

SO NOW YOU'RE IN THE COMMON MARKET

*and the Benefits are: HIGHER PRICES,
PROFITS and UNEMPLOYMENT*

By A. RAFTERY

IT was like the morning after the night before. After the massive "Yes" vote Ireland crept shivering at Britain's heels into the Common Market on January 1st.

"Not with a bang but a whimper." There were no fanfares and our accession to the E.E.C. was about as exciting as a four-day-old mackerel that had been walked on by a horse.

Reality has cut through all the sunshine drivel. The people are beginning to see the truth. The small farmer, after being assured that there was no threat of foreign take-overs of land, now sees legislation being introduced to lower the barriers to such take-overs. This is only the first step. Under the Rome Treaty there must, eventually, be complete freedom to buy anything, anywhere within the Community.

The workers see redundancy looming everywhere and prices rocketing upwards.

Of course, some people are happy. The top 50 companies



in the 26 counties show a profit increase over last year of 33%! Compare that with the increases under the National Wage Agreement. Profit per employee has risen by 26%.

One company, R. & H. Hall, made £12,210 profit per employee!

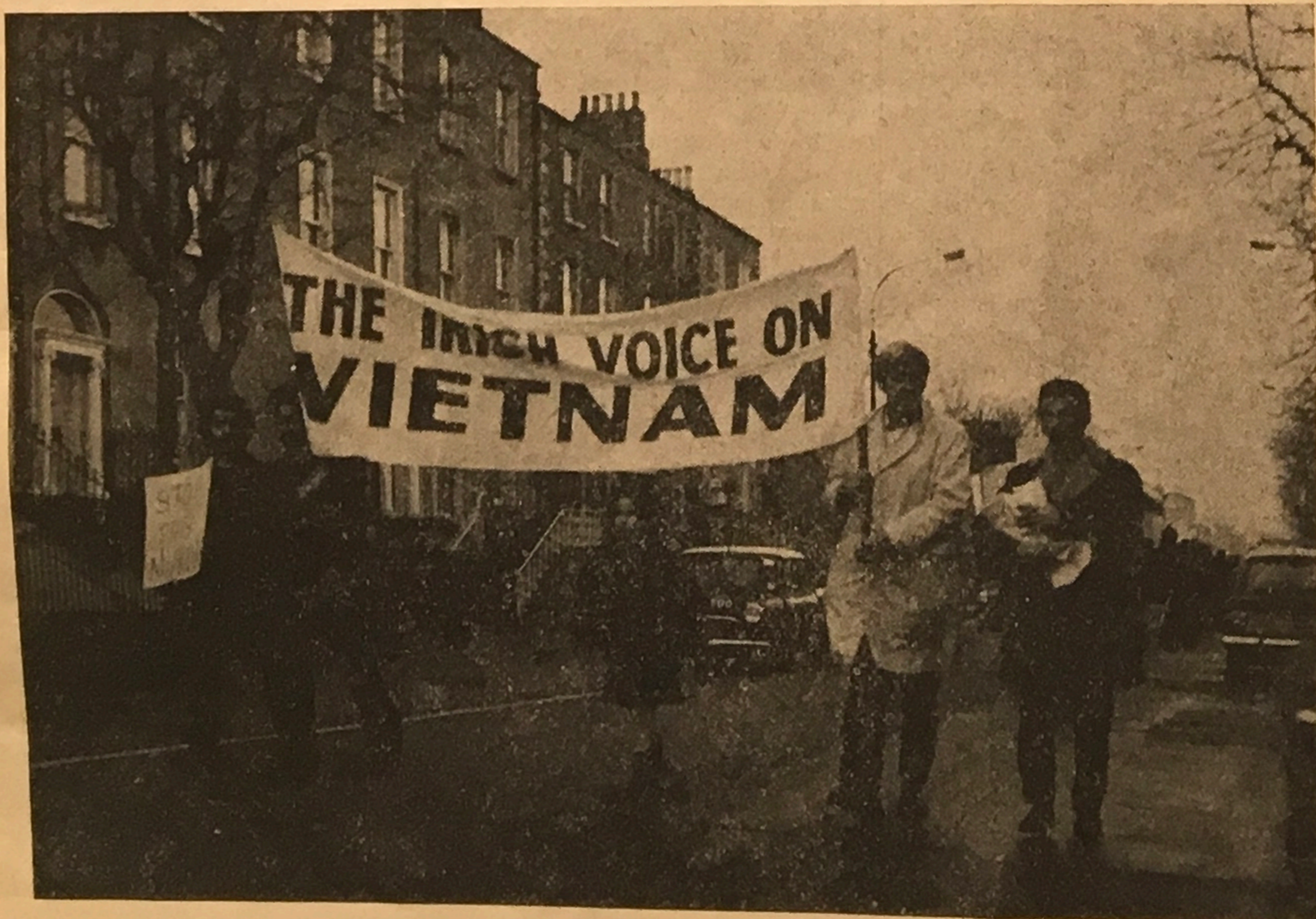
Exports are up 22%.

But the numbers employed by the top 50 companies only rose by 5%.

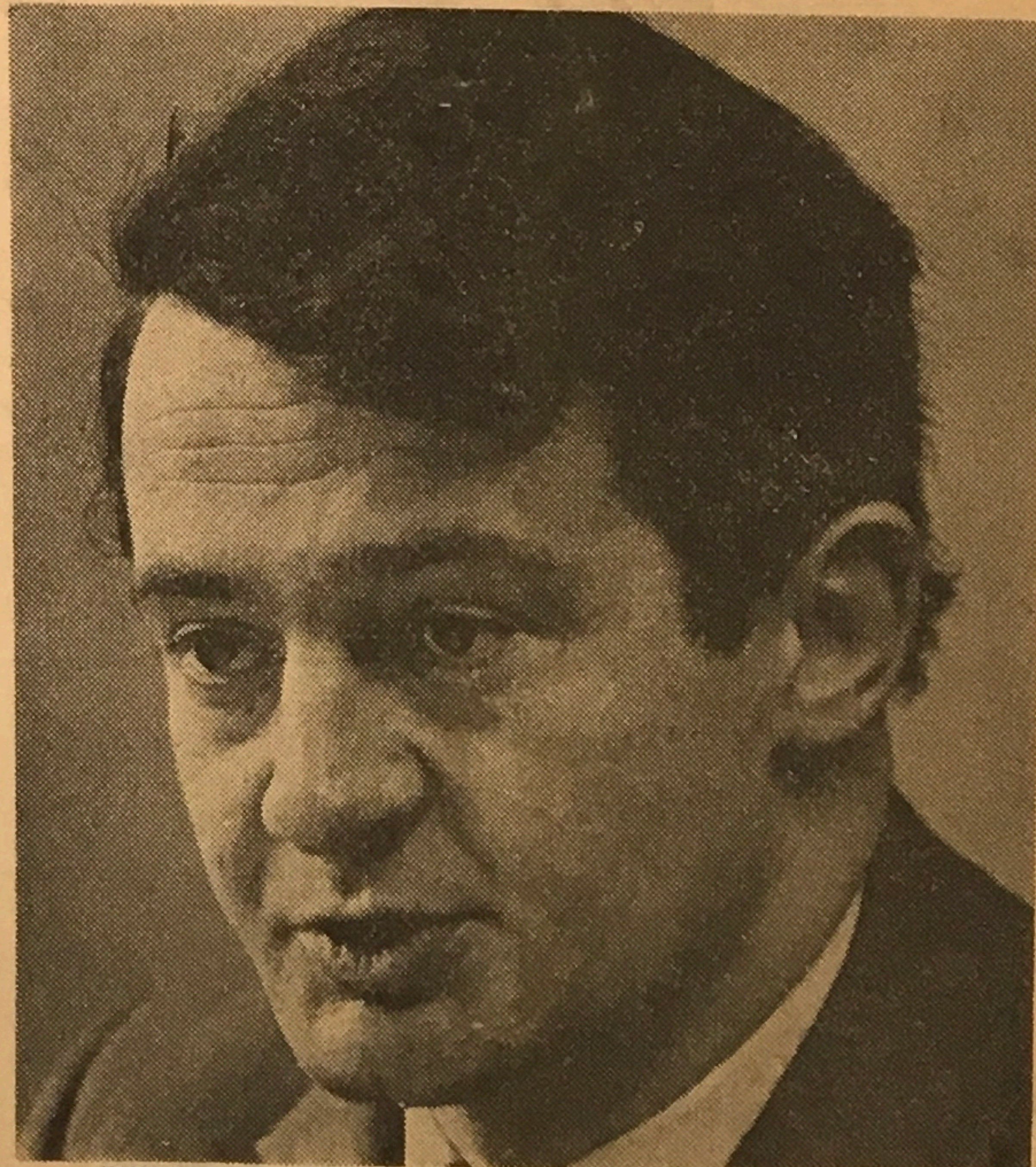
This pattern of super profits for the big companies with hardly any increase in employment is what we are going to get in the Common Market.

Now that it can be seen that the results of Common Market entry are exactly as predicted by the opponents of entry, including the official Labour movement, the time has come for action.

The call must be made for the Labour movement to lead a crusade to defend the right of the people of Ireland, North and South, to work in their own country.



MARCH IN DUBLIN AGAINST SAVAGE U.S. BOMBING OF VIETNAM (See page 3).



DESMOND O'MALLEY, MINISTER FOR JUSTICE:
Our nomination for most dangerous nonentity of 1972 (who said Gerry Collins?).

BALLAD CORNER

BY JOHN McDONNELL

JIM LARKIN R.I.P.

COME listen awhile you Irishmen and hear my mournful news.
Although it is quite sorrowful, I know you'll me excuse.
Come join my lamentation for one who was our friend;
He led the tortured workers and made the bosses bend.

A great man like Jim Larkin we never can replace;
He fought our fight in dark '13 when the Peelers he did face;
We lost our fight, but still we won, for Jim was not undone,
And as the troubled years rolled on, his fight and ours he won.

When Ireland honours heroes bold, who fought to make her free,
The name of brave Jim Larkin will be there for all to see;
He fought to save the working man from bondage and from woe,
And his name will long be honoured no matter where you go.

He was treated to the batons by the forces of the Crown;
But bullies' guns or batons they could never keep him down;
The worker is a free man now by his persevering fight
And his prospects for the future have never been so bright.

So, God rest your soul, Jim Larkin, may Heaven be your home;
May St. Patrick take you to the land from where you'll never roam;
And when a day in Ireland dawns that North and South are free,
We will think of one great fighting man and just say R.I.P.

JAMES LARKIN NOTE

LATE in January 1947 on the night of the 30th, the great Jim Larkin died. Just before Christmas of 1946 while inspecting repairs in the Union offices (Workers' Union of Ireland) he

fell from a ladder. He did not consider that he had injured himself but for a man of 71 to receive such a fall was serious. Early in January he was admitted to the Meath Hospital where he died peacefully in his sleep. He was buried on February 2 in Glasnevin. Thousands of Dublin people thronged the streets to pay homage to their great leader. When Jim Larkin started to organise the Irish working class into the unions he started a chain of actions which raised the workers from their knees.

Second only to James Connolly he was the most important man in the history of the Irish working class. When he died this song was produced anonymously as a broadsheet and was sold on the streets of Dublin at the funeral. It may be found with its music in Colm O'Lochlainn's "More Irish Street Ballads". For an appreciation and understanding of the stature of Jim Larkin I would urge strongly that you read the excellent book by Emmet Larkin, "James Larkin, Irish Labour Leader, 1876-1947".

NOTEBOOK BY NORTHSIDER

1972: Hear the Profitmakers rejoice

THE year 1972 was not a year to be remembered with any great pleasure by John Citizen.

Rising prices, rents, taxation, unemployment, finishing up with a piece of repressive legislation worthy of Franco's police state. These were the realities of the past year for John Citizen, his wife and children.

On the other hand, 1972 was a year of rejoicing in high places. Right from the word go 1972 spelt Profits with a capital P. Decimatisation, mergers, take-overs, property deals, office blocks, the lot made hundreds of millions for our boss-class. Protected and served by Jack Lynch and his get-rich-quick team of yes-men, the bosses with one voice acclaimed the decision to join the E.E.C. as a sure guarantee of bigger and greater profits.

The betrayal by the Government of the people of Ulster was carried out in the interests of the propertied-class, both North and South of the Border.

The gagging of radio and television and the introduction of penal legislation for use against the working class is fully welcomed by our rulers—the boyos who sit in board rooms playing the stock market and getting rich by the minute while the worker votes to have his wages frozen in the interests of the economy.

SATISFACTORY FOR SOME

Yes! a thoroughly satisfactory year 1972 was for our capitalist class. How satisfactory it was is clearly indicated by the "Sunday Independent" last month when it named the top 75 companies and detailed their performance for the year. Their total pre-tax profits were £43 million, 22 per cent of this went to shareholders in the form of dividends, or to put it more plainly, £9½ million was handed out to a small class who have never lifted a finger to create that £43 million of profit.

The majority of these 75 companies are afforded special tax reliefs by the Government because they are in the export market. Something which the worker who has created the wealth which has provided these companies with their fantastic profits is not entitled to, but who is actually penalised by an increase in his rent if he does a bit of overtime. His share in the prosperity of Irish capitalism is neatly contained within the National Wages Agreement signed last October.

The galloping rise in the cost of living, the fabulous profits and dividends shown by capitalism through its exploitation of the worker merit only one answer, to hell with the National Wage Agreement in 1973.

THALIDOMIDE

The shameful treatment (or non-treatment) by the Government of the 84 thalidomide child victims and their parents is surely the greatest example of cowardice and political expediency that this so-called Christian country has ever witnessed.

It is now ten years since 84 Irish children were born maimed and deformed, many without any limbs at all, others blind and deaf, due to the effects of a drug put on the market here by a German multi-millionaire firm of manufacturers.

What protests and demands for justice have been made to the West German Government? None whatever! The Minister for Health states in reply to a question by a Labour T.D. that he is considering setting up a fund of £200,000 that will not provide solely for thalidomide children but will go to help children suffering from other congenital disabilities!

Undoubtedly the Government hopes that they will get away with this sort of miserable joke for the reason that there has been no organised fight waged on behalf of these 84 children and their parents.

The Government and its Minister for Health are too cowardly to demand of the West German Government that it fulfils its responsibilities towards these children by compelling the manufacturers of the thalidomide drug to pay up as they have had to do in the case of the British victims.

Nothing must be done that would upset the good relations that exist between ourselves and the West Germans. After all the Germans hold the whip-hand within the E.E.C., and trivial matters like compensation for a few children cannot be allowed to rock the boat.

That is the Government thinking and they don't intend to be moved except by the weight of organised public opinion. One would imagine that the Irish Medical Association would champion this worthwhile cause or have they too a vested interest in silence?

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EDITORIAL

A YEAR OF HOPE

GLOOM and doom, examinations of the roots of violence and a general feeling that the human race couldn't wait to destroy itself was the overwhelming opinion of the mass media in looking back on 1972.

The reality is the opposite. When worn-out societies begin to break down all sorts of peculiar manifestations appear. The nutcase political movements which get so much publicity are not causing anything, they are merely a symptom of the general decay of capitalism and imperialism.

All this preaching about "violence", as if it were something which had only lately been invented, is due to the fact that the underdog is now using it more effectively than ever. It is funny to see those who denounce violence praising the soldiers who fought in the World Wars. Violence has always been a normal part of the imperialists' way of ruling. There was just as much violence in what are presented as the palmy days before the first World War. Then it was being used against the peoples of the colonies. It's only when imperialism is being hit that we

hear violence being deplored.

This not to say that violence is always a good thing for anti-imperialists to use. In the North the result of the use of violence has been catastrophic. The split in the working-class far outweighs, on the negative side, the bringing down of Stormont and all the other things claimed for the bombing campaign.

Why then is 1973 a year of hope? It is because, in spite of set-backs, the struggle for democracy, equality and the right of the people to control their own destiny is advancing everywhere.

The hysteria of the ruling class, the introduction of anti-democratic legislation, the attempt to hamstring the trade unions, all these things are happening because the bosses see that a new spirit is sweeping the world.

It may be difficult for younger people to realise that only 20 years ago "socialism" was a word no self-respecting person would use. Now even Fianna Fáil Ministers claim to be Socialists.

The tragic human situation in the North is yet a reflection

of the crisis of British imperialism. In spite of the manoeuvres of Lynch and Co. the stranglehold of Britain on this island is threatened. It is using a combination of force and guile to hold on, and it may succeed, for a time, but the foundations are crumbling.

On a world scale the struggle of the Vietnamese people promises finally to bury imperialism in Asia. The admission of China to the U.N. was a major defeat for imperialism. The survival of Allende in Chile shows how weak imperialism is now in comparison to the time when Arbenz in Guatemala and Goulart in Brazil could be swept aside by U.S. backed mercenaries.

In Europe the cold war is ending. Realistic politicians like Brandt see no future in it. The call of the Soviet Union for a Conference to make Europe a continent of peace is now being supported everywhere.

Never before had ordinary people such a great opportunity to end war and exploitation. Never was the need greater to fight for an end to these twin horrors which have haunted mankind down through history.

THE EDITOR is delighted that new writers for the paper are coming forward. Some of the contributions, however, are creating difficulties, particularly for the printer.

Will contributors please obey these simple rules:

- (1) Write on one side of the page only.
- (2) Leave space between the lines and in the margins.
- (3) Write legibly (if possible have it typed).

Nixon's Barbarous Blunder

BY GEORGE JEFFARES

WHEN Nixon was Vice-President in 1954, he tried to get President Eisenhower to use an atom bomb to save the French colonialists from defeat in Vietnam. In the space of 12 days over Christmas 1972, Nixon dropped the equivalent of TWO Hiroshima-type atom bombs on Hanoi and Haiphong—the heaviest bombing ever seen.

Nixon's actions appalled the world. The Pope condemned them. Government after government protested—but not Lynch or Heath, who doubtless consoled themselves with the statement by the Pentagon spokesman that "damage to Hanoi had resulted from U.S. planes crashing and S.A.M. missiles falling back after failing to hit their targets" (Irish Times, Dec. 30th).

The protests—and mounting U.S. losses in planes and crews—continued until Nixon called a halt on Dec. 30th. But why did he launch this murderous bombing in the first place—after assuring the world (and the U.S. electorate) a few weeks before that peace was "at hand"?

LIES

U.S. spokesmen have claimed the bombing of Hanoi and Hai-

phong was necessary because North Vietnam was trying to have altered the peace agreement that was reached between Hanoi and Washington on Oct. 20th. The opposite is the case. Both Hanoi and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam are willing to sign that agreement in the morning, without altering one comma. It is the U.S. which has been demanding changes—despite the fact that Nixon, in his Oct. 26th letter to Hanoi's prime minister, stated that the text of the agreement could be considered as complete, and suggested it be signed on Oct. 30th.

One of the changes being demanded by the U.S. is the size of the international team to report on any ceasefire violations. The U.S. is now demanding that it consist of thousands of foreign troops—a veritable expeditionary force. Yet at his news conference on Oct. 26th, Kissinger brushed the matter aside as being of no consequence, quipping that it would "no doubt occupy graduate students for many years".

The most ludicrous complaint of all was that Hanoi was "trying to deceive" the U.S. by not incorporating agreed changes into the Vietnamese text of the agreement—ludicrous, because the U.S. delegation includes a number of top Vietnamese language specialists who checked the translation at every stage.

SAIGON

The real reasons why Nixon wants to alter the Oct. 20th peace agreement must be sought elsewhere. And they are to be found in the text of the agreement as published by Hanoi at the time—which was admitted by Kissinger to be a "fair account" of what had been agreed on. The agreement ignores Saigon's claim to be the sole legal government in South Vietnam, and it explicitly rules out treating South Vietnam as an independent state—which is precisely the myth the U.S. and its puppets have been trying to maintain for the last 18 years.

Instead, the agreement declares that the U.S. will respect "the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam" as recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements. It will be recalled that the Geneva Agreements described Vietnam as ONE country, temporarily divided by a military demarcation line, to be re-united following elections in 1956—elections which the U.S. prevented being held.

Nixon has been stalling on this agreement from the day it was reached. He has used the delay to give Saigon the fourth largest air force in the world, to pack South Vietnam's prisons to overflowing and to devastate the economy of North Vietnam. It's Nixon's way of seeking peace—on U.S. terms.

"EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW"—My Foot!

Says MAIRIN MOONEY

(Article 40 (1) of the Constitution states :

"All citizens shall, as human persons, be held equal before the law. This shall not be held to mean that the State shall not in its enactments have due regard to differences of capacity, physical and moral, and of social function.")

IN recent weeks much has been written and spoken about the injustices and inadequacies in our legal system. There have been many calls for reform of some laws and the abolition of others. Political parties, students of law, charitable organisations and even one District Court Justice, have all been loud in their criticism and condemnation of some of our laws both old and new.

From the volume of information and fact available, what comes across very clearly is that those who are poor suffer most; that children, women, itinerants and vagrants are particularly vulnerable to injustices in legal matters in one form or other, and that the time has come for the State to recognise and rectify the economic disparity between sections of the community.

A Report has just been published by the Free Legal Advice Centre (FLAC) on their work over the last three years. Originally the centres only gave advice but the demand became so great that now all seven centres throughout the city give free legal aid as well. They are serviced by law students and a panel of volunteer solicitors.

MEANS TEST

As well as free legal aid and advice FLAC is also pressurising the Government to introduce law reforms and an adequate free legal aid system. At the moment there exists a form of free legal aid provided by the State for some criminal cases. A means test is applied.

Mr. O'Malley, Minister for Justice, said recently in the Dáil that the cost of a State system of civil legal aid would be about £200,000 per annum, and anyway, he does not regard legal aid as being of sufficient priority to merit this expenditure.

This month Ireland formally becomes a member of the E.E.C. All other E.E.C. countries have systems of free civil and criminal legal aid available to their citizens.

The largest single category of cases dealt with by FLAC is "Interpersonal Relations", which accounted for 646 up to July '72 or approximately 26% of the total.

WOMEN

This category covers such problems as adoption, unmarried mothers and illegitimate children, deserted wives, marital disputes and breakdowns. In practically all these cases it is the women involved who make the approaches to FLAC. Because of their total dependence on their husbands or the social services for whatever money they get they are helpless when it comes to acquiring legal assistance. This applies to women no matter what their social background may be, so that many middle-class and some upper-class women avail of the service of FLAC.

Crime is the next largest category and a good many of the cases involve children. FLAC has

has a lot to say on their treatment both from the legal viewpoint and on the methods employed in the Metropolitan Children's Court. In Ireland children of 7 years can be charged and convicted of criminal offences. In England the age is 12 years, in Scotland it is 16 years and in other Western European countries the average age is 14 years.

The law students in FLAC are doing an invaluable service for the underprivileged in our society. They point out quite correctly that a high incidence of poverty, unemployment, inadequate housing, or insecure employment create many of the problems that they deal with.

But the question must be asked, "What creates the poverty, unemployment, bad housing and homelessness?" People are not poor or uneducated by sheer accident. Our society is run by the rich for the rich. They make the rules and the laws, the aims of which are to maintain them in power.

PUNISHMENT

The poorer people become in Ireland the nearer they approach criminal status, because absolute poverty is itself a criminal offence. Being penniless and homeless is a crime and the punishment is prison. Punishment is the operative word in our courts, not rehabilitation.

People with sufficient money can pay a fine; poor people invariably go to jail. Along with the punishment of imprisonment extra punishment is meted out in prison for the slightest reason.

In the short run there is a need for organisations like FLAC and all attempts to introduce a system of free legal aid should be supported. But until such times as we change our system of society to one in which the majority of the people make the laws, inequalities and injustices will continue.

FREE LEGAL AID CENTRES

7.30 to 9.30 p.m.

Ozanam House, 53 Mountjoy Sq., Dublin 1. Wednesday.

I.S.P.C.C. Offices, 20 Molesworth Street, Dublin 2. Tuesday.

Rialto Parish Centre, 19 St. Anthony's Road. Wednesday.

The Dispensary, Ballyfermot, Dublin 10. Wednesday.

Social Service Centre, Armagh Road, Crumlin. Friday.

Padraig Pearse Tower (Basement), Ballymun. Thursday.

St. Mary's Youth and Community Centre, Monkstown House, Monkstown. Wednesday.

BEALOIDEAS LE SPAILPIN

CÉ an ciall atá leis an bhfocal "spailpín"? Is é an brí atá leis ná, duine a bhíonn ag obair do fhóistoir ar tuarastal, seachas bheith ag obair dó féin. Is obróir gach spailpín. Ach ní spailpín gach obróir. D'fhéadfadh le obróir bheith ag obair dó féin, mar shampla, feirmeoir, siopadóir, iascaire, &c. Is obróirí iad siúd go léir. Ach an duine a thuilleann tuarastal as bheith ag obair do fhóistoir—duine eile, comhlucht gnó nó an stát—is spailpín é, nó í.

Níl aon fhocal sa Saics-Bhéarla atá díreach oiriúnach chun "spailpín" d'aistriú. Mar sin, nuair a bhí na Sasanaigh agus na tiarnaí talún i réim sa tír seo, bhí orthu an focal féin do thógaint isteach sa Saics-Bhéarla gan aon athrú sa bhfuaim. "Spalpeen" an litriú a chuireadar air. Agus toisc go raibh drocmheas acu ar na spailpíní a bhí hiarálta acu, labhradar an focal "spailpín" le tarcuisne. Agus tá an tarcuisne sin ceangailte leis go fóill i measc muintear na h-Éireann agus fiú amháin lucht labhartha na Gaeilge. Tá an brí seo ar spalpeen i "The Oxford Universal Dictionary":

Spalpeen. Irish. 1780. [a. Ir. spailpín of unknown origin.] 1. A common workman or labourer; a farm worker or harvester. 2. A low or mean fellow; a scamp, a rascal 1815.

3. A youngster 1891.

Ní doigh liom go bhfuil iomlán den cheart i gceachtar den trí bhri sin. Ach is léir go mba mhaith leis na Sasanaigh bheith ag feacaint síos a srónacha ar an spailpín, pé bhri a bhaineadar as an bhfocal. Ní cóir dúinn-ne in Éirinn glacadh le sin, agus ar chor ar bith ní cóir dúinn bheith ag féachaint cuigh Sasana nó cuigh an Oxford Dictionary chun ár dteanga féin a mhúineadh dúinn. Is focal uasal é "spailpín". Agus focal uasal ab'ea é sar ar dhein na Sasanaigh agus a lucht comhoibriochta in Éirinn truailliú air.

Má theastaíonn uainn úsáid na Gaeilge do mhéadú agus do chur fé mheas, is deacair slí níos fearr d'fháil ná na focail breá Gaeilge a bhí ag ár sinsear do chur in úsáid arís agus breis feidhm a bhaint astu. Is é ceann des na príomh chuspóirí atá agus a bhí ag an nGasra Camanach i gcónaí ná, feabhas a chur ar chaighdeán maireachtála agus coinníolacha fhostaíochta na spailpíní (maraon le dreamanna eile). Agus chun é sin a dhéanamh, is riachtanach é go seasfaimis-ne spailpíní ar ár gcosa féin, go gcoimeádfaimis ár goinn in áirde, agus go mbeadh meas againn ar nósanna, béasanna—agus teanga—ar sinsear. Ní ceart go mbeadh náire na eagla ar éinne a rá go h-oscailte: "Is spailpíní sinn agus is Camanach sin".

IN MEMORY

CLINTON—In sad and lasting memory of my father who died in No. 8 Ward of the South Dublin Union, 1 James's Street, on December 28, 1919; Socialist friend of James Connolly, and Madame Markievicz.—Inserted by his son John.

WE HAVE BEEN STAVING OFF A PRICE INCREASE FOR THE "SOCIALIST" BUT WE CAN'T DO IT MUCH LONGER UNLESS WE GET BIGGER AND MORE SUBS.

THIS IS URGENT!

Send to:

THE EDITOR, 16a PEARSE STREET, DUBLIN 2.

Moves by Government to Smash R.T.E.

By CON O'FARRELL

ALREADY, only six weeks after the dismissal of the entire R.T.E. Authority by Fianna Fáil, effects are being felt at Montrose. The Lynch Government's self-styled "exercise in democracy" has resulted in new measures designed to restrict the freedom of those engaged in the production of News and Current Affairs programmes. Details of these measures were conveyed just before Christmas in a five-page document from the Director-General, T. P. Hardiman. They come on top of an already complicated vetting system introduced immediately after the dismissal of the Authority.



ON THE SPOT

The reality is that Fianna Fáil's concern is not the elimination of violence, but the elimination of all those who threaten their power and the power and wealth of those who support them. This power is not endangered, as some think, by the proposed Fine Gael/Labour coalition, which would only replace Tweedledum by Tweedledee.

The real threat comes from those who propose radical changes in the system. Changes such as are at present being attempted in Chile under the Marxist President Allende, or those proposed by the Communist/Radical alliance due to contest the elections in France in two months time.

BOMBING

But for the bombing campaign of the Provisionals, which diverts attention from the real issues, Fianna Fáil's position would now be extremely shaky. Torn by dissension within their own ranks; with the country's economic situation deteriorating rapidly, with massive redundancies and unemployment and worse to follow when the full effects of E.E.C. membership hit us; with prices rising faster than any other country in Europe; is it any wonder that Lynch and Co. want to hide the sorry mess from the people? But the thing which gives most urgency to the Lynch attempts to control R.T.E. is the long-awaited Heath White Paper on the future of Northern Ireland which will complete the sell-out of the whole country to British Monopoly Capital. Lynch is determined that those who oppose the terms worked out by himself, Heath and Faulkner will not have a voice.

For the moment the issue of freedom of broadcasting is being fought out within R.T.E. Despite the resignations and intimidation the situation is not without hope. Many principled journalists, producers and technicians still remain. However it is important to remember that on their own they are powerless.

Free broadcasting is not just the concern of the broadcasters but of everyone within the community, and most of all the underprivileged and the less well-off who stand to gain most from a radical change in our society. The request for support from the Irish Congress of Trade Unions made by R.T.E. Trade Unions during the recent strike should not go unheeded, for, who knows, the Trade Union movement itself may be next to bear the brunt of repression.

PAPERS THREATENED

The predictions of those who said that if Fianna Fáil were allowed to get away with curtailing the freedom of Radio and Television they would quickly turn their attentions to the newspapers, are already proving correct. Indications can be seen in the high-handed manner adopted by Mr. O'Malley, Minister for Justice, towards the "Irish Times" for their treatment of the recent Portlaoise Prison controversy. It is summed up nicely in the following extract from a statement which emerged from the Department of Justice: "Not only are unverified allegations being published at intervals, but a particular, very serious allegations has even been republished after an interval, as if it were new, despite the fact that it had been explicitly denied and despite the fact that it could have been recognised from the outside as inherently unlikely to be true," or in other words, how dare you accept the word of a common criminal against the word of Dessie O'Malley! Even more sinister is the self-censorship being practised by the "Press" and "Independent". An example was the scant coverage given by the two national Sunday newspapers to the recent Sinn Féin Ard Fheis. The "Sunday Independent" excelled itself by not including one single line about the conference.

The Evil Legacy of J. Edgar Hoover

By JIM SAVAGE

SINCE the death on May 2nd this year of J. Edgar Hoover, head of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, the U.S. Press are publishing articles praising his wonderful exploits.

One article said: "The beloved old bulldog of the FBI has passed to his eternal reward." No doubt newspapers should be treated circumspectly, as these articles were a complete distortion, containing half-truths, misinformation, fiction, and in no way related to the true image of this man.

J. Edgar Hoover was one of the most powerful and most sinister figures on the American political scene. Hoover was named Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation 44 years ago. It was a high appointment for the young man he was then, and he owed it to the zeal he had displayed as special assistant to Attorney-General Mitchell Palmer in 1919-20.

MASS HYSTERIA

This was a time when America's rulers were seized with panic under the impact of the Socialist revolution in Russia and, in the phrase of "Time" magazine, "Mass hysteria in high places" set in. The mass hysteria threw up Edgar Hoover. Young but ambitious, he distinguished himself in the persecution of Labour militants. Among his immediate functions was the deportation of "alien agitators", and here he really let himself go. His reward was, first the Assistant Directorship and in 1924 the Directorship of the FBI. Under him the FBI was expanded enormously and caught all America in its grip. From 600 on the eve of the war the number of agents has swelled to over 15,000. To these must be added the tens of thousands of informers. The FBI fingerprint file contains 180 million prints.

This gargantuan police machine is primarily pitted against America's progressive forces. From the dark depths of the FBI issue fabrications and lying testimonies to feed anti-Communist campaigns. President Truman assigned to the FBI the famous "loyalty testing" of millions of Government employees. FBI agents and informers inspect private correspondence, tap telephones, plant bugging devices in Government offices and those of public bodies, hotels and people's homes. All of this against a background of noisy self-glorifying publicity. A staff of well-paid publicity experts churned out a steady stream of books, pamphlets, articles, boosting the FBI and its chief. Some of the books appeared under Hoover's own name, his "Study in Communism" for example, compounded of fantastic lies and the illiterate mouthings of a cave-dweller.

ROYALTIES

Hoover collected more than \$250,000 in royalties from three books researched and ghost-written for him by FBI personnel on Government time. This includes what Warner Brothers paid him for the movie rights to his book. While so enormously active against the forces of progress, the FBI and its chief were far less so against crime. During Hoover's tenure at the FBI crime has come to be a veritable scourge of the nation, a problem Americans cannot speak of without shuddering. In every American city you are cautioned

against venturing out alone after dark, as if you were in a jungle, not a civilised land. The FBI has perforce to record the growth of crime in its annual reports. The 1967 report, for example, notes that major offences reached a new high, their number exceeded 3,800,000, and we haven't seen another report since.

In the Justice Department's drive against the Mafia, Hoover assigned only four agents out of 15,000. The only person Hoover trusted was a weird character, and his long-time friend and associate, FBI Director Clyde Tolson, to whom he left his entire estate of £212,000 and his £38,400 house in Georgetown, Washington, when he died. He left nothing to his four nieces and four nephews who were his only next-of-kin, as he was himself a bachelor.

Hoover, accompanied by his faithful companion Tolson, used to spend his summer vacations in \$100-a-day suites at the Hotel Del Charro so the FBI chief could attend the nearby Del Mar race track. Texas oil millionaire Clint Murchison, Jun., the hotel owner, said the hotel always picked up the FBI pair's bills. This was verified by the hotel manager, Alan Witwer, who said while he was there Hoover ran up more than \$15,000 in bills which were paid by Murchison.

SECRET WEAPON

Hoover had a secret weapon which he did not hesitate to employ, the vast FBI files, kept not only on criminals but on countless other people, including men high in public life. Stored away in them are the results of years of police prying, records of human failures, indiscretions, secret liaisons, possibly tax evasions. Reveal some such item through the obliging press, and a man has to say goodbye to the most promising career. That was why even powerful men in America trembled before Edgar Hoover. Significantly, Hoover was considered a pillar of American society. Not for nothing did racist George Wallace offer him the Vice-Presidential nomination on his "American Independent Party" ticket.

MARTIN LUTHER KING

Hoover told Martin Luther King that if he ever repeated his charges against the FBI, everything he, Hoover, knew about King would be made public. This, of course, was a threat to disclose information from the FBI file on King. We shall never know how King would have reacted to this blackmail attempt as shortly after, he was struck down in Memphis. The story that Martin Luther King was killed by one man acting alone is effectively disproved by the suspected assassin's highly sophisticated and well-financed escape, far beyond the resources of a paltry criminal. James Earl Ray travelled to Canada, Portugal and Britain before he was finally arrested, a very costly undertaking for an ex-convict escaped from Missouri State Penitentiary in April 1967. It is unclear in any case whether Ray was in fact Dr. King's assassin or a decoy to throw the pursuit off the real

assassin's trail.

After Dr. King's murder even Attorney-General Clark objected to the lone killer story, it was so incredible. But the FBI and its Director, J. Edgar Hoover, got their way. "An old hand at the game," La Tribune des Nations remarked.

Three assassinations, the two Kennedys and King, and in each the victim is one of the arch-enemies of the all-powerful chief of the FBI.

ACCIDENT ?

Hoover is dead but the evil machine he has created lives on in the hands of men groomed to his diabolical standards, who will use weapons like slander, blackmail and murder as they see fit in order to ensure the survival of capitalism.

DEAR SIR,

They say they treat us fair, we know they treat us bad, under their bureaucracy we're miserable and sad.

They say to keep us down, they keep us on low pay, it's because of those conditions to foreign lands we stray.

But when there's an election, they say they're on our side, they brainwash us with promises they never will abide.

They have the cost of living at a rate we can't afford, they don't treat us like people, just an ignorant horde.

Why don't we speak against them, have we still our pride? is this the type of nation for which our fathers died?

Yours, etc.

ROBERT STAFFORD.

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MONOPOLY INTRIGUES AGAINST CHILE EXPOSED

BY SEAN NOLAN

LAST November, President Salvador Allende, of Chile, addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations. He indicted particularly the United States monopolies and Government for their attempts to foment civil war in his country. He pointed out that every trick in the U.S. gangster trade was tried to prevent him, the Marxist Dr. Allende, from being invested as President, after he had succeeded in the popular election among his people.

Since Allende became President, the U.S. Government and the great monopolies have mounted a war of economic aggression and a financial blockade. It is, as Dr. Allende charged at the U.N., an attempt to exert pressure on an economically weak country and an infliction of punishment and a form of intervention in the affairs of Chile.

In 1964 there was an election in Chile and Dr. Allende secured the support of only 39 per cent of the electorate, the Christian Democrat, Eduardo Frei winning with 56 per cent of the vote. At the time, the "New York Times" faithfully recorded the joy of the White House and U.S. big business with the result:

RELIEF

"... The victory is a great relief to every important capital in the Western Hemisphere from Washington to Buenos Aires. Only Havana will fail to rejoice in it. The Chilean election had everywhere been rated as the most important in Latin America in years. It represents a notable boost for the entire Christian and Social Democratic movement throughout Latin America. ... Christian Democracy, by definition, is democratic. Hence Chile will remain an orthodox member of the Organisation of American States, aligned to the West. Where the rival group (Allende's coalition of par-

ties) would have nationalised the copper and nitrate industries (about 90 per cent American-owned), the Christian Democrats merely plan to have all copper refined in Chile. ... Mr. Frei's programme is 'revolutionary' only in the sense of the Alliance for Progress. His victory is, in fact, a reprieve for the Alliance, which is an added reason why the Johnson Administration is rejoicing."

A book published last year ("Subversion in Chile: A Case Study in U.S. Corporate Intrigue in the Third World": Spokesman Books, price 85p), assembles the material which very adequately supports the charges made by Dr. Allende in his U.N. speech. The book points out:

"In recent years Chile has had a reputation almost alone among the countries of Latin America, of being a show-place of Western democracy. ... not for Chile the excesses of military coups d'etat, of neo-fascist regimes or of Cuba-style communism. Instead there have been the ready acceptance by defeated parties in an election of their rivals' success and the ordered succession of one government by another. Political violence has been unusual and the army has not intervened in politics for nearly forty years. ... What is more, for a Latin American country Chile is highly industrialised and highly urbanised, she has important copper and other mineral reserves and she has provided useful opportunities for profitable investment by American business. And yet, for all this, the picture has not been quite as rosy as it seemed. ... there has been the exclusion of certain sections of the population from political rights and involvement; there has been the intermittent use of violence by the police, whether against workers on strike for better conditions or peasants occupying land in the FUNDOS. There has been a low rate of economic growth and a

continuing division between the advanced and backward sectors of the economy; there has been persistent unemployment and underemployment; there have been gross disparities in wealth and income (in 1970, 50 per cent of the Chilean population were taking up only 12 per cent of the country's total consumption); and there has been a low level of provision of social services to the population at large—whatever has been achieved having been at the expense of the lower-paid workers and of the peasants rather than at that of the relatively prosperous middle class."

END OF STRANGLEHOLD

Dr. Allende's Government have taken important steps to end the strangling influence of the U.S. monopolies on the economic life of Chile. His Government's actions, in the interests of the people of Chile, against the great monopoly concerns of the Kennecott copper company and the International Telegraph and Telephone Company have led to strikes and fierce clashes between the workers and supporters of Allende and those elements in Chilean society who want to turn the clock of social advance back.

The book already mentioned consists mostly of documents which are the internal memoranda of the International Telegraph and Telephone Company, which is described as being the 11th largest corporation in the world. The book shows how heavily involved are such monopoly corporations in the political, military and social machinations of American imperialism in the affairs of other countries and currently in Chile.

Quite cynically the memoranda of the I.T.T. (pp. 84-87) is mentioned as stating: "It is foolish to believe that (Allende) will give democracy another chance. ...

Freedom is already dying in Chile. ... We can expect the same kind of repression of the human spirit which the doctrinaire Marxist always imposes ... a repression sometimes cynically enforced with raw power plays, sometimes with bumbling bureaucratic idealism."

Dr. Henry Kissinger, the man who has been prominent in the Vietnam "peace" negotiations, is right in the middle of the intrigues and conspiracies that are afoot to undermine the progressive Government of Dr. Allende in

Chile.

In contrast to the American conspiracies against Chile, Dr. Allende in his speech to the U.N. General Assembly, acknowledge the help his country was receiving from the socialist countries, with no strings attached.

Dr. Allende's Chile and Dr. Castro's Cuba, with the support they have among their working people, stand challenge to U.S. imperialism and point the way forward for the fulfilment of democracy and socialism for the peoples of Latin America.

DONNYCARNEY

COMMUNITY

ASSOCIATION

BACKS RENT STRIKE

A RECENT circular by Donnycarney Community Association stated the following: It must be clear to you now why we had to strike over the 4p per room increase. The city manager by his refusal to grant a freeze in the rents is ample proof that he intends raising them again and again. There was nothing in the settlement terms offered us except succession of tenancy of a son or daughter whereby the succeeding tenant graduated to the higher scale of rent spread over five years. The circular states further that this strike would be a waste of time if we did not secure a freeze in rents, and this we will win. We guarantee that with the ever-increasing number of tenants giving the strike their support and the new affiliations to Dublin Regional Council now 51 Associations all active and striking.

Donnycarney Community Association further welcomed the setting up of "Group A" area action committee which in effect means that all associations from Donnycarney to Kilbarrack are ready to defend any tenant threatened with eviction within minutes.

It appears to be the tactic of Dublin Corporation to prolong this strike by their uncompromising attitude. By so doing, they are trying to weaken the morale of the people. They are also trying to frighten the people by sending out "Paper Notices". Don't be fooled. Nobody has been evicted yet. This is a struggle you cannot afford to lose. So heed the words of the tenants' associations and stay on strike till the battle is won. Remember if you don't it's you that's going to have to pay the increased rents.

PROBLEMS OF DUBLIN NORTH EAST

FAIRVIEW PEDESTRIAN BRIDGE

THE erection recently of a pedestrian footbridge at Fairview is to be welcomed, for nothing else but its contribution to safety on the road. The bridge at Fairview certainly does nothing to enhance the beauty of the North East area even if it is necessary, and things like this are driving more people to think, that with all the advantages of the motor car that maybe the price of having them now is getting too high. However, all signs are at present that at least the footbridge is being used by pedestrians; this could be attributed to two things, (1) the siting of the bridge and (2) the impossibility of crossing at Fairview without a bridge or lights of some kind. This is in contrast to other subways built by the Corporation in the Dublin North East area which are not being used by pedestrians for one reason or another. The one which comes to mind is the one at Kilbarrick. The subway at Kilbarrick Road could have been sited in a far better position, a few hundred yards up to the junction of Grange Road and Tonlagge Road, which would serve the people from the nearby estates of Donaghmede, Grangemore and The Donaghies. The people from these estates have to cross Tonlagge

Road (which has a constant flow of heavy traffic) to get to the Kilbarrick Shopping Centre and the children to go and come from school. With a little foresight from the Corporation the subway could have been sited in a far better position and thus be a great asset to the people of these estates.

THE BUYING BY TENANTS OF CORPORATION HOUSES

THE buying by tenants of Corporation houses is at present working very much against the would-be purchaser. A person who is living in a Corporation house at the moment, and wants to buy it, should get every encouragement instead of the Corporation putting obstacles in their way. This was highlighted recently by the Rent and Rates commission of the Kilbarrick and District Community Association, which said, that the system where Corporation tenants if they want to purchase their houses have to pay the market value for them, yet get no rates remission, State or supplementary grants. However it is not very surprising what the Corporation do as they are selling the Donnycarney Corporation houses

at market value as well, even though most of them are built twenty years or more and most of the people have been paying rent for them for a similar period.

A person who is living in a Corporation house and wishes to buy it should be given every assistance and should have the same benefits as the private purchaser, plus the fact that more account should be taken of the amount of rent the tenant has paid since he started to live in the house.

VOTES AT SIXTEEN

AT the Annual General Meeting held in late October of the Donaghmede Community Development Association votes were given to everyone living in the Donaghmede estate sixteen or over, plus the fact that sixteen-year-olds can now sit on the executive committee of the Association if they are elected.

This is to be welcomed as young people should be encouraged to take a more active part in community, tenants, or residents' associations. Youth has enthusiasm and energy that if not channelled in the right direction can be very destructive, as can be seen by the increasing amount of vandalism in Dublin and elsewhere. There was no opposition to this being incorporated into the constitution and it was carried unanimously.

THIS IS THE SPEECH THAT BROUGHT WHITE STUDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA INTO THE FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID

THE controversial speech delivered by Mr. Abraham Onkopotse Tiro at the graduation ceremony of the University of the North at Turfloop led to a student sit-in, a boycott of lectures and the subsequent closing of the university.

He began by quoting the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster. "Addressing ASB congress in June last year Mr. Vorster said: 'No Black man has landed in trouble for fighting for what is legally his.' Although I don't know how far true this is, I make this statement my launch pad."

"We do not have a system of education common to all South

Africans. What is there in European education which is not good for the Africans? We want a system of education common to all South Africans.

"In theory, Bantu education gives our parents a say in our education but in practice the opposite is true. At this University U.E.D. students are forced to study Philosophy of Education through the medium of Afrikaans. When we want to know why we are told that the Senate has decided so. Apparently this Senate is our parents.

"Time and again I ask myself: How do Black lecturers contribute to the administration of this University? For if you look at all the committees they are predominantly White if not completely White.

"Here and there one finds two or three Africans who, in the opinion of students are White Black men. We have a students' Dean without duties. We feel that if it is any way necessary to have a Students' Dean we must elect our own Dean. We know people who can represent us.

"The Advisory Council is said to be representing our parents.

(Continued on page 6)

FAULKNER HANDS UNIONIST PARTY TO CRAIG

By BETTY SINCLAIR

ON December 11, 1972, Mr. Stratton Mills, Unionist M.P. for North Belfast, moved a motion at a meeting of the Unionist Party's Standing Committee in Belfast, asking for a declaration that membership of the Vanguard movement was incompatible with membership of the Unionist Party. He was supported by Mr. Basil McIvor, M.P. In the event, Mr. Brian Faulkner, now nominal leader of a nominal Unionist Party, gave no support for this attempt to clamber onto some high ground from where it could be said that the Unionist Party was still the party of "the moderates". Capt. L. P. S. Orr, leader of the Unionist M.P.s at Westminster, moved "next business" and this was duly seconded and carried.

The credibility of Faulkner, his leadership and his party was reduced to zero. Whilst it did appear to the unenlightened that the struggle had been put off "for another day" it was, nevertheless, very evident that Faulkner had taken a nose dive, Craig and the Vanguard movement were to all intents and purposes in the ascendant and the policies of violence and discrimination were still the only acceptable ones, whether from conviction or intimidation, for the vast majority attending the meeting of the Standing Committee.

Another conclusion to be drawn, and a very important one for the people of Northern Ireland, was that the Unionist forces assembled on that day were inexorably turning themselves into anti-Unionist forces and that the "link with Britain" had ceased to be the cornerstone of the descendants of Carson and Craig.

The Editor of the "Belfast Telegraph" bore this out clearly on December 18, after the resignation from the party of Stratton Mills, when he stated: "The party (Unionist) can now be seen for what it is—a united Protestant front. As such, it represents a powerful influence in Northern political thinking, but it has abandoned its claim to be a reconciling force." The Editor's conclusions following this statement are anything but constructive and, in fact, he took to task those who had left the party for "abandoning" the "moderates" and said nary a word about those who have made such a position possible, i.e., Craig, Faulkner, etc. He even opined that the course which the party has taken "... in many respects ... should be for the political good of Northern Ireland!"

FAULKNER REJECTED

In March 1972, Heath rejected Faulkner's proposals for the continuation of the latter's government. Faulkner persuaded his Cabinet to reject Heath's line and to proffer their resignation—which was very quickly accepted. But Faulkner was still determined to show himself as the leader of the party and to this end "his Cabinet" would meet at Stormont once per week to deal with Northern Ireland affairs. What has happened to those non-earth-shaking meetings one does not know. What has happened to "his Cabinet" is more clear.

Since Direct Rule, Faulkner has now only one person besides himself to give what is said to be the "official party line". That other person is Capt. John Brooke, described by the "Irish Times" Editor as "the court jester of Northern politics". All his other Ministers have defected. Robin Bailie (Commerce), Roy Bradford (Development), Basil McIvor (Minister of State, Home Affairs) have resigned—and the others have not said a good word in his favour, i.e., Harry West (Agriculture), Nat Minford (Leader of the House), Capt. Wm. Long (Education), Herbert Kirk (Finance), Wm. Fitzsimmons (Health and Social Services), Basil Kelly (Attorney-General) and all the Parliamentary Secretaries.

DESERTIONS

Those who have turned their backs on Glengall Street also include Dick Ferguson, Phelim O'Neill, Sir Robert Porter and Lord O'Neill. Faulkner had the biggest ever Unionist Government of 18 members, 17 Unionists and Dr. G. B. Newe. Now alas, all gone. The shirtmaker from Co. Down proved more capable of bringing down governments and destroying his party than in keeping them together.

No-one should have any doubts why this is so. No man controls events—the events control the man. Faulkner set out to be "the hero of Unionism" and he became its horror. Refusing to recognise that he had lost control—like O'Neill and Chichester-Clarke before him—he still tried to ride two horses at once—that of being a "moderate Unionist" to whom the opposition could turn and of being the hardliner that the members of his party "could trust". His reputation at meets and hunts as a rider of the flesh is said to be good. But, in this instance, it was not a horse he was riding or hounds who would follow—or the fox who would try to get offside.

BROKEN DOWN

What he was trying to ride was a complex situation in which the norms of capitalist law and order had entirely broken down and the control of which rested in the hands of the British Tory Government who were only interested in "creating peace" (their kind) so that the plans for entry with the 26-counties into the E.E.C. could go forward.

Faulkner's Blue Paper for the North is totally unacceptable to Heath's needs—and also those of Lynch. And the people of the North, Catholic and Protestant, have still to learn what proposals those needs will bring forth. A decision has been taken to hold the Plebiscite on March 8, 1973 but no indication has been given of when the White Paper will be published. Whitelaw has had talks with all groupings in the North but, in the given situation, no unanimity could be found. It is clear that the White Paper, according to the British Government's own interpretation of needs, "Must provide arrangements for security and public order which command public confidence both in Northern Ireland and in the UNITED KINGDOM AS A WHOLE". (My emphasis.) And that is why there is so much concern from the ultras within the Unionist Party and Vanguard. Faulkner's majority in Northern Ireland has been turned into a minority within the United Kingdom and the cry for the Border poll has now been preceded with the cry for the White Paper so that the Unionists can see whether or not "the link" will be advantageous to their peculiar politics, i.e., "Protestant Loyalties" first and U.K. men afterwar...

Lord O'Neill, whose metallic-like sayings become more and more gloomy with each passing

day, now asks the British Government to set up a "consultative assembly and to have powers conferred 'bit by bit' as and when the situation is sufficiently peaceable for these powers to be conferred". One rather gathers that O'Neill wants those powers, or the guarantee of them, conferred on whatever will be considered the rump of Unionism? If so, then he has not wakened up either to the political realities.

CAT AND MOUSE

This political situation, in which the British Tory Government appears to be playing "cat and mouse" politics with those who support Unionism and those who are opposed, has all the ingredients of unrest, fear, assassination and civil war. Indeed, if the latter comes it will be because of the policies of the Heath Government and a continuation of "... the people (of the North) have not suffered enough to enable a reconciliation to be achieved".

That was the policy in July 1972 when Operation Motorman was launched. That was still the policy when the British Government in November 1972 threatened to fight the ultra Unionists with pound notes, i.e., withdrawal of subventions if U.D.I. was persisted in. Despite all the appeals for "law and order" they have allowed para-military organisations to arise in the hope that a spark will be ignited and the ordinary people decimate each other. The "forces of law and order" would then come in, in the role of peace-maker (sic), and pick up the pieces for the multi-national corporations and the greater glory of the E.E.C.

Such a policy is very dangerous. Already, since August 1969, nearly 700 persons have lost their lives. The sectarian assassinations quicken in their pace. In every city and town working-class people, Catholic and Protestant, have been forced to flee their homes due to fear and outright intimidation. The security forces have refused to provide protection for small Catholic enclaves within wider Protestant areas.

Churches, church halls and schools belonging to the Catholic people are attacked with impunity. Business people are forced to "contribute" and business norms are more often honoured in the breach than in the observance.

CATHOLIC AREAS

And all the while the might of the British Army presses down on the Catholic areas. The new type of internment goes ahead in the special courts and tribunals. The ordinary courts are full each day with people apprehended by the Army and handed over to the R.U.C. for prosecution—never mind the existence of the new Director of Public Prosecutions?

The British Government appears determined to do anything but remove the real grievances that exist. It has made no pronouncements about finding a democratic political solution and which would be to the benefit of all. The attacks by the ultra Provisionals hinder very much the coming together of the working class and force the latter to seek leaders elsewhere than in their own class.

The year 1973 has no overtones of the usual "happy new year". Already it has been reported that among the Unionist ultras the people were advised to have a "happy Christmas" because it will not be a "happy new year". It is in this situation that the need for unity of the working class forces becomes more than ever imperative in the struggle for a

Bill of Rights and to end all measures of repression.

LABOUR MOVEMENT

There is a great need for the trade union and labour movement of the 26-counties to come out and declare itself for peace and democracy in the North and to end the eroding of democratic rights in the South.

There is also a crying need for the British trade union and labour movement, and not least the British Parliamentary Labour Party, to end the bipartisan policy with the British Tories which could lead to an end to democracy for generations to come. If the battle for ordinary democratic rights is lost in the North—then the people of the South and in Britain will also be the losers.

I.C.T.U. ON NORTH

THE Irish Congress of Trade Unions has recently updated its two previous documents on the Northern situation, "Programme for Peace and Progress in Northern Ireland" and "Peace, Employment and Reconstruction" dated August 1969 and December 1971 respectively.

The new document, simply headed "The ICTU and Political Policy in Northern Ireland" emphasises that "the aspirations and objectives of these earlier documents remain valid" but goes on to propose further action to be taken to secure the implementation of these proposals.

Care is taken to make it quite clear that Congress is not a political party, that widely different viewpoints on the Constitutional position of Northern Ireland exist

amongst Trade Union members and that these viewpoints are legitimately held by Trade Unionists. Because of this any suggestions on the future constitutional status of Northern Ireland are studiously avoided.

Trade Unionists represent a very substantial proportion of the people of Ireland, North and South, and they have a common interest in securing that the quality of life shall not be destroyed and that the abolition of poverty and the improvement of living standards shall not be held back by the continuation of violence.

In the two earlier documents the ICTU outlined proposals for the economic development of Northern Ireland and for co-operation North and South in matters of common interest.

(Continued on page 7)

South Africa (From page 5)

How can it represent them when they have not elected it? These people must of necessity please the man who appointed them. This Council consists of chiefs who have never been to University. How can they know the needs of students when they have not been subjected to the same conditions?

"Those who have been to University have never studied under Bantu education. What authentic opinion can they express when they don't know how painful it is to study under a repugnant system of education?"

"I wonder if this Advisory Council knows that a Black man has been most unceremoniously kicked out of the bookshop. Apparently, this is reserved for Whites. According to the policy, Van Schaiks has no right to run a bookshop here.

"A White member of the administration has been given the meat contract to supply a university—a Black University. Those who amorously support the policy may say that there are no Black people to supply it. My answer to them is: Why are they not able to supply the university? What is the cause? Is it not conveniently done that they are not in a position to supply these commodities?"

"White students are given vacation jobs at this university when there are students who could not get their results due to outstanding fees. Why does the administration not give jobs to these students? These White students have eleven universities where they can get vacation jobs. Does the administration expect me to get a vacation job at the University of Pretoria?"

"Right now, our parents have come all the way from their homes only to be locked outside. We are told that the hall is full. I do not accept the argument that there is no accommodation, for in 1970, when the administration wanted to accommodate everybody, a tent was put up and a close-circuit television was installed.

"Front seats are given to

people who cannot even cheer us. My father is seated there at the back. My dear people, shall we ever get a fair deal in this land?—the land of our fathers.

"The system is failing. It is failing because even those who recommend it strongly as the only solution to racial problems in South Africa, fail to adhere to the letter and the spirit of the policy. According to the policy we expected Dr. Eissen to decline chancellorship in favour of a Black man.

"My dear parents, these are the injustices no normal student can tolerate—no matter who he is and where he comes from.

"In the light of what has been said above the challenge to every Black graduate in this country lies in the fact that the guilt of all wrongful actions in South Africa, restriction without trial, repugnant legislation, expulsions from schools rests on all those who do not actively dissociate themselves from and work for the eradication of the system breeding such evils.

"To those who wholeheartedly support the policy of apartheid I say: Do you think that the White minority can willingly commit political suicide by creating numerous states which might turn out to be hostile in future?"

"We Black graduates, by virtue of our age and academic standing, are being called upon to greater responsibilities in the liberation of our people. Our so-called leaders have become bolts of the same machine which is crushing us as a nation. We have to go back to them and educate them.

"Times are changing and we should change with them. The magic story of human achievement gives irrefutable proof that as soon as nationalism is awakened among the intelligentsia it becomes the vanguard in the struggle against alien rule.

"Of what use will be your education if you can't help your country in her hour of need? If your education is not linked with the entire continent of Africa it is meaningless.

"Remember that Mrs. Suzman said: 'There is one thing which the minister cannot do: He cannot ban ideas from men's minds.'"

SINN FEIN ARD-FHEIS

In his Presidential address to the Sinn Fein Ard Fheis held in the Mansion House on the 16th and 17th December last, Tomás Mac Giolla told the delegates that progress could be made towards ending the present conflict by the removal of British troops from the streets of Northern Ireland.

"It is now abundantly clear," he said, "that the demand for the withdrawal of the British forces from the streets pending their total withdrawal, is simply a demand for the ending of the activities of at least one of the forces which are escalating the drift towards civil war."

Mr. Mac Giolla also called for the release of internees and political prisoners, and a general amnesty arising from "resistance to British terror and through involvement in the civil disobedience campaign".

He continued: "While there are no victories for the Irish people on the horizon, neither is there a prospect of defeat. The ending of conflict in the North will not mean an end of struggle. It will merely mean a re-grouping, a re-assessment of the new situation and development of new strategies and tactics."

In condemning the "uniting" of Ireland on entry into E.E.C., Mr. Mac Giolla went on: "For the past year a 'united Ireland' has been assiduously presented to the Irish people as the objective for which they were looking. This has been done by the British Tory and Labour Parties, by the Dublin Government, the S.D.L.P., Nationalists and Provisionals. But 'unity' is not the fundamental issue. The real issue is one of national liberation, of control of Irish destinies, and this Britain is not prepared to concede to the Irish of any brand."

"In the context of joint membership of the E.E.C., Lynch has now apparently ruled out all ideas of independent nationhood and is preparing a merger with Britain in which he will retain managerial status, much like the deal Pat Quinn made with the international Weston group. To understand how Mr. Lynch has sunk to such a position of slavish subservience to Britain we must take a brief look at the economic position of the Twenty-Six Counties. We have consistently emphasised the neo-colonial status of the South, but few people seem to realise the enormous grip of imperialism on the economy.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

"In the past eight years, 75% of all new investment in industry in the Twenty-Six Counties was of foreign origin—only 25% was Irish. American investment alone was £16m. greater than the total Irish investment. In the same period all existing mineral resources and almost all exploration rights in Ireland were handed over to multi-national mining corporations on a 20-year tax-free basis."

Mr. Mac Giolla went on to point out that Bantry Bay, one of the finest deepwater harbours in the world, had been given as a gift to the Gulf Oil Co. to do with as they pleased. The tremendous wealth in oil, natural gas and minerals which lie beneath the Continental Shelf around our shores had also been literally given away, he said.

In calling for the nationalisation of the banks, Mr. Mac Giolla continued: "The explanation given for this liberal distribution of the nation's resources is that we have not got sufficient capital to develop them ourselves. And indeed this is true. But the reason for our lack of capital is that we give it away. Last year, there was £1,000m. of our capital invested abroad—40 times the current annual rate of investment in industry here. An examination of this investment, particularly that exported through unit trust companies, reveals that much of our hard-won capital is handed over to the very companies who are coming in here to exploit us. We must therefore urgently demand the nationalisation of the banks."

CALL FOR UNITY

In concluding, Mr. Mac Giolla emphasised the urgent necessity to unite against the forces of British Imperialism and monopoly capitalism in Ireland.

"I believe the Labour movement at this critical time in the nation's history must do a re-assessment and analysis of its role. Labour must wait no longer. Its place is in the leadership of the struggle for the re-conquest of Ireland."

"North and South there is a growing awareness of the class nature of the struggle in Ireland. If this awareness leads to unity of workers, an unconquerable force would be created, which would soon overthrow the power of British imperialism and monopoly capitalism in Ireland. Let us hope the coming year will see some new initiatives in this direction."

I.C.T.U. (From page 6)

In the new document Congress calls for "a commitment on the part of all organisations which are now engaged in violent action, in bombing, shooting, intimidation, burning or violence of any kind, that they should now desist" and as a concomitant that the British Army should desist from counter action.

The Irish Congress of Trade Unions now suggests that "with a view to directing public attention towards fundamental questions of concern to the community, all political organisations in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom which are prepared

- to reject violence and
- to accept the principle of non-discrimination and
- to accept the right of persons to peacefully advocate political change, including changes in the Constitutional status of Northern Ireland or the Republic of Ireland"

should join together with them and other bodies as may be appropriate in discussions on matters of common concern.

Amongst the issues suggested for discussion are

- the elimination of violence in the Community
- human rights
- the abolition of poverty
- a more equitable social order
- development of resources
- European Economic Community.

The document, which was drawn up by a sub-committee of the officers and members of the Congress National Executive Committee and the Northern Ireland Committee and approved by a joint meeting of the two Committees, has been circulated to all affiliated organisations. The policy has been endorsed overwhelmingly and the Congress Executive Committee has been given a mandate to circulate the document widely and to initially initiate discussions with all parties having representation in the former Stormont Par-

EVEN RICE USED TO EXPLOIT

By HILARY BOYLE

RICE To you it probably merely means the horrible stodgy pudding one gets if one is unfortunate enough to be in hospital; but to millions of people it means life or death. This year the rice harvest in the Philippines is down by 3%. What is odd about this is that the Philippines are the home and hope of the highly heralded Green Revolution in rice. The Institute for International Rice Research developed the "miracle" high-yield varieties of dwarf rice, which were first tested in the Philippines and to-day occupy more acreage than anywhere else.

As the Philippine population is increasing at the rate of 3% per year a drop of 3% in the country's staple food is serious. Articles in the news media emphasised the technical breakthrough of the miracle seeds. Contrary to what the people are told the new varieties of rice are NOT more productive under the usual peasant agricultural conditions of Asia.

In fact if the new seeds are merely substituted for the local varieties immediate and drastic decline in output per acre ensues. They are only more productive if planted in conjunction with optimum levels of irrigation water, chemical fertilisers and pesticides. 70% to 90% of Asian farm families have no irrigation and no cash for the purchase of chemical products.

DISEASES

The two main varieties grown are known as IR-8 and IR-5 and are only very moderately resistant to bacterial leaf blight, blast and tungro virus. The setback in the Philippines is largely due to severe outbreaks of tungro and stem rot and other diseases.

Another defect is that most rice eaters just don't like the taste of the new varieties, though presumably they could in time get used to it.

IR-8 and IR-5 mature in 130 days or less while traditional rice takes 170 days. This may mean in theory two crops a year, but would mean harvesting in the rainy

(Continued on page 8)

FROM THE BIG SMOKE

By JOHN RIDDY

PEOPLE over here have stopped caring about events in the north-east of Ireland. They have stopped talking about them, reading about them, or looking at documentaries on the telly devoted to this subject. It has gone on too long. They are bored to their toes with reports of captured IRA men, mysterious murders of innocent civilians, shoot-ups in the Falls Road, what Mr. Craig or the equally tiresome Mr. Faulkner has to say. It has all become a BIG yawn. Not even the almost daily potting of British soldiers upsets them.

BRUTALITY

At no time were they ever unsettled by stories of British brutality in the occupied six counties. And why should they? They know their own soldiers only too well, and know their reputation for uncivilised behaviour towards the natives in every part of the world where they have served. The job and psychopath has always been considered the "right stuff" as rank-and-file material by the officer class—providing their viciousness can be controlled and directed against the enemy and doesn't spill over into attacks on the officers themselves. The British Army, in some cases, attracts the dregs of the working class, social and moral inadequates in search of a licence to kill, maim and torture; and of a father figure, in the form of the officers, who will be "firm, yet just", and will look after their social needs.

CHICKENS COME HOME

The Paras attract the worst of these, and it's almost mandatory that recruits to this regiment should be mentally unbalanced in some way. As one Para officer once said in my hearing: "If we didn't get them the crime rates for murder, mugging, robbery and rape would be much greater than it is. And think of the extra strain on the prisons and nut-houses!"

So, you see, nobody over here is even slightly shocked by the atrocities perpetrated. Not even when the victim is someone like Michael Turner, an Englishman and Protestant, living on the Ballymurphy Estate, Belfast. Mr. Turner served twelve years in the Royal Marines, and his only "crime" was, in the eyes of the Paras, that he married a Belfast Catholic with Republican sympathies. As a consequence, he was constantly harassed by members of this "elite" regiment, and finally beaten up, arrested and interrogated by them. No doubt you

read about it in the Irish newspapers. You may even have read a follow-up report a few days later to the effect that the army rejected these allegations of brutality, and, if you did, doubtless you were not surprised. Despite it's well-documented reputation for brutality, the British Army has friends in high places who are powerful enough to squash any criticism of its methods.

But chickens are coming home to roost. Having fewer and fewer natives and wogs to bash about leaves them with little outlets for their natural viciousness, and the "native" British are beginning to be on the receiving end. It's all hushed up, of course, as most of the victims are just ordinary people without influence. Mr. Willoughby Norman, however, is not just another man-in-the-street. He is the chairman of Boots, the famous chain-store group of chemist shops. When he was assaulted by two troopers of the Household Cavalry in Knightsbridge, London, last month, the friends of the army rushed to its defence once again. Not entirely successfully, though, for the two soldier-yobs were fined £25 the morning after the attack. Mr. Norman, aged 61, was furious, however, and has complained that he was not called to give evidence. Nor did the case receive any publicity until he did complain, and the matter was brought up in the House of Commons. And even then the majority of newspapers maintained a discreet lack of interest. It's not done to criticise the British Army, no matter what crimes are committed in its name, or by individual members of it.

SIDE EFFECT

A curious side effect of Jack Lynch's the-British-are-our-friends-no-matter-what-they-do-to-us policy is that the British have again started to refer to the "British Isles." As I understand the term, it means the island of Britain and all the small islands off its coast (and Jersey, which is off the coast of France). In spite of everything, however, the British have always liked to think that Ireland is also one of the British Isles, and this is an idea that even progressive left-wingers cannot altogether discard with all the other bric-a-brac of their imperialist indoctrination. They constantly have visions of a future in which a Socialist Ireland and a Socialist Britain join together to become a Socialist British Isles. That'll be the day! Personally I'm not against friendly, equal relations with a Socialist Britain—but only if the association is known as the Socialist Irish Isles.

Dublin Trades Council Supports Democracy

THE December delegate meeting of the Dublin Council of Trade Unions discussed and passed a comprehensive resolution on recent and previous undemocratic legislation which exists in the 26 counties.

The resolution, which was submitted by the Bricklayers' Trade Union, read as follows:

"That the Dublin Council of Trade Unions protests in the strongest possible manner at the introduction of the Offences Against the State Amendment Bill or to the extension of the undemocratic Offences Against the State Act 1939/1940.

"The Council calls upon the Irish Congress of Trade Unions to demand that the Government repeal all undemocratic legislation and that every citizen be afforded the right of a fair trial regardless of the crime alleged to have been committed by

that citizen.

"That Council fully supports the action of Mr. Kevin O'Kelly and is appalled by the imprisonment of Mr. O'Kelly for his refusal to divulge his sources of information. It is the view of the Council that Mr. O'Kelly upheld the finest traditions of his profession."

In the discussion on the resolution not one delegate spoke in support of the Government's latest oppressive laws.

In fact the main problem for the delegates was what the Trade Unions could do to have the legislation repealed.

Suggestions ranged from a public campaign by the I.C.T.U., to having every trade union branch in the country discuss the matter and organising protests at local level.

The E.C. of the Dublin Council will examine all the suggestions with a view to further action.

INTERNATIONAL GIANT COMPANIES THREATEN TRADE UNIONS

By OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE accelerated concentration and internationalisation of capital make joint action by the working people of different countries against the international monopolies an objective necessity. The dangers of monopoly are now a matter of public concern because it closes factories, straddles frontiers, extends the state apparatus in order to maintain its economic and political power and attacks democratic rights.

Even moderate trade union leaders can no longer close their eyes to this fact. The latest to be attracted to this country by grants and other financial assistance, made available by the Government, cheap labour costs and a site in Cork Harbour which is geographically situated in relation to supplies of raw materials and market for finished products, is the Pfizer Chemical Corporation of the United States. Pfizer's far-reaching operations are conducted by some 34,000 men and women employed in a global multinational organisation with worldwide facilities which include a network of 85 production units in 35 countries.

MONOPOLY

World-wide sales are currently running at an annual volume in excess of one billion dollars. Pfizer facilities in the United States include 25 plants, 12 research centres. In August 1968 Pfizer acquired the Quigley Company Inc. whose subsidiary, Roofchrome Ltd., was subsequently renamed Quigley Company of Europe Limited, which had previously established a plant at Tivoli, Cork for the manufacture of refractory specialties used in steel making. Quigley Magnesium Limited, Dungarvan, also became part of the Pfizer organisation.

In December of that year came the incorporation of Pfizer Chemical Corporation as a wholly-owned subsidiary of Pfizer Inc. Pfizer Chemical Corporation is the Pfizer subsidiary which owns and operates the Ringaskiddy factory in Cork harbour. The obvious reason for picking this site was, it's simply cheaper for a company to pour its garbage into the harbour than pay for sewage treatment. After making their pile in the U.S. in the insatiable appetite for profit, they polluted the rivers and air and destroyed priceless natural resources for short-term gain, the air stinks and the roads are clogged with carbon-monoxide producing automobiles and the water is barely fit to drink.

MESS

After creating this whole mess they move elsewhere in the never-ending search for profit. On the other hand one cannot agree with the middle and upper class reformers who have gone wild about "ecology". It is easy for them to say, "Let's not allow them to build this project," with no thought for the unemployed worker. These sophisticated virtuous citizens, protectors of the environment from pollution, say, "Well, what good is a job if you can't breathe the air or drink the water?" That's true, but it begs the question. After all, all the pure drinking water or clean air won't make much of a difference if people aren't eating. The unions on the other hand are pictured as greedy, materialistic and totally unconcerned.

In fairness to them the only course they can pursue under this system, is to find employment for their members. Therefore the point is that jobs are needed, also a decent environment in which to live. Now the Pfizer Chemical Corporation are not interested in striking a balance between the legitimate interests of people who

are trying to achieve a rational balance between the need for jobs and the necessity for a sound conservation policy.

These people have calculated in their supernatural profit-grabbing activities down to the last penny and the Government are ill equipped in meeting such sharks.

WAGE-RESTRAINT

Their master plan is to impose rigorous wage-restraint, also curbing trade unions, which was stated by Mr. John Platt, the Pfizer general manager, who said, "Any industry had to have firm policies". He referred to the 70 workers who were on unofficial strike at the Quigley plant in Cork, who claimed parity with workers at Ringaskiddy.

These 70 workers were dismissed. Workers at both Ringaskiddy and the Dungarvan plants provided financial support for the strikers. Their spokesmen at Quigley Magnesium Limited, Dungarvan, said that all workers of the Quigley Group had a duty to support any company workers sacked in the manner in which the Tivoli workers had been.

Representatives of the strikers met with workers' representatives from the two other Pfizer plants and the Cork Dockers Committee. The latter blacked all goods for Pfizer entering the port. Further financial support came from Sunbeam Wolsey, Fords, Dunlops, Engineering Services and C.I.E. Union attitude was that the strike was in contravention of the National Wage Agreement. The workers' answer was this agreement was implemented in Dublin despite the fact that they were opposed to it. The outcome was 90% successful and came close to parity with the two other plants. This tremendous solidarity and support is a repudiation of the National Wage Agreement with the phenomenon of an embittered rank-and-file rejecting an agreement reached by their representatives in negotiation. It will be a feature in the future, as the workers are not now convinced that trade union officials represented their interests effectively.

WORLD-WIDE CO-OPERATION

Returning again to international monopolies where there is an urgent need for co-operation between trade unions on a world-wide basis to combat this menace. American economic domination of other countries is taking a heavy toll on American workers. For example, Chrysler Corporation has declared that it will close up its 39-year-old Maywood California assembly plant, laying off 1,200 workers. The move is prompted by Chrysler's investments in Japanese and European corporations. Chrysler (Ireland), a subsidiary of the American giant, are now engaged in importing French-made Simca cars. This corporation has a hundred million dollar investment in Japan's Mitsubishi Corporation, which manufactures Chrysler's Colt sub-compact car. Now Japan's recent interest in Ireland is naturally linked with our decision to enter the E.E.C.,

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as the American market is finished they are looking further afield. The Chrysler Corporation has decided that it is more interested in profiteering from overseas plants and cannibalising production and jobs of American workers than in maintaining employment at home. These subsidiaries manufacture goods overseas with low wage labour which compete on the world market with the same products manufactured in the U.S.A. with higher wage costs.

The American trade unions are fighting to halt the heavy flow of American capital to foreign manufacturers in order to end the inducements offered by large pools of low-paid workers. The Maywood plant was built in 1932, and was organised only after union pioneers were jailed and beaten. The use of police to escort scabs into strike-bound plants, and the use of police dogs, police intimidation by Chrysler thugs is well known in the U.S. Now the closure will mean not only loss of jobs for many high seniority employees, but little likelihood of finding other employment since the job situation in Los Angeles is not good.

These are people who have invested a lifetime of work with Chrysler in California. There is literally no place for them to go due to Chrysler's cruel and deplorable decision. Pfizer Corporation are one with other U.S. companies such as International Harvester, Singer, Standard Oil, I.B.M. and many others who derive vast amounts of income from goods produced overseas. The impression was created in the public mind that Pfizer was here in Ireland for the sole purpose of giving employment. Their only interest is fat corporate profits, nothing more.

THE trade union movement must be won to adopt and carry out policies which will safeguard the workers from the adverse effects of E.E.C. membership.

The consequences of membership, as predicted by the anti-market forces, are already becoming apparent. Factory closures, rationalisation, redundancies and takeovers are the order of the day.

In the name of these economic catch-cries, many workers are already being sacked or will be sacked in the coming year.

Despite the excellent E.E.C. propaganda by the trade unions during the referendum campaign, the official leadership is giving little positive leadership in the fight against redundancies.

The demand of the trade unions should not be for increases in redundancy payments but for the **RIGHT TO WORK**. The lead of the Crannac furniture workers and the Ballingarry miners are examples of how this fight should be pursued.

The objective of full employment is already I.C.T.U. policy. However, the achievement of this objective will require a fight against monopoly control and further takeover of our economy. It would require the extension of State enterprise industry and real economic planning. These policies are in direct conflict with the economic concepts of the E.E.C.

...In the struggle against the monopolies, the Irish Trade Union movement must develop ties and solidarity with the Trade Unions in the E.E.C. countries.

—(From C.P.I. Congress Resolution.)

SUCCESS FOR ENNISKERRY COMMUNITY

SOME three years ago a group of Republicans, Communists and Labour Party members came together in Enniskerry to form the Enniskerry Citizens Action Committee. Declaring the aim of the Action Committee as being to defend the interests of the community in the area, particularly of the working-class section, they did trojan work in the Kilgarron Housing Scheme issue. Like many other places in Wicklow, Enniskerry although being a pleasant scenic place lacks all sorts of amenities.

Dominated by the feudal lands of the Powerscourt Estate, it above all lacks a playing fields and public park. Within the village there is a park called the Bog Meadow which though formerly part of the estate was considered a village common. However with the sale of the estate from ascendancy landlord hands to foreign millionaire hands (the Slazengers) this park was sold to speculators. The Citizens Action Committee right away set the aim of restoring the Bog Meadow as a Public Park but under Council ownership.

In December 1969 they asked Wicklow Council to compulsorily purchase the Bog Meadow. The Council promised to "look into the possibilities". Nothing happened for six months, then the Citizens Action Committee organised a large and imaginative campaign to press the demand. This included a public petition which almost every adult in the village signed. In the Bog Meadow itself football matches and regular Folk Song Sing-Ins were held. The demand for a public park was soon taken up by most of the organisations within the village including the Fianna Fáil Cumann!

PUBLIC PARK

In January 1971 a deputation of different local bodies led by Tom Redmond from the Citizens Action Committee impressed upon the Council officials the need for the public park and at the Council session on a motion of Councillor Costello they agreed to compulsorily purchase the area. To offset this the Fitzpatrick's private company, Lota One, appealed for planning permission to develop the area, proving a feature that is becoming very obvious in Ireland today that speculating in land is not confined to the cities. The Council turned this down and Lota One appealed to the Minister.

There the matter lay for 18 months while even another petition again signed by almost every adult failed to speed it up. Finally in November the Minister refused Lota One permission. It took another deputation of the Action Committee and another motion of Councillor Costello before the actual order was issued to Lota One for purchase. The first stage of a protracted campaign was over but now while the slow machinery of the order goes on the Action Committee, the Tenants and the Women's Society are considering plans for the park which could include a community centre, children's play centre and playing fields.

The lesson to be learned here is that in all local issues which affect people gains can be won to their benefit by determined and combined activity. Further it is not the Left who are the wreckers or the subversives, rather it is they who project the interests of working-class people.

SOUTH CENTRAL

AT a recent meeting of the Dublin South Central Branch of the C.P.I. the Secretary, J. Flood, announced that a new folder containing a statement by the Communist Party of Ireland on the Northern crisis had just been published and that several hundred had already been distributed in the area on a door-to-door basis.

tributed in the area on a door-to-door basis.

The folder, he explained, clearly defined the position of the party on the situation in the North and should receive as wide a circulation as possible.

The Secretary also announced the winter education programme would be starting in January. The programme includes eight lectures dealing with: "Historical Materialism," "Political Economy," "What Is To Be Done," "State and Revolution," "Imperialism," "Roots of Irish Socialism," "Left Wing Communism" and "Socialism and Democracy". These lectures will be informal and people who are non-members and would like to attend should contact the Secretary, South Central Branch, C.P.I., 37 Pembroke Lane, Dublin 4.

BRAY

THE Bray Branch of the C.P.I. continues to get out a lively monthly newsletter called "The Spark" which it distributes with the "Irish Socialist". Last month's issue was printed the day after the bombs swept into law the latest Fianna Fáil repression. It ended with an appeal for all popular organisations to protest against the new bill and to organise opposition to it.

Tom Redmond, the Branch Chairman, moved a Workers' Union of Ireland resolution at the December meeting of the Bray Trades Council which called on the Irish Congress of Trade Unions "to initiate industrial action if the Bill was used against the interests of trade unionism and to co-operate with all civil liberties organisations to protect the democratic and civil rights of all people". The resolution was passed unanimously.

"The Spark" also featured the latest moves in the fight for a public park in Enniskerry, an agitation in which members of the C.P.I. had played a leading role.

RICE (From page 7)

season and unless the farmer had mechanical driers there would be mildew and sprouting grain.

The new varieties are dwarf. This was initially alleged to offer protection against typhoon winds, but though they are not blown down they drown in the accompanying flooding.

In India rice stubble is the most important source of food for cattle, but cattle refuse to eat the short thick stalks of IR-8.

Can we therefore believe this rice to be for the benefit of the peasantry? NO. It is for the benefit of the huge firms who sell chemical fertilisers and pesticides. Esso created "a sales staff of agent-representative-entrepreneurs who served as extrusion agents to promote the rice programme".

RICH RICHER

It is the inherent design of the new varieties of rice that, where private enterprise prevails, the rich farmers will be made richer and the poor farmers poorer, as only the rich can afford to buy or get credit for the fertilisers and pesticides Esso are selling at prices above the world market prices.

If a small farmer is tempted by the propaganda to try the new rice and it fails not only will he have nothing to eat but he will have to sell his land. There is no indication that the governments are willing to support the small producer through even one bad harvest. The inexorable planned effect of the Green Revolution is for millions of "inefficient" farmers with small holdings to sell out. The miracle seeds will not bring even a temporary respite from the problems of hunger and malnutrition in Asia. These are the results of the population explosion plus the iniquities of the social system and can only lead to increasing economic chaos.

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