

## Ballymun Tenants' Fight Against Injustice Spreads Across the Country

by JOHN McDONNELL

**T**ENANTS in many parts of the country are gathering forces to participate in the N.A.T.O. campaign against the "B scale" and the present system of rent assessment throughout the country. 10,000 Cork City Corporation tenants are on a rent strike as are tenants in Ballymun Estate. Cork Corporation Tenants' Association members are collecting the rent and banking it until the rent strike is over. In the case of Ballymun, tenants are being granted full facilities by the Credit Union to place their weekly rent in a deposit account.

This strike action, decided by ballot of members of the Cork Association was caused by the new scale of rent figures introduced on March 1st by Cork Corporation, having as a maximum £5 for dwellings let before 1-10-69 and for dwellings let after 1-10-69 a maximum of £8-0-0. Ballymun's rent strike was called by the Tenants Association and was endorsed by a mass meeting of tenants on Sunday 5th April. The rent strike began on 6th April and at the time of writing is still in progress and receiving about 95% support from the tenants. In February's issue of this paper I gave some details of how the "B" scale system is assessed in Dublin.

The main cause of dissatisfaction among tenants is that when assessing your rent the full gross income is taken into account. In other words your rent is assessed on tax, insurance stamps, overtime, shift allowance etc, some of which, such as income tax you never actually have. As it is only possible for you to spend what's in your wage-packet after deductions most tenants feel it to be unjust to have to pay what is very often a quarter of this amount to the Corporation. Another cause of dissatisfaction is that when assessing, almost the full income of any other wage-earner is taken into consideration and your rent is assessed on the sum total of these.

Messages of support from trade unions and from tenants in various parts of the country have been received by N.A.T.O. Headquarters in Dublin. Many areas are planning meetings, marches, token rent strikes, rent strikes, etc. A token 1 week rent strike is being organised in Drogheda and in other parts of the country at the time of writing. Tenants in County Louth are refusing to fill in income assessment forms.

### MOST MILITANT

Ballymun has played an important part in the campaign and it is here that the most militant protests have been held. The first public meeting took place here on March 1 after which tenants, frustrated by the "B scale" system and impatient to do something about it, blocked the main Ballymun road for nearly an hour. The Ballymun Estate Action Committee disassociated itself from this spontaneous demonstration. The call went out at that road block

to hold marches and similar protests each night of the following week to build up mass support for the meeting organised for Ballymun on Saturday the 8th March.

During the early part of the week in, the absence of the Action Committee or members of it, it was found necessary to set up another committee to give leadership and guidance to these spontaneous demonstrations of genuine tenants feeling. Accordingly the Ballymun Pressure Committee was set up. This committee stressed from the beginning that it was not a breakaway group, and did not want to cause any split, either in the Tenants' Association or in the ranks of tenants opposed to the "B scale" rent system. The Ballymun Pressure Committee set itself the task of conducting a militant and active campaign and has distinguished itself by holding marches, meetings, roadblocks, pickets, hunger strikes and representations to Dail deputies. The four demands of the Pressure Committee are:—

1. That the "B scale" system of rent assessment be abolished.
2. That rent be assessed at 1/6th basic wages only.
3. That rent be only assessed on the income of the principal wage-earner.
4. That there be no further unjustified rent increases.

Since the formation of the Pressure Committee the Ballymun Estate Tenants' Association have realised that tenants were prepared to conduct a vigorous campaign against the "B scale" rent system. The Tenants' Association have realised that the pressure committee was actually expressing the pent-up feelings of the tenants and was not a group trying to split the Association. Since then there has been complete unity of Ballymun Tenants in any action as part

of the campaign. The Tenants' Association are conducting the rent strike in an excellent way and are prepared to continue to fight the Corporation until such time as "B" scale rents are abolished. The Association has recently formed a defence committee to protect families from eviction during the rent strike.

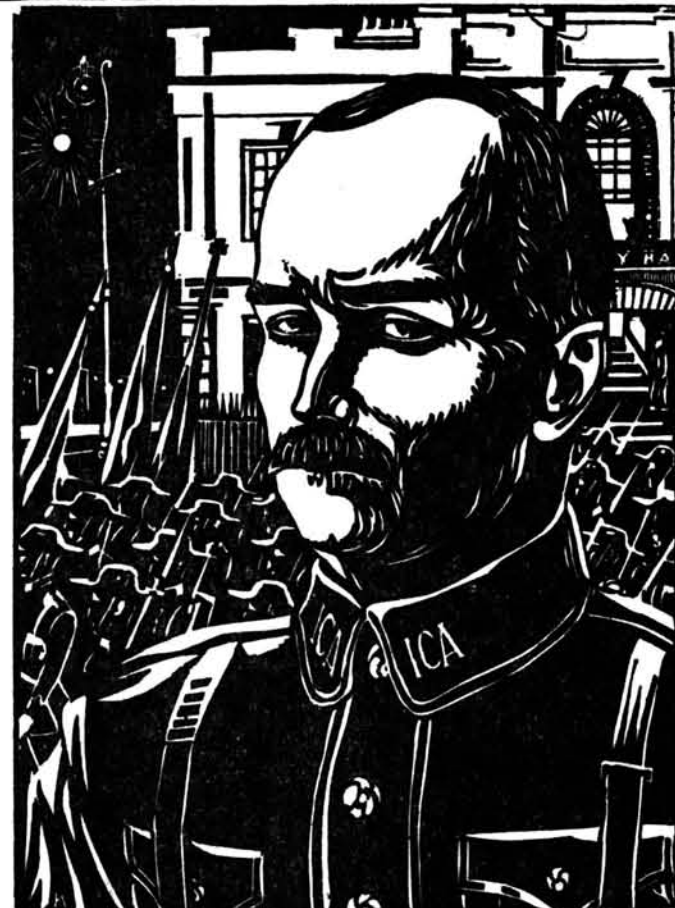
The "Hard Liner" Minister for Local Government, Mr. Kevin Boland, replying to the debate on the estimates for the Department of Local Government on March 11th in Dail Eireann described the tenants demands as "unjust". While Mr. Boland spoke in the Dail a team of officials were sent out by Dublin Corporation to explain the "B scale" system to tenants.

### SUPERFLUOUS

This was a somewhat superfluous gesture as tenants know only too well how the "B scale" system operates. Mr. Boland himself is not too clear, because he stated that the maximum rent in Dublin including rates was 85/-! Dublin Corporation officials distributed a leaflet stating the maximum rent was 95/-!

Mr. Boland neglected to explain how many Dublin tenants were paying more than this figure. He also neglected to mention the maximum rent charged by Cork Corporation which is, as I already stated, £8-0-0. All 15 Fianna Fail Backbench T.D.s in Dublin have met to discuss the rent situation and are to make proposals to Mr. Boland. Mr. Boland stated that it was the job of the Local Authorities to make proposals about rent assessment and as a result of this NATO officials are arranging meetings with City and County Managers.

There have been many other developments in other parts of the country and indeed in Dublin as well and there will be others between the time this is written and the time it is printed. All I can hope to do in this article is touch on and report on some of these developments. Of one thing I am sure, and that is, tenants have a very definite grievance with this system of rent assessment and are prepared to fight for a fairer system. In this we support them and urge all tenants affected by this system to fight as well, in whatever way you can. Remember we are fighting your fight.



THE MESSAGE OF CONNOLLY—See P. 3 & 4

## PAISLEYITES IN GOVERNMENT

by BETTY SINCLAIR

**T**HE Unionist Government, led by Prime Minister Chichester Clark, got its vote of confidence on the 18th March. The Unionist campaigners against the reforms, Craig, West, Boal, McQuade and Laird are now expelled from the Unionist Parliamentary Party. But they will still be able to work within the party at constituency level and in all the higher committees. Craig is still a member of the Privy Council—the highest political body in Northern Ireland. Looking at the decision taken at Stormont, one could be forgiven for thinking that little has really changed.

Craig and his cronies, when speaking at the Ulster Hall meeting on the 12th March, showed no hesitation in condemning every facet of the reform programme. According to them, nothing will be changed and the Unionists will continue to rule in the old way. They refuse to recognise that politics here will never be the same again. The powerful Unionist Party has been rubbed in the dirt—of their own making—and the world has seen them for what they are.

West and Craig demanded that the Prime Minister makes changes in his Cabinet. The Prime Minister refuses. Craig is asked if he would consider taking Clark's place and modestly replies that he will do "what is right." As if he ever did just that. Today there is not a press editor that has not recognised that Craig's strong-arm tactics on October 5, 1968, precipitated the crisis which has been rumbling ever since and which grows deeper with every passing day.

### LAW AND ORDER!

Boal and McQuade want law and order restored in the Falls area of Belfast. Apparently they will not be satisfied until the R.U.C. is out there in full strength. Their idea of "law and order" is one of putting all their political opponents in straightjackets. They want to go back to the days of bans and prescriptions—against the Catholics and other peoples. They shout

about their loyalty to Britain and, in the same breath, tell the world that they will not take any dictation from that country—they only want the money.

Next to wanting their kind of law and order, they prate against the setting up of a Central Housing Authority. Craig told the Ulster Hall meeting that what we needed was more private houses—which means very few homes for the 100,000 families who are living in unfit homes. They want the 6,000 newly-weds who seek homes each year to be placed at the mercy of the private builders whose only idea is to make as much profit as possible. These people want the Unionists to still control the local authorities and have come out with a programme of only three such authorities for the whole of Northern Ireland—after railing against the present authorities being in danger of losing their democratic rights.

(Continued on Page 3)

**ANOTHER FIANNA FAIL TRIUMPH!** Ireland has the Lowest rate of Housebuilding in Europe according to the O.E.C.D. Report.



# BALLAD CORNER

by John McDonnell

## PREAB SAN OL

Is iomaí slí sin a bhios ag daoine  
Ag cruinniú píosaí is ag déanamh  
stóir,

Is a laghad a smaoinid ar ghiorra  
an tsaol seo,  
Is go mbeidh siad sínte faoi leac  
go fóill.

Más tiarna tíre, diúc nó rí thú,  
Ní cuirfear pighin leat 's tú ag dul  
faoin bhfod:

Mar sin 's dá bhrí sin, níl beart  
níos críonna  
Ná bheith go síoraí ag cur preab  
san ól.

Tá dream de dhaoine le ba is le  
caoirigh,

Ag dul chun aonaigh 's ag fáil  
dochar mór,

Dá gcur chun cíbe agus as sin go  
mínligh —

Pointí críonna do feictear dhóibh.  
Ach déantar fianaise ar an mí seo  
Go mbéid ag caoineadh is ag  
sileadh deor:

Mar sin is dá bhrí sin, níl beart  
níos críonna  
Ná bheith go síoraí ag cur preab  
san ól.

An ceannaí craosach níl meon ná  
slí ar bith

Le ór a dhéanamh nach bhfeictear  
dhó,

An ráta is daoire ar an earra is  
saoire,

Is ar luach sé phinge do cuirfeadh  
coróin;

'S do réir chaint Chríosta is ní  
do-dhéanta

An camall cíocrach 'thabhairt tríd  
an gcró;

Mar sin 's dá bhrí sin, níl beart  
níos críonna,  
Ná bheith go síoraí ag cur preab  
san ól.

Is gearr an saol tá ag an lili  
sciámhach

Cé gur buí agus gur geal a  
ghabháil,

Is Solamh críonna ina chulaith  
riúil

Nach bhfuil baol air in áille dhó.

Níl sa tsaol seo ach mar soinneán  
gaoithe,

Ga a scaoiltear nó slám de cheo:

Mar sin 's dá bhrí sin, níl beart  
níos críonna  
Ná bheith go síoraí ag cur preab  
san ól.

# The Cement Strike and the Unions

Dear Sir,

THE cement strike has now entered on its 10th week, and the end is not yet in sight. The discussions in Dublin have produced only negative results, the employers having apparently refused to budge from their original offer. Meanwhile the workers, particularly the younger ones, are fighting back with every means at their disposal.

In this 10th week of the strike, many of them are feeling the pinch, some are worse off than others. Nevertheless there are no signs that they intend to give in. It is clear that the Fianna Fail Government is determined to ram down our necks their seven per cent. proposed by Republican Jack, whether we like it or not.

To achieve this they have re-

surrected the ghost of William Martin Murphy of 1913 ill-fame, together with his equally infamous slogan: "If they won't submit, starve them to death, and to hell with their women and children."

This is, of course, the real face of Fianna Fail which they have been trying to keep under cover, but are now forced to expose for all to see.

Meanwhile, what is wrong with the Trade Union Movement. Latest press reports indicate that cement is coming over the Border in ever-increasing quantities to a central depot, and redistributed in smaller quantities all over the place. Surely the drivers can't all be scabs. When are the trade unions going to make an attempt to justify their existence or are they like others waiting till the workers are beaten to their knees.

Surely they don't imagine that the movement was created as an ornament and that their only function is to sit there and draw their pay. Or can it be that their sympathies are with the Government and the T.A.C.A. men rather than with their own members. Whichever it is, it is about time they let us know which side they are on, or before long they will have to.

**TOM LESLIE**

The Vidor (Eire) Ltd. factory in Roscommon Town is to shut down within two months, leaving one-third of the town's labour force redundant. The company owns three factories—two in England and one in Roscommon. The Roscommon factory is the only one of the three that is operating at a profit.

# NOTEBOOK BY NORTHSIDER

WE are constantly being told that our hospital services are improving each year. No doubt they are, for the people who can afford to pay! What about those who can't? Recently I was told the story of a visit to the Richmond Hospital by a woman who had to get an X-ray. It is certainly a glaring exposure of our class-ridden society. This woman arrived, like many others, at 10 a.m. as appointed. Those who had medical cards were carefully sorted out from the rest of the waiting room and made to wait to the last before being called, even though many had arrived first!

## FIVE HOURS

This woman and a number of elderly patients were not seen till 3 o'clock. That is, they were forced to wait five hours before being examined. During that period they had not even a cup of tea. Two women and an elderly man had travelled from a long distance outside the city and the last meal they had taken was around 8 o'clock in the morning.

During their five hours wait an elderly man who had travelled from the borders of Meath and Dublin to obtain an X-ray was so obviously sick and so weak that he had to be taken by stretcher across the grounds from the waiting room to the X-ray unit.

A short while afterwards he was brought back, his shirt completely unbuttoned, having been wheeled across the grounds in this condition, exposed to a biting cold wind. He was then left to dress himself and return home.

The woman who had related these experiences, like many more patients who were with her on this occasion must return again in a week's time for the result of her X-ray.

## YOUNG FAMILIES

She and many others have young families, their husbands must take a day off work with loss of wages so that their wives can attend and perhaps spend a further five hours waiting for the

result which could without any difficulty be forwarded on to their local doctor.

Being blue card patients, however, they are not entitled to such a service.

## A PRAYER FOR PROFITS

THE Chairman of Switzer & Co. in the annual report, while recording another successful year of trading, had this to say with regard to their branch stores in Belfast and Newry: "The disturbances in the North during last year have had a detrimental effect on the sales and profits of our stores and we can only hope and pray that the coming year will see a return to peace and prosperity."

## FREE TRADE

WILLIAMS & WOODS, one of the largest manufacturers of a wide variety of confectionery and jams and employing up to 5500 workers, could face a complete shutdown in a very short period. With trading profits dropping from £110,036 in 1968 to £50,248 last year. The Chairman, though seeking to place the blame on the demands of "organised labour", was forced to admit that the free influx of imports was a considerable factor in contributing to their losses in trade. During 1969 imports of sugar confectionery rose by 125 per cent., cocoa and chocolate preparations rose by 32 per cent. Soups and other food preparations by 22 per cent.

Mr. Childers, speaking in Liverpool on St. Patrick's Day, told his audience that "the prospect of joining the Common Market was something to excite the minds of Irish and British alike".

The prospects facing thousands of Irish workers as a result of free trade are anything but exciting. The directors and shareholders will have had their rake-off and made adequate provision for alternative investment of their profits when the time comes. The dole and the breaking-up of homes is the future facing the redundant workers.

## Editorial

# HOW PAISLEY CAN BE A BLESSING

THE election of Ian Paisley and his running mate, Beattie, serves notice that Orange Fascism is once again on the march. This brand of Fascism is not the creation of Paisley. It is the creation of the Unionist Party and its imperialist masters. They created it to split the Irish people along religious lines so that they could continue to dominate us.

Now the vultures are coming home to roost. The half-hearted reform measures forced on Chichester-Clark by Westminster are held up by Paisley as a sell-out of Protestant ascendancy, which, of course, they are. Unionism is based on keeping the minority in an oppressed situation. Paisley is expressing the viewpoint not of an anti-Unionist but of a traditional Unionist. He is hoping, not to smash the Unionist Party but

to take it over. Within that party he will have many willing helpers.

It would be wrong to see Paisley's victory as having no positive features. For the first time there is a wide open split in the Unionist ranks. Many who vote Unionist are opposed to Paisley Fascism. The opportunity exists to build a movement, which will cut across religious barriers, for democracy and against fascism.

Those who wishfully think that Westminster will now take over are coddling themselves. Wilson has enough troubles of his own. The real danger is that Paisley will become "respectable" and unite with the Fascist forces inside Unionism. Against this alliance a united front must be built to bring democracy and an end to sectarianism to the 6 Cos.

# BRITISH INTERESTS MOVE TO TAKE OVER PRINTING INDUSTRY

JUDGING from recent events, the printing and packaging industry in the 26 Counties appears to be rapidly developing into two separate units. These two units take the form of Jefferson Smurfit and the Clondalkin Paper Group.

Jefferson Smurfit has taken a clear lead in this monopoly race, with their most recent acquisitions. At the end of last year Jefferson Smurfit was only 36th in the *Irish Times* list of the "Top 50 firms". If that table was now published they would occupy third position. The reason for this spectacular jump is their takeover of both Browne & Nolan and the Hely Group.

In his annual report, chairman J. Smurfit referred to his companies activities as "very eventful". With the help of a £74,000 pre-tax contribution from Temple Press (another one of Smurfit's victims) profits before tax rose from £252,000 to £408,000 for the year ended October 31st, 1969.

The chairman went on to say that the only disappointment in the highly successful year was the failure to acquire Gibson Guy &

Smallbridge, now in the Clondalkin Group. With the take-over of the Hely Group now complete, Smurfits will have a total capital employed of nearly £10 million.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

Experience has taught us that take-overs and mergers are never in the interests of the workers. The outcome of take-overs always results in the attempt by the employers to make the maximum profit on the smallest possible amount of labour employed. As a result of this, unemployment figures go up.

True to form, Smurfits have already begun the squeezing out of what they consider less profitable sections. The first firm to be hit was Walkers of Liffey Street (member of the Hely Group) where fifty workers have been served protective notice. In the Hely Thom sections of East Wall and Botanic Avenue, further "rationalisation" is expected, resulting in the loss of more jobs.

## NOT BRIGHT

When one looks at this monopoly trend in printing in relation

to the free trade with Britain and further away on the E.E.C., the future for small printing houses can be anything but bright. With the completion of the free trade agreement, it is reckoned that printing could be obtained at cheaper and faster rate from Britain. The results of such a situation would inevitably lead to the complete take-over of the Irish printing industry by British monopoly interests. The "free enterprise system" so often lauded by our Fianna Fáil politicians (who signed the free trade agreement) as far as the printing industry is concerned, is not so free at all.

Now is the time for printing workers to unite and take action against the loss of jobs and the sell-out policy of the free trade agreement. This can be done by putting the strongest pressure possible on their respective trade unions to take a militant stand against any further loss of jobs and calling for the abrogation of the free trade agreement.

**J. FLOOD**



# Do We Understand James Connolly?

by A. RAFTERY

It would not be unfair, I think, to say that the majority of those who invoke the name of Connolly don't fully understand what he was talking about.

At a Gaelic League meeting held a short time after 1913 some of the workers in the audience were attacking those on the platform because they had not been on the side of the unions and in some cases had been hostile. Connolly got up and pointed out that as far as the objects of the meeting were concerned everyone was in agreement. They all wanted to break the grip of imperialism on the country, culturally and otherwise.

This incident illustrates one of the basic aspects of Connolly's approach. Like all great revolutionaries he saw that the forces opposed to imperialism were not confined to one class. While the working-class must form the core of the revolutionary movement, it must win as its allies all other classes and forces who were opposed to imperialism. This included sections who might actually be opposed to the long-term aims of the working-class.

## SCIENTIFIC

This capacity to examine society in its totality and pick out what forces are progressive and which are reactionary to see the reality behind what is being said by any movement, is what distinguishes the scientific Socialist from the romantic or sectarian one.

In previous articles the working-class has been put forward as the class upon which the movement for Socialism must be built. This is distorted by some vociferous ultra-lefts (who show more concern with boosting their own egos by proving how wrong everyone else is, than in developing the movement for progress) into the dogma that only the working-class is progressive. This kind of thinking fits in very well with the tactics of Fianna Fáil and Co., who have concentrated for a long time on widening and exploiting the division between town and country and between workers and intellectuals.

In the Labour movement, too, there is a certain kind of leader who plays on prejudice against the farmers and the intellectuals. Anti-intellectualism is the badge of the bankrupt politician. When Mr. Boland attacks "long-haired students" and "Trinity Queens" he hopes that a kind of instinctive prejudice will keep people from thinking about what those whom he is attacking are actually doing.

Talk about "belted earls" coming from Mr. Boland should make

it clear that this is not genuine class-consciousness, but a diversion. Mr. Boland's Government is engaged in selling out the country to the English upper classes. The preservationists whom he is attacking, even if they are only doing it for aesthetic reasons, are standing in the way of this sell-out. That is why they must be supported by the progressive movement.

## STUDENTS

The student movements which have arisen all over the world show that at particular moments it is not the working-class which strikes the first blow. The dissolution of the militant West German student movement in March shows, however, that without the working-class the blow will not grow into a movement.

The weaknesses of the student movement, are no excuse for attacking it. In Ireland we have seen the students not only campaigning on the streets in support of progressive causes, but also fighting for the democratisation of education to end the situation where it produces an elite in the service of the upper class. This development is of profound significance since the students' own personal interests are intimately involved. It is the weakness of the Labour movement, not of the students, which has so far meant that this objective has not been achieved.

## R.T.E.

The revolt in R.T.E. among members of the staff is another example of a struggle in which the weight of the organised working-class should have been thrown in behind the protesters. The results of the fact that the protest did not succeed can now be seen. Home-produced programmes are going to be cut by up to one-third! Needless to say the first to get the knock will be those programmes whose probing into social and political issues Fianna Fáil finds distasteful.

Irish society at the moment is in a ferment, yet in election after election Fianna Fáil demonstrates that it can still snatch the leadership. In Limerick it was the only Dáil party to come out unequivocally in favour of basic democratic rights.

This capacity of Fianna Fáil's is not due to its innate strength. It is due to the unclarity and disunity of the progressive forces.

(To be continued)

## BRAZIL from page 7

resources than the developed countries, and why is it that after all the paternalistic billions of dollars aid, South America is producing less food per head than before the war?

## RANSOM

The urban mind is beginning to think for itself. Some kind of revolution is at embryo stage. The people, though in indefinite numbers, are decreasingly willing to accept an Americanised structure. The cry for social reformation has reached the lips and captured the imagination of some serious-minded priests. Last year Brazil suffered more than sixty bank robberies, not for the sake of crime, but funds for a revolution. In past months things have been hotting up. National newspapers have watered down reports of intense profit damage by workers' strikes and student activity. One incident that no newspaper was able to suppress was the work of two revolutionary groups, who even got as far as having their opinions broadcast by nationwide radio.

Brazil was celebrating a sleepy week of independence when suddenly in a quiet street in Rio, the

U.S. ambassador Mr. Burke Elbrick was kidnapped by guerrillas. He was held to ransom for a number of days while national papers were forced to print the revolutionary demands and radio stations repeated them at intervals. The two groups demanded the immediate release of fifteen named political prisoners.

The statement denounced American imperialism and warned the government and national banks that there would be more revolutionary activity.

"Mr. Burke Elbrick represents in this country the interests of imperialism which is allied to the big employers, the landowners, the big national banks, in fact, to the regime of oppression and exploitation." This was just an example of the general tone of the message, which also questioned the motives of the U.S. in Brazilian industry and the future of Brazilian life. Recently Carlos Marighela, leader and engineer of the successful kidnapping, was shot dead in a side-street battle with governmental troops.

According to United Nations statistics the average life span for Brazilians is 39 years.

J. LYONS

# THE PLIGHT OF THE UNMARRIED MOTHER

BY ONE OF THEM

THE two articles on un-married mothers in this paper a short time ago prompted me to write about some of my experiences as an un-married mother. I come from a small town in the West. When my parents found out I was pregnant they rushed me off to the parish priest, who immediately demanded I marry the fellow.

Neither I or my parents wanted this so then he said I was to go away to relations living away until he could fix me up in a home. So I went away and about a month later went into a home in Co. Tipperary. I did not have to pay any money as the County Council payed the normal grant which was sent straight to the nuns.

My parents drove me there one Sunday and I remember well the Reverend Mother saying "Do not worry, she will be a different girl when she gets out". I did not guess at the time how long it would be until I "got out". When my parents left I was shown my bed in a dormitory and was given the first of many brainwashing sessions (because I was crying). This consisted of telling me that I was just a slut and not worthy of anything decent and that I should be extremely thankful and grateful that this home had taken me in, this continued in many different ways the whole time I was there and I believed it, forgetting as the nuns seemed to that they were being amply paid by the County Council.

## WORK

The next morning I was put to work. The home was without any paid help, all the work was done

by the mothers and the mothers-to-be. Some were put in the kitchen, some in the laundry, some used to sweep and wash the floors and some, if they were trained, were put in the office to type letters and answer the phone.

I was put in the kitchen. We had to get breakfast, dinner, and supper for 100 people. I settled down to my new situation and prepared myself to put up with the loneliness of being away from home. I was prepared to put up with it but I was determined to write to my parents and tell them just how different the nuns were when they left.

## COULD NOT LEAVE

So I wrote my letter and asked where I could post it. I was told that I could not go out to the post box in the town nearby, in fact I could not leave the convent grounds. So I asked how was I to post it. I was told "Hand it in to the Reverend Mother and when someone went into town they would post it. I went and gave it to the Reverend Mother, ten minutes later she sent for me. When I went into her office there was my letter on the table, opened and obviously read. Before I had a chance to protest she told me

that I couldn't send that letter and that I would have to write another one that showed the home in a better light. This I refused to do and then she told me that if I didn't she would hold all the letters that were sent to me so I agreed to re-write it. When I returned with the second letter, she opened it and read it and then told me that it still wasn't good enough. In the end she stood over me and told me what to write. This letter was duly posted. When the reply came my parents said that they were glad that I was so happy and that my letter had put their minds at ease.

When I told one of the other girls about all this she told me that every one went through the same thing when they first came. She also told me that she had complained to her parents when they came to visit her. Her parents went to the Reverend Mother and she told them that all the new girls went through that stage and that it would be better if they did not visit their daughter until she got over it, she said she would send for them when she thought the time was ripe.

So they left thinking that their daughter was in understanding hands and they were not sent for until the girl had promised to be "good". When I heard that I realised that was no way out but to keep my mouth shut and try to make the best of it.

# PAISLEYITES from p. 1

As the News Letter stated on March 19: Morning View: "These men who have set themselves up as the true inheritors of the Unionism of Carson and Craig have done more, in a short spell of weeks, to bring the Unionist Party to a point of disarray than any member who sits opposite. . . . It was a sorry spectacle."

## PAISLEY

The Rev. Ian Paisley is no respecter of the hard cash. He told the Church's annual meeting that the more the Church was attacked the more it prospered. Twenty-four years ago, when he started up on the Ravenhill Road in Belfast, the congregation numbered 66 "souls" and the income was £360 per annum. Last year the total net income was £60,826 18s. 10d., a net increase over the previous year of £26,660, approximately an 80 per cent increase. According to himself the church did not approve of any worldly methods of church-fund raising.

Nevertheless, its a very worldly return that he gets in. Doing so well, he'll not be in any hurry to get to the other place.

## THEY CAN'T BE FOUND

When, on April 19, 1969, members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary made their attack on the Devenney Home it would have been thought necessary to bring such people to justice. But the Government here has stated that they are unable to do this—the attackers cannot be found. Mr. Devenney, the father, was batoned unconscious and had to have 22 stitches inserted in a headwound. He later died of a heart attack. Other members of the family and neighbours who sought refuge in the Devenney home were also brutally attacked.

The Government have admitted liability for the assault and compensation will be paid. But justice cannot be done, or be seen to be done. When the matter was raised

in the House of Commons by Mr. John Hume, Independent M.P. for the Foyle Division of Derry, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Robert Porter said he recognised that Mr. Devenney had received a most grievous and reprehensible beating, but he was satisfied that no stone had been left unturned in an effort to find those responsible. This was said in all seriousness and despite the fact that one of the persons attacked had been taken to the police station and, strange to relate, no record of his being there could be found. Others asked for photos of police officers to be made available for identification. This was also refused.

The difference of approach to such attacks was seen when the police, after quite some time, were able to charge three men for the death of Constable Arbuckle who lost his life on the Shankill Road on October 11, 1969. Is it any wonder that there is still great distrust shown towards the so-called forces of law and order?

## ST. PATRICK'S DAY

On March 17th, led by the James Connolly Band, thousands of men, women and children marched up the Falls Road to Casement Park. Never was there such an outpouring of joyful people expressing their belief in their people and country. And now, one learns, that plans have been drawn up to bring gaiety back into the streets and home of that road that were so viciously attacked last August. A Falls Folk Festival Committee has been set up and a two-day Fleadh Ceoil, beginning on May 1st, is to be held. Traditional musicians and dancers will be invited to participate from all over Ireland. A spokesman stated that the Festival will be a cultural uplift for the people who were beset by bad housing and unemployment. The Festival will include ceilis and fun fairs in the streets of the Falls, with Irish folk music in the local bars.

When the attacks were made on the people and their homes last year, there were people who thought they would drive them out of the area. What a mistake they made! After the terrible suffering, the people are rising as never before and proclaiming their strength and unity.

## TREATMENT OF SCHOOLCHILDREN

It has always been the policy of the education authorities to take children from their own schools to sit further education examinations. And this happened on March 6th. Children from Catholic and Protestant schools were brought to the Park Parade School in East Belfast. They were met by demonstrators who shouted at the Catholic children and their teachers. Paisley himself turned up to press on this terrible treatment of young people. This barrage was kept up all during the period when the children were trying to do their examination.

These attackers of young people are the very people who shout about segregation in the schools. And yet, when Catholic and Protestant children sat together they were abused. Such sick minds are very dangerous.

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THE EDITOR

16A PEARSE STREET

DUBLIN 2



## LETTER TO THE EDITOR

## SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY

Dear Sir,

I agree with the writer, M. O'Reilly (Socialism and Democracy—Jan. issue) when he states that it is timely and necessary that the whole question of Socialism and Democracy should be discussed.

He states correctly that vital decisions effecting the economic future of millions are being made in board-rooms not in Parliament. Reading this, one might get the opinion that Parliament was having very little to do these days. I feel the writer should have mentioned that Parliament is, in the main, merely the political expression of these Board-room boys, as one can judge by its actions in the past and present: e.g. Offences Against the State Act; The Free Trade Agreement—which must be regarded as a complete sell-out to British Imperialism; and a busy term ahead with the Criminal Justice Bill, Trade Union Legislation, and Common Market.

Undoubtedly there is a growing revolt of important sections of the community in their desire to extend and defend democracy in the fields he mentions, Civil Rights, National Liberation and Universities. But when he speaks about Industrial Democracy I'm afraid I'm at a loss to understand what the term implies. Judging from my experience of the various Trade Unions Representatives on the different boards of many companies. I am of the opinion that they are nothing short of class collaborators. On being asked one time by one of these gentlemen at a public debate, "Would you prefer if these seats were taken by capitalists?" I replied, "Yes", as I would prefer to call a spade a spade. They are engaged in the deceit of those they are supposed to represent.

He quotes Lenin on the need for an all out struggle for Democracy and he proceeds to make a scurrilous attack on Lenin and his ideas by claiming that they have no longer a place of honour in Marxist thought. Look at the method he employs to carry out this attack. He claims that Stalin worked out a doctrine very convenient for a despot, i.e. that class contradictions become sharper as Socialism advances. He knows full well that Lenin developed these ideas, but perhaps he thinks they will be more readily rejected by readers of the "Irish Socialist" if he attributes them to Stalin. For the benefit of those readers of the "Irish Socialist" who may not be familiar with Lenin, I quote:

"The transition from Capitalism to Communism forms a whole historical epoch, until it is complete, the exploiters will still retain the hope of restoration, and this hope will inevitably express itself in attempts at restoration. After the first serious defeat the overthrown exploiters who did not expect their overthrow, did not believe in it, did not believe even the thought of it, will with tenfold energy, with mad passion and with a hate intensified to an extreme degree, throw themselves back into the fray in order to get back their lost paradise for themselves and for their families who formerly led such a pleasant life and who are now condemned by the "rascals" and the "Mob" to ruin or penury or (ordinary labour) and these capitalist exploiters will necessarily be followed by a wide stream of the petit bourgeoisie as to whom decades of historical experience of all countries bear witness that they are constantly oscillating and hesitating. Today following the proletariat, and to-

morrow taking fright at the difficulties of the Revolution. Succumbing with panic after the first defeat or semi-defeat of the Workers, giving way to nerves, whining, running hither and thither, deserting from one camp to another like our own Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries." (Lenin, on the Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade).

The writer, Michael O'Reilly, states correctly that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is an instrument of class warfare for crushing class opposition, but he does not say why or how. But once again Lenin, who according to him has no place of honour in Marxist thought, shows the reason why and how. He wrote "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a persistent struggle sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, MILITARY, ECONOMIC, EDUCATIONAL and ADMINISTRATIVE against the force and tradition of the old Society." (Lenin, Left Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder).

"The Proletariat CANNOT TRIUMPH without breaking the resistance of the Bourgeoisie, WITHOUT FORCIBLY SUPPRESSING its enemies and that where there is forcible suppression there is of course no "Freedom", no "Democracy". (Lenin, Proletarian Dictatorship, Renegade Kautsky).

Michael O'Reilly writes, there can and will be differences of how to build Socialism and NOT WHETHER to build Socialism. Bless his virgin innocence, the picture he paints fringes almost on that of a fairy tale. The country turned into a huge debating society sopping ideas in an extremely friendly fashion about how we will build Socialism, nobody disagreeing about building it except those few baddies whom we will refer to as (Big Business). They have been outvoted and hardly anyone is talking to them anymore. Where I wonder will the many thousands of supporters of the Bourgeois Parties go; the thousands of shareholders and BIG FARMERS, all those faceless people living on political patronage, the rack-renting Landlords, the bourgeois Army presently being reorganised and consisting of bourgeois officers numbering almost half of the regular army. Let us pause for a moment and consider the words of Mr. Papandreou, ex-Greek Prime Minister, when he stated that in the event of there being a danger of a Socialist victory in any of the NATO countries, NATO Headquarters (the Pentagon) HAD PLANS WHEREBY the military would take control, and he should know. Interesting little point that if you take into consideration, that our country may shortly belong to NATO, that our Army is being reorganised, and that our Senior Army officers have been to Western Europe lately on a tour of industry.

The writer also states that it is right to talk about Class Struggle under Capitalism, but not under Socialism. He writes "We cannot and Will not wage a struggle against our allies." Whom I might ask gives him the right to make a statement like this. No doubt there will be a broad front in the struggle against imperialism in Ireland. The working class will have allies, but to say we cannot and will not wage a struggle against them would be purely wishful thinking. Many sections of the masses will struggle against oppression, for Socialism, and no doubt they will all have their own

interpretations of Socialism AND will have their own reasons for being involved in the struggle. It is highly probable that they will reject that the Marxist-Leninist Party is the directly ruling vanguard OF THE WORKING CLASS. It is the Leader, they may not accept the dictatorship of the proletariat or Proletarian Democracy which Lenin referred to as a million times more Democratic than Bourgeois Democracy. If the allies of the Working Class and their Parties do not accept these conditions which are essential for the building of Socialism a vigorous and relentless struggle would be engaged against them. Here again Lenin is clear and Precise about the struggle. He writes. "The abolition of Classes requires a long difficult and stubborn class struggle which after the overthrow of Capitalist Rule, after the destruction of the Bourgeois state, after the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat DOES NOT DISAPPEAR (AS THE VULGAR REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OLD SOCIALISM AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IMAGINED) but merely changes its form, and in many respects becomes Fiercer." (Lenin, Greetings to the Hungarian Workers, 27 May 1919, Selected Works).

The writer also states, that in a Socialist Ireland, freedom of expression, thought, meeting, association would exist. Would this mean that the bourgeoisie and their various allies would be allowed to continue to mouth their obscene philosophies of the exploitation of man by man for profit, of Apartheid, Fascism and all the other foul evils that are products of the capitalist system. I, for one, would resist in the strongest possible way, that they be allowed T.V. time, Radio, Press, Public Meetings and last but not least the freedom of association (Political Parties) to expound these views. Here again Lenin deals in full with all of this but unfortunately I have neither time nor space to quote him. One should consider how foolish it would be to allow them these liberties. Also the fact that they have powerful allies outside of the country. International Capitalism is a mighty force and in many forms, it is unlikely that it will be overthrown in one go.

Finally, Michael O'Reilly, talks about developing the Broadest Possible Democracy. There is no doubt that in the event of us overthrowing Capitalism in Ireland, that this idea would gather tremendous support and perhaps we might learn a lesson from Frederick Engels here. Engels predicted long ago that in the era of Socialist Revolution "pure Democracy" would become, he wrote, "the last sheet anchor of the entire Bourgeois and even feudal economy. At such a moment the entire reactionary mass steps behind it and strengthens it. EVEN WHAT was reactionary behaves democratically. Our only opponent on the day of the crisis and the following day is the Collective Reaction which gathers around Pure Democracy." (Engels, Letter to Bebel, 11th Dec. 1884).

Finally, on finishing this letter, I would say that in my opinion the views expressed by Michael O'Reilly have no place in Marxist thought.

Yours, etc.,

JERRY FLEMING.

Readers are invited to contribute to this Discussion.

## JAMES CONNOLLY'S LEGACY

by

JOHN MONTGOMERY

**THIS being May we once more will see a spate of public and semi-public functions professing to honour the memory of James Connolly and when we see the state of society at home and abroad at the present time I think that we can all agree that the best way to honour Connolly would be to learn from his teachings and try to put them into effect. For within the teachings of Connolly we will find the root of the evils which haunt our lives to-day and the means of defeating these same evils.**

Many others as members of organisations and as individuals will profess admiration for Connolly and at the same time will fight to suppress all his teachings and all those who try to propagate his ideals among the workers for whom he worked and gave his life. For it was for workers freedom that Connolly fought and not for fancy office blocks and high profits for parasitical bosses.

## NOT LEARNED

This is unfortunately a lesson which has not been learned by all the workers and patriots who profess admiration for Connolly. This tragic position has been brought about by the many pillars of the establishment who have deliberately built a series of smoke screens around the real Connolly and have projected an image to the masses of a storybook hero who is no danger to the establishment or its lackeys. In fact they praise Connolly to the heavens but attack Connollyism at every opportunity.

This should of course be no great surprise to followers of Connolly. In "Labour in Irish History" he exposed the same tactics when he wrote of the United Irishmen.

Few movements in history have been more consistently misrepresented, by open enemies and professed admirers, than that of the United Irishmen. The suggestio falsi and the suppressio veri have been remorselessly used. The middle class "patriotic" historians, orators and journalists of Ireland have ever vied with one another in enthusiastic descriptions of their military exploits on land and sea, their hair-breath escapes and heroic martyrdom, but have resolutely suppressed or distorted their writings, songs and manifestos!!

The only way to prevent these tactics being used against Connolly's teachings with any success is to teach the masses what Connolly said.

He knew that soft talk and lies would be used to conceal the tyranny of the boss class and would not be fooled by it as he proved in his poem "The Legacy" when he wrote:

"But open force gave way to fraud, but force again behind. Prepares to strike if fraud should fail to keep man deaf and blind".

## CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILL

If the workers could only study these lines they would understand the Criminal Justice Bill and Anti-Trade Union legislation.

Our politicians who profess admiration for Connolly could remember his views on war. On August 15th, 1914 he wrote on the outbreak of World War 1 in "Forward".

To me the Socialist of another country is a fellow patriot, as the capitalist of my own country is a natural enemy. I regard each nation as the possessor of a definite contribution to the common stock of civilisation, and I regard the capitalist class of each nation as the logical and natural enemy of the national culture which constitutes that definite contribution.

Therefore, the stronger I am in my affection for national tradition, literature, language and sympathies, the more firmly rooted I am in my opposition to that capitalist class which in its soulless lust for power and gold would braze the nation as in a mortar!

## CEMENT STRIKE

With the cement strike in our mind I think the T. U. officials might do well to heed Connolly on the sympathetic strike.

What is the sympathetic strike? It is the recognition by the working class of its essential unity, the manifestation in our daily industrial relations that our brothers fight is our fight, our sister's troubles are our troubles, that we are all members one of another. In practical operation it means that when any body of workers is in conflict with their employers, that all other workers should cooperate with them in attempting to bring that particular employer to reason by refusing to handle his goods.

With this approach to industrial negotiation workers would not as now have to suffer weeks of deprivation and worry (and sometimes ultimately defeat).

So let us of the working class pay tribute to Connolly this year as only we can. Connolly cannot be honoured by people sipping expensive drinks and eating the best foods while others are without the necessities of life. For these people are the enemies of all that Connolly stood for.

Let this be the year when real tribute is paid to Connolly. Let us learn his teachings and put them into action. Let Irish workers unite and then maybe it won't be long until we pay him the tribute he would wish the most, the formation of an Irish Workers' Republic.



# How Our OLD PEOPLE Are Left To STARVE And DIE

by KEVIN MURRAY

**T**HE recent tragic deaths of Dan and Mary Connolly, whose bodies were found in the bedroom of their humble home at Blessington Lane, Dublin, and of whom the inquest found the cause of death to be due to anaemia and malnutrition, brings to light the scandalous conditions in which our old people are existing. In the same week death paid a visit to an old woman not a stone's throw from Guinness's Brewery. The inquest gave the same result, death was due to malnutrition. The following week two old men were found dead from the same cause. One died in a built-up area and was dead for four days before his body was found. One of his fingers and his left ear had been eaten away by rats.

Two of these cases warranted a few lines in an obscure corner of one of our evening papers. This type of news never seems to warrant a headline. We have to keep up the old image. "Things like this don't happen in Christian Ireland!"

It is a curious fact that while we are willing to spend large sums of money on projects like artificial kidney machines, we quite readily leave hundreds of our old people in a state of acute want and misery. They are suffering because our Government is not apparently sufficiently concerned for their welfare to provide the few simple aids and services which they need in order to be able to join in the life of the community, and because the people responsible for handing out money to our old people have not, so far, even made an effort to make a proper study of the requirements of our old people and have not adjusted the level of the pittance they dole out each week to even the minimum required to exist.

To the city of Limerick goes the unique distinction of being the one city in the whole of Ireland to carry out a survey of the amount of old people over the age of 65 living there, and the conditions they were living in. Its findings must have come as quite a shock to anyone with a social conscience. It stated, quite bluntly, that one in every ten old people was dying of slow starvation. Since I started this investigation, many people who do social work all over Ireland have furnished me with an abundance of evidence that the findings are applicable to every city and big town in Ireland.

## STRANGE

It seems very strange to me, that reading through the recent "Lenten Pastorals" that this great social evil did not even warrant a comment. The inhuman treatment being meted out to our old people did not seem to cause any concern.

There were plenty of boasts of Ireland being an example to the world, of our high Christian traditions, of our great love of the Faith.

But what the hell is there for us to boast about. When old men and women are dying under our noses from cold and hunger? Is there anything to boast about in the fact that 88 old people were found dead last year in Dublin alone, without nursing assistance or any medical care? Is there any cause for boasting in the fact that 1,247,420 dinners were provided for people who were destitute in Dublin last year?

## BURNED OUT

Would it not be more honest if the bishops thundered from their pulpits that we have the worst social services for old people in both Eastern and Western Europe? That old people in Summerhill have been burned out of their rooms by youths? That

over 140 people over the age of 70 years, were stabbed, beaten unconscious and kicked around their homes in the last eight months of last year? That old people are afraid to leave their dungeons of rooms for even a bit of sunshine?

All this is just as true and real as the shiny cars, the packed lounge bars, and the luxury kitchens and the rest of the expensive gadgets and it is all to be found, not only in the depressed rural areas, but in the heart of a great and prosperous city like Dublin. For the poor and hungry citizens of Dublin there is no escape, they are prisoners in their dreadful ghettos. At one end of our city we have staggering wealth, at the other degrading poverty. A ten-minute walk separates the two worlds. Yet Ireland complacently boasts of its great Christian tradition.

## INDIFFERENCE

There has been a tradition of indifference mingled with horror, if anyone suggests that old people are today starving to death in Ireland. I can recall one incident myself, when I asked for permission to hang a notice in a shop in the form of an appeal for help for old people who were hungry. I was refused on the grounds that there were no hungry people in the city of Dublin.

The pension scheme that exists

in Ireland is in itself inhuman. Firstly, it only operates for the 70 year olds. This scandalous situation should make us hang our heads in shame, because it gives us in Ireland the highest pensionable age in Europe. The sum of money given by our ruling elite for a non-contributory old age pension is £3 10s. per week. In contrast to this benevolent gesture — The Dublin Health Authority has put on record that at present-day rates old people would need £4 10s., "not including rent", to exist. It is not hard to understand the appalling poverty in which 1,380 old people in the city of Dublin are existing.

## SURVIVAL

But what of those who are scattered over the length and breadth of Ireland, who add up to an overall figure of 167,000?

It is impossible to discover how many old people owe their survival to the many charitable institutions that are at work in Dublin city and county. In Dublin alone their expenditure was two-thirds of that of the Home Assistance Authorities in 1969. Its budget of well over half-a-million pounds yearly helped to bring some glimmer of hope to those on the very borderline of total destitution.

Many Socialist friends of mine decline to support charitable organisations such as St. Vincent de Paul Society and similar bodies on the grounds that they serve to perpetuate an unjust society by preventing more direct Government action. They argue that a reasonable standard of life is every persons' right, and not something that should depend on the charity of others and that the Government of our country would have to do much more if their path was not made much easier by the sums private charities make available.

## NONSENSE

All these arguments when pertaining to old people are to me nonsense. If our Government chooses to neglect our old people it only underlines the need, if one has a social conscience, that, in the meantime, something should somehow be done to help the great mass of our old people who are living so near the borderline of death that literally every calorie or vitamin tablet will weigh the balance one way or the other. A drowning man does not necessarily resent the charity of the man who jumps into the sea to rescue him. One wishes that every old person could have a decent life, without the need of charitable help, but the facts are that they cannot at present. The great sadness of all those voluntary organisations involved in helping our old people is that so few of our old are reached. Until more Government help does reach every old person in need there is room for the contribution of every individual.

## N.A.T.O.

Since the recent deaths of old people in Dublin, the Dublin Council of N.A.T.O. has shown the lead. Its Secretary, Matt Larkin, has called for an all-out effort to see that no old person is left without aid. Knowing Matt Larkin, who is a workmate of mine, I know that no effort will be spared by this dynamic man to help.

With the advances being made in the field of medicine, science is keeping more and more of our old people alive. It is a waste of time and skill and money, if, at the same time, nothing is done to make the lives that are saved worth living.

## FROM THE BIG SMOKE

by JOHN RIDDY

**W**E were given a real treat on TV a few weeks ago. It happened on the trendy, swinging and entirely boring SIMON DEE SHOW, when three Irish "personalities", Milo O'Shea, Mary Kenny and Dominic Behan, were asked by way-out Mr. Dee if (*vide* Enoch Powell) they felt like aliens in Britain. It transpired that they did—and they didn't. Poor Milo looked more bewildered than usual as he explained, rather apologetically, that he doesn't live in Britain, has never lived in Britain, and what was more, preferred to live where he does live, namely, in Ireland. He did think, though, that the Irish liked the British when they met them in their role as tourists in Ireland. He also showed a foreigner's ignorance about Enoch Powell, wondering aloud at one point if he belonged to the Conservative Party or the other one.

## MORE POLITICAL

Mary Kenny and Behan were more political in their approach. Mary, a beautiful, Chelsea dolly-type bird, appeared distraught (I can't use a more exact word, I'm afraid) and glassy-eyed throughout the discussion, and insisted on describing herself as a "revolutionary". This brought hoots of derision from Behan, who called her a "Fianna Fail revolutionary—conservative", and capped this by terming himself a "Socialist". Both of these contestants for the Left-wing role on this mindless pop-

music show would keep returning to the subject of the notorious Enoch Powell, much to the irritation of Simon Dee, who wanted them to discuss such things as, "What is it that makes an Irishman an Irishman?" He seemed to think it was "leper-cawns", drink and other well-known Irish vices. And so it went on. I don't know what the teeny-boppers watching this show made of it, but to anyone over the age of consent it was obvious that some Irishmen are in the way of picking up easy money over here.

## A NEWSPAPER

A newspaper for the Irish in Britain has for generations been spoken of. It is now a reality. That is how the editorial begins in Vol. 1 No. 1 of THE IRISH POST, our newest newspaper in Britain. But those two lines are wrong, for the Irish over here have had a famous newspaper for well over 30 years, the IRISH DEMOCRAT, a monthly that has had the distinction of being attacked by every reactionary in Ireland. There is no fear of THE IRISH POST suffering such an onslaught. It is rumoured that the setting up of THE IRISH POST cost around £250,000, and people who put up that kind of lolly have problems that have nothing to do with crusades for the Irish workers in a country that must remain forever foreign to them until the day they die.

(Continued on page 8)

## QUOTES . . .

By JOHN MONTGOMERY

**T**HE Taoiseach and Senator Dunne rounded off their contributions to the seminar in a very personal way at dinner — Mr. Lynch thrilled his audience with a commendable rendering of "The Boston Burglar" while Senator Dunne sang "I did it my way".  
"Irish Times" 2-3-70.

If this singing to character catches on we may have Mr. Dillon singing "Sky Blue Shirt"; C. Haughey (on Budget day) "I Can't Give You Anything But Love"; Mr. Underwood (Slum Landlord) "Shut The Door They Are Coming In The Window"; Connor Cruise O'Brien (to Kevin Boland) "I Get A Kick Out Of You"; Chichester Clarke, "He'll Have To Go"; Enoch Powell "That Old Black Magic"; Richard Nixon "If I Ruled The World".

**D**ET. SERGT. BURNS said that from the time he began his enquiries on Nov. 12th until Nov. 29th, he had not succeeded in collecting any information on illegal money-lending.  
"Seven Days Inquiry" 11-3-70

Strange they cannot find any information about those who hurt the working class but yet they always seem to be able to get detailed reports on the most secret meetings of "illegal organisations" who might hurt the establishment.

**S**HORTS Get Big Missile Order — "Irish Times" 12-3-70.  
Paisley ordered 10,000 bricks for the next Civil Rights March.

**T**HEIR (Rent Collectors) bullying tactics and rigid enforce-

ment of the regulations were driving tenants to despair.

Sean Sherwin (F.F.) 10-3-70.

Don't blame the man who enforces the regulations, blame those who thought them up, your own party, Sean.

**I**would stress that the employers side do not wish to have interference with democratic freedoms such as the right to strike.

—Mr. C. R. Cuffe, of the F.U.E.  
What they want to interfere with is the right to live.

**L**AOS Will Not Seek Help from American Troops.

—Irish Times 20-2-1970.

But President Nixon says he'll free them even if he has to kill the lot of them to do it!

"THE worker is the slave of capitalist society, the female worker is the slave of that slave."

"WHATEVER class rules industrially will rule politically, and impose upon the community in general the beliefs, customs and ideas most suitable to the perpetuation of its rule. These beliefs, customs, ideas become then the highest expression of morality and so remain until

the ascent to power of another ruling industrial class establishes a new morality."

"CAPITALISM teaches the people the moral conceptions of cannibalism — the strong devouring the weak; its theory of the world of men and women is that of a glorified pig-trough where the biggest swine get the most swill."

# WHAT CONNOLLY WROTE



# Communist Party of Ireland Reconstituted

By Michael O'Riordan

**L**AST WEEK-END, in Belfast, a memorable and historic event took place when some 100 delegates nominated by the Irish Workers' Party and the Communist Party, N. Ireland, came together and by unanimous vote decided to merge the two organisations and to reconstitute the Communist Party of Ireland. The decision was greeted by long applause from both delegates and visitors.

The Meeting was opened by the Chairman, Andrew Barr. The main political document, a Manifesto setting forth the analysis of the political situation and the tasks of the Party, was introduced by Hugh Moore, Jimmy Stewart made an effective speech on the inroads of the monopolies and the consequences in all facets of the economy and the lives of the people. Joe Deasy emphasised the need to sow deep in the ranks of all sections of the working class movement the socialist ideas upon which a socialist society in Ireland would be founded. An essential part of the fight against imperialism, he said, was the need to combat and defeat the many and varied onslaughts being made on all aspects of our cultural heritage. The working class movement should stand out as the custodian and firm defender of every aspect of Ireland's rich cultural traditions.

Betty Sinclair, a veteran of the Communist movement and of many working class battles, recalled the consistent struggle of Irish communists down the years in all the political, social and economic struggles of the working people. She recalled her own first identification with the movement in 1933 when, as a young Belfast mill worker, she was involved in a strike.

## SMALL FARMERS

The Belfast meeting was a hosting of Irish communists, from the north, the south, the east and the west. Probably the greatest applause was given to the speech of a small farmer, a young man, from Mayo, who showed he understood the problems of the small farmer, not just in his own county but in the country as a whole, north and south, and that their identification with the fight of all sections of the working people was their hope for a future for them.

There was a great response from the delegates, many of them being of the younger generation, when messages of greetings were read from veterans of the earlier Irish Communist Party, who, for varying reasons, were unable to be present. There were Jim Prendergast and Sean Redmond Senr., now living in London; Tommy Watters, now in Manchester; Frank Herbert, now in Nuneaton; Hughie Hunter, an old Stalwart of the Belfast movement, was too ill to attend; the meeting hailed the presence of 91-year-old Adam Bell, who, in the days of long ago, was associated with James Connolly in Belfast; there was a message from Jimmy Walshe, a retired miner in Castlecomer, from Donal Sheehan, of Cork, a telegram of greeting. A group of Dublin busmen, members of the four unions in the job, sent a telegram conveying their good wishes.

Fraternal delegations were present from the Soviet Union, Rumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, France, Bulgaria and Britain. Messages were received from Communist and Workers' Parties in many parts of the world, including Vietnam.

## LENIN

The Soviet delegation presented a large bronze plaque of Lenin and received a warm welcome from all present. Mr. Snechus, the leader of the Soviet delegation recalled his meeting with Jim Larkin in Moscow away back in the early 1920's. Mr. Snechus has been identified with the communist movement in Lithuania for forty years and more.

After editing has been completed the Manifesto and Constitution will be prepared for publication. A National Executive Committee of 20 members was elected.

Reports of the Congress were covered in the daily newspapers, Dublin and Belfast Radio and T.V. RTE carried interviews with Andrew Barr and Michael O'Riordan.

## N. E. C.

At the first meeting of the National Executive Committee which was elected at the recent Belfast Congress of the reconstituted Communist Party of Ireland, the following were elected members of the Party's Secretariat; Andrew Barr, Hugh Moore, Sam Nolan, Sean Nolan, Michael O'Riordan, and James Stewart.

Michael O'Riordan was elected to the position of Secretary of the National Executive Committee.

Amendments to the Congress's draft manifesto which had been referred to the new National Executive Committee were discussed, and arrangements were made for the publication of the manifesto under the title; "For Unity and Socialism."

The meeting passed a resolution protesting against savage sentences imposed on Irish political prisoners in Britain. It was pointed out that the alleged offences with which they were charged arose out of the circumstances of the protection of families under the attack of pogromists.

Noting that its first meeting coincided with the tenth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party expressed its solidarity with the African peoples.

Arrangements were also made for the holding of a number of district meetings in both the Six and Twenty-Six counties for the purpose of extending the Party's organisation.

## THE RIVERS FOR THE PEOPLE

Dear Sir,

The Annual General Meeting of the Galway Branch, National Waters Restoration League was recently held and the following executive was elected for the coming year:—

Chairman—Seosamh Mac Eoin  
Vice-Chairman—Fursa Breathnach  
Secretary—Ignatius Craven.  
Treasurer—P. Geraghty.  
P.R.O.—Breasal O Caollai,  
(Uactar Ard)

The following events were arranged for the coming months and all supporters of the demand for Public Ownership Control and Development of the fisheries are requested to attend.

Fish-in — April 12th. Galway City at Salmon Weir—3 p.m.  
Fish-in — April 26th in Lar Chonnacht.

Public Lecture — May 10th Venue not yet arranged.  
Fish-in on Spidal River on 31st May.

All who wish to help the Galway branch in their activities please contact Ignatius Craven, Mannin, Craughwell, Co. Galway.

Is mise,  
BREASAL O AOLLAI.  
P.R.O., Galway Branch,  
W. W. R. L.

# THE SNEAKY WAR: LAOS.

BY GEORGE JEFFARES

**O**N March 6th Nixon admitted for the first time that the US was militarily involved in Laos. He also played down the extent of that involvement, claiming there were only 1040 Americans there (other sources put the figure at over 12,000) and that their role was purely "supportive and defensive". He added that "no American stationed in Laos has been killed in combat operations" — all 400 Americans killed or missing in Laos during the last six years had been airmen.

Nixon — not for the first time — was lying. He had no sooner spoken than the Los Angeles Times printed an eye-witness account of the death of one US adviser, who had won several decorations for gallantry in action. The White House then had to admit that at least 26 Americans had been killed in Laos, some of them employed by Air America—the CIA's Asian airline. Finally, on March 12th, the Pentagon confessed that US servicemen in Laos are receiving combat pay—an extra £27 a month.

America's hidden war is now out in the open. What's it all about?

The war in Laos is linked with the war in Vietnam, which in turn is only part of the US strategy in Asia, aimed at holding back the liberation movement of the peoples and at recapturing the positions lost by imperialism in that region. Like Vietnam, Laos is one of the fronts of the general American intervention in S.E. Asia. As such, it is inevitably affected by what happens on the other fronts.

There is no doubt that it is the fiasco of Nixon's policy of "Vietnamisation of the war" that has led the US to re-activate the Laos front, the main aim being to threaten North Vietnam on her flank, but also to achieve a greater control of Laotian territory, particularly the routes crossing the Plain of Jars, which would secure a direct link between the US bases in Thailand and the centre of Vietnam. Similarly, control of Cambodia would permit the US to co-ordinate its forces in Vietnam, Laos, Thailand—to achieve which Sihanouk had to be got rid of.

The US has been involved in Laos from the word go.

## COLLABORATORS

The Indochina war against the French colonialists divided the population of Laos into patriots and collaborators. It was out of this division, and the regroupment zones fixed by the 1954 Geneva Agreements, that the first confrontations arose, to be repeated again and again for the next 16 years: the Americans arm the right-wing faction, encourage it to attack the

zone controlled by the left. The popular forces reply, drive back the puppet troops, who then cry "pax!" The thing starts all over again on the instructions of the US. That is what happened in 1957 and again in 1963, after the 1962 Geneva Conference had established a government of rightists, neutralists and the left.

The right made it impossible for the left-wing ministers to carry out their functions—indeed, they had to flee for their lives from the capital. Pressure steadily mounted too against those neutralists who wished to respect their mandate. They too had to flee Vientiane.

The same thing happened in the neutralist armed forces. Having seen neutralist Prince Souvanna Phouma gradually go over completely to the Americans, many neutralist officers joined the Patriotic front, taking the bulk of their units with them. Those neutralists who tried to take a stand "within the regime" were assassinated, like the neutralist minister Quinin Pholsena.

## DIRECT HAND

During all those years the US encouraged its puppets to attack the areas controlled by the Left forces. And, as in Vietnam, it was increasingly obliged to take a direct hand in things. Nixon's arrival in the White House changed nothing.

What was new was the application to Laos of the "Vietnamisation" doctrine — that is, taking the burden of combat off the US forces by making Asians fight under the cover of massive American air power. In Laos, the US has

been applying this tactic with the help of a former NCO in the French army, "General" Vang Pao and his Meo mercenaries, who were instrumental in capturing the Plain of Jars last autumn. No doubt Nixon was delighted to see his theories paying off.

He was soon to be disillusioned. The smashing of Vang Pao's forces last month, in spite of unprecedented air support — the entire American air strength in SE Asia was at that moment concentrated over the Plain of Jars, with B.52's flying up to 600 sorties a day — has meant the collapse of a whole theory of war, in Laos as in Vietnam.

The counter-offensive of the people's forces has inflicted more than a military defeat on Nixon. Diplomatically too, he is on the defensive, with the proposals made on March 8th by the left-wing Prince Souphanouvong to his half-brother, Souvanna Phouma. And the people's army — ever anxious for a reconciliation — were careful to halt their counter-offensive along a line roughly corresponding to the one laid down at Geneva in 1962.

Once again, the left is calling for the formation of a government of national unity—lefts, rights and neutralists. The question now is: who is what? Obviously the events of the last eight years have brought about many shifts of position. When the left-wing Souphanouvong addresses himself to Souvanna Phouma, it is no longer to the leader of the neutralists. Talking to Phouma today, he is speaking to the leader of the Right faction. There are no longer any real neutralists left in Vientiane. They have long ago rallied behind such men as Kamsouk Keola and Colonel Deuane, who have aligned themselves with the left forces. These are the people Souphanouvong is speaking to, at the same time as he sends his messenger to Phouma.

US Secretary of State William Roger's implied threat on March 7th, that the US may send more ground combat troops into Laos, suggests that the US will be as unwilling to accept a coalition government in "the land of a million elephants" as she is showing herself in the case of Vietnam.

## FOREIGN NEWS by Lily O'Rourke

**T**HE cries of horror about "Wages inflation" and "wrecking the economy" coming forth from bankers feasts is raising no panic among wage and salary workers in Britain. An article in "Labour Monthly" mentions—

"As the wages movement grows here as abroad, the struggle deepens. No longer is it directed only to prevent the effects of the incomes policy and the policy itself. It begins to attack the Cause. Here it finds itself in the same stream as those who move against apartheid and racism, against the housing cuts, against the Vietnam War, against the Cramping of educational opportunity. The Cause is Imperialism."

## INDIA

**I**T is a rare event when a Government has to introduce legislation and adopt a decree all on one and the same issue. That is what happened in India.

On February 14th President Giri for the second time decreed the nationalisation of the fourteen major banks. The action was prompted by the decision of the Indian Supreme Court which on February 10th decided by a majority of ten to one that last August's bank nationalisation decree was invalid. Obviously playing up to the forces opposing the socio-economic

reforms undertaken by Indira Gandhi's Government.

This aroused the indignation of all democratic forces, mass meetings and demonstrations were held in many cities. It was in this atmosphere that President Giri issued a decree nationalising the 14 biggest of India's banks.

The fact that since nationalisation the deposits in these banks increased by almost 600 million rupees testifies to the support given by the population to the act passed by Parliament last August.

## BERLIN PROTEST

**T**HOUSANDS of West Berlin students left their class-rooms recently to join a protest march against the City government education policy and cuts in the school budget, despite warnings that protest action during school hours was illegal and that participants would get disciplinary measures.

The march ended with a teach-in at the Technical University. Speakers demanded that money needed for new schools should be taken out of the police and military budget.

## NO EQUALITY

**A** report of a United States National Commission on the prevention of crime wrote in November:—

"Many of the young people in the Nation are highly motivated by the ideals of justice, equality, candour, peace. Instead they face

the prospect of having to fight a war which most of them believe is unjustified or futile, or both. They see a nation which has the capacity to provide food, shelter and education for all, but has not devised the procedures, opportunities or social institutions that bring these things.

They see a society built on the principle of human equality that has not yet assured equality in life."

**S**HOWINGS of John Wayne's "Green Berets" were suspended recently in a cinema in Tarrasa, a town near Barcelona because of outbursts of disorder in the theatre. A group of young people having distributed leaflets condemning the war in Vietnam started shouting anti-American slogans and slinging eggs, tomatoes and paint at the screen.

This news item in "New Times" reveals that even in Franco Spain people have dared to raise their voices in protest against American war film propaganda.

For nearly two years Hollywood film distributors have been pushing "Green Berets" in the West European countries. This film glorifying American aggression in Vietnam, is to all intents and purposes being boycotted everywhere.

Showings evoke protest actions and clashes with the police. Pickets display posters and distribute leaflets exposing the war crimes of the "Green Berets".



# This is the Month of International Solidarity: May. Here is News of the Fight for Freedom in other lands.

## GREECE

A FEW days after seizing power in April, 1967, the military dictators in Greece issued the General Army Staff's Proclamation No. 5, dissolving 220 workers' organisations and confiscating their property.

Thousands of workers and employees, including 120 elected trade union officials, were arrested. Elected trade union bodies were dismissed and replaced with pro-junta people.

Having declared the country in a stage of siege, the junta abolished the right to strike, the right of association, the right of assembly. Civil and trade union rights were abolished. The arrested were brutally tortured; the murdered included the well-known attorney Christos Mandalaras and Panayiotis Ellis. Among those severely beaten was Elias Eliou, M.P. for E.D.A. (the United Democratic Left).

## SACKED

The colonels passed a series of anti-labour laws on the basis of which scores of workers and employees were sacked in large firms such as the shipyards, metal works, the Onassis Olympic Airlines, the Electrical Power Company, Viochalko, banks and other enterprises. The 2,500 employees and seamen of the Typaldou Company received no wages for months.

## CYPRUS

THE attempt to assassinate Archbishop Makarios has repercussions far wider than Cyprus.

Situated in the Eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus occupies an important place in the strategic plans of the imperialists. They look upon it as an unsinkable aircraft carrier and forward base against the Arab liberation forces and the Soviet Union. The ending of King Idris's regime in Libya has increased its strategic importance to them.

Although Cyprus became an independent republic in 1960 after a long struggle, it is compelled to accept the maintenance of British bases at Limassol and 32 other places in the island covering 99 square miles of its territory. Some of these "sovereign" bases are now under NATO jurisdiction.

Britain also enjoys privileges in the use of ports, airports, roads, airspace and additional territory for military purposes and exercises.

## CLASHES

The Zurich Agreement which followed the 1958 communal clashes between Greek and Turkish Cypriots fomented by British imperialism, contained all the elements of continued divisions between the people.

Communal strife, an essential ingredient of colonial rule, became even more important for imperialism after independence.

After some years of conflict and bloodshed which threatened the island's independence, Makarios broke the deadlock at the end of 1967 by announcing the need to solve the Cyprus problem within "the framework of what is attainable," with talks between the two communities to settle their differences.

This step was taken at a moment when it was becoming increasingly clear that the alternative was the partition of Cyprus, one part coming under Greece, where the colonels' regime was already installed; another under Turkey; and a third, the "sovereign" bases, under Britain, with the U.S. as the imperialist overlord.

## REFUGEES

Had this happened, half the population of the island would

The working people fought back as well as they could under conditions of siege and terror. Protests, memoranda to employers and Ministers were earliest forms of struggle. At the end of 1967 the first strikes were declared—of the taxi-drivers of Athens, the textile workers, the printers of the newspaper Acropolis. The junta replied by passing even harsher measures.

Not long after the fascist coup, the workers, employees, the Greek patriots in general set up the first anti-dictatorship organisations. Among the most important are the Patriotic Anti-dictatorship Front (PAM), the Democratic Defence (DA) and others. In the labour field there are the Labour PAM (EPAM), the United Anti-dictatorship Trade Union Movement of Greek Seamen (EASKEN), the Democratic National Movement of Working People (DEKE) and the United Trade Union Anti-dictatorship Movement (ESAK), which is the broad, co-ordinating, united front organisation.

## TRADE UNIONS

To nobody's surprise, the leaders of the General Confederation of Labour of Greece supported the dictatorship. It had been a puppet union even before the coup of 21st April, 1967. The arrests and persecution left the workers and employees without a leadership and with their largest organisations dissolved.

In September, 1967, Greek sea-

men trade unionists, with the help of the Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation, set up EASKEN. Trade unionists who managed to escape arrest and flee the country founded ESAK in April, 1968, with the help of the three large trade union federations of Italy.

One important result of this was the expulsion of the General Confederation of Labour of Greece from the ranks of the International Confederation of Trade Unions on 1st June, 1969, and the suspension of the pro-junta Pan-Hellenic Maritime Federation by the International Transport Workers' Federation. Finally, in December, 1969, the junta was forced to withdraw from the Council of Europe where it was charged with violating the rights of man.

## ANTI-LABOUR

The struggles of the Greek people have forced the dictatorship and the employers to some concessions. Minimum wage levels have been raised. Civil employees have won small increases. Pensioners insured under the IKA social security fund have won a 12½ per cent. increase. A stubborn struggle is going on for the reinstatement of the employees who have been dismissed without cause, for an end to further sackings, for the improvement of safety and sanitary conditions, for unemployment benefits, housing, etc.

plosives were stolen and in Limassol the police were disarmed.

These fascist activities were carried out under the camouflage "patriotism". Unity between Greek and Turkish Cypriots was denounced as "treason". The aim of the terrorists was the overthrow of the Makarios Government by a coup d'état.

The terrorists' activities are part of the imperialist plan to turn Cyprus into a NATO base.

There is little doubt that the U.S. is deeply involved in the plot. It has a computer spying centre on the island transmitting to Washington information about the whole Middle East.

Since 1960, 20 million dollars have been allocated for activity in Cyprus and some American publications talk of Cyprus becoming a "Mediterranean Cuba".

## BRAZIL

THE most important date for South America is 1492. Christopher Columbus landed on an island in the Bahamas. He called it the Spanish Indies, the inhabitants Indians, imagining he had reached India.

The king and queen, Ferdinand and Isabella, sought immediate recognition of the discovery from Pope Alexander VI who after much argument decided to divide the uncharted New World between Spain and Portugal. Thus of twenty Latin American republics, eighteen use Spanish as the official language, Haiti speaks French and Brazil alone communicates in Portuguese, the prevailing tongue.

It's a cock-eyed kind of continent.

## MULTI-MILLIONAIRES

But not for any of the estimated 500 multi-millionaires who live life in Brasilia, in the impoverished backlands of Brazil. Lying six hundred miles from Rio and 3,000 feet above sea level is a magnificent concrete-glass city, a monster that is said to breathe energy. A showpiece pattern for planet cities to follow. Its rich community is responsible for 70 per cent. of the nation's tax.

Boy o boy we should envy those tanned tycoons, their invested wealth multiplying by the hour.

May Day eve, 1969, was turned into an anti-junta demonstration when workers and employees at a mass outdoor meeting in Salonika burst out with slogans demanding democracy, trade union and democratic rights, liberty, "down with the junta".

In May, 1969, the colonels issued three new anti-labour laws: Compulsory Decrees 184/, 185/, 186/ 1969. By means of these they wiped out the last remnants of trade union liberties. For example, CD 186/1969, provide that all elected trade union officials who had not worked at their professions for more than 100 days during the previous year, and 600 days during the previous six years, were automatically dismissed, and lost the right of election to any trade union post. Hundreds of elected trade unionists were got rid of and replaced by persons completely devoted to the fascist regime.

Again, Compulsory Decrees 184/, 185/, 186/, 1969 stand in outright violation of International Labour Conventions 87 and 98.

The aim of the junta in passing these compulsory laws was the nazification of the trade union movement.

Thus, new officials were appointed to the GCLG. Another "New General Confederation of Labour of Greece was resurrected (this ploy had been used before) to show that fascist Greece has more

than one, and so competitive, trade union confederations. The leaders of both are junta-appointed agents who serve its aims.

## STUBBORN

One of the most stubborn fights put up by the working people of Greece has been the fight to avert the amalgamation of their insurance funds (the IKA). The junta has its economic problems and here is a handy and considerable pile convenient for looting once it is removed from the control of the individual trade union federations and set up as dictator Papadopoulos' pet United Insurance Fund.

In spite of and against the will of the GCLG, 28 trade union federations representing over 500,000 workers and employees held a conference where they decided to oppose the colonels' plans to pool their insurance funds. The fascist Government, temporarily forced to back down, has sent the question to the Ministerial Council for further consideration.

The junta has set the "Sixteenth Congress" of the GCLG for 29th March. The main purpose of the "congress" is to legalise the position of the appointed fascist officials. Various trade union federations have already come out both against the March date and the way the meeting is being convened, since no workers or employees have been consulted.



Where Stands Ireland?

Negroes. It is estimated that at one time 15 million African negroes were shipped as slaves to the continent. Of the three racial stocks the Europeans and Negroes are flourishing, mixing rapidly in north-eastern regions while the Indian is being squeezed out. Approximately sixty per cent. of Brazil's population is rural, there being an increasing drift to the towns. The trek to urbanisation is widespread, the reward is threefold: the attraction of Americanisation, the pulsation of city life and a better chance of work.

The ordinary people of Brazil carry their country the size of Europe on their backs. Brazilian booms are as customary as low wages. Sugar booms, coffee booms, gold, diamonds, rubber and oil. Plenty of industry-profit, yet prosperity and social well-being is lop-sided.

Someone made a mint of course. Perhaps to pay the colossal cost of war and a moon probe. How does it come about that the underdeveloped countries, the starving countries, are far richer in natural Plenty of industry-profit, yet prosperity and social well-being is lop-sided.

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(Continued on Page 3)

One would imagine the sun-gods of Latin myth and folklore distributing their eternal wealth to the interests and bank accounts of the rich, richer and richest of Brasilia, Rio and even faraway New York. But sadly of course there is no mystery magic because in all languages labour creates wealth and in this hemisphere there is wealth in abundance.

In December 1968 the late General Arthur da Costa Silva, former President of Brazil, ended all pretence of civilian government. A leader of the military coup that deposed Leftist Joao Goulart in 1964, administering one political repression after another Costa Silva dissolved Congress and instituted rule by decree. Last August he suffered a paralytic stroke and was replaced by a military junta which two months ago named General Emilio Medici as President.

## MANACLED

The American way of life is fast becoming the "social improvement scheme", the erosion of the Latin identity. For many years the country has relied on the Yankee crutch where economics is concerned. From all this outside pressure the U.S. has manacled an iron grip on Brazil and her hemispherical neighbours. The scene is that the U.S. as a mind-expanding and wealth-extracting concern practices her philosophy without any qualms. The supervised grammatical aid, the severe trade restrictions on exports, the high interest rates on development loans, are all manacles to ensure the impotence of the mightiest republic of South America.

The country is a sight for sore eyes. Population 87 million people. Annual income per head is incredibly as low as £105, three times less than in Ireland.

39.3 per cent. are illiterate.

## UNDEVELOPED

Along with vast unoccupied areas in the interior and large areas of undeveloped fertile land, Brazil has been called the greatest melting pot of peoples in the world. Here can be found representatives of every race. The dominant components being the aboriginal Indians, the European immigrants and the once-imported



# The Small Farmer and the Working — Class

By J. M.

To many industrial workers even the geographical position of the small farming community is a bit obscure. We do not condemn them for this, as, over the years they have had quite a struggle on their own hands, both to maintain the Trade Union Movement and to develop a political consciousness in their own class.

But in 1970 we are moving into an era when a broad view must be taken of all the forces of discontent. In the main small farmers are situated West of the Shannon in the 26 counties and West of the Bann in the occupied six.

These farms as they exist to-day are the direct result of the fight by the Irish peasantry against Landlordism at the turn of the century. It was a long bitter and sometimes bloody battle and the small-farmers showed a high degree of militancy and solidarity in face of what was then a militant opposition, and without the help of the organised working-class which at that time was in its infancy.

However, when major divisions of land took place, which in itself was a progressive step, the strength of the small-farmer as a distinct political force was broken, and this was extended in areas where there had been marked militancy by discriminatory divisions of the confiscated lands. Also the "individualistic" nature of small farming led to the Land question losing its force on the political front. Added to this we had the outbreak of the war of independence where the small-farmer forsook the Land War and joined with his brothers in the cities to liberate the country as a whole.

## DISILLUSION

There is no need here to point out the end result of that brilliant struggle or to mention the disillusionment of the 20's and 30's. However, for a short time in the 30's during the Economic War the determination of the Small Farmer to struggle for Independence was again shown. This particular period broke the backs of many small-holders and at their expense there emerged the "new rich" who proceeded to consolidate their position of power.

As we entered the war years and the 50's with the neglect of rural areas becoming more evident, and the demand for labour in Britain increasing the flight from the Small farms really escalated. Not alone did the house-holder go but whole families moved away not to return. We were reverting to a position even worse than the period of Landlordism. "Without people there can be no progress".

Now this position is not confined to the North or South. In the period between 1960-70 over 100,000 people have been lost to the land in the 26 Counties.

A drop of over 50% has taken place in the number of small-holders in the North. This is happening at a time when foodstuffs are at an all time high, far out of the reach of the average working-class wamilly in many cases, and when there are not enough industrial jobs available to absorb those leaving the land. It is obvious the workers and small farmers have a lot of common grievances. But now as we enter the 70's we are offered the prospect of joining the Common Market. This surely is the final blow for the small-holder either in the North or South.

One of the cornerstones of the Mansholt Policy is to denude the land of people. This disciple of monopoly has no time for those natives West of the Shannon or the Bann. With a Government in Brussels we will be further away from the seats of power than we are to-day.

## DANGEROUS

At this very dangerous point in time how do the small farmers stand? In the main they are being led by N.F.A. in the South and to a lesser degree in the North by the U.F.U. The leadership of the

N.F.A. is composed in general of farmers in the higher income bracket. Though at times their interest may be at variance with those of small-farmers, they have at least resurrected the spirit of organisation and unity of action.

Their main weakness at present seems to be their failure to oppose entry into the E. E. C. In this they may be following in the footsteps of the French farmers Union, which was similarly composed, and which sacrificed the French small farmers by their support of E.E.C. This is a situation that the Irish small farmer must not allow to happen. Mansholt Policy is now being opposed militantly in France; let us in Ireland make sure it is never accepted.

Though the picture looks gloomy, all is not lost yet. The old cry "the land for the people" is again ringing around the remaining old ranches and the new ones that have developed since we gained political independence. Many branches of the National Land League have been formed and public pressure is being brought to bear on the Land Commission to take over these lands for division. A nation-wide movement by the Land League will hasten the day when the small farms of Fermanagh will give to Brookborough what the Mayo farmers gave to Jimmy Boycott many years ago.

## YOUTH

However in this battle the areas west of the Shannon and the Bann are at a disadvantage. Any movement that does not have in its ranks a large proportion of youth cannot make big advance. Over 100,000 of the small holders at present are over 65 years of age. They are men and women who have come through a lifetime of struggle. Some in the old Land Wars, most in the War of Independence and the Economic War. The zest for struggle can become blunted.

It is at this juncture that we look to our brothers in the Labour and Trade Union Movements to stretch out the hand of friendship and support. They have in the past, by virtue of the irectness of their clash with their employers, been more "class" conscious than the small farmers. But to win the battle against the old enemy Imperialism, they will need to develop a high degree of "Political consciousness". This is vitally necessary to build a united force of workers, small-farmers and other organisations.

## FLANAGAN

ONE of the most notable and important entrants into the race to save the West has been our Minister for Lands, Mr. Flanagan, who indeed should have a special interest and duty as regards this problem.

There can be many reasons put forward as to why he has even spoken on the issue, particularly at a time when he had slipped a little in the Fianna Fáil popularity charts. Unlike his fellow Minister in West Mayo he had failed to bring in a second Fianna Fáil T.D. and somewhat frustrated Mr. Boland in his effort to tighten the "Mafia knot" around the throat of political opposition in the country.

He was also honest enough to nail the lie concerning the proposed moving of the Dept. of Lands to Castlebar. This carrot had been dangled by O'Moran as the economic solution to the drift across the Shannon.

## PART-TIME FARMING

A certain amount of basic political courage was needed to put these issues forward and it is in

this light that we must view the possibilities in his proposal of part-time farmers.

Overhanging every solution being put forward is our proposed entry to the E.E.C. Realising as he must that the Mansholt Policy on Agriculture is totally opposed to maintaining a small-farmer population even as we know it today, he looked to industry for a solution. Open acceptance of "European Policy" would not be too popular in his type of constituency. On paper his answer looks fairly sound, but it needs closer examination. By accepting the need for the small farmer to have a second income he is at least admitting their real economic state. Figures produced recently on incomes by the Agricultural Institute are themselves an indictment of all Government for the past 50 years as regards Western Regions.

While I will not have to go into the pros and cons of "part-time farming" which incidentally has been the practice here where possible for the past number of years. I must look at the way he is going to supply those extra jobs, again in light of E.E.C. entry.

## MONOPOLIES

In every field of activity, banking, agricultural and industrial production and distribution the order of the day is the development of huge monopolies and cartels with no regard to national boundaries. Against this type of force he intends to establish small industries in rural areas without protective tariffs. How successful that would be can be gleaned from the effects of the E.E.C. policy on small industry in France, where it was already well established. The closure rate was so great that it even worried some supporters of E.E.C.

We in Ireland have not felt the effects yet of European policies, but we have seen and felt the end result of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement. Only the other day the Minister shed tears over the closure of Vidor Batteries in Roscommon and the shelving of a proposed £8m. new industry in Castlebar. The statement by the local chairman of Castlebar I.D.A. Mr. Killen carried much of the real reasons for this situation. He said: "The project has been postponed for a considerable time, at least a year, because the promoters have found their existing production facilities in Britain are sufficient for the present!" Why should they worry when they have free access to our valuable markets as they stand. This Free Trade policy and the move to Europe will only guarantee the Minister success in one field and that is in his clean-air policy. Whether there will be anyone to enjoy it, other than a few tourists, is a matter of deep concern.

## SINCERITY

This assessment may be looked on as rather harsh criticism of a policy that was probably put forward in all sincerity. But it is vitally necessary to look at the situation as it is, not as we would like it to be. At this point Mr. Flanagan, though a Cabinet Minister and fully supporting Government policy, must take a new look at his prospects of success.

Dr. Hillery in an interview with the *Irish Times*, 19th March, 1970, stated: "We accept totally the Treaty of Rome." This blunt statement at one stroke leaves no room for reformist thinking. To save his constituency and the West there is one road to go, total and open opposition to entry to the E.E.C., the scrapping of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement or at least what Britain has not already scrapped and the development of an independent line of agricultural and industrial production with protective tariffs.

## LENIN'S REALISM AND HATRED OF SHAM

by Albert Rhys Williams

ONE of the secrets of Lenin's power is his terrible sincerity.

He was sincere with his friends. He was gratified, of course, with each accession to the ranks, but he would not enlist a single recruit by painting in roseate hues the conditions of service, or the future prospects. Rather he tended to paint things blacker than they were. The burden of many of Lenin's speeches was: "The goal the Bolsheviks are striving for is far away—further away than most of you dream. We have led Russia along a rough road, but the course we follow will bring us more enemies, more hunger. Difficult as the past has been, the future promises harder things—harder than you imagine." Not an alluring promise. Not the usual call to arms! Yet as the Italians rallied to Garibaldi, who came offering wounds, prison and death, the Russians rallied to Lenin. This was a little disconcerting to one expecting the leader to glorify his cause and to urge the prospective convert into joining it. He left the urge to come from within.

Lenin is sincere even with his avowed enemies. An Englishman, commenting on his extraordinary frankness, says his attitude was like this: "Personally, I have nothing against you. Politically, however, you are my enemy and I must use every weapon I can think of for your destruction. Your government does the same against me. Now let us see how far we can go along together."

## SCIENTIFIC MIND

This stamp of sincerity is on all his public utterances. Lenin is lacking in the usual outfit of the statesman-politician—bluff, glittering verbiage and success-psychology. One felt that he could not fool others even if he desired to. And for the same reasons that he could not fool himself: his scientific attitude of mind, his passion for the facts.

His lines of information ran out in every direction, bringing him multitudes of facts. These he weighed, sifted and assayed. Then he utilised them as a strategist, a master chemist working in social elements, a mathematician. He would approach a subject in this way:

"Now the facts that count for us are these: One, two, three, four—" He would briefly enumerate them. "And the factors that are against us are these."

In the same way he would count them up, "One, two, three, four—Are there any others?" he would ask. We would rack our brains for another, but generally in vain. Elaborating the points on each side, pro and contra, he would proceed with his calculation as with a problem in mathematics.

Relentless as he is towards the phraseologists of the Right, he is equally as hard upon those phraseologists of the Left who seek refuge from reality in revolutionary slogans. He feels it his duty "to pour vinegar and bile into the sweetened waters of revolutionary-democratic eloquence," and he treats the sentimentalist and shouter of shibboleths with caustic ridicule.

## REVOLUTIONARY PHRASES

When the Germans were making their drive upon the Red Capital a flood of telegrams poured in on Smolny from all over Russia, expressing amazement, horror and indignation. They ended with slogans like "Long Live the Invincible Russian Proletariat!", "Death to the Imperialistic Robbers!", "With Our Last Drop of Blood We Will Defend the Capital of the Revolution!"

Lenin read them and then dispatched a telegram to all the Soviets, asking them kindly not to send revolutionary phrases to Petrograd, but to send troops; also to state precisely the number of volunteers enrolled, and to forward an exact report upon the

arms, ammunition and food conditions.

In the spring of 1918, while the whole world was ridiculing the idea of a German revolution, and the Kaiser's army was smashing the Allied line in France, Lenin in a conversation with me said, "The Kaiser's downfall will come within the year. It is absolutely certain." Nine months later the Kaiser was a fugitive from his own people. (Excerpt from the book "Lenin: The Man and His Work by Albert Rhys Williams (1883-1962), the progressive American journalist who played an active part in organising foreign detachments to defend the October Revolution against the foreign invading armies.)

## RIDDY—from page 5

### END OF PEASANT

According to a recent B.B.C. documentary, peasant farming in Ireland is on its way out. Well, in the West, anyway. It seems that 30% of the small farms in that part of the country are in the hands of people "without inheritors". So all the Government has to do is wait for the present proprietors to die off. The B.B.C. team was inclined to be ironical. Look, they said, 'with independence came the kind of peasant society the Irish had desired through the centuries of occupation. Men worked their own small plots of land, women cared for large families, the priest sorted out the complications of this world and the next. But the world was moving on, in the United States, in Britain, and in recent years up the road in Dublin. People everywhere were earning more. The emigrants came back on holiday first in better suits, then in bigger cars. A sense of having missed out turned to discontent and discontent to despair . . ."

Yep, that's what they said! There were other things they said, too. Like how a certain class of Englishman was digging into West Cork, especially along the seashore. Hundreds have already settled, and more flood in every day. Who are they? Rich parasites, on the run from taxation in Britain, that's who! People used to *servants*, my dear! People who just *adore* Ireland's empty roads, because this allows them to run their sports cars at full pelt. People who just drool over the peasants, because it allows *them* to feel superior. A poor exchange, I should think. Non-productive leeches for inefficient peasant farming! Give me the latter every time.

### JOKING APART

Stop me if you've heard this one . . . An Irishman and a monkey were sent to the moon with sealed orders. On the way, the monkey opened his orders and was instructed to land the Space-ship, gather Moon dust and then fly the machine back to earth. When the Irishman opened his orders, it read, "Don't forget to feed the monkey." . . . Funny? It was spoken on Hughie Green's Opportunity Knocks TV show a few weeks ago by *Welshman*-comedian Al Davey. George Walsh secretary of an Irish cultural society near his home in Brown-terrace, Paddington, was not amused. He has complained to the Race Relations Board. "It was anti-Irish," he said. "It makes out that the monkey is more intelligent than the Irishman." Hughie Green declared himself mystified. "I always thought that the Irish had a sense of humour," he said. Well—have we? I think that we have. But have Englishmen and Welshmen? Would this alleged joke have been so uproarious had the monkey-feeding gentlemen been Welsh or English? Methinks not!