

WORKER-DIRECTORS

another gimmick to stifle militancy

By SAM NOLAN

THE Government has now committed itself to pass legislation to enable workers' representatives to be elected on to the boards of State Industries. It is assumed that this will be a first step to extending the idea to private enterprise firms.

Michael O'Leary, Minister for Labour, speaking at the Dublin Council of Trade Unions in May, and later when presenting his estimate in the Dáil, projected this move as the beginning of Workers Democracy in Irish Industry.

This move poses some fundamental questions for the Irish Trade Union movement.

WORKER-DIRECTORS

Speaking in the Dáil, the Minister stated, "This legislation would provide for the training of worker-directors and the necessary facilities and time for them to carry out their role effectively."

The first question to be asked is this, What is the purpose of this whole exercise? What will be the role of worker-directors on boards of management? Will they reflect the real interests of the workers who elect them, interests which are fundamentally opposed to those of management?

State Industries are now represented on the Labour/Employer Conference as part of the employers' side.

Likewise there are four representatives of Government Departments sitting on the employers' side of the table.

This then is the body which negotiates the National Wage Agreements.

HOW EFFECTIVE?

Of course we already have representatives from the Irish Congress of Trade Unions on the boards of some of our State Industries, and these same people in turn sit on the workers' side of the Labour/Employer conference.

One often wonders at what stage they exchange the cloth cap for the bowler hat. The late Jim Cox of the then Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, now UCATT, was the ICTU nominee on the board of CIE, yet during that time, organisers of his union were refused permission to visit their members in the CIE workshops at Inchicore, during working hours.

HUMANISING INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS!

Answering questions at the Dublin Council of Trade Unions, Michael O'Leary stated that the function of worker-directors would be to gain full knowledge of the workings and problems of an enter-

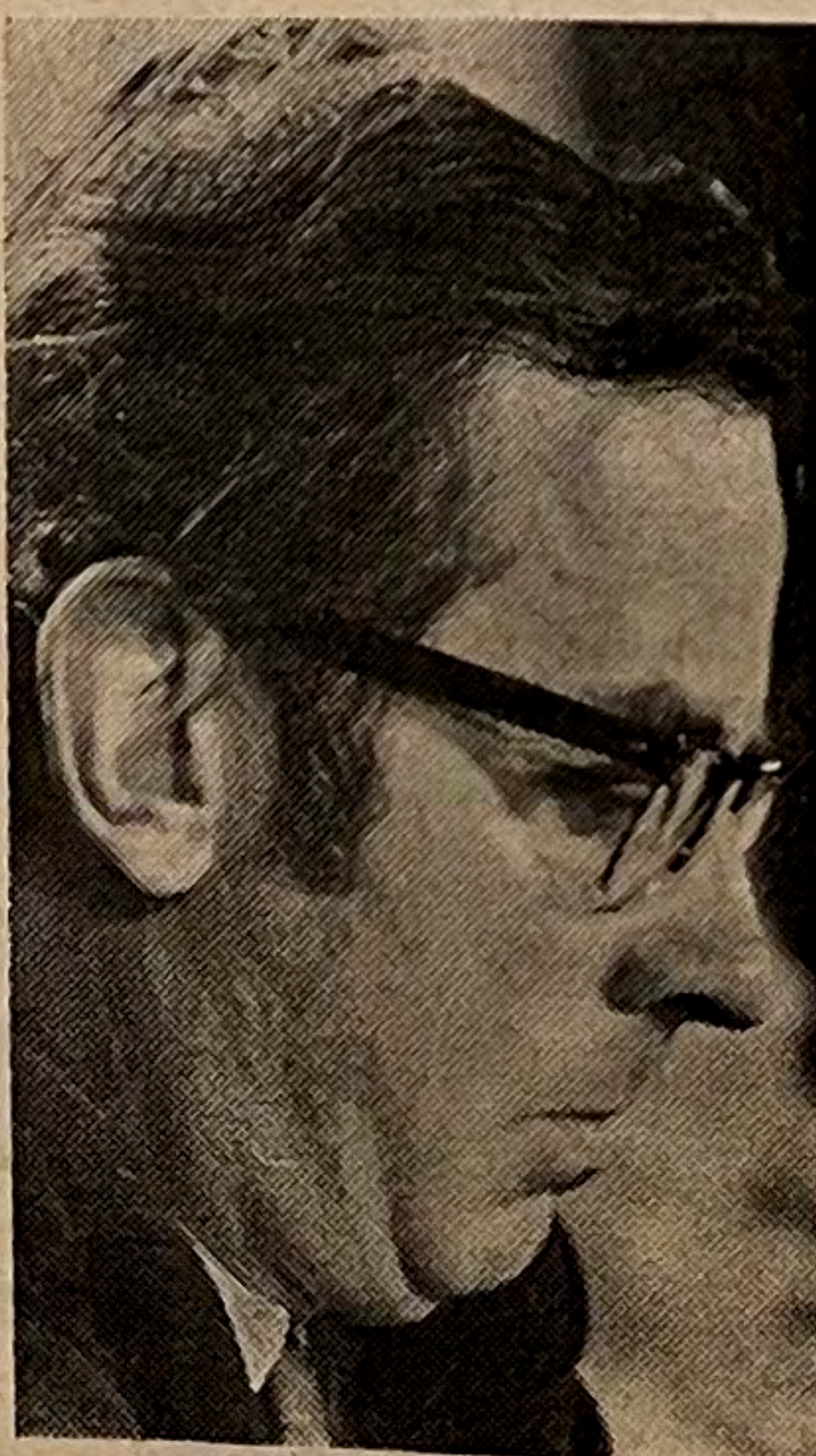
prise and keep the workers informed. This he believed would help to humanise Industrial Relations.

We all know that Industrial Relations will remain inhuman as long as capitalism exists because the fundamental objective of the system is to make the maximum profit from the labour of the workers. If facts and knowledge are the crucial problems why not legislate to compel firms to reveal them to existing shop stewards and union delegates?

Michael O'Leary further stated at the D.C.T.U. meeting that Workers Democracy as he envisaged it, did not mean a take-over by the workers.

This was indeed plain speaking so let us not fool ourselves.

This talk about humanising Industrial Relations can be nothing more than a device to get the workers to accept the decisions of management. If on the other hand the trade union movement had the clear objective of workers' ownership, then the training of worker-directors at this stage could be a progressive step.



RICHIE RYAN

THE BUDGET

(See page 3)

What were the Blueshirts?



THEY WERE A FASCIST ORGANISATION IMITATING THE HITLER AND MUSSOLINI BULLYBOYS.

We reprint here a photo from the Fine Gael paper "United Ireland" for April 27th, 1935.

It is of the first group of Blueshirts. Second from the left, top row, is Tom O'Higgins.

FOREIGN POLICY: some advance, but still tied to Britain

By SEAN NOLAN

IT was not a difficult exercise for Dr. Garret FitzGerald to shine on his first report to Dáil Eireann when, on May 9, he introduced the estimate for the Department of Foreign Affairs. The sort of speeches and reports, over many years, by Fianna Fáil Ministers for Foreign Affairs were mere routine and never designed to encourage discussion on this country's foreign policy by Dáil Eireann. Dr. Hillery had made some attempt, but it was minimal, to improve on the Frank Aiken position of say nothing, do nothing to offend in the slightest against the policies and strategies of the U.S.-Western bloc.

Mr. Aiken for a very brief time in the 1950s tried to show some independence but soon found the Americans using the big stick and also that he had no support at home. He toed the line rigidly thereafter. In a TV interview after he had left Ministerial office,

he showed there were on occasions a gap between his public position and his own evaluation and opinion on foreign affairs. On Vietnam, he indicated that it was his view that the Americans had no claim or right to have invaded that country. He never dared ex-

press such a view while in office.

In recent years there have been some significant changes in world affairs and the new Minister felt he had the freedom to express opinions on a number of matters that would hitherto have been considered "unwise". Hence we had the wide-ranging foreign affairs report to the Dáil. It was, unquestionably, a vast improvement on any foreign affairs report made to the Dáil at any time since the foundation of the State.

On Africa, Dr. FitzGerald declared that Ireland strongly opposed Apartheid and wanted an end to colonialism. (He didn't seem to have the Six Counties in mind here!) He promised strict commitment to the U.N. resolutions and the blockade of Rhodesia.

(Continued on page 4)

BALLAD CORNER

BY JOHN McDONNELL

WOMEN ARE

WAITING TONIGHT

WOMEN are waiting tonight on the pit-bank,
Pale at the heart with dream
Watching the dead-still wheels
That loom in the mirky sky,
The silent wheels of fate,
Which is the system under which they slave.
They stand together in groups,
As sheep shelter in storm,
Silent, passive, dumb.
For in the caverns under their feet,
The coffin seams of coal
Twixt the rock and the rock,
The gas has burst into flame,
And has scattered the hail of death.
Cold the night is, and dark
And the rain falls in a mist.
Their shawls and their rags are sodden,
And their thin, starved cheeks are blue,
But they will not go home to their fires,
Tho' the news has been broken to them
That a miracle is their only hope.
They will wait and watch till the dawn,
Till the wheels begin to revolve,
And the men whom they loved so well,
The strong, kind, loving men,
Are brought up in canvas sheets,
Or a button,
Or, perhaps, only a wish.
And three days from now,
They will all be buried together,
In one big hole in the earth.
And the King will send his sympathy,
And the Member of Parliament will be there,
Who voted that the military be used
When last these miners came on strike
To win a living wage.
His shining black hat will glisten over a sorrowful face
And his elegantly shod feet will go slowly behind the bier.
And the Director of the Company will be there,
Who has vowed many a time
That he would make the miner eat grass,
And the Parson, who sits on the Parish Council,
Starving the children and saving the rates,
Will pray in a mournful voice,
And tear the very hearts of the bereaved.
He will emphasise in godly phrase,
The danger of the mine,
And the bravery and valour of the miner.
And the Press
That has spilled oceans of ink
Poisoning the public against the "destroyers of industry",
Will tell the sad tale,
And the public will say, "How sad,"
But a week today all will be forgotten,
And the Member of Parliament,
The Coalowner,
The Parson,
The Press,
And the public,
Will keep storing up their venom and their hatred,
For the next big miners' strike.
Women are waiting tonight at the pit-bank,
But even God does not see
The hypocrisy and the shame of it all.

NOTE

THE Mining industry is fraught with danger for the workers engaged in it. Throughout the time men have been mining there have been many disasters. Very recently in England there have been two, in Yorkshire eight miners were killed. Rescue workers tried for days to break through to where the men could have been trapped but to no avail, eight men perished. These men were swept away with water and drowned. They could have been killed by rock falls which are very common or gas explosions or gas poisoning. Such is the danger for the mine workers. Last week in Kircaldy in Scotland two miners were killed. Because of these men and all other workers we print this poem. The mining industry is rich in folk song and mining poets. There are many fine songs, ballads and poems. We have printed some here and will print more. In the meantime here is this fine class-conscious poem by Joe Corrie.

Joe Corrie, "the Miners' Poet," was born in Scotland in the village of Slamannan, Stirlingshire, in 1894. When he was two his family moved to the Fife mining village of Lochgelly. At school his literary merits began to be obvious, he won a silver medal from the R.S.P.C.A. for an essay on Cruelty to Animals. At fifteen years of age he started work in Dundonald Pit at wages of 2/6 per day. Throughout his youth he wrote poems, essays and songs. When he was twenty his father died, leaving him the breadwinner of the family. In the early years of the 1914-1918 war Joe being the breadwinner of his family avoided conscription by moving to Ayrshire to work in the pits there. When miners were made exempt from conscription he returned to Lochgelly. In 1926 Tom Johnson of the "Glasgow Forward", a Socialist newspaper, published some of Joe's sketches and a small collection of poems, "The Image of God". On May Day at Glasgow Green it sold a thousand copies. It was quickly sold out and ran to four editions, being published in South Africa, Germany, America, France and Canada. After that he continued to write many plays, poems and articles. His most successful play was "The Shilling a Week Man" which was widely performed and was presented by the Scottish National Players under Tyrone Guthrie.

Joe Corrie married Mary McGlin, an ex-secretary of the Workers' Theatre Movement. In 1930 he visited Leningrad where two books of his short stories were published. Before the Second World War he lived entirely by his writing but was forced during the war to take up jobs. With the advent of Television his income dropped due to the decline in performances by theatre groups of his plays.

Joe Corrie, described by T. S. Eliot as "the greatest Scots poet since Burns", was a man of the people. His poems and songs reflect life, the humour and love as well as the trials and hardships. This class-conscious poem tells the miners much. Although Joe Corrie was never involved in a political party he said his political party was "The Working Class". He died in 1968 at the age of 74.

EDITORIAL

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Notebook

by Northsider



ONCE again the rat-infested slum known as Benburb Street Flats is in the news. This time the families who live in these flats were forced in desperation to block the street with barricades in order to draw attention to the terrible conditions in which they are forced to live under.

The capitalist Press gave maximum coverage to the particular action of the people of Benburb Street. This, of course, is news with a capital N. The circumstances giving rise to this action are unimportant and commonplace as far as the Press is concerned. The rest of our Establishment shows itself to be equally unconcerned that nearly sixty families are forced to live in conditions which even a dog would not be condemned to endure as one of the spokesmen for the people remarked.

WORST SLUMS

It is not just yesterday that Benburb Street flats became known as one of Dublin's worst slums. Built for British soldiers long before the first world war, they were never anything else but a slum.

The Dublin Corporation housing and health departments have repeatedly condemned these buildings as unfit for human habitation. Yet with all the laws and regulations governing public health which the Dublin Corporation has at its disposal it refuses to take action.

The families living in Benburb Street flats cannot be re-housed because the Corporation is so tied up in its own red tape that they cannot go outside their own regulations which govern the allocation of alternative accommodation.

The fact that hundreds of perfectly sound houses throughout the city are being pulled down by the get-rich-quick speculators to make way for office blocks does not rouse the slightest concern with either the Corporation or the Government.

"LAW AND ORDER"

If, however, a homeless family chooses to squat in one of these houses as has happened only recently in Fenian Street there is no hesitation on the part of the forces of law and order to have that family evicted.

The men of property, as Big Jim Larkin so often told the people of Dublin, have on their side the police, the courts and all the rest of the apparatus of the Establishment.

Only by a united struggle can the ordinary people of Dublin establish their right to decent housing and adequate amenities for their children. The residents of Benburb Street flats have given an example by their unity and determination of the way in which the appalling housing conditions of thousands of Dublin's families can be exposed and put an end to.

Their struggle to be re-housed demands the fullest support from the many thousands of Dublin families who are in the same plight.

It also calls for the support of the Labour Movement, the Dublin Trades Council which represents the organised workers of Dublin, and which only last month paid homage to the memory of James Connolly, should rally the workers of Dublin in a mass protest demonstration in support of the people of Benburb Street.

If James Connolly were alive today he would have no hesitation in calling on the workers of Dublin to show their solidarity.

DESTITUTION ON INCREASE

Despite the boasts of the Cosgrave-Corish Government that the "Just Society" is almost upon us, the number of poor and destitute persons in Dublin City alone has

gone up in one year to 65,124, an increase of 11,290 persons since 1971. This was stated by the Chairman of the Mendicity Institution in his annual report last month.

OLD-AGE PENSIONERS HIT

The tax of fourpence per ounce on plug tobacco imposed by the recent Budget is a cruel blow to many old people.

In the first place the amount of plug tobacco smoked is small in comparison with ordinary tobacco and cigarettes. Secondly, the Minister for Finance must have known that he was hitting at the least well-off section of the people, namely the old-age pensioners, when he imposed this tax which amounts to almost a shilling per ounce. If the Minister wanted to impress on the people that smoking is a health hazard, why did he not tax the profits of the tobacco companies?

They obviously have money to burn judging by the amount they can spend on advertising in the Press, on radio and television.

In fact, there is an urgent need for an inquiry into the amount of money spent by the tobacco companies on advertising. The result of such an inquiry would give all the evidence needed to justify compelling them to pay considerably more profits tax.

IRISH LIFE

Irish Life Assurance recently spent £1½ million on the purchase of property in London. Aer Lingus is planning to spend millions on the development of golf courses in Britain and Europe. The capital for this speculative spending is the Irish people's money which instead of being invested at home to provide more jobs is invested abroad to ensure greater profits for the shareholders.

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).

WAS IT SUCH A GREAT BUDGET?

asks MICHAEL O'RIORDAN

REACTIONS to Richie Ryan's Budget were positive; at the Fine Gael Jamboree for Presidential candidate Tom O'Higgins they danced jigs for it, Labour Minister Justin Keating said the whole of his political past and future was justified by it, the "Irish Press" headlined it as a "Robin Hood Budget" and Richie Ryan himself at the end of his speech reached to great heights when he said: "I feel that the Budget proposals will contribute to the transformation of our country into a progressive society based on social justice." Have we finally arrived at the frontiers of the "Just Society" which Fine Gael announced some years ago as its vision splendid—or are we, in fact, still stuck firmly in the society whose feature is that 72 per cent of the wealth is in the possession of 5 per cent of the population?

Everybody expected a good Budget. After being only three months in office, the election promises of the Fine Gael-Labour Coalition were still fresh in people's minds. There was the tidy sum of £30 million which would not have to be raised this year for agricultural aids. Above all, there was the need for a type of Budget that would influence the Presidential Election and so guarantee that alongside the true-blue Cosgrave as Taoiseach there would be the blue-shirted O'Higgins as President.

It's true that there were welcome features. Provision was made for an increase of £1 weekly in social insurance and assistance benefits; widows and deserted wives are to get an extra 65p per week; the qualifying age for old age pensioners is reduced from 70 to 69 years; children's allowances will increase by £1.50; there will be an expansion of home welfare services and allowances for severely handicapped children; a new allowance for unmarried mothers which is more a recognition of them, at last, than a worthwhile help for them to keep their children and some improvements in

the position of women who go to work after marriage.

There was the development of making the increased social welfare benefits payable from July, that is three months earlier than the pay-out date of previous budgets.

... AND NOW FOR THE SMALL PRINT

The increases are, of course, to be welcomed, but in fact with the great rise in the cost of living since the previous Budget, they are far, very far from being adequate.

The firm pre-election promise that the 5.26% V.A.T. would be removed from food and oral medicines was implemented, but it will not be done immediately, as also promised, but will only take effect after September 1st next. Whilst V.A.T. has been taken off food, it has been increased on fuel, clothing, footwear, non-oral medicines, furniture and a wide range of other goods. There was also 3p extra on 20 cigarettes, 1p more on beer (with 0.27 of that going to the wealthy brewers), an increased tax on petrol, the price of

spirits to cost 3p more a glass, increased postage and telephone charges; driving licences were upped from £1 to £2, and road tax by 10 per cent.

Some of these could be regarded as "luxuries" perhaps—a point on which all would not agree—but there is no denying the fact that they will be unloaded on to the public in many ways and thus make for further price increases. There is already a very high level of indirect taxation in the Republic, which means that those with low incomes pay, pro-rata, the highest taxes of all! This position will continue, thus eroding the "great" social welfare benefits increases.

In the headline of the social welfare increases there was an almost deafening silence from all the members of the Dáil to draw any attention to an item which with a sense of concealment was included in the middle of the Budget Speech. This referred to the Report of the Review Body on Higher Remuneration in the Public Sector—the title alone would frighten off anybody from examining its contents. This however, provides for hefty increases, from July 1st, for certain sections. Whilst the social welfare recipients will be getting £52 a year extra, the T.D.s themselves, as per the same Budget, will get £900 a year more, that is they will go up from £2,500 to £3,400. Members of the Senate will have their allowances increased from £1,500 to £1,860. Richie Ryan and his fellow Ministers will be advanced from £6,000 to £8,000, and Cosgrave's salary by the same £2,000 increase will now be £10,000. As well, there will be substantial increases for the Chief

Justice and other hard-working members of the Judiciary.

WHERE ELSE COULD HE HAVE GOT THE MONEY FROM?

As already mentioned the way in which the Government will cover the cost of the inadequate improvements for the working people and the generous awards to themselves, will be by taxes that will cause a further increase in prices.

The Fine Gael-Labour Coalition deliberately ignored the detailed pre-Budget submissions of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions which clearly pointed out that there was another way in which to raise the necessary money. It argued that the income tax burden on 650,000 wage and salary earners should be eased by extending income tax to farmers with £50 and over rateable valuation, and that a capital gains tax should be introduced. "There can be no justification," the I.C.T.U. document said, "for a situation where huge profits can be made from speculative activities in land and property, in Stock Exchange transactions, takeover deals and financial manipulations of various kinds and yet not a single penny of tax is payable on such profits." There was never a truer word said when it is realised that last year speculators of various kinds made over £200 in tax-free capital gains on the Stock Exchange alone.

The class opposition to the taxing of the rich farmers and the imposition of a capital gains tax on the speculators is not confined

to the conservative Fine Gael party itself. It was illuminating that the former Fianna Fáil Minister for Finance, Charlie Haughey, in his contribution to the Budget debate also came out strongly against any question of a capital gains tax. Despite the "battle of words" in the parliament, it is clear that both Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil are united in defending the interests of the wealthy.

The Budget, apart from the number of minor initiatives is a set back for the Labour element in the Coalition Government. One does not know how they fought for the points in the submission of the I.C.T.U., but one knows who won.

The answer to the question of how really good the Budget was can be ascertained if its provisions are tested against the reality of such a situation as described by Brendan Corish, the leader of the Labour Party and himself Tanaiste in the Coalition Government, in his first major policy speech as Minister for Health and Social Welfare a few weeks before the Budget: "Almost one quarter of the population—over 650,000 people—live below the poverty line. Of these, some 215,000 are children. Among O.E.C.D. countries we devote the lowest percentage of G.N.P. to social welfare. Some 75,000 people are unemployed, many of them for long periods. There are at present as many as 15,000 families on the housing applicants' list in our cities and towns—perhaps 60,000 men, women and children."

How far has Richie Ryan's Budget even made a dent in this situation—not to mind transforming it as he claimed?

WATERGATE: THE TIP OF CORRUPTION

by GEORGE JEFFARES

WATERGATE is only the tip of an iceberg. Far more remains to be revealed. But will it be? According to Nixon on May 7th, some people will say that "Watergate demonstrates the bankruptcy of the American political system," so that "it is essential now that we place our faith in that system". To this end, Nixon is finding allies in the most surprising places.

The "New York Times", one of the main instruments in lifting the surface scum of the Watergate, warned on May 2nd of the perilous consequences of the "breakdown of public confidence in Nixon's administration", appealing to Nixon to develop "new relationships with his staff and cabinet, with Congress, and with the people, on the right basis—the basis of candour, lawfulness, mutual respect and sound constitutional practice".

To associate Nixon with such standards would normally sound like a sick joke. But the "Times"

has to resort to it because over and beyond Nixon it is the capitalist political structure that is at stake. The problem, as the "Times" vice-president James Reston put it, is "the restoration of public confidence in the integrity of the White House and the political process".

An accurate assessment of the significance of Watergate came from Arthur Goldberg, former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., who described it as "striking at the very heart of representative government almost as effectively as wholly prohibiting the exercise of the franchise". And Columbia University Professor Richard Morris, differentiating between the corruption of President Harding's administration and Watergate, noted that "In Harding's time they stole national assets; at Watergate they tried to steal the country".

So Watergate is something more than a row between Republicans and Democrats, more than another case of official corruption. Both the methods used and the scope of the conspiracy, show that Watergate was only part of a bigger conspiracy. (Among those implicated are the President, the White

House, cabinet members, the CIA and FBI, the Republican National Committee, and, with the naming of its commander General Cushman, the Marine Corps.)

CONTEMPT

None of these is accountable to the electorate, yet together with Nixon—who would never be re-elected—they function as an elected government. The press has reported numerous examples of their contempt for Congress—a typical example was Department of Justice Secretary Richardson's statement last month that Nixon would continue to bomb Cambodia no matter what Congress decided.

This is something new in the history of the U.S. It is a step on the road to fascism. Redolent of fascism too are the actions of this new power base in the U.S. that have been revealed: the rigging of opinion polls and the organisation of "spontaneous" letter-writing campaigns to give a false image of public support for Nixon, the sabotage of Muskie's presidential campaign in order to get the Democrats to select McGovern as candidate, as Nixon's

men considered him the weakest opposition, then the sabotage of McGovern in turn, the burning of FBI documents to cover up the conspiracy.

The second conspiracy is under way now: the conspiracy to keep the full ramifications from coming out. In this are united Republican and Democratic liberals and conservatives alike, behind platitudes like not "going too far", not "rocking the boat" and pleas for "national unity". Senator William Fulbright has not uttered a word. Edward Kennedy—whose family was a special target for the plotters—appears to have lost his tongue. George McGovern took "no satisfaction in the plight of the President".

DEMOCRATS' QUANDARY

The composition of Senator Sam Ervin's Congressional investigating committee offers little hope that the full truth will be sought, let alone come out. Nixon and his sleazy associates are only the servants of bigger forces in whose

interests the non-elected conspirators carried out the Watergate affair. It is to conceal the identity of these people that Republicans and Democrats will close their ranks, because it is their interests that in the last analysis the two parties represent.

The Democratic leadership is in a quandary. They are delighted with the opportunity offered by Watergate to advance their party interests—but fearful that the system of monopoly capitalism symbolised by the Presidency will be damaged.

They have cause to be concerned. The Gallup Poll in early May showed that 50% of the people believed that Nixon helped the Watergate cover-up, and 38% favoured impeaching him if he were found guilty of ordering it—and this only four months after what he claimed the biggest landslide victory in history! But even more significant, 58% believed the Nixon Administration to be no different from any other in the last 25 years—that is to say, they believed Democratic Administrations also are crooked, treacherous, lying, deceitful and militaristic.

IS IT JUSTICE FOR WOMEN AT LAST?

asks MAUREEN MOONEY

At last we have the Report on the Status of Women in Ireland, after three years and at a cost of £27,683. So once again, nation-wide attention is focussed on the second-class status of women and if for that reason only, the Report isn't a useless exercise.

But we had it all before and it didn't cost the nation one penny to compile and produce and it took only a few weeks to research. The end product wasn't so glossy, but the facts and figures were there, with less repetitive comment, and to crown all, there was a call to action—to organise, unite and fight. That was the pamphlet of the Irish Women's Liberation Movement, costing a modest 10p.

Nonetheless, the Commission's Report is to be welcomed. It contains indisputable establishment evidence that half of the Irish population is more exploited economically than the other, and that sex discrimination exists socially and politically. Where formal discrimination does not exist, subtle discrimination in the form of traditional attitudes prevents women from participating equally in the work of the community.

Most of the Report is taken up with the question of equal pay. Where men and women are doing exactly the same work, the practical application of the principle of equal pay is straightforward. This applies only to Civil Servants and middle-class women in professional jobs.

It won't affect the vast majority of working women who are employed in the low-grade, low-paid jobs. Even so, the implementation of equal pay to any section of women workers is a step forward. Every inch, every victory that can be won at any level, towards ending sex discrimination is of value to all women.

The Report foresees difficulties where men and women, working together, do broadly similar but not identical jobs. For these the Report recommends job evaluation using one of four methods: (1) Ranking; (2) Grade Description or Classified Method; (3) Factor Comparison; (4) Points Rating.

Some large organisations here already use one or other of these systems and in England they are

causing great concern to those negotiating for equal pay. Job evaluation is a method of calculation devised by management, which undermines shop-floor bargaining, and operates to the advantage of the employer.

TRADE UNIONS

The trade union movement should reject all job evaluation systems and insist on equal pay no matter who is doing what. Nowhere in the Report could I find any recommendations for a national minimum wage for women who do "women's work" and have nobody to be equal with. There is no minimum wage for men either, of course.

The Report deals with the problems facing married women in employment, married women who can't get employment, either because it isn't there or the facilities for child-minding aren't there, widows, unmarried mothers, and deserted wives.

There is one category of women not mentioned in the Report—the category which is given a special mention and a special place in the Constitution, and who "give to the State a support without which the common good cannot be achieved"—the housewife. She has no set hours of work, no leisure time, thousands work under appalling conditions in bad housing or have no housing, she has no trade union and she gets no pay. Perhaps the Commission would consider doing a special survey on the Special Status of the Housewife.

BASIS FOR DISCUSSION

The only purpose of the Report is to inform the Government and make recommendations. The Government may very well decide to put the lot in its ministerial wastepaper basket, and let there be no doubt but that is what will happen to most of the recommendations. It is now up to the trade union movement to make a positive effort to recruit more women into the movement and to make the movement more meaningful to its women members. Possibly the worst thing that could happen to the Report is that it won't be read. It is a basis for discussion. No home should be without it. No organisation can afford to ignore it. Buy it, read it, and if it doesn't make every woman's blood boil and every man see the error of his ways, my status is not special.

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THE EDITOR

NORWAY'S INDEPENDENT STAND PAYS OFF



PROF. JOHAN GALTUNG

In spite of the wishful thinking of the EEC press, who were trying to invent post-Referendum crisis conditions in Norway, EEC membership was now a "non-issue" in Norwegian politics, stated Professor Johan Galtung on May 3 at a meeting organised in Dublin by the Irish Sovereignty movement (previously the Common Market Defence Campaign).

Professor Galtung is associated with the Institute of Peace and Conflict Research, Oslo; he played a leading part in the Referendum Campaign.

By and large the "yes" vote was centred in Oslo and the "no" vote elsewhere. It was a vote of small people and small communities, who when they heard the result grew two or three feet in stature; people realised for the first time that they were more powerful than the M.P.s (74% yes) or the Press (90% yes).

The decisive factor was the vote of the fishermen, who reacted strongly to the EEC attempt to poach their territorial waters.

The trade agreement that had been negotiated with the EEC was, by and large, satisfactory, stated Professor Galtung, thus giving the lie to the Irish pro-EEC Establishment which had stated that none such was possible.

Turning to the EEC itself in the global context, Professor Galtung characterised the EEC as a group of nine nations, six of which were imperial powers, bringing in with them no less than 70 associated states and territories.

BIGGEST SUPER-POWER

The total of 79 states includes one-third of the total territories of the world, having 460m. population: the biggest super-power ever known in history.

The basic recipe was that of 19th century Britain: raw materials in, manufactured goods out. The pattern derived from the 1830s German Customs Union was being repeated; this led to the unification of the German state.

The modern pattern of exploitation was to pay a neo-colonial elite and allow its standard of living to rise to the European level, while the incomes per head of the ordinary people in the 70 outer territories remained static, at \$81-\$86 per head in the period 1958-1968.

The pressures arising out of this, Professor Galtung predicted, would give rise to an Indo-China type war in Southern Africa by the 1980s.

The relation of the nine to the 70 was the classical one of imperial power vis-à-vis colonial ter-

ritory. In this situation, Ireland would be a fig-leaf to cover the nakedness of the economic aggression. Ireland would be asked to go on delegations to the various governments of the 70, playing an "uncle Tom" role.

POLLUTION

Professor Galtung also predicted that the EEC authorities would put the old, polluting industries in the outer 70, and call this "aid". (Indeed, Dr. FitzGerald on May 12 made a speech precisely to this effect at the Council of Europe.)

There were six possible strategies for coping with popular resistance to imperialism among the 70 outer territories, Professor Galtung continued. These were:

- (1) To get out: this was unlikely, on the track record of the six imperial powers involved.
- (2) To do a deal with the U.S. (less likely as U.S.-EEC rivalry increases).

(3) To call in the U.N. as a "peacekeeper" (less likely).

(4) One of the imperial nations to take charge (e.g., Pax Britannica in Northern Ireland). This was, on the whole, bad for the image.

(5) Joint all-nine military presence.

(6) Finance and equip a loyal local elite.

One possibility which Professor Galtung ruled out was technical aid actually solving the problems and bringing up the standard of life of the people. The pressure would increase for the joint all-nine military system, for use to back up oppressive governments. At the same time, the youth of Europe would increasingly reject this, just as the youth of the U.S. had rejected the Vietnam war.

Anthony Coughlan, Secretary of the Irish Sovereignty Movement, presided.

Foreign Affairs (From page 1)



Dr. Hillery was also in favour of such relations being established, but Jack Lynch and others in the Fianna Fáil Cabinet kept on delaying a decision. It now rests with the Fine Gael element in the Cabinet to decide how soon this important step will be taken; the Labour Five will, it can be taken for granted, not be lobbying for a decision, quick or otherwise.

The pressure of business interests may influence the Cabinet to end the absurd situation where, to quote Dr. FitzGerald, Ireland is "almost alone among the countries of the world" in not having diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union or any of the Socialist countries. Trade relations with these countries are not on a satisfactory basis and it was noted in Dr. FitzGerald's Dáil statement that "Irish exporters and Coras Trachtála Teoranta have found it very difficult to make progress in these markets in the absence of diplomatic relations with any of them". The business interests and the concern of the Government to open up new outlets for trade may serve to influence an early decision in the matter.

The essentials of foreign policy are to be directed to serve the requirements of membership of the E.E.C., and in the area which is central and basic to any foreign policy, namely, relations with Britain, it became clear there is to be a continuation of the collaboration policy, so actively employed in recent years by the Lynch Cabinet; if any change will be noticed, the present Government will be found by the British to be more accommodating and responsive. Dr. FitzGerald here speaks for the Cabinet:

"The evolution of British policy in respect of Northern Ireland since early 1972 has created a radically new situation to which we must respond. During the past year there has been a new openness in British thinking—a willingness to facilitate and indeed encourage a rapprochement between North and South and a recognition that Britain's best interest lies in finding a solution to the long-standing 'Irish Question'."

Britain undoubtedly wants a solution, but it will not be on the basis of independence but involvement of the country as a whole to serve her economic and political interests.

Spanish Workers' Leaders in Danger

COUNTLESS thousands throughout Spain, even those who do not share his views, hold Marcelino Camacho Abad in the highest esteem. Indeed, he is one of the most highly respected workers' leaders in the country today.

Yet he is meeting his 56th May Day in a cell in the Carabanchel prison in Madrid.

This is not the first time this metal-worker who has become a recognised leader of the Spanish working class is behind prison bars. During the national revolutionary war he joined the Republican Army as a volunteer at the age of 18, and for this he was thrown into a concentration camp in 1941. Two years later he managed to escape, and the next 15 years he lived in North Africa. When Franco Spain announced its first amnesty in 1957, he returned home and began working at the Perkins motor works in Madrid. Since then his whole life has been inseparably linked with the Spanish workers' movement.

At the time Camacho returned to Spain the Spanish democrats were awakening to the need to employ mass forms of struggle against the regime and to enter even the official organisations in order to carry on the fight within them. The workers began electing their representatives to the state-sponsored vertical trade unions taking in both workers and employers. During his first year at the Perkins plant Camacho was elected by his fellow workers to the leadership of the official trade union, and the mandate has been renewed at all subsequent elections. An idea of his popularity may be gained if only from the fact that in the 1966 trade union elections 92 per cent of all Perkins workers and 88 per cent of all metal-workers in Madrid voted for him. And this despite the fact that his opponent had the backing of the authorities.

In the early sixties the workers began to set up within the structural framework of the vertical trade unions their own class organisations — the now well-known

workers' commissions. These commissions took the lead in the strike struggles developing in the country and later began to co-ordinate strike action on a nation-wide scale. Camacho was elected by the metal-workers to Madrid's first workers' commission when it was set up in 1964.

The employers and the police resorted to every possible means to intimidate Camacho and force him to give up the fight. In June 1966 he was arrested for having handed on behalf of the workers' commissions a petition signed by 30,000 workers to the Minister of Labour.

Pressure of public opinion, however, won his release soon after. In February 1967 he was arrested again, but a strike of 50,000 engineering workers all over the country soon compelled the authorities to free him. But already on March 1 of the same year he was again sent to prison, this time for five years.

In March 1972 Camacho came out of prison, but three and a half months later he was back in again. He was arrested on June 24 together with nine other active trade unionists on charges constituting the notorious Case No. 1001.

Camacho's co-defendants, although they are younger men and took no part in the events of 1936-39, are also highly respected workers' leaders.

The situation in Spain, however, has changed to such an extent that the authorities can hardly employ the same methods against dissenters as in the darkest times of the past. Millions of Spaniards are speaking out in defence of Camacho and his comrades. Case No. 1001 is given wide coverage by the press, which is mostly sympa-

thetic towards the defendants. Newspapers gave a good deal of space to the defence argument that even from the standpoint of the existing laws as amended in the sixties there is no case against the trade union activists.

The Carabanchel ten, for whom the prosecution is demanding prison sentences of 15 to 20 years, were first charged with holding an illegal meeting in the Pozuelo Monastery where they were arrested. Yet Article 162 of the Spanish Criminal Code does not qualify a gathering of less than 20 persons as an illegal meeting even if it is held without official permission. Neither were the police able to produce evidence to back up the charge that the arrested men were found in possession of illegal literature.

The trial date has been put off time and again. The authorities clearly realise that they have no case. Besides, a wide international campaign for freedom for Camacho and his comrades is gaining momentum. This campaign has been joined by the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Labour Organisation and national trade unions of most countries. The U.S.S.R. Central Council of Trade Unions has issued a statement voicing the indignation felt by millions of Soviet workers. This solidarity campaign has caused serious concern in Spanish ruling quarters, which are seeking to expand Madrid's ties with the outside world and have good reason to fear that its image will suffer if the trial of the Carabanchel ten were to evoke as angry a reaction throughout the world as the Burgos trial.

But for all that the danger hanging over Camacho and his comrades is very great. It is becoming increasingly clear that the straggle of the Right is to place the entire Spanish working class in the dock.

The purpose of Case No. 1001 is to silence the Spanish working class, to tie its hands. But the attempt is doomed to fail.

FROM THE BIG SMOKE

By JOHN RIDDY

WHAT a gay day! Or so Larry Grayson, the comedian, keeps telling us. Everard, the friend he is always referring to on telly, might sensibly retort: "Gay for SOME, ducky, but grey for the rest of us!" Britain is a mess, make no mistake about it. The working class is being clobbered by a rampant Tory Government in a way that reminds some old 'uns of the pre-Second World War methods used by the ruling class. The building of houses and flats in the public sector has fallen to the lowest level since 1965.

The ever-increasing price of food has forced tens of thousands of working-class people to accept a diet below the level that obtained up to 1954, when food rationing ended. The price of housing has zoomed so far into the stratosphere that even traditionally house-buying groups of workers (such as school teachers) can no longer afford even a hen-house. The trade unions have been undemocratically emasculated by a Government composed of capitalists and their lackeys, with the result that the workers can no longer keep their wages abreast of rising prices.

Unemployment, while curtailed, is still at an unacceptably high level, leading to gross deprivation in many parts of the country, and particularly in the north. And last, but far from least, the British Army is involved in what appears to be a never-ending war in north-eastern Ireland, with an almost daily toll of dead and wounded — and all in a rotten cause, one that few people over here believe in.

HOSANNA TO PROFIT

But let's be fair. Not everyone in Britain is suffering, not everyone thinks that capitalism is a wash-out. The capitalists, for example, don't. Nor do their immediate lackeys and flunkies, the managerial class, and most of the professional class. For them Britain is BOOMING, thank God — and the Tory Government. The business pages of the posh newspapers send up a continuous cry of adoration to Mammon, a hosanna of praise for his infinite

goodness in bestowing limitless profit on their, the capitalists', unworthy heads. The following, taken from a recent issue of the GUARDIAN, is typical of such heart-warming high celebration of profit: "Record £70m. from Marks and Spencers", "Empire Stores rings up 39.7 p.c.", "Lesney Products ups profit 150 per cent", "Reed Executive's higher payout", "Earnings glitter at Alpine Holdings", "Lion International roaring ahead", "Manders paints a bright 50 per cent" and "Bestobell sales up 11 per cent".

I can hear you asking if this is the same country in which wages are frozen while rents, food prices and much else rises, and the answer is yes, it is. That's what capitalism is about in any country. While the capitalists wax ever fatter, the vast majority of the ordinary people grow thinner. What a gay day it is — for capitalism!

BRITAIN'S CHANGED ROLE

Not many miles from where I live was a cinema which, until recently, was named The Imperial. Outside and inside, it was painted a drab, battleship grey, reflecting no doubt the great days of empire when Britain was top dog and didn't give a damn about anyone. All that has changed, of course, since the Second World War, after which Britain became a creature of the new "Godfather", the United States. The cinema in question has been very slow to catch on to this change in status, but now, 28 years later, it has at last adjusted to the country's new circumstances. Gone is the "Imperial", and gone is the aggressive battleship-grey. It has re-opened as "The Ruby", and is painted in shocking, prostitute's boudoir, pink. An accurate reflection of the country's place in today's world, I should say.

COSGRAVE PLEASES

Everyone in politics over here is very pleased with Mr. Liam Cosgrave. By "everyone" I mean all the Tories, Liberals, and the Right-Wing Labourites, and they, of course, have the power that matters in the country, either actual or indirect. Communists and other Left-winners recognise Cosgrave for what he really is, a latter-day Chamberlain figure, fussy, musty, dull of wit, and, thoroughly reactionary. Our rulers like him, however, for this very reason. If Lynch was "the best Irish Prime Minister we have", as one leading politician said some months ago, then Liam Cosgrave is now rated even higher. He is the best Irish puppet possible in the circumstances, and one through whom the British can continue to rule the Irish in the 26 counties. Ireland will never be a free, independent country until the Lynchs, Cosgraves, Faulkners and Craigs disappear from the political scene and are replaced by true representatives of the people of Ireland. And that will mean men and women willing and capable of standing up to Britain.

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NOT SO EXCITING EDUCATION PLANS

IT'S exciting times in the education business according to our Minister, Richard Burke. Whirlwind changes are taking place, he says — if the "Irish Times" of May 14th is to be believed. In a structure as delicate as the Irish educational system where anything much stronger than a sneeze would be likely to cause total collapse, "whirlwind changes" sound like something rather too exciting, if not downright dangerous.

We can however relax again; Mr. Burke's definition of a whirlwind would not ruffle the whiskers of the most nervous Fine Gaeler.

This is not to say that Mr. Burke may not be less muddled and ineffective than his predecessors. It would not be a very difficult achievement. We cannot hope, however, from him or the Government he represents the radical measures that our educational system so clearly needs.

The maximum size of class in our primary schools, the most crucial issue in improving educational conditions for the mass of school children at a decisive stage of their development, is to be reduced to forty five!

Education, as understood by most authorities, is not possible where there are more than twenty-five pupils to a teacher. For many Irish children, therefore, compulsory schooling will continue to be no more than a way of ensuring that up to a certain age they are in a known place at certain specified times for part of the year. Gallant and dedicated teachers may achieve something when faced with classes of thirty and over, but

in such schools the working life of the teacher is usually short and soon frustrated and exhausted he or she will look for other less harrowing means of earning a living.

MEAGRE ACHIEVEMENT

The teachers who survive to fight on will have learned to be satisfied with a meagre achievement from their pupils and the brutal effectiveness of violence.

In such conditions the New Syllabus for primary schools can only be seen as a cynical mockery of the plight of many working-class children and their teachers.

Even if the child manages despite these conditions to follow a course that brings him up to the Intermediate Certificate, what can he be said to have achieved, educationally speaking? According to the recent report on the Intermediate not very much.

EXAMS

The rigidly academic nature of this examination which makes it a totally unsuitable course for 15%

to 20% of those taking it — in some schools the figure is 45% — and a damaging block to their education rather than a milestone, imposes on teachers, sweating to get the "good" results on which their jobs may depend, a crudely mechanical method of teaching which relies heavily on dictated notes and not at all on classroom discussion or any form of initiative from the pupils.

Where "teaching" of this kind takes place libraries, laboratories and other expensive educational aids are obviously unnecessary since the pupils must be satisfied with a response dictated by their teacher or the writer of the examination notes rather than on any

By

DENIS FITZPATRICK

discovery or impulse of curiosity on their own part. This, you will appreciate, makes for a considerable saving in Government spending on education.

Would I be too cynical if I supposed that the retention of the Intermediate Certificate in spite of its proved worthlessness and even harmfulness, was conditioned by such considerations? I do not think so.

REAL DEMOCRACY

Whether or not the abolition or total re-structuring of the Inter-

mediate Certificate is one of the "whirlwind changes" contemplated by Mr. Burke, it will only be a very small step towards making education in Ireland barely adequate for the needs of the people.

There must be basic principles laid down to ensure that real democracy can start to grow within our grossly unjust system. As I see it they will have to include the following:

(i) The setting of the maximum primary school class size at 25. If, as the Minister claims, there is not enough money available to implement this then

(ii) All State subsidies must be withdrawn from schools charging fees in excess of a certain minimum sum. Parents need not be denied the right to buy what they can for their children but since there is very clearly a serious shortage of educational facilities and teachers then we must carefully apportion what resources we have.

The squandering of the State's money on schools charging fees of five to six hundred pounds per pupil is criminal waste of these scanty resources. Only boarding schools need to charge such fees.

Boarding schools are only necessary in an educational system divided along sectarian lines and even then they will only be necessary for the religious minorities

(Continued on page 6)

Free Airwaves For Whom?

By CON O'FARRELL

THE enthusiastic welcome given to Conor Cruise O'Brien's "Freedom of the airwaves" speech would make one believe that a new and vital era in Irish Broadcasting was just around the corner. The "Irish Times" for instance had this to say in its editorial columns: "The Minister's look ahead at Irish broadcasting must hearten the Authority and all those who listen to and look in at Irish programmes, no matter on which side of the border they originate." The same paper's TV critic, Ken Gray, spoke in glowing terms of the O'Brien performance, describing it as "the Conor Cruise O'Brien Show". He went on to say, "the biggest and most exciting rabbit he pulled out of the hat was the suggestion there should be 'freedom of the airwaves'".

Does the O'Brien speech give cause for such unrestrained optimism? A closer examination of it and other related events will show that it certainly does not.

The section of the Minister's speech which caused greatest stir was that which dealt with the "Freedom of the airwaves". This is only as it should be for it overshadowed everything else.

The phrase sounds attractive but what exactly would "Freedom of the airwaves" mean? Would it mean that leaders of N.A.T.O. in the South of Ireland would have an opportunity to explain their problems and debate the tactics of rent strikes with their counterparts in the North? Would A.C.R.A. members be given the freedom of the airwaves to expose the injustices of ground rent? Would the workers of McCairns Motors and Harland and Wolff be given the opportunity to communicate on redundancy and the way to fight it? The answer most emphatically is NO.

REDUCE R.T.E. INCOME

At present there are three TV channels operating in Ireland. Two of them B.B.C. and I.T.V. are immensely wealthy and the third R.T.E. is extremely poor. The percentage watching R.T.E. in areas with multi-channel viewing is between seven and seventeen per cent. The immediate effect of making the whole country a multi-channel area would be to make huge inroads into R.T.E.'s advertising revenue, and reduce its overall income by about half. In time R.T.E. would be relegated to being a regional station for B.B.C. and I.T.V. just as U.T.V. and B.B.C. Northern Ireland now are.

Some may retort by saying that this might not be a bad thing, the programmes on R.T.E. aren't much good anyway. But this is hardly the point. If it comes to that the standard on all three

channels is abysmally low, and as was pointed out on a recent Enterprise programme by Jack Dowling, the dominant influence on all three is neither British nor Irish culture, but pseudo American culture in the form of "I Love Lucy" and "The Partridge Family", programmes which will do little to inform those North and South of each others customs and habits. The point is that given the will and the right kind of policies we have some chance of turning R.T.E. into a station which could meet our needs but we have no chance of influencing B.B.C. and I.T.V. in this way.

CENSORSHIP

On the question of censorship Conor Cruise O'Brien made it quite clear that he was more concerned about the manner in which it was done than its intent. He passed up the opportunity to withdraw the Fianna Fáil directive which was the subject of so much controversy, preferring to leave it stand until legislation could be drafted which would achieve the same object. While the open approach is undoubtedly an improvement, the same degree to which freedom of speech is to be curtailed remains unknown until we get details of the legislation. In the meantime things have not changed.

The new Authority although an improvement on previous ones must have disappointed those who were expecting real changes in R.T.E. Names like Jack Dowling, Lelia Doolin and Jim Plunkett Kelly were notably absent. Those who were appointed had hardly time to find out who their new colleagues were, let alone meet, before the Minister who appointed them was off to London to negotiate major broadcasting changes with his British counterpart, Sir John Eden. Significantly, Garret FitzGerald, Fine Gael's Coalition whizz kid, will be involved in any further negotiations.

HAYDEN MURPHY'S "OREBODY"

Patrick Hughes
Has discovered
"A sizeable viable Orebody"
The inventor has announced
To the public and the papers
That it weighs seventy-seven
million tons.

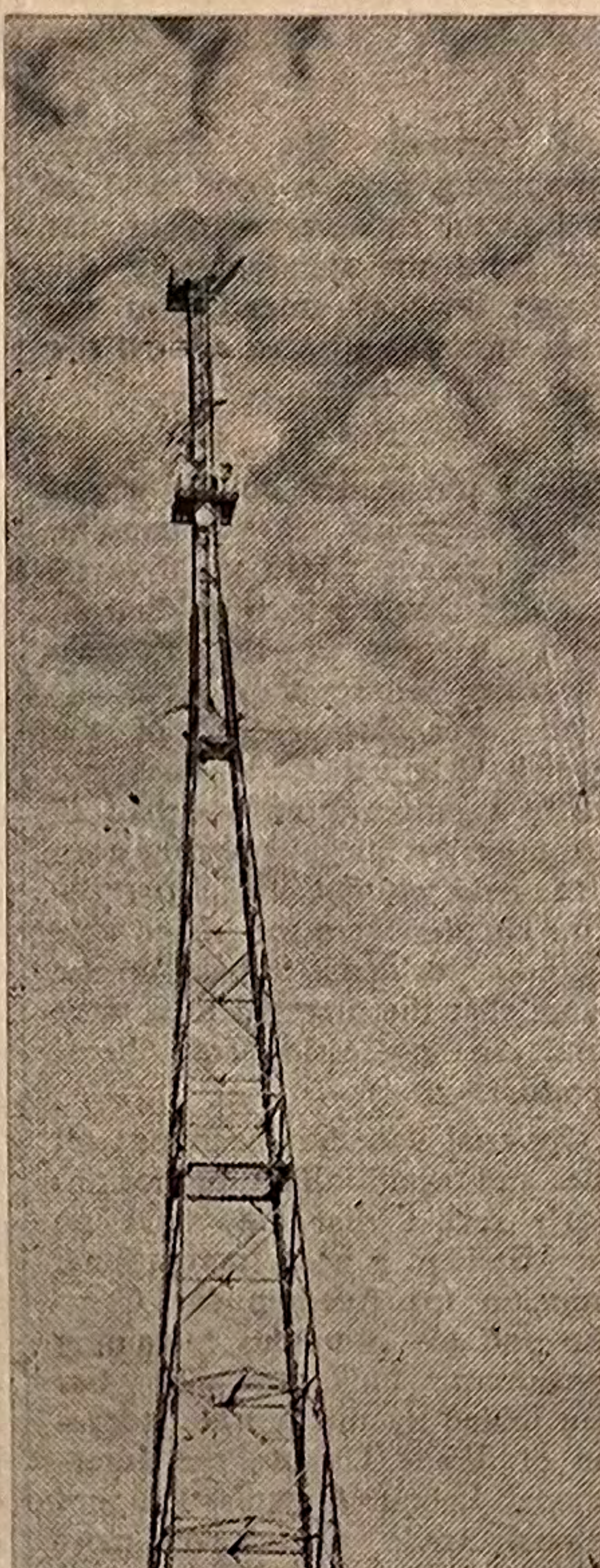
Oh what a gift for the nation,
Oh what a talented man,
And the Irish Times tells us
"He sits in a big chair"
Inside a room labelled "Tara";
How patriotic, how democratic,
how dramatic.
Never mind the safe in the corner
labelled "Northgate"—
Canadian tourists are common in
this part of the country.

The resurrected Orebody seems
bewildered;
He has been described earlier
In more emaciated terms; but
When he was given a drink
His deceptive pallor took on a
healthy glow
Of Lead/Zinc.
His life span

Was a question of conjecture
But then a reliable source com-
pared it to
"Counting beans in a jar at the
Sunday School fete . . ."
The solution was obvious call in
the man from Heinz.
Now he shares his knowledge with
a variety of accents.

The Orebody
Is an ancient part of a heritage
Closely related to the Wealth of
the Nation;
Agriculture and Environment are
other near relations;
It is of a size to fit, when con-
verted, in the pockets
Of a nation of people outside the
boardrooms.
Indeed these are its kin, and these
are the people it knows best.

So the Orebody,
With a temper somewhat like a
poet,
May feel inclined to bite the hand
that feeds it
Under the impression that it is
the hand that thieves it.



And so it goes while O'Brien, Corish, O'Leary and Keating provide the Coalition with a nice Social Democratic veneer the real decisions are made by Cosgrave's men. It remains to be seen whether or not that veneer will wear a bit thin now that the Presidential election is over.

DON'T FORGET OUR FUND!

Subs to
The Editor,
14 Parliament Street,
Dublin 2

NEXT MONTH

TAKE-OVERS:

A THREAT TO JOBS

JOHN WILLIAM HOSEY, 22-year-old son of John Hosey, Snr., convenor at Triumph Motors, Coventry, is on trial alongside five other prisoners in Pretoria, South Africa, after suffering six months solitary confinement. He is charged with distributing anti-white leaflets and attempting to make contact with a "terrorist". He has been subjected to brutal ill-treatment by the South African police. Already in England over 40 Labour Councillors, Aldermen and M.P.s William Wilson and Leslie Huckfield have expressed "grave concern" to the Ambassador of the Union of South Africa over the trial.

JOHN WILLIAM HOSEY

is 23 years old and came with his family to Coventry from Ireland at the age of 11. He attended Whitley Abbey Comprehensive School and, on leaving, was employed by a Coventry Insurance Company, and continued his study as an Insurance Assessor. He moved to Birmingham in 1969 and, after some 12 months, went to London. As a member of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs, he was particularly successful in winning young people to the trade union movement. His father has been for many years a senior TGWU (NUVB) Shop Steward at Triumph Motors, Coventry.

HE IS CHARGED

under the South African Terrorism Act and is alleged

- (1) to have distributed anti-white, anti-State propaganda in Cape Town on 11th August, 1971;
- (2) on 28th October, 1972, to have attempted to communicate with a terrorist in Tongaat in order to deliver false documents, fictitious person his-

tories, false tax returns and 540 Rand.

SINCE HIS ARREST

in October 1972, he has been in solitary confinement, until his trial opened on Monday, 19th March, 1973, in Pretoria.

ALTHOUGH

arrested in October, his trial is being staged alongside five others—a naturalised Australian and four Black South Africans, who were arrested in July of that year on different charges. The whole trial is being presented as a "closely knit plot", yet the differing dates of arrest and the charges would seem to belie this.

IF CONVICTED

all face sentences of over five years or a possible death sentence.

DEMAND THE RELEASE OF JOHN WILLIAM HOSEY

DEMAND THE RELEASE OF THE OTHER FIVE

and the freeing of all political detainees and political prisoners held under South African repressive law.

DEMAND THE END OF APARTHEID

and the right for all South Africans—black or white—to form trade unions and democratic organisations.

CALL UPON

trade union executive bodies, the TUC and Labour Party to use their political influence in this just cause.

SEND PROTESTS AND DEMANDS

to the Ambassador, Africa House, Trafalgar Square, London.

EDUCATION

(From page 5)

since their school-going members are likely to be scattered over a large area and unable to avail of day-school facilities. Thus:

(iii) Boarding schools whose existence cannot be justified on the grounds indicated above should not be supported out of State funds.

I do not propose—for lack of space—to go into the question of the desirability of a sectarian school system or what constitutes a "Catholic" as opposed to a "Protestant" or "Jewish" education.

FACILITIES

(iv) The provision of certain facilities by every school must be made a condition of its right to exist within or without a State system. These must include: (a) A properly administered and adequately stocked library, containing not only books but records, tapes and film strips. (b) Adequate laboratory space for experiments by classes in physics, biology and chemistry, and a room set aside for the storage and exhibition of maps and geological samples. (c) Facilities for musical appreciation and basic instruction in piano, guitar and wind instruments must be available for pupils who want it. Similarly space and equipment must be available for instruction in the technique and appreciation of the visual arts.

FILMS

(d) Every school must have a film projector and films should be made available to schools free or at specially reduced rates. (e) A properly equipped stage should be regarded as a fundamental neces-

sity. (f) Properly maintained and administered language laboratories must be part of the basic equipment of every school.

(v) Text books must be available for loan by the schools to all primary school children and secondary level students. The State must be responsible for the purchase and maintenance of these stocks of books.

(vi) School councils ought to be established in every school in which councils student representatives from each level of the school should have a voice, as well as all the teachers.

(vii) Proper remedial classes must be available in each school area to meet the needs of pupils with special difficulties in reading, etc.

ESSENTIAL CHANGES

These proposals are modest enough, yet they must sound wildly idealistic and utopian to many school managers and headmasters in Ireland today. Until, however, these basic requirements are met our educational system cannot truly be said to be either educational or systematic. It will continue on one level to offer a pauper's education to the many while lavishing too much of its resources on the already privileged. Worthy souls like Minister Richard Burke will find that the post of Minister for Education is no more than a joke played by party leaders on eager young politicians itching to get their hands on ministerial office. It is a job that nobody can do well, or even at all, until the whole question of Irish education is taken seriously by the major parties. There is no sign that they have even begun to do so yet.

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THE NORTHERN CONFLICT AND BRITISH POWER, by Jack Bennett. Irish Sovereignty Movement, price 15p.

Jack Bennett's pamphlet sets out to demolish the myth that there was ever an "independent" state in the 6 counties. He proves by quotation from the relevant Westminster Acts that Britain was always in total control of the 6 counties.

The White Paper has now openly stated this. In this the pamphlet plays a very positive role, particularly if the message can be got across to those people in the North who are supporting the various shades of Unionism.

In dealing with the "two nations" theory he effectively demonstrates that the only difference in the North is religious, so this theory is only another form of sectarianism.

Towards the end of the pamphlet, unfortunately, there are some rather ambiguous formulations which can do more harm than good.

Firstly he takes a side-swipe at alleged labour and left wing forces who, he states, in the sixties were drawing up programmes for a "Socialist Stormont". The two programmes drawn up by the Communist movements, North and South, in those years certainly did not contain any such formulation. They called for progressive Governments, North and South, as

the first step to unification. Jack himself, at that time, was violently opposed to the conception of unity of the anti-Unionist forces as the first step to smashing Unionism. This idea didn't prove too unsuccessful with the Civil Rights movement.

This is only a small point, but his treatment of the Unionist population is rather alarming. Take, for instance, this on the "determination" of the Protestants to remain "British".

"... should Britain decide otherwise, it is difficult to imagine what degree of determination would enable them to remain British in any realistic sense, unless that determination included the ability to row a boat"

There is a very strong whiff here of the backward "let them go back to Scotland" brigade, which comes strangely from one who has just demonstrated that there is only one nation in Ireland

On page 18 we find: "There are universally recognised and accepted democratic demands. The six-county majority has consistently been led into taking a reactionary stand in opposition to them."

Coupled with the final statement that the majority in the North must be given "the ultimate shock of the ultimate democratic demand" (British withdrawal) one is left with the feeling that the way to Irish unity lies through the coercion of our Protestant fellow-countrymen.

EDITORIAL

LAW AND ORDER

THIS is a law and order Government" says the Minister for Defence, Mr. Donegan, echoing Mr. Cosgrave. It's worth while taking a look at this phrase since it is used as a kind of code by conservative politicians.

In the U.S. "law and order" means keeping the black militants in their place. It was also used against the anti-Vietnam war movement. Those most in favour of "law and order" have now turned out to have had no respect for either.

Mr. Heath is another great "law and order" man. As far as Britain is concerned this means bashing the trade unions. In Northern Ireland it means protecting British interests and holding on to the area. It means keeping the minority in its place.

This is the most significant fact about the use of the phrase by our Government Ministers. What it means, in fact, is increased co-operation with British imperialism. It is an open secret that it was British

Intelligence in full co-operation with the Irish Government, which masterminded the seizure of the *Claudia*. Mr. Donegan's attempt to make it appear as a dramatic coup carried out by himself was only a piece of theatre.

A British officer, interviewed on UTV, revealed that there is close co-operation between the British Army and the Gardai in the Border areas.

We are utterly opposed to the present campaign of violence in the North but this form of co-operation with Britain means nothing less than making this country a junior partner in the manoeuvres of imperialism.

The attempt now being made at various levels, and dealt with in other articles in this issue, to present Britain as playing a positive role for peace in Ireland, is wildly at variance with the facts.

Far from scaling down military operations the British Army in the North is engaged in an unprecedentedly savage

campaign, both open and underground. Torture, blackmail, murder and a reckless disregard for civilian life are the deliberate policies now being pursued.

British policy in the North is two-pronged. On the one hand the creation of a political facade which will look more respectable than the old, openly sectarian Unionism. To create this the Tories need, and are getting, the full co-operation of the Southern Government.

The second prong is the military campaign which is not aimed just at the Provos but, as has been shown by the savage on-the-spot shooting of other anti-Unionists, is aimed at breaking up any potentially revolutionary forces.

Co-operation with Britain in this policy will inevitably lead to a situation where in the name of "law and order" democratic liberties in the South, too, will be curtailed.

It's time the Labour Movement woke up to what's going on.

This is, of course, a completely non-class analysis. The workers of many capitalist countries have been denounced from the same ultra-left viewpoint.

But what about Wolfe Tone's conception of the unity of all the

Irish people as the "means" to break the connection with England? This remains the only basis upon which Irish independence can be achieved.

Jack Bennett nowhere gives the slightest hint as to how he thinks

his objectives can be won.

This then is, in many ways, a useful pamphlet but one which reveals a certain amount of the confusion which arises from a complex situation.

A. RAFTERY.

THE TRUTH ABOUT PORTLAOISE PRISON

THE following letter was received by the Committee for Prison Reform on Friday, May 18. The writer, Simon O'Donnell, was one of the first secretaries of the Portlaoise Prisoners' Union, until he was transferred to the Curragh Detention Camp.

Dear Sir,

It was amusing to hear the Governor of Portlaoise Prison on Radio Eireann on May 6. After emphatically stating that there was no Prisoners' Union in Portlaoise, he then went on to describe how it was formed by "subversives" and how later, one of its top officials resigned. He alleged that the "subversives" who formed the (imaginary) Union, did so without the permission of the other prisoners.

To avoid further inaccuracies and confusion, I would like to take this opportunity to clarify a number of facts.

The Prisoners' Union was formed after a meeting in the prison yard on the last Sunday of January 1973. It was a development of the Prisoners' Committee, formed in November 1972. This Committee was responsible for the peaceful demonstration for reform in the prison at that time. This resulted in what can only be described as animalism by the Prison authorities and Visiting Committee who put 79 men on bread and water for 57 days, among other things.

On the morning the Union was formed, an emergency committee was picked there and then, pending elections which were held later the following week. This committee consisted of a President, two Secretaries and eight Shop Stewards. 87 prisoners joined the Union that morning. These in-

cluded myself and one other member of the "British and Irish Communist Organisation" (a legal political organisation) and two prisoners who had sympathies with the Official Sinn Féin. No other prisoner who was a member of a political organisation (legal or otherwise) joined the Union—or had joined it up to the time I left the prison on March 23.

Note should be taken that prior to the formation of the Union, fights among prisoners were frequent. They are not discouraged by the Prison authorities, who find it convenient to have prisoner fighting prisoner. After the formation of the Union, however, these had almost ceased to exist.

Elections were held the following week and two of the shop-stewards originally picked were replaced. Later the President of the Union resigned because of intimidation and a new President, Noel Lynch, was elected. Five other prisoners out of the original 87 resigned up to March because of intimidation by the prison authorities. Despite this and verbal promises to transfer prisoners who resigned to Mountjoy or Cork prisons, the Union numbered 93 men on March 23.

The Union was formed to direct attention, by peaceful means, to the feudal conditions existing in Portlaoise, and to ensure that prisoners, particularly those who are easily intimidated or illiterate would have somebody capable of representing their interests. (For example, all prisoners are entitled to one visit and two outgoing letters per week. Many of the more backward prisoners in Portlaoise were being denied this up to the time I left.)

While the authorities were aware that the Union was a peaceful

body, attempts were made by a small minority of Prison officers to provoke a riot by continuous petty harassment such as putting prisoners on report for not making up their beds properly, etc. The reason for this (provoking a riot) was to put the prisoners in a bad light before the public.

The Governor refused to recognise the Union or meet anyone as a representative of the prisoners. On more than one occasion he walked out of his office when H. Meenan (Secretary) went in representing prisoners and left him there staring at the walls. Yet the very same Governor saw Meenan as a representative of political prisoners (subversives in his words), as did he always see representatives of the Provos, Saor Eire, etc.—all representing no more than eight men. The Union shop-stewards represented the majority of prisoners. In other words, ordinary prisoners could not have a representative unless they became "subversives".

Interviewed on the same programme he stated that the Visiting Committee were there to look after the grievances of the prisoners and that they had the full confidence of the prisoners. In Portlaoise this was not true. That Committee told me in early January that "we are only here to give out punishment" and except for very rare occasions, the only time a prisoner saw them was when he was on report. That meant he was given bread and water by them unless he had no stomach or an equally serious medical complaint.

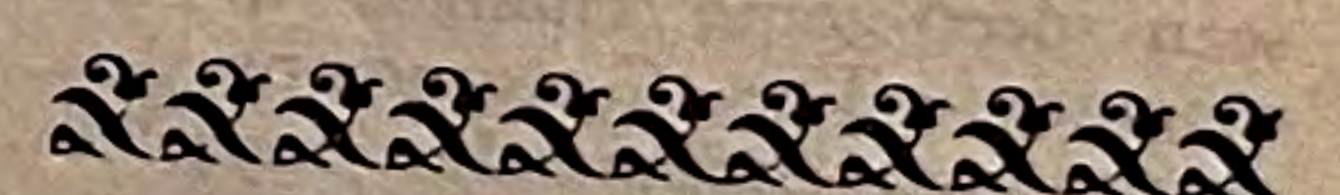
One last point worthy of comment was Mr. Cooney's concern for the privacy of the prisoners when answering a question as to whether a prisoner could see a

news reporter while in prison. This is a good thing to have and I now hope that he stops officers listening to a prisoner's conversations on visits. Up to recently in Portlaoise, two officers listened-in on a prisoner's visit. (The person who undertakes such a despicable act as this for a few pounds a week, is unworthy of comment.) This uncivilised procedure is responsible for the break-up of marriages (guaranteed protection by our most Catholic Constitution) and engagements of many prisoners, which in turn leads to nervous breakdowns, etc. The reason for this is that no prisoner can discuss the intimate problems, etc., that arise with his wife or fiancée, while he is in prison. If he does, a stranger who knows other strangers, knows about his problems. That means that he is going around with an inferiority complex towards the officers who are, as far as he is concerned, having a good laugh about him in their "local". This alone is enough to give a sensitive prisoner a mental breakdown. Rarely, of course, will a prisoner discuss any private problem that arises. They grow therefore, and probably break up his marriage. Result is still the same—mental breakdown and anyone who suffers a mental breakdown is not on the statistics because only a small proportion of the more violent ones are transferred to Dundrum. The rest are left in the prison—until they leave there, not as they came in, and possibly with their marriages wrecked.

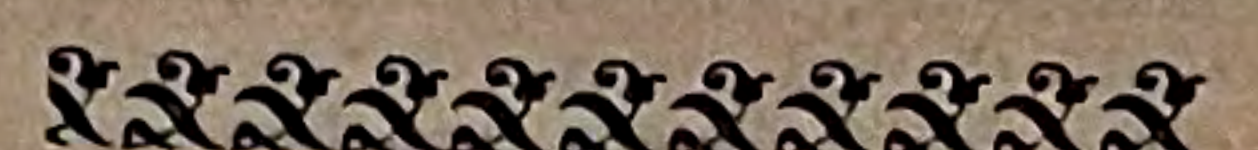
The reason for this barbarism is given as "Security". All that need be said about that is, if the prisons are not "secure" it is not the prisoner's responsibility and no reason as to why he or his mar-

riage should suffer. The real reason appears to be that he may talk about the prison. Why should he want to do that, one wonders? Is there something to hide from the public, something worse than a "Watergate", which must be covered up at all costs?

Signed:
SIMON O'DONNELL,
ex-Secretary
Portlaoise Prisoners' Union.



THIS
IS
YOUR
PAPER:
IF
YOU
KNOW
OF AN
INJUSTICE
WRITE
TO US



CHILE DEFEATS THE MONOPOLIES

THE election of Salvador Allende, candidate of the Popular Unity Alliance in the September 4th elections (1970) had wide reverberations in political parties and organisations all over the world. The important fact is that for the first time in history a Marxist has been elected within the framework of the capitalist system, and it is an important signpost in the political, ideological development of revolutionary consciousness throughout the world.

It shows that in the course of the world-wide battle between capitalism and socialism, between the imperialist system and the social forces fighting for socialism, national emancipation, peace and social progress, the reactionary forces of imperialism are its allies were rebuffed.

This victory was the result of correct application of Marxism in the specific conditions of Chile. In analysing the factors that went into the election success, political commentators are at one in declaring that the organisational ability of Chilean Communists and Socialists played a major part in building this broad and powerful popular front, raising the class consciousness of the people, strengthening its alliance with the peasantry and forging unity with other progressive forces.

DIFFERENT PATHS

Also the Chilean Communists and Socialists have provided corroboration of the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolutionary paths and have thereby dealt a telling blow to the dogmatic and adventurist theories of the ultra-lefts, who say that armed struggle is the only one. These people fail to understand the many roads to revolution that are possible in a world where the balance of forces has decisively shifted to socialism.

The Chilean experiment is important not only to Chile but to all democratic Socialists throughout the world. Here is a Government trying to institute Socialism through constitutional means. It therefore should be supported by all Left-wing Socialists. Allende is a mature Marxist who understands the necessity and the power of mass struggle.

He said: "The lesson is that each country has its own particular circumstances, and it is in the light of those circumstances that we must act. There is no set formula."

NATIONALISATION

Now, the past two years have seen deep-going changes in the economy. The Government has nationalised copper, the imperialist-owned Anaconda and Kennecott companies, saltpetre and iron-ore mines, the Hauchipato steel mills, the local subsidiary of the American and Foreign Power Company, and also the big foreign export and import firms. It has expropriated the Chilean Branch of the International Telephone Co.

The nationalisation of copper was done with very little compensation. The big American companies had extracted enormous profit, and the Chilean people were being bled white as a result. Of decisive importance is that all this had the majority support of the working people for Government measures. As a result of the economic reforms, income from nationalised mines, State banks, and enterprises in the agrarian reform zone and the State sector in industry is being used in the interests of the people and the country.

MONOPOLIES

No longer does it go to the monopolies. The Government has re-distributed income in favour of the working people, has increased their purchasing capacity and

stimulated full capacity production. A major problem was that the U.S. had cut off all credits for Chile after the nationalisation of the copper companies leading to a need to find new trading partners for Chilean products.

Ninety per cent of Chilean trade used to be with the U.S. Therefore there has been considerable expansion in trade with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. They have granted Chile \$463 million in credits, of which the U.S.S.R. gave \$259 million. Chile is also receiving valuable scientific and technical assistance from these countries, with which it is developing also political and cultural ties. There has been a fundamental change in foreign policy.

CUBA

Chile has restored diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba, broken off in 1964 under U.S. pressure, and established relations with a number of other countries. One must remember that this Government inherited a colossal foreign debt, about \$4,000 million. Agriculture has for decades been in a state of stagnation and crisis. Industrial plant is obsolete. Rail, road and sea transport are poorly developed. Port facilities are inadequate. There are not enough grain storage facilities and so on. All this nationalisation is being carried out against a background of sabotage, flight or expert personnel, cessation of U.S. imports of spare parts and a U.S. embargo on goods already paid for.

AGRARIAN REFORM

When the agrarian reform programme began the big ranch-owners drove nearly 250,000 head of cattle to Argentina, more slaughtered their herds in order to sabotage the Government's plans. Then there was an acute shortage of farm machinery, the refusal of the U.S. monopolies to sell fertilisers and extend credit. All these difficulties notwithstanding, the Allende Government has expropriated over 1,300 landed estates and in the 18 months from November 1970 to May 1972 they expropriated and distributed to peasant families about 5 million hectares; big land-owners lost more than 835,000 out of the 1,250,000 hectares of irrigated land, which accounts for 60 per cent. of aggregate farm output. The Government established control over the sale of meat and set up procurement agencies to stop or restrict speculation.

With 90 per cent of banking under its control, the Government has been able to grant credits to a much larger number of small and middle farmers in the agrarian reform zone and other parts of the country. Contracts have been concluded for 10,000 tractors and trailer implements, including 6,000 from the Socialist countries. Annual growth of farm output has increased from 2.5 to 5.8 per cent. The aim is to accelerate, intensify and broaden the agrarian reform process, emphasising the development of co-operative ownership, with some State farms if necessary. Rural workers will do the planning and execution of agrarian reform programmes. The point of all this was to equalise land holdings, and introduce productive methods of agriculture in Chile.

RELIGION

The revolution has not interfered with the religious freedom of the people. The Church leaders have kept their hands out of politics. The Cardinal of Santiago has been instrumental in cooling off some of the middle-class strikers during the October disturbance by issuing an appeal "to avert the terrible calamity of internecine war". He spoke of "the need to respect the law and its norms, its institute and power, with all its merits and shortcomings". The reasons for the disturbances came from factions who opposed Allende's reforms. Chile has a large middle-class of professional, big and small shopkeepers and others who reacted in panic to the idea of Socialism. Many have been salting away their money in foreign accounts, but the working-class is sticking solidly behind the Government.

ARMY

The other major conservative institution in Latin America is usually the Army, but Chile is also fortunate enough to have an Army which respects legality. The officers are like officers everywhere. They are conservative but they have a tremendous respect for the constitution and will stick by Allende because he was legally elected by the people. General Prats, Commander-in-Chief of ground forces, issued a strongly-worded statement saying that "in spite of the tensions and pressures generated by the present situation in Chilean society, the armed forces and the police will remain calm, conscious of their professional duty and the interests of the nation".

PRESS

The Press is divided and most of the most powerful organs are owned by the Edwards family which is dedicated to the Capitalist system. Papers like "El Mercurio" are conducting a scurrilous campaign against the Government and President Allende in particular. The opposition newspapers are as follows: "El Mercurio", "La Prensa" (Right Wing), "La Tercera" (Right Wing Radical), "Las Ultimas Noticias" (owned by El Mercurio), "La Segunda" (owned by El Mercurio) and "La Tribuna" (owned by the National Party).

The Government Press is "La Nacion", "El Seglo" (owned by the Communist Party), "Clarín" (Left Wing), "Las Noticias de Ultima Hora" (Socialist owned), "Puro Chile" (Communist Party).

MASS MEDIA

The Rightists hold strong positions in the Radio and the Press. They use them to spread panic, lie to the people, vilify the Government and the President of the Republic. An anti-Government television programme has been banned and measures have been taken against radio stations known for their inflammatory broadcasts.

The American Press speak about civil turmoil, starvation, barricades in the streets and riots, instead you have a Government and a people committed to the creation of a Socialist society by peaceful, legal and Chilean methods. The best example of this was at an impressive pageant to honour the homecoming of the famous Chilean Communist poet, Pablo Neruda, a Nobel Prize winner.

It showed the unity of the army and police with the aspirations of the people. The army band played Tchaikovsky's 1812 Overture, complete with an artillery display at the climax. Students, workers and military units paraded

past Neruda and Vice-President Prats on the reviewing stand, while 50,000 people in the stands applauded. Student groups acted out episodes from Neruda's life, and recited some of his poetry.

UNIONS

About 1,000,000 workers in about 80 unions which make up the Central Union of Workers, which acts as a super-lobby on behalf of working people. They develop, through discussions, policies, etc., and pass their decisions to the Government.

They are not part of the Government but support its revolutionary measures. The working class is exerting an increasing influence on the reorganisation of society. And there are vast opportunities for the workers to share in industrial management.

Committees are being set up to promote higher production and productivity.

Trade unions are taking hold in farming areas and already have about 300,000 members in this sector.

The first co-operatives have been started in the agrarian reform zone, also a number of State farms, farming machinery depots and Peasant Councils which share in drafting and carrying out Government policy at all levels. The workers feel overwhelmingly that the Government had improved their lives and now feel that they have a share of the power as the Allende Government in fact owes its election to working people.

REACTIONARY FORCES

The C.I.A. are active. North American imperialism and the extreme Right in Chile tried to prevent the Popular Unity victory in 1970. The world press has published secret documents of the C.I.A. One of the organisers of the abortive coup in March 1942, retired Major Arturo Marshall, fled to Bolivia and at a press conference there revealed the plan to overthrow the Allende Government.

No ruling class anywhere in the world is going to give up its power without a struggle, especially if they are backed by powerful outside capitalist forces, and Chile is no exception.

Communists are only too well aware that the forces of reaction and imperialism in Chile and beyond it, still have at their command ways to prevent the Chilean people from taking over political power and introducing sweeping revolutionary changes. That much is evident from the high pressure campaign of slander and intimidation.

tion started by the Latin American, the U.S. and some Western press organs, the monopolies are concerned for the fate of their Chilean investments.

But the fact remains that the vast majority of the Chilean people have cast their vote for revolutionary change. It happened in Guatemala and the C.I.A. were successful in keeping the banana republic a home fit for the United Fruit Company to make its profits. But this time world public opinion is closely watching reactionary and imperialist intrigue.

The Presidents of Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia have expressed their solidarity with the Popular Unity Alliance, and so have many statesmen, political and public leaders throughout Latin America.

The American monopolies, which formerly dominated Chile's economy, are now doing their utmost to frustrate that country's social and economic reforms.

They are trying to pave the way for restoration of the old order and to regain their lost position. Well to the fore of these attempts are the Kennecott Copper Corporation and Anaconda Copper Mining.

BOYCOTT

In January of this year Kennecott won an action in a Hamburg court for sequestration of 3,000 tons of Chilean copper shipped there. Last September the same concern managed to get an embargo placed on a large consignment of Chilean copper bought by France, though the Paris court later had to reverse its decision. They also tried, unsuccessfully, to stop sales of Chilean copper to Sweden and Italy. The idea is primarily to close West European markets to Chilean copper and draw West European countries into an economic war against Chile.

That is a flagrant violation of international law which forbids interference in other countries' internal affairs. It is ridiculous to claim that nationalisation of the copper mines by Dr. Allende's Government is unlawful. It is a constitutional act by a sovereign state which nobody has the right to dispute.

Neither the millions of dollars of the North American companies that previously controlled Chile's copper, nor Rightist threats of armed terror, nor the rabid propaganda campaign could break the people's resolve to see the country of Caupolican, O'Higgins, Gabriel Mistral and Pablo Neruda run by a Left Government.

The Chilean experience is an object lesson that the united front of the working class and people is well in a position to defeat the monopolies politically.

Communist Party of Ireland

I WANT TO JOIN

NAME

ADDRESS

To the Secretary, 37 Pembroke Lane, Dublin 4.

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