of saying hello, and I had to wait until closing time. Then, when passing on my way out, I introduced myself, reminding him of where we had met some years ago. That did it! The middle-aged Irishman shot out of his seat like a startled stag and, making for the door, issued this dire warning, "Watch it, Professor—it's the Castle!" Then the door banged behind him. The "Professor" was highly amused, as well he might be, for a certain gentleman named Maurice who was from the Castle, had been standing close by all through their subversive (?) conversation. Mr. Maurice, like any good detective, did not look like a policeman, of course, which leads me to wonder why I should appear to fit the part. I am beginning to wish that this epidemic of spymania would die down, for it is beginning to ruin my social life!

**NEXT MONTH'S ISSUE WILL INCLUDE —**  
**"THE COMMON MARKET EXPOSED"**  
**BY JOE DEASY, AND "THE HOUSING CRISIS"**  
**BY BERNARD BROWNE**