

# REPUBLICAN EDUCATIONAL BULLETIN

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## EDITORIAL

The purpose of this publication, which will be circulated in all branches of the movement, is to help carry out the task of educating the membership in the social, economic and political objectives of the Republican movement.

A Social and Economic Programme is in the course of preparation. This document is written at two levels:

1. what a 32 county Republican government would do in order to enable the Irish people to live a full life
- and 2. what steps can be taken IMMEDIATELY, within the existing framework, to stop the erosion of our national cultural, social and economic life by the forces of British imperialism.

It is with teaching the members of the movement how to work within the present framework, in such a way as to erode the basis for its existence, that this publication will be concerned.

Let us not be misunderstood. We are not advocating any form of compromise. What we are doing is recognising the need to forge links with the Irish people and help them obtain their immediate needs, thus establishing ourselves as their recognised leaders in ALL areas of human activity.

### Firm basis.

By these means we are breaking from our relative isolation and are establishing a firm basis for the national liberation movement of the future.

By extending our influence in this way we are making possible the completion of our task with the full and open support of a very substantial and irresistible section of the Irish people, namely Wolfe Tones 'men of no property'. For it is the 'men of property', at all stages of history, who have recoiled from the completion of the Irish national liberation and have made lucrative deals with the foreigner.

### Traditional role.

When we speak in this way, we understandably raise questions in the minds of that solid body of Republican supporters, the small farmers. The latter likes, perhaps, to think of himself as a 'man of property'. Insofar as he is beguiled by talk of better agricultural prices under 'Free Trade' with the U.K.,



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he is indeed acting out the traditional role of the 'man of property'.

However, we are confident that few small farmers, who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, and whose income from their 'property' is only what they can scrape together by toil, will fall for this. They will look at the great Free Trade areas of the world in vain for their own likeness. They will realise that they as a body will be absorbed into new industry, and that under Free Trade conditions industry in Ireland will no more be able than it was in Famine times to absorb the surplus labour from the land in that grim epoch.

CONFERENCES.

The main content of this issue of the Bulletin is a report on two recent conferences sponsored by the Republican Education Centre - the first on Trade Unionism and the second on Agricultural Co-operation.

CONFERENCE ON TRADE UNIONISM.

This conference was held in late January and experts lectured on Economics for Trade Unionists, Trade Union Structure, The Law and Trade Unions and the part which Republicans can play in Trade Unions.

The lecture "Economics for Trade Unionists" was given by Dr. Roy Johnston and was as follows:

The science of Economics deals with the relationships men enter into with each other in order to produce goods to satisfy a demand.

Economics, though a science, is not as objective as other branches of science. This is because it deals with situations where real conflict of interest can occur. The Economic theory which governed the actions of the British government in 1846 regarding the Famine regarded the depopulation of Ireland as natural. Economic theory extant in Britain in 1931 cut the dole allegedly to 'defend the pound'. The Economic theory governing European thinking at present regards as natural concentration of capital and migration of labour from the ends of the earth to serve capital in large centres of population.

Thus it may be stated:

1. Economic Theory is liable to make incorrect abstractions due to concern with special interests.
2. Economic theory as taught in the universities usually serves the political establishment.
3. It follows that: Every nation or social grouping seeking to gain freedom must make its independent theoretical attempt to understand the economic world, and must regard orthodoxy of its own establishment or the orthodoxy of other nations, even



## Economics for Trade Unionists (contd.)

revolutionary nations, with complete scepticism.

Having said this, let us try and begin.

The basic unit of economic life is the firm. This consists of capital (money) which is used to buy plant, labour (including management), transport, market outlets, goodwill etc. Management and ownership are distinct functions; they tend to separate. The owner dictates policy: he might say to management 'here is capital for a years operation, maximise the profit.' Or he might say 'serve the public and don't lose.' After a years operation a profit is declared on the overall operation. This is the property of the owners, despite the fact that the owner has had no function other than to put up the capital.

Economic orthodoxy tends to suggest that there is a necessary connection between ownership and management; that the owner of the capital in some way fulfills a useful function. This is a misconception. It is the capital itself that performs the function. The existence of a private owner associated with the capital who has power to dictate policy is the essential feature of one particular economic system known as capitalism.

#### Examine consequences

If Economic theory is to be any use to us we will have to use it to examine the consequences that accrue from this essential feature of capitalism.

It will be necessary to examine the consequences of a change in the ownership of capital: for example, a co-operative or the state.

Under capitalism there exists a basic conflict between the interests of the owners who want to maximise profits and the workers who want more wages for less work. There is also a basic contradiction inherent in a maximisation of profits policy: if this depends on holding wages down, the size of the home market is restricted, whence the need for exports. We will return to this.

#### Technical progress.

Suppose we are the owners and we want the system to stay working what modification of the crude 'maximum profits by cutting wages' policy are open to us?

As an individual owner we can introduce technical progress by improving the plant or employing new techniques or streamlining the managerial structure. This will give us more profits with the same wages. We will be able to reduce our prices and under-sell our competitors, putting them out of business or bankrupting them and buying them out. This gives rise to the process of concentration of ownership. Consequences of this process, which is fundamental to capitalism, are concentration of population, decline of the smaller centres etc.

He may also decide to sit down with his fellow-owners, as the state or in some state organ, and work out an incomes policy that will reconcile the contradictory interests of the individual



## Economics for Trade Unionists (contd.)

and the nation, selling this to the unions if he can. This however is secondary; the basic process is concentration of ownership.

The rate at which concentration takes place is determined by the size of the economic unit in which there is mobility of labour and capital. In the case of Ireland this unit has always been the British Isles. The concentration process therefore has involved the buying up of Irish firms by British interests.

Control of Trade to go

The role of the semi-independent state in the 26 counties has been to attempt to impose some control on this concentration process by controlling trade, by controlling the percentage of foreign ownership, and by intervening in the economy itself.

It has acted as a government of small businessmen would, under pressure from voters. It has not been successful. The significance of the First and Second Programmes of Economic Expansion is that control on ownership has been lifted; now under Free Trade control of Trade is to go also. This is capitulation. We now form a part of the U.K. as regards Economics.

Consider this from the point of view of Trade. In the event of failure to balance the trade, cash flow must occur. There is a net inward cash flow of emigrants money, interest on foreign investments and foreign capital.

Any increase in purchasing power by the Irish people results in increased demand for imports, increases the costs associated with production and reduces the competitiveness of Irish goods on the British market.

Powerful Arguments

These are powerful arguments which the employers can use against the Trade Unionists when they ask for a rise. Within the present system they are practically unanswerable.

Further, any wage rise in a particular industry puts a number of smaller firms out of business, speeding the concentration process, which in this case means emigration to Britain.

The classic of this process is the farm-workers, who are now a vanishing race.

There are three paths open to the Trade Union movement:

- 1) to accept the owners arguments and to capitulate. This we reject for obvious reasons;
- 2) to continue to demand wage increases on an industrial basis in the traditional manner. This is the sure road to further economic decline;
- 3) to demand wage increases and at the same time to act in such a way as to forestall the adverse national consequences of the concentration process.

The raising of the demands of the Trade Union movement above the level of mere wages is the central problem. We need to consider possible methods.

Consider first defensive methods.

In the event of a wage-rise or free trade conditions putting a firm out of business, the Trade Union movement should say 'not



## Economics for Trade Unionists (contd.)

an inch' as regards loss of jobs, by two methods:

- 1) demanding that the state take over the assets, at bankruptcy prices, and
- 2) organise workers and working management into a producers co-op to lease the buildings and plant.

A CO-OP WOULD BE VIABLE UNDER CONDITIONS OF PROFITABILITY THAT A PRIVATE OWNER WOULD NOT TOLERATE.

The I.T. & G.W.U. is considering this in relation to the Castlecomer mines.

T.U. Leaders lack theoretical understanding

Opposition to the Free Trade Agreement would have counted as a defensive measure; this the unions failed to do. We have to conclude that the present trade union leadership lacks theoretical understanding of the national aspects of economics.

To counter this situation, there is need for active study of national economic questions by the Trade Union movement, to develop a theoretical understanding of such a nature as to base an offensive policy directed at getting actual control over the national economy, as part of the national liberation movement.

Study groups.

A step towards this would be the initiation of study groups under Trade Union auspices to examine means of controlling the balance of payments problem other than credit squeeze and wage restraint. Such a study group might be set up as a result of an Annual Congress resolution.

An outcome of such a study group would be the demand that a 32 county separate currency be established, devalued relative to sterling. This demand CAN ONLY COME on a 32 county basis, and would only be taken seriously if it had the weight of the Trade Union movement behind it, advancing the correct arguments and exposing the mythology. This would force Lemass and O'Neill to consider constructive measures against their own interests.

Why is this a good measure?

It has been separately proposed on separate occasions for the 6 counties and the 26 counties (respectively by Isles & Cuthbert and by Busteed). Carried out separately in either case it would divide the country further and would present insuperable control problems due to the long land frontier.

Carried out on a 32 county basis it would have the following beneficial effects:

- 1) It would separate the 'volume of credit' question from the 'balance of payments' question, enabling the former to be expanded until all resources were allocated.
- 2) It would stimulate investment in Ireland to produce for the home market: imports would be dear and home industry could easily compete.
- 3) Exports would be cheap and therefore competitive.
- 4) Insofar as the workers consume Irish goods their standard of life would be unaltered. The balance of payments argument could no longer be used against wage demands, and substantial rises would be possible.
- 5) It would draw together the two parts of the economy.



## Economics for Trade Unionists (contd.)

The initiation of study along these lines under trade union auspices would lay the theoretical basis for the trade union movement to develop into a national revolutionary force, using its unique 32 county strength.

It is worth mentioning that with parity the only methods available for dealing with an adverse balance of trade are:

- a) Encouraging emigration to get the remittances.
- b) Encouraging tourism.
- c) Having a low wages policy.
- d) Having a high wages policy but allowing a differential unemployment rate.

(End)

The Part which Republicans can play:

LEADERS ON THE JOB.

A good political leader is not a leader only in his off hours, on a Sunday, or when the call to the flag comes. He gives leadership to others all the time. In whatever sphere of activity he meets other men he has something to say to them on their problems; he shows them a way forward, sets an example, steps into the gap when there is a job to be done. And the most important day-to-day activity of men is earning their bread in their work, their job, their occupation.

Sunburstery and rhetoric

Republicans are not giving leadership if they are not leaders "on the job" whenever they have an opportunity of being so. They are the ones who know that the root cause of our political and economic problems is British imperialism in Ireland.

But it is not any use talking about this in the abstract. People are not taken in nowadays by sunburstery and rhetoric about "freedom". They have had decades of that from Fianna Fail and know it for a sham.

People need to be shown how British imperialism in Ireland affects them. Imperialism has several aspects. Its political aspect is Partition and the puppet Stormont regime. Its military aspect is the British troops in the North, the RUC and Specials. Its economic aspect is the organisation of our economy in Britain's interests rather than in Ireland's - as shown by the Free Trade Agreement, the take-over bids, the playing down of state enterprise, the shut-downs and amalgamation of firms, the growth of big business linked up with foreign companies at the expense of small.

Connection

Most people don't see how these different things are different aspects of the one thing - of Britain's domination and Ireland's disunity and weakness. It is the job of republicans to show them how, to show them the connection between the struggle for jobs, security, and good conditions and the struggle for a free united Ireland. If republicans fail to do this, the people will not be with them when the time comes to oppose the political or military aspects of imperialism. The people will stand back perplexed and unsure. And without the people, the most heroic efforts are so much vanity.



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Leaders on the Job (contd.)

This is where the trade unions come in. For the trade unions are the basic organisations of the people in the towns and cities of Ireland. What are they unions of? They are unions of Irish men and women in defence of their common interests. People working side by side on a job, in a factory, an office, a shop, inevitably have common interests. They want to keep as much as they can of the wealth they produce, they want to have security, decent conditions of work, a say in how their place is run. Trade unions exist to fight for these; but they need not stop there. For people also have a common interest in keeping their business open, in having an economy run in the interests of the people and not of the profiteer, the take-over-bidder and the foreign investor. They have an interest in an independent country. The mighty power of the trade union movement can be used to achieve these ends- if it has leaders who stand for ALL the interests of their members and not for their short-term needs alone.

When a man is victimised or sacked his fellow union members down tools and strike to get him reinstated. When the employer refuses a wage increase, the union of the men is a power which extracts it. Yet when the Government, representing the interests of the rich and the wealthy, who want to sell out the country and live on the proceeds, sign a Free Trade Agreement, they do nothing! Can they not see beyond their noses? Are they blind?

Hard work.

Leadership of the people's organisations is not won overnight. It is done by hard, persevering, conscientious work. Leadership of the trade union movement will only be won by republicans in this way. There is nothing glamorous in organising in your workplace for a clean washroom, for safety guards on machinery, for service pay for older workers, for shorter hours of work, or an extra sixpence an hour's pay. The work of a shop-steward or trade union official is not dramatic. But it is the only way to get the confidence of the people you work with, so that you are listened to and followed when you show them how the struggle for economic freedom can succeed only if it is accompanied by the struggle for political freedom.

Republicans in our factories, shops and offices must be in trade unions. If their place isn't organised, then they should bring in the union. They must not only be union members, they should be good trade unionists. They should know their union rule book, attend their branch meetings regularly, study and speak up on the problems of their workmates, come forward to act on branch committees and as shop-stewards, and do well all the work which so many others do no incompetently, for kudos, small gains, or petty careerism.

If this is done it will not be long before a new republican spirit will begin to flame in the Irish trade union movement. It could have historic consequences, as it had before. It will be taking up where Connolly left off on his untimely death, and making sure that the labour movement is not - as it was in 1921 when the revolution was betrayed - a passive spectator of what was happening, but an active participant on the side of the Republic, in the work of completing the revolution.

The task is formidable and the problems many. The purpose of this bulletin is to sort them out and help deal with them as they arise. We want you to write in and give us your opinions, tell us of your problems, the situation you are in at work, what you think can be done there. You can start building the new Ireland now - and here - and daily in your place of work as a trade union leader. Let us be at it!

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The Trade Union Structure.

Mr. S. Mac Grainne, a trade union official, in introducing his lecture on Trade Union Structure said;

"We should clearly understand that trade union organisation is based on the democratic system, in fact the free trade unions are the bulwark and external sign of a free economy.

In the trade unions the working man learns and sees democracy in action and is his school for democracy. The clearest definition of democracy has been given by the great American, President Lincoln, quote "Government of the people, for the people, by the people". Your union and branch is so organised and the rules ensure that the ordinary member governs. All authority is originally centred with the general body but as is obvious to all the general body as a whole cannot govern, such a position would be chaotic and impossible. So that different meetings are called each year to elect officers for a specified period. Provision is made within the rules to remove any official who does not carry out his duty in accordance with the rules.

It is the duty and responsibility of each member to select the people of integrity and proven ability to represent them and this can be done by attending regularly at meetings and keeping properly in touch with union affairs by observing those who are sincere and contribute in a constructive manner to the proceedings. The most popular and most vocal personality is not always the best man to hold a position of authority. If we are apathetic and do not attend meetings then it is no use kicking up a row later when things may go wrong. The general body has the power returned to them each year to elect a responsible team to represent them and if they do not exercise this right in the wisest manner then basically the fault is theirs.

Our trade union organisation is one of our most valuable possessions but like everything else in life we only get back in return as much as we put into it, in interest, work etc. We should realise that rules, regulations, structures and principles by themselves are dead inanimate things and that it is the human being who breathes the necessary life into them. Each individual upon joining a lawful society assumes duties which he is morally obliged to carry out. If he does not the weight is thrown on his fellow members, and he becomes no more than a parasite upon the living body. Our organisation is a living body which will either grow into a vital healthy organism or deteriorate into a sick ailing one."

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Agriculture co-op conference (CONTINUED FROM PAGE 12)

There was still some way to go as regards the participation of the factory workers in management; the seasonality of the work also poses problems. The Sugar Company had played a positive role as regards the marketing. In an area gone very far into decline there was often no one else to lead the people than the priest, it was to be expected that this pattern would repeat itself. The quality of Fr. McDyer's leadership was measured by the amount of ridicule and opposition he had successfully overcome.

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## CONFERENCE ON AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION

This educational conference took place on Sunday, January 30 and was attended by about twenty delegates from Tyrone, Armagh, Clare and Tipperary as well as people with rural backgrounds resident in Dublin. The nature of the attendance underlines the difficulty of attempting to organise conferences of this nature on a national basis; this was the last but one of the national educational conferences on the programme. Regional ones will be the rule from now on.

The following notes are an attempt to summarise what went on in order to help arouse interest in the regional conferences when they come off.

To start off, Dr. Roy Johnston outlined a few basic economic principles; the farm regarded as a business was subject to hardships and handicaps that few industrialists would tolerate. Like a business, a farm involved labour, management, ownership, sources of supply, markets. Unlike most industry, labour, management and ownership were under one cap. Also unlike industry, the small farm bought retail and sold wholesale. Seasonal price variations gave opportunity for speculators to deprive the primary produce of his profit. Small farms were declining at twice the rate forecast in the Second Programme. The decline of Irish agricultural population was the worst in Europe. Yet the small farmer, with money in his pocket, was an asset to the economy, in that he contributed to the home market for industry. In the mad rush for exports now fashionable it was usual to write off the potential of the home market.

### Decline can be resisted

Economic decline could be resisted by organising, for example marketing co-ops which would buy wholesale and sell retail, reversing the traditional structure. There was tremendous market potential for properly graded quality produce.

On social problems in rural areas, MISS AINE GLEESON of Ballymackey, Co. Tipperary made the following remarks, which are here reproduced in full:

"I have been asked to tell you something about the social problems which crop up in everyday life in rural Ireland. To understand the position in these areas one must first take a look at the people who live in them. Mostly they are small farmers who work anything from 10 acres to approximately 40 acres of land and eke out a living as best they can from these uneconomic holdings. Then you have the occasional gentleman farmer who owns a few hundred acres of land and has the capital to develop them to the fullest extent. Lastly you have the cotier who, strange as it may seem, is in many ways much better off than his small farmer friend.

"Social development in these areas has been slow. Yet every county has a Committee of Agriculture which maintains an advisory service and operates schemes designed to develop agriculture, and horticulture and to benefit rural dwellers as a whole. As well as these advisory services there are many grants available to the farmer and small-holder. For instance there are grants available for the construction, improvement and repair of practically every type of farm building for the installation of piped water and the laying of concrete paths. These grants are generous and in some



Agriculture Co-op conference (contd.)

cases cover up to two-thirds of the cost of the work undertaken. One would think that this would prove an incentive towards the construction of better farm buildings and that a piped water supply would be found in most rural areas but unfortunately this is not so. In these districts broken-down farmbuildings are prevalent and these add to the farmers' losses in stock and fodder. People with buckets may also be seen travelling as far as a mile to the local well to fetch water. Lack of mechanisation also causes much hardship in these areas for very few small farmers can afford to have their own machinery and the cost of contract work is very high.

Lack of Capital.

"The chief reason for this sad state of affairs is lack of capital and the great fear with which most rural dwellers regard the debt incurred through borrowing large sums of money. The educational services provided are not availed of, therefore the small farmer does not realise that he may borrow money on a long term basis from the Agricultural Credit Corporation or that he may obtain grants for practically every type of improvement he may wish to undertake. In many cases debts are incurred through family settlements then when one member of the family takes over debts are high relative to the existing farm income and therefore very little money is available for farm production. On these farms the need for an adequate development programme is essential. To achieve this local leadership is necessary; and for this leadership we look to such rural organisations as Muintir na Tire, Macra na Feirme, Macra na Tuaithe and Bantracht na Tuaithe. These organisations are doing much to better the social life of the people in districts where they are in existence. Macra na Feirme, for instance, includes in its programme a series of lectures, film shows, discussions and farm walks. As well as these activities debates and 'question-times' and socials are held. All these functions are playing an important role in furthering the education and brightening up the social lives of the people.

"Macra na Tuaithe, working in conjunction with Macra na Feirme, looks after the interests of the younger members of the rural community. The club leader helps these young people with their projects which vary from pig-rearing to beet-growing for boys and from poultry production to the decoration of rooms for girls. Leadership courses are held and in some places local history is studied.

The I.C.A.

"The Irish Countrywomen's Association is concerned with everything which will make life better and fuller for women especially in rural areas and villages. This organisation holds classes and gives demonstrations on all types of handicrafts. Country markets have been established and these provide a market for all horticultural produce, home-made jams, cakes and honey. This is of great help to the smallholder who often finds difficulty in selling his produce. The I.C.A. has also done much to promote the rural guesthouse scheme. This scheme does much to supplement the family income especially on farms where the house is large but the land poor. As well as these practical schemes, outings, question-times, debates and public speaking competitions are organised.

"With all these organisations one would expect that there is no lack of leadership and that one would find life in rural



Agriculture Co-op Conference (contd.)

Ireland well developed. But the fact is that the majority of the people regard these organisations as not for them and there is general apathy towards them.

"It is hard to say where the fault lies but the fact that most of these organisations are based in the local towns and that most of their meetings are held in hotels and you all know that no countryman feels at home in such plushy atmospheres. If a hall or even a room could be had in the area itself it would do much to bring the people into these organisations. They are also shy of those already in them as they are members of families and farmers who are fairly well situated financially. There is a lack of co-operation among the small farmers themselves and this also contributes to the low standard of rural living.

"As a result of this poor standard of living the marriage rate in these areas is very low. Most of the young girls on growing up leave for the bigger towns and cities. After they have lived a while in these places and enjoyed the bright lights and the social amenities they have to offer it is no surprise that they are not very anxious to marry farmers. They will remember their childhood and know the life they would have would be one of scrimping, scraping and drudgery. Apart from that you all know that the farmer does not cut a very romantic figure in most girls' eyes. For by the time he is in a position to marry he is usually approaching his middle years. All the women who would be around his own age are already married or have left the district and this leaves only the younger ones. These, when approached by the misfortunate farmer seeking a wife tell him, none too politely and sometimes brutally, to be on his way as they will have nothing to do with him.

"This does not help the rural situation and only adds to the apathy which has already been generated by years of oppression. To remedy this situation something must be done and done quickly or the people of rural Ireland will have vanished. The only way to stem the tide of emigration and the only method by which the small farmers can develop their holdings and that economically is by co-operation. Co-operation like all new ideas must be developed slowly and it must have leadership, a leadership that will earn the people's respect and trust, a leadership that is dynamic and constantly looking ahead. But most of all a leadership that weaves within its mind the two great principles of Christian charity and blazing patriotism. A leadership that is inspired by the sacrifice of the Cross on the one hand and the sacrifices of the men of 1916 on the other.

"Given this leadership, this local endeavour, this co-operation, the countryside will bloom and Ireland will be great once more."

IN discussion it emerged that it was possible by applying individually for the two-thirds grant for piped water and then combining to execute the job co-operatively, contributing labour, it was possible to do the job at no net cost.

Local examination.

It was decided to examine locally the possibility of organising voluntary contribution of engineering know-how and skilled labour from the towns for projects executed under conditions of genuine



## Agriculture Co-op conference (contd.)

co-operation. This if undertaken by the Republican movement in the rural towns would contribute materially to the success of the co-operative principle and would foster understanding between the movement and the people. The voluntary labour principle, it was considered, might be extended to the emergency saving of crops, but to be effective it would need to be tied up with a co-operative organising drive. The organisational details of this would need to be worked out by the movement in such a way no individual benefited from voluntary labour except through the co-operative. There was a tradition in the movement of Volunteers 'on the run' helping with the work on the farms temporarily supporting them. Could not this tradition be developed as part of the general activity of the movement?

An Armagh man, now working in Dublin, outlined the decline of his home farm, fifty acres, which in 1917 supported four. There was now one man only, thinking of taking a job. Sale of late hay, slowly saved by hand, was impossible against the produce of mechanised baling. Electricity in the North was not supplied to small farms; they insisted on a guaranteed large consumption. A pig co-op in Keady was giving out sows, fattening the bonhams and had a contract with the bacon factory.

A Tyrone man knew of a case near Omagh where in response to byre standards going up four men had combined to build jointly.

A Mayo scheme was mentioned where a portable milking machine served 7; one man doing all cows on one day per week. In North Tyrone a 'dole barrier' exists: increasing production gives no increased income. There was need to survey this area to see how big a problem this was. The Dole regulations had been changed in the 26 county rural areas, thanks to Fr. McDyer's agitation. This change had removed one of the greatest barriers to small-farm co-operation in the western depressed areas.

Many of the above points came from Mrs. Ethna Viney, of Comhar Linn, who also instanced a co-op in Mayo which had ramifications into local industry viz milling and quarrying. The nature of the protein in pig feed was very important for the grading of the pig; considerable technical knowledge was necessary and co-ops should be on their guard against feed with nominally correct analysis but lacking in the correct factors. It was possible to mill satisfactorily on a small scale locally, making use of analytical services provided by the state.

It emerged also in the discussion that some old-established co-ops had abandoned their principles, were run as pure businesses and even descended to sharp practice, as evidenced by F. Glynn of Galway who gave an example of a co-op subsidising fertiliser out of milk profits, in order to attract membership. The speaker also pointed out the existence of a management problem when it came to the co-operative ownership of machinery, suggesting that the individual contractor was in fact a good solution. It emerged in the subsequent discussion that the machinery contracting business was in fact over competitive, due to the ease of availability of hire purchase. Possible the scope for a co-operative here was between small contractors who together could provide a fully integrated service.

A letter from S. O'Heaney of Glencolumcille outlined some of the obstacles still to be overcome in that area, one of the principal problems being to get full participation in the scheme by all the shareholders, only slightly over half being involved at present although undoubtedly the old age of many members contributed to this, or the existence of a side-line such as weaving.

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