



# **THE WORKERS PARTY**

**PEACE WORK DEMOCRACY  
CLASS POLITICS**

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## ***General Secretary's Report***

KILBARRACK/DONAGHMEDE

**Ard/Fheis Annual  
Delegate Conference  
1990**



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## INTRODUCTION

The election result of last year has brought the Workers' Party to an important stage in our political development. It has increased our political and organisational opportunities but it has also increased the risks for the party if we make political or organisational errors. Our success has projected the strengths of the party into the public consciousness in a way never achieved before but it can also expose our weaknesses if we fail to deal with these.

On the positive side, we have now achieved the "official" status of a full political party in Dail Eireann. We have a first class Dail team with a high level of political acumen. We have a high level of credibility with the working class and a solid electoral base in the whole of Dublin, and an expanding base throughout the country. All of this has helped to build the morale of the party members and supporters and has given some hope to the victims of cuts in health, education and social services, to the unemployed and to those forced to emigrate. We now have a major national and international dimension to our representations.

In some respects, it could be argued that our party is not ready for this greatly expanded role but we will never be ready unless we take bold steps to meet all the new challenges. That means more effective organisation, more systematic development of policy, co-ordination of activity and a progressive development of our capacity to expand. We must sharpen up our politics through improved education and agitation. We must hold the high ground already won and systematically chart out the territory that we want to win in the future. We must adapt our structures and our methods to gain maximum advantage from the present situation.

Our politics was fashioned in the furnace of our political experience in Ireland. We survived on the streets, in the Dail while defending the interests of the exploited, the deprived, the rejected of our society and in working for peace. We challenged the many assumptions of the establishment, North and South, and never baulked at the prospect of change.

We were always strengthened by a tradition and a practice of consistent struggle. These features of our Party have enabled us to confront adventurism, ultra-leftism and elitism in its many forms. It enabled us to differentiate between principled socialist politics and infantile disorder. This must now be used to enable us to expand and grow in the years ahead.

### The New Phase of Struggle.

The Party is now entering a new phase of struggle and must equip itself in every respect for the inevitable conflicts which lie ahead. We must prepare ourselves politically for any and every challenge and increasingly set about influencing the nature of change in this country. While change is inevitable the consequences of that change should not be viewed in a deterministic fashion. It is people who make history.

We now require a development programme for the planned strengthening of our Party, both politically and organisationally. We have reached a political plateau, with a good level of public representation at local, national and European level. That gives new opportunities but also creates new challenges. (Dail seats can be lost easier than they can be won). Political mistakes are now more visible and public utterances more likely to be remembered. Our growth increases the hostility of our opponents and our success brings new responsibility and increased expectations from our friends.

We are facing a new decade with new opportunities, new challenges and many new problems to be resolved. The political landscape has changed considerably in this decade, both in Ireland, North and South, and in the rest of the world. Most importantly for us as Socialists, the Socialist Countries have undergone dramatic changes, economically and politically, and are likely to see an even greater pace of change in the decades ahead.

There are many unpredictable features on our own political landscape such as the impact of 1992, the prospect of a Labour Government in Britain, the likely period of office of the Fianna Fail/P.D. Government and the gradual evolution of political thinking in Northern Ireland. All of these factors and the many theoretical and practical questions for Socialists vis-a-vis the Market, the changing structures of classes, ecology, the role of the State, democracy and the role of the Party, all require careful analysis in the Irish context. They also require that we take practical steps in education, in structured debate (internal and external), in organisation, strategy, development and in party building.

The pace of change is now such that many Socialists are disconcerted and confused. This is particularly the case for those with a poor theoretical grounding or for those who based their politics on simplistic or dogmatic assumptions about the nature of the world or of change itself. In some respect the Workers Party has a number of advantages (and a number of weaknesses) when facing this new phase of political reconstruction. This Ard Fheis can, and will, I'm sure, be a good start to us in this process.

### The Executive Management Committee

The Management Committee over the course of the year undertook a number of initiatives in regard to improving the effectiveness of the Party. It was naturally very involved in the election campaign of last June and since then has paid a great deal of time and attention to clearing off election bills and attempting to get all constituencies to pay for election printing. As will be seen from the Finance Committee report this is proving a very difficult task with some constituencies. The EMC intend to have a full review of the election campaign in order to learn lessons for the future.

A committee to represent full time staff was formed during the year and the EMC representatives have met with it to discuss conditions of employment, job descriptions etc. Alongside this the EMC established a restructure committee the members of which are Proinsias De Rossa, Marie Brady, Pat Rabbitte, Seamus Harrison and Sean Garland. This committee presented its first report to the EMC last month:

- 1 The Restructure Committee has been charged by the EMC to bring forward proposals, in the context of the total staffing situation, for the streamlining of the Party's administrative and organisational capacity within available resources.
- 2 The Committee met on five occasions and had available to it the reorganisation report prepared for the EPC in 1988. In this initial report the Committee's proposals are restricted to the Party's Head Office and will be finalised after receipt of the Staffs' input.
- 3 The Committee acknowledges that, for the effective implementation of political and organisation decisions, the co-ordination and implementation of efficient administrative systems is essential. The basic objective is to achieve maximum efficiency and effectiveness for the Workers' Party through streamlining and, where feasible, modernising the Head Office administration. The Committee is satisfied that this objective reflects the aspirations and demands of the Party membership.
- 4 The Committee agreed at an early stage that it could not - and should not - approach its task in terms of assessment of personalities currently in post. Neither did a scenario present itself where all the appointments, that ideally the Party would like to make, can be made.
- 5 Within those constraints, the Committee has agreed to devise a staffing structure consistent - insofar as possible - with the objectives stated above.

6 The Party will endeavour to use whatever influence is at its disposal to assist in the relocation of any person(s) displaced as a result of implementation of new structure. In addition statutory entitlements, at a minimum, in respect of the Minimum Notice and Terms of Employment Act and the Redundancy Payments Acts will apply.

A number of Regional meetings were organised in Dublin and Cork, the main themes of these conferences were Ideology and Organisation. Each conference attracted a good attendance and there was a wide and thorough discussion on the situation in Eastern Europe and how it effects the Party in Ireland. Sean O'Cionnaith was appointed by the EMC to co-ordinate and direct party campaigns and agitations. Richard Keane was appointed as National Youth Organiser.

#### Executive Political Committee

The Political Committee attempted in the last year to devote more time to developing and formulating political strategy. A number of meetings were organised to deal with ideological, organisational and political problems facing the party, leading into the next century. A number of papers were presented to the EPC by members and it was decided that there should be the widest ongoing possible discussion within the party on the issues raised, that the CEC should play a major role in these discussions; that a fulltime Education Officer, backed by a Department of Education, should be appointed; that an induction course for new members and an induction video be prepared and that a comprehensive Party programme be launched after thorough debate by the 1990/1991 Ard Fheiseanna.

The National Education Committee has not functioned for the past year. The Political Committee as stated above agreed to appoint a fulltime education officer but up to now this has not been possible.

In discussion on the Party publications the E.P.C. proposed to the CEC that we should re-launch the I.P./N.P. as a eight page fortnightly. The E.P.C. decided to join the Left Unity Group in the Euro Parliament and early March the Party was host to the Left Unity Group at an Environmental Conference, organised by the Party in Dublin. The issue of Left Co-operation occupied a good deal of the EPC's time, unfortunately the many initiatives we proposed fell on stoney ground both within and outside Parliament. Nevertheless we must continue to press this question and so expose those who pay lip service to the concept of Left Co-operation but who in reality kill it by apathy, arrogance, even hostility, and so aid the conservative reactionary forces in this country.

The E.P.C. also took a more active role in securing and overseeing resources for the Party. An invitation to participate in an International Labour Forum in Finland next September on the Left in Europe was accepted. The Party has been working to unite progressives for the forthcoming Presidential Election and to assist this process a committee for an agreed Presidential Candidate has been established. As yet there are no firm proposals in the area.

By now all members are aware of the position concerning the document "Necessity for Social Democracy". In this regard suffice to say that there was total agreement within the EPC on this question, that the matter was extremely serious, it was a grave breach of party rules by a leading member, Eamonn Smullen, the E.P.C. and in turn the C.E.C. were left with no alternative but to take the decision they did, to remove Comrade Eamonn Smullen as Chairperson of the Economic Affairs Committee and from membership of the Political Committee.

## **The Workers' Party in the DAIL**

Since the last Ard Fheis the Workers' Party has played a greatly expanded role in the Dail business, as a result of the election results which gave us the seven seats necessary to qualify for "Group" status. For the first time also we have had the situation where our Party President, as well as being a member of the Dail, was also a member of the European Parliament.

Unfortunately, as we forecast, our qualification for 'Group' status was followed by a major push by the three other parties to restrict our rights in relation to both priority questions and private members time. Since our first TD, Joe Sherlock, was elected in 1981, the Workers' party was excluded from priority questions and private members time on the grounds that we did not qualify as a Group. Following the June election, we were initially given one priority question each day. However in November last a motion was pushed through with the support of Fianna Fail, Fine Gael and Labour, which restricted our party to a priority question every second day.

In addition, the three other parties also agreed a motion on the allocation of private members time, which was the least favourable arrangement we get only one in ten private members sessions, and that is the tenth session. As a result of this we have had to wait until the final week in March to get any private members time, and we are unlikely to get another session until this time next year.

We are also excluded from a number of important committees such as those on Womens Affairs, the Irish Language, and Semi-state Companies, but we did secure a place on a number of others.

We were particularly disappointed at the role of the Labour Party in these moves. For instance, the outcome of the motion on priority questions, which the Labour Party got no additional priority question, but we lost half of ours: in other words there was net loss of 25% of the "Left's" priority questions. Relations with the Labour Party in the Dail deteriorated as a result of their attitude on these matters, although they have now begun to improve again.

Despite these setbacks we have continued to use all options open to us to promote our policies in the Dail. We have tabled up to 14 questions for oral answer each day - the maximum allowed to us - which on some days, has represented up to half the total oral questions answered. We have tabled amendments to practically every Bill of significance to have come before the Dail, and played a major role on such measures as the Local Government (Planning and development) Bill, the Defense (Amendment) Bill, the Social Welfare Bill and the Water Pollution Bill.

The Party has made major contributions to all significant debates, and private members business. As a result of a Workers' Party initiative, an all-party motion condemning the repeated attacks on the Dublin-Belfast rail line was taken and passed without opposition. The debate on the first Private Members Bill we have been allowed to take, the Protection of Part Time Workers (Employment) Bill, was started in the week before the Easter recess and is due to conclude in the week after the Ard Fheis.

Members will be aware that Party President, Proinsias De Rossa, has come under repeated attacks from other parties for allegedly being absent from Dail business. An examination of the record shows how false these allegations are. For instance, the Dail sat on 24 days since the beginning of this year, and Proinsias De Rossa has been present in the House on 20 of those days. A full analysis has been drawn up which shows that Proinsias De Rossa's contribution in both the Dail and the European Parliament far outshines those of his critics. Nevertheless the question of his remaining in both parliaments is under constant review from the point of view of the political effectiveness of such an arrangement.

## ENVIRONMENT & LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The members of the Environment and Local Government Committee are: Eamon Gilmore T.D. (Chairperson), Catherine Murphy T.C. (Secretary), Cllr. Tom French, Eric Byrne T.D., Paul Sweeney, Ken McCue, Paul O'Sullivan. The Committee holds monthly meetings.

An Environment Sub Committee has been established in the Northern Ireland Region, under the Chairpersonship of Cllr. Tom French.

Shortly after the last Ard Fheis, the Committee published in printed form, the party policy document "The Environment Is Where We Live". As part of the General Election Campaign, the Committee replied to a Survey on the Environment, which was scored by Earthwatch at 96% - the second highest of any party and just behind the Greens.

In October, the Committee organised a one-day Conference on the Politics of the Environment, which was well attended, and at which an information folder was circulated on Environment legislation and Party policy. At the Conference the Committee launched the idea of the Local Environment Charter, as a basis for local campaign on Environment issues.

In March, the Committee organised a one-day Conference on Local Democracy, at which the guest speaker was Dr. T. J. Barrington. This Conference was primarily intended to commence work on the Party Programme, prior to the Local Elections. It is intended to publish the Conference papers.

In the Dail, the Party has maintained a high profile on Environmental issues.

- (a) A series of amendments were put to the Derelict Sites Bill. This resulted in the levels of fines being increased.
- (b) The Party's T.D.s mounted a vigorous campaign on the Building Control Bill, and although we did not succeed in getting our amendments accepted, we did succeed in highlighting the Government's intention to effectively abolish the local authority system of building bye-laws and control.
- (c) We exposed the deal which was made between the Government and the IFA to weaken the Water Pollution Bill.
- (d) We succeeded in raising the Dublin Planning Scandal during the debate on the Local Government (Planning and Development

Bill). Our attempt to have Planning Compensation completely abolished was not supported by any other party.

- (e) Our T.D.s were at the forefront in raising the issue of Smog in Dublin - long before the Minister decided to ban smoky coal.
- (f) A wide range of issues were raised through Parliamentary Questions, Order of Business, Adjournment Debates and debated on the Estimates and Budget.

Public statements have been issued on a wide range of environment and Local Government issues, including Water Rates, Environment Protection Agency, Wildlife, Drinking Water Quality etc. These have resulted in increased publicity for the Party on environment issues.

The Committee has provided advice and information to Constituencies and Branches wishing to undertake local campaigns.

The Left Unity Group to which we are affiliated in the European Parliament held a three-day Study Visit in Dublin in March to discuss Environment issues. We invited a number of Environment organisations to this Seminar and there was a refreshing exchange of views.

The Committee has maintained good contact with organisations such as Earthwatch, Greenpeace, An Taisce, ACRA, NATO, CND, IWC and ECO.

The Committee is circulating a questionnaire to Party members to establish which members are interested in or have a special knowledge of particular environmental issues. Each member is asked to complete this. Arising from the questionnaire, the Committee intends to establish small works committees and to appoint individual members to work on special issues.

## FINANCE

Resources, the availability of resources, the allocation of resources and the best utilization of resources are key determinants to the success of any organisation.

Last May, as we faced into two major and vital electoral contests in both and Republic and Northern Ireland it was clear that we did not have the financial resources to hand to give the best possible account of ourselves. We were therefore faced with a stark choice. Either we had

a greatly curtailed election campaign or else we went into severe debt. We felt we had to opt for the latter.

On the one hand Head Office gave extensive credit facilities to all constituencies and on the other hand Head Office went into hock to banks and suppliers to facilitate this situation. At the end of the election the nett position was, that despite our great electoral gains, the Party was totally broke. We already had an old term loan of which £25,000 remained outstanding; we had now run up an overdraft of over £20,000; and we owed printers, suppliers, advertisers, etc. etc. over £50,000. On the other side of the balance sheet constituencies, in the South alone, owed £75,000. It is a sad fact that 8 months later these constituencies still owe over £55,000 to the Party centre. It is surely a poor reflection on constituencies that, for instance, since Mid October only nine constituencies have paid any money off their Head Office bill and of that nine, five have paid £200 or less.

The Finance Committee and the financial officers had therefore to spend an inordinate amount of time in trying to drag money from constituencies, fend off irate creditors and generally make ends meet.

The situation over the summer months and early Autumn was particularly bleak. In order to avoid being brought to court by suppliers and indeed to pay wages, rates etc. we had to return with the begging bowl to our bankers. Eventually we did secure a new term loan; in the amount of £100,000. This loan has been personally secured by each member of the EMC and ties the Party to a monthly repayment of £3,450.00 each month for the next three years.

### Priorities

It has been agreed by successive Ard Fheiseanna, on the recommendation of the Finance Committee, that the rules covering local borrowing be tightened up. It has been agreed that local loans be contracted only for specific purposes e.g. payment of bills to Head Office, and that no local loans can be contracted without the approval of the National Finance Committee. While most areas have been diligent in observing this regulation a small few areas have blatantly ignored it. It is a matter of grave concern to the Finance Committee that these areas contracted loans of £2,000.00 and more, paid not one penny to Head Office and are now stuck with very severe repayment schedules for 3 years at least. It is a reflection of the very odd political priorities of these areas that they are committed to paying external suppliers, committed to paying the Banks, but leave bills of £2,000.00 unpaid at Head Office.

### National Collections

The upswing in public support for the Party is evident from the last elections. This upswing should also be reflected in returns from our National Collection. Indeed this upswing was reflected, where the collection was properly organised. However, too many areas did not organise or take up the collection in any whole hearted fashion. This has caused problems in constituency cash flows, in payments of the annual levy to Head Office, and in clearing election bills. The Finance Committee is also concerned at the very poor level of commitment by areas to either the Easter Collection or the May Day Collection organised by W.P.Y. Both of these collections could provide a timely boost to areas at a usually bleak time of the year and help to pay outstanding national levy or affiliate branches for the incoming year.

### Development Draw

This is the fourth year of the draw and each year it has been expanded in participation and prizemoney. This year participation is 600 members and the prizemoney is £31,000. The draw was scheduled to start at the end of January which was an unfortunate choice as our prospective punters were skint after the excesses of the Christmas season. Eventually we decided to postpone the initial draw by one week and after a massive exercise in hustling the magic figure was achieved. The diverse level of commitment by different constituencies has always worried the Committee but it was never more starkly shown than this year. Two neighbouring constituencies in Dublin highlight this point. Both have the same number of Party branches, practically the same level of organization and public support, yet one constituency has 50 members in the draw and the other has only 5.

### Conclusion

The Party has set itself ambitious targets on both a political and organizational level. We have come some small way towards realizing those targets. But at this present time too much time and energy is spent merely surviving, existing on a day to day basis. Without money, without the resources which money can buy, we are missing the essential lubricant for an efficient machine. At the same time we find it staggering that areas will criticize Head Office for being behind the times when they, themselves, are starving the centre of the very finance that would help to relieve the situation. The Finance Committee are determined, now that the spectre of early Local Elections has been banished, to ensure that General Election debt to Head Office is wiped out within a 6 month period.

## HEALTH & SOCIAL WELFARE

The Health & Social Welfare Committee met on a number of occasions following the Ard Fheis in order to prepare material for the election manifesto and make preparations for the Press Conference held during the election to launch our health policy. It provided material for Dail Deputies on health issues and in particular for the health debate in early 1990. The most recent meeting of the Committee decided that following the Ard Fheis a policy development seminar on health issues should be held.

The Committee did not meet as often this year as in previous years and there is a need for a review of its function.

## CULTURAL & COMMUNICATIONS

With regard to publications, the committee endorsed the recommendations contained in a report on the Irish People by John Gallagher. The report was forwarded to the Executive Political Committee for consideration. A seminar on communications originally scheduled for March 31st will now be held in May.

The committee advised Party councillors on the issue of public sculpture which arose in Dublin in 1989 and is satisfied that some progress has been made towards establishing a democratic system of commissioning public art which meets the needs of artists, the public and the commissioning authorities.

The committee considered the question of Dublin European Capital of Culture in 1991 and proposes to organise an international symposium during the course of the year under the working title "Beyond the Market: Culture in the New Europe". It is proposed to invite speakers from both Eastern and Western Europe.

To coincide with the Ard Fheis/ADC the committee will publish a discussion paper on the arts, 'Towards a Cultural Democracy?'. It is intended to stimulate discussion on the arts within the party and will also be distributed to arts organisations throughout the country with a view to soliciting comments and views. The document, which will be amended to take account of party opinion as well as the views of cultural workers will be presented for adopting to the Ard Fheis/ADC in 1991.



## WOMEN

The National Womens Committee met regularly throughout the year and was comprised of members from Dublin, Belfast, Kildare, Cork and Galway.

### National

At national level, we identified a number of issues concerning women on which to base our working programme for the year. The committee was actively involved with the issues of women and poverty, the right to information campaign, rape, childcare provisions and the burden of community care. Party policies on these issues were pursued when opportunities arose. For example, the cost to parents of sending children back to school. We launched a policy document together with the State Education Committee on the real cost, i.e. books, uniforms, voluntary contributions and re-iterated the party's demands for a fair and equitable education system for all our children. Committee members attended a number of meetings with outside organisations and representative bodies, e.g. The Irish Pre-School Playgroups Association, The Student Right to Information Campaign, and many local womens organisations. We had contact throughout the year with the Council for Status of Women and met representatives from that body.

The committee's contributions to legislation before the Dail concerning women included the Rape Bill and Children Bill. Our T.D.s will use private members time allocated to the Workers Party to introduce a Bill on Part-Time Workers.

### International

We determined from the outset to build up our International contacts. To help towards this end one of our members was co-opted on to the International Affairs Committee. Two delegates from the National Womens Committee attended the Annual Conference of the European Forum of Socialist Feminists held in Sweden. Our delegates contributed a paper on the Status of Women in Ireland. Contacts made there are being maintained and our committee is contributing information to a report being compiled on the activities of particular multi-national companies and how their policies affect women in relation to wages, working conditions, etc.

Our party's membership of the Left Unity Group in the European Parliament will provide us with new opportunities to increase our knowledge of the struggle of women in other E.C. Countries.

### International Womens Day.

We hosted a very successful Public meeting on International Womens Day. Guest speakers included a woman delegates from the African National Congress, Prionsias De Rossa, T.D. M.E.P, and a delegate from the Irish Nicaraguan Support Group. Our Womens Department in Northern Ireland held special events throughout the day and held a very successful celebratory function.

Our work within the party included responding to information sought by branches on issues concerning women. We organised a course on assertiveness for women members in the Dublin Region. This pilot scheme was very successful and we are considering ways of offering a similar course to other regions. We are currently discussing proposals aimed at raising the level of consciousness on issues concerning women throughout the party. Among the proposals will be a recommendation to designate a special year of activity for women within the party. Ideas on how this can best be achieved are urgently sought from party members and branches.

The ever increasing work-load due to the strong commitment to Womens Issues by the Workers Party means that the necessity for a full-time Womens Officer remains as great as ever.

There is a great need for women members especially those with expertise and training to get involved in our committee. The Ard Fheis is a time for people to look anew at their commitment and we are asking those, in a position to do so, to volunteer their time and help for our committee.

## JUSTICE AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

### Dail Debates

During the year a number of issues within the remit of the Justice and Civil Liberties Committee arose in the Dail. Some of these have been on the Committee's agenda since last year. Among the issues on which substantial contributions have been made by our spokesperson, Pat McCartan, are the following:-

#### Criminal Law (Rape) Amendment Bill

The Committee has been dealing with this for some time and has prepared detailed briefing material on the Bill. A major speech was made by Pat McCartan on the second stage of the Bill and further amendments will be pursued at Committee stage.

#### Criminal Justice (Forensic Evidence) Bill

This Bill deals with the use of the comparatively new technique of genetic fingerprinting in forensic evidence. Again, Pat McCartan made a lengthy speech in the Dail and will be seeking to have substantive amendments incorporated at Committee stage.

#### Childcare and Protection Bill

This Bill is now with a special Oireachtas Committee and Joe Sherlock is the Party representative on that.

#### Submission to Martin Committee

A detailed submission was made to the Martin Committee, which was established to examine (a) whether a need existed for a procedure for further review of criminal cases where normal appeals procedures have been exhausted and (b) whether additional safeguards were needed in obtaining and recording of uncorroborated admissions.

#### A Socialist Perspective on Civil Rights and Liberties

A discussion document on this topic has been prepared for the Committee and we are in the early stages of considering the issues raised in it. It is hoped to broaden the debate on this within the Party over the coming months.

The Party in Northern Ireland issued a document entitled 'A Return to the Rule of Law', which was a response to the review of the Emergency Provisions legislation by Lord Colville. The document argued for a return to the normal rule of law, as updated by the Policy and Criminal Evidence Act, including a return to Jury Trial. This would be an important element in the struggle for a demilitarised, more democratic society in Northern Ireland and a substantial body-blow to terrorism and the war mentality it seeks to foster.

#### Other Issues

The Committee has also been involved in issues such as the crisis in the Free Legal Aid system, Fair Employment legislation in Northern Ireland, conditions in prisons (and particularly in the women's prison, sentencing policy, Defence Forces representative body, policing policy and the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child. We have also been trying to establish contact with other organisations in our area of activity.

We have had some success in getting additional members willing to assist the Committee in its work, but we still need all the help we can get. Any member with an interest in these areas will be most welcome and we will be glad to hear from you.

## **ECONOMIC AFFAIRS**

In March this year (1990), the Ard Comhairle took the unprecedented step of removing the Chairperson of the Committee from that position.

The decision was taken only after prolonged and detailed discussion and was virtually unanimous. The C.E.C. felt it necessary to do so in order to protect the integrity of internal Party debate on the crucial questions of the nature and future of Socialism now permeating, not only our own Party, but all Socialist Parties around the world. Prionsias De Rossa was elected to fill the vacancy until after the Ard Fheis when all Chairperson positions are filled for the coming year.

During the course of the past year, the Committee maintained its flow of resource and research material to the various organs of the Party. There is a strong case for a total review of how we organise our output on economic issues and, in particular, the organisation of our research work. I hope to make some proposals to the incoming Ard Comhairle on this matter at an early date, following discussions with various people involved in the area. Work in progress by the Committee at present include a study of Fisheries, Forestry, The Farming and Food Industry, Class Structure and Mobility in Ireland, the Economic impact of new development in the E.C.

Our work in this area must be intensified to ensure that as a Party, we have a credible position in the many complex national and international issues relating to economies.

## **YOUTH**

The following served on the Workers' Party Youth Executive between February 1989 and February 1990: Colm Breathnach, Stephen Hayden, Robbie McKnight, Mary McMahon, Morgan Nolan, Richie Keane, John O'Neill, Fearghal Ross and John Rush.

While organisational progress was made by W.P.Y. in the last year it was not as much as have been hoped for. New groups were

established in parts of Dublin and Kildare. However, a major factor mitigating against expansion into new areas has been the poor response from the Party organisation locally - this will again have to be looked at in the coming year.

An internal bulletin, "Feedback" was circulated to W.P.Y. members regularly and plans were laid during the year for revitalisation and expansion of the free bulletin "Social Youth". This has recently been relaunched as "Left", a bi-monthly free news-sheet for distribution at schools, concerts etc...

Workers' Party Youth has been allocated the basement of Head Office at 30 Gardiner Place as an office. The intention is to develop it as a resource centre for groups, as well as an office for meetings, administration etc...

Finance was a major area of concern and placed severe restrictions on the development of W.P.Y. The Executive asked employed members to make a monthly contribution by "standing order" in order to provide a financial base. May Day badges were sold again in 1989 but even now a substantial sum of money is owed to W.P.Y. for these.

The Workers' Party Youth Executive worked on two main campaign areas during the year - solidarity with A.N.C. Youth and a "Fair Pay" campaign. In the A.N.C. campaign tapes were sold, a football marathon raised funds to send a football kit to the A.N.C. school in Tanzania, a fundraising Disco was organised in Dublin on A.N.C. Youth Day, June 16th, and an A.N.C. representative attended one of the W.P.Y. summer camps. The "Fair Pay" campaign consisted mainly of press and publicity work. A wider information and agitational campaign had initially been envisaged but again due to financial reasons only so much could be done.

Three summer camps as planned were held in 1989. Two junior camps were organised in July in Kilnacrott House in Cavan, and the senior camp in Drogheda Grammar School in August. The two junior camps were well attended and considered a success, however the senior camp was not as well attended as had been expected.

One issue of an international bulletin "Young Ireland" was circulated to organisation around the world. A delegation from the Soviet "Committee of Youth Organisation" was received during the year as well as guests from the A.N.C. Youth, the I.L.P. and the youth of the Danish Socialist Peoples Party at the senior summer camp. W.P.Y. delegations attended two major international conferences - one in Paris, which three members attended, and the other the "World Festival of Youth and Students", in Pyongyang, North Korea.

In the third level institutions stalls were organised for the Freshers Days/Weeks. There was a good response, particularly in the smaller colleges, but the follow-up on these contacts has been poor. The whole area of student organisation is currently being reviewed.

There were more meetings between W.P.Y. and Labour Youth during 1989, including one between two groups of members in Dublin on the topics of "Northern Ireland" and "Left Co-operation".

This year's Annual Conference was held by W.P.Y. on 10th and 11th February in Trinity College, Dublin. Over 70 delegates discussed a wide range of motions during the two day conference. A broad range of solidarity and other organisation also attended and there were guest speakers, Seamus Lynch from the Workers' Party and Andrew McIntyre of the I.L.P. The following were elected to the W.P.Y. Executive at the Conference; Orla O'Connor, Stephen Hayden, Stephen Lewis, John Lynn, Morgan Nolan and Fearghal Ross. Mark Murphy and Ian Borsman were co-opted to the Executive at its' first meeting. Richie Keane replaced John O'Neill as National Organiser in May of '89 and is therefore automatically a member of the Executive and its' secretary. The following officers were also elected by the Executive; Chairperson - Fearghal Ross, Finance Officer - Morgan Nolan, International Secretary - Orla O'Connor, Education Officer - Stephen Hayden, Cultural Officer - Stephen Lewis, Womens Officer - Orla O'Connor, P.R.O. - Richie Keane.

The new Executive is currently working on a programme of work for the year which is intended to be the basis for expansion of W.P.Y. At this stage an annual budget has been submitted to the Party by the Executive, the Low Pay campaign is being relaunched in April, a nationwide recruitment campaign will be organised for summer months, dates for two summer camps have been set (a junior camp in Kilnacrott House from 15th to 20th of July, and a senior from 3rd to 6th of August), an educational programme and a series of education weekends are also planned.

## NORTHERN IRELAND

The months immediate after last year's Ard Fheis in Northern Ireland were dominated by first the Local Government and then the E.C. Elections.

There results were mixed, with the Party holding its own in terms of councillors elected in the Local Government elections. Within what overall pattern, however, lay a vast improvement in some areas, with



new seats gained, which was offset by a disappointing result in other districts.

The European vote for the W.P. showed no increase in a very tribal election with the left-wing swing throughout Europe passing Northern Ireland by.

The Northern Ireland Committee advised the establishment of a Local Government sub-committee for Northern Ireland to co-ordinate the work of Party councillors and representatives and direct a coherent strategy on Local Government matters and this was set up, with all Councillors plus representatives from each area in Northern Ireland included.

The Party played a major role, with others, during the years in organising and promoting the running of a Peace Train from Belfast to Dublin and back to highlight the continuing bomb attacks on that cross-border link by the provisionals. A broadly based Peace Train Committee was established on which W.P. members played a role. The result was a very successful exercise on 28th October when thousands of people travelled on a special train between the two cities amidst considerable press and media publicity and much popular support from the majority of people opposed to the terrorists' activities. The functioning of the Peace Train Committee is ongoing and Party representatives continue to play a role within it.

A delegation from the Northern Ireland Committee of the W.P. met with newly appointed Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Peter Brooke M.P., in October, discussing with him questions of security, including the R.U.C. and the U.D.R., the need for devolved democratic government and a Bill of Rights, the elimination of terrorism and the political future of Northern Ireland. The W.P. delegation also expressed the Party's concern at the growing rate of emigration and the Province's serious economic situation.

The Party also met with Transport Minister Peter Bottomley on the issue of an effective rapid transport system for the greater Belfast area, and with Security Minister John Cope to discuss a range of security/policing matters.

A meeting with the Chairman and Board of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive was held in December at which representatives of the W.P. from across Northern Ireland discussed general housing policy and more specific issues with the N.I.H.E.

A Christmas leaflet was produced on the theme of the effects of Thatcherism on Northern Ireland's old and young people. Distribution

was carried out mainly by members of the Belfast Region, both in the city and elsewhere. A leafleting campaign was also organised through Northern Ireland to coincide with International Women's Day, March 8th.

The second Northern Ireland Annual Conference was held in Belfast in February on the theme of Strategies for Peace, and was very successful.

A full attendance heard three extensive papers together with addresses from the Party President and the Northern Ireland Committee Chairperson and a vigorous debate from the floor. There was considerable media attention and coverage of the events and a wide range of guests from outside The Workers' Party.

Following last years opening Conference a Report of the Conference was published in pamphlet form, containing all the papers delivered, and the same has been done this year. The impact made by this Conference within the Party and on a wider basis within Northern Ireland was increased and it now forms a significant and important part of the Northern Ireland Committee's activities.

A member of the Left Unity Group of the European Parliament Sylvianne Ainardi M.E.P., visited Northern Ireland in March in connection with her appointment by the E.C. Regional Committee as Rapporteur on the use of Structural Funding in the Province. The arrangements for this visit were made by the Northern Ireland Committee of the W.P. in co-ordination with the Left Unity Group. A programme of meetings was arranged in addition to that set up by the Northern Ireland Office and a W.P. delegation had a constructive meeting with Ms Ainardi.

## STATE EDUCATION

The work of the State Education Committee during the past year included:-

- the drafting of a preliminary policy document (a "Charter") which is now ready to go to the CEC with a proposal for circulation/publication,
- a special "education" Irish People was prepared for the national collection in collaboration with the editor,

- "Into School, Out of Pocket" was launched, in co-operation with the Womens' Committee, for the opening of the new school year, and a press conference held in early September.
- a Dublin Region meeting on education on 2 September was addressed by Tomas MacGiolla, by trade union representatives and by the State Education Committee Chairperson.
- Dail questions on a range of issues were drafted, totalling over 50 in all.
- public statements on a range of issues were drafted, totalling over 50 in all.

At a meeting in March, the Committee decided to submit the draft policy Charter to the CEC. It was also decided that in the coming years a Conference on education should be organized which would have as an aspect a comparative view of education in EC countries.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

In common with other party committees it was not until after the June elections that the International Affairs Committee was established. The committee members are Tomas MacGiolla, Proinsias De Rossa, Oliver Donaghue, Sean O'Cionnaith, Colm Breatnach, Deirdre O'Connell and John Lowry and Sean Garland. At its first meeting the committee agreed on establishing a number of sub-committees dealing with: European Community; Peace Movement; Party Support Groups; Solidarity Movements; Fraternal Parties. Over the past months the dramatic and fundamental changes that have occurred and indeed that are occurring daily, in the countries of Eastern Europe have dominated International Affairs. It is intended to have a full and through discussion of these events and changes at the Ard Fheis.

There is a need for a realistic analysis, a calm assessment of the situation and not to allow what is happening to degenerate into panic or hysteria. The situation needs to be examined in its totality and we must not allow ourselves to be sucked into the media hype that capitalism is generating about the changes that have and that are taking place.

Starting with the October Revolution we have recognised that this was one of the historic events of the epoch that placed the working class for the first time at the centre of history. Since that time the Capitalist ruling class have not stopped in their efforts to turn the clock back, to

reverse the defeat of 1917, just as the reactionary forces in the world have never stopped trying to reverse the triumph of the French Revolution of 1789.

Over the years as a vital part of our development of our struggles, we have made it clear that Socialism to succeed and survive must have the active support and involvement of the people.

It is essential that we understand the nature of our enemy which as we have so often pointed out is the same enemy as that faced by progressive revolutionaries throughout the world. We must not lose sight of the fact that when on occasions the situation seems bleak or that the progressive forces appear isolated it is more important than ever at such point in time that we give clear principled leadership and direction to people.

Whilst events in Eastern Europe as we said have dominated the International stage there have nevertheless been significant and positive development elsewhere in the world, the return of democracy to Chile after 16 years of fascist dictatorship, the prospects of peace in Afghanistan and Cambodia, which can be realised if the reactionary elements of the Mujahedeen in Afghanistan and the Kymer Rouge in Cambodia can be isolated and the people of these countries allowed express their choice in free democratic elections. The release of Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the A.N.C. and many progressive organisations in South Africa represents a major victory for the people of that country. We recognise that the people and the progressive movement in South Africa will still require all the assistance we can give them in their struggle for freedom. The victory of S.W.A.P.O. in Namibia represents a victory for all progressives, after many years of struggle and at tremendous cost the people and their organisation S.W.A.P.O. have now the opportunity to build a free democratic society where all are equal. The victories in Southern Africa have been offset to some extent by the defeat of the F.S.L.N. in the recent Nicaraguan Elections. After more than a decade of political, economic and military pressure by the United States Government a weary Nicaraguan people have, temporarily we believe, succumbed to the pressure and opted for a conservative pro U.S. regime. The invasion of Panama demonstrates that the US government under President Bush continues the Reagan doctrine of force, threats and intervention which had brought about the invasion and subjugation of Grenada is still the dominant US policy. Pax Americana has always meant terror, destruction and US overlordship of its immediate neighbours. The 30 years campaign by the US to overthrow the Cuban Government has now been stepped up and it is clear that over the next months/years revolutionary Cuba will come under more sustained and increased pressure in every field, economic, political and military. The continued

Intifada in Palestine demonstrates the determination and capacity of the Palestinian people and their organisation the P.L.O. to maintain and eventually win their struggle.

The present approach of the Workers' Party to international relations has evolved over a considerable period of time. Essentially, it is based on the desire of our party to establish the widest possible contact with other progressive parties in both Socialist and Capitalist Countries, to ensure that they understand the reality of political life in modern Ireland.

We also seek to learn from the experience of other parties and to increase their appreciation of the dangers of religious sectarianism and reactionary nationalism. Through our international contacts we have also developed a better understanding of solidarity struggles and the importance of our support for peace, democracy and social progress in many parts of the world. This process is constantly developing.

In recent years we have achieved limited recognition from Governments in some Socialist Countries and have established a dialogue with other Workers' Parties, Socialist and Communist Parties in many parts of the World. Recently, through our Party's victory in the Euro-Elections, we have established our presence in the European Parliament. Through this we have developed more formal links with a number of European Parties through the Left Unity Group (which we helped to establish). We have also sought to maintain regular contacts with the members of the British Labour Party in our efforts to overcome the confusion of many Labour Party politicians about the situation in Northern Ireland.

In all of our international contacts, we stress the absolute independence of our Party and emphasise that our analysis of politics is based primarily on our own policies and our own experiences in Ireland. We do not seek to endorse all the policies of the many parties with which we have established contact, nor do we hesitate to make known our views on particular policies which we find unacceptable.

We recognise the need for a review of all our international contacts in view of the many changes which have taken place in the international arena and because of the reappraisal being made by us of our own political priorities. In doing so, we will not be taking an insular view of international affairs but will be anxious to make a worthwhile contribution to new thinking, to establish a new dialogue with other progressive parties and to assist the emergence of a stronger democracy in the international socialist movement.

Our school appeal for Nicaragua has now reached £7,000.00 and this, we hope, will be presented to a representative from the F.S.L.N. during this Ard Fheis.

In November we sent Dr Sean Keane MD, to Nicaragua with a medical aid donation worth around \$100,000. This month Sean O'Cionnaith brought medical equipment valued at £20,000 to Cuba and presented it to Dr Julio Tejas, Cuba's Minister for Public Health.

## ELECTORAL

At last years Ard Fheis our candidates for the European Parliament Elections were presented to the delegates. Shortly afterwards unexpectedly and unnecessarily the country started to slide inexorably towards a general election. Thus the Party found itself having to contest both a national and European election with the Party President Proinsias De Rossa TD already having been selected to contest the Dublin Euro-Constituency.

In the event, the Party managed to contest 21 Constituencies and all five Euro-Constituencies including Northern Ireland. Given the constraints imposed by available resources, it was necessary to give priority to selected constituencies. The result was the Party has seven TDS elected, and although 20 constituencies were uncontested, received 5% of the overall first preference vote. The Party increased its share of the vote in 18 constituencies and showed a decrease in 3.

The fact that the European Parliament elections coincided with the general election resulted in a turnout of 68.3% as compared to 47% in 1984. None of the Workers Party candidates featured as serious contenders in the opinion of the commentators prior to the election. However Proinsias De Rossa was the first MEP returned for the Dublin Constituency with 97,000 votes. He secured almost 16% of the first preference votes and overall the Workers Party received 7.51% of the national vote.

1989 was indisputably a watershed year for the Party with the splendid performance in the European elections and the election of seven TDs qualifying us for Parliamentary Group status in Dail Eireann for the first time since Joe Sherlock's election in 1981.

The Electoral Committee has been preoccupied in recent months with preparations for the forthcoming Local Elections which are due in June and may be held in late Autumn to coincide with the Presidential



Election. The Party welcomes the opportunity to extend our influence in local government and also extend our platform for future Dail successes.

The election of more Workers Party Councillors is also a pre-requisite to success in the elections for Seanad Eireann as was evident in 1989. The Labour Party refused our offer of support for Labour Candidates on three panels in return for Labour support for a Workers Party on one panel. As a result the Party was forced to attempt to secure votes and preferences from wherever and from whomsoever but was unsuccessful in having our candidate elected.

## ORGANISATION

It took some months for the Party to recover from the efforts expended on the contesting of election last June, and indeed from the financial resources soaked up in these contests.

Nevertheless, a process of re-organisation is on the way and while this is slow the results are showing through with the re-establishment of branches in Kerry, Clare and the Midlands. If any constituency deserves mention for their efforts at expansion it must be Kildare.

Emigration has affected our efforts in a wide range of areas and there can be no doubt but that many potential members have been forced on the jets to North America, Australia and Britain and may never return.

A report was presented to the Central Committees on the current state of organisation; a meeting of organisers was held in early January and following from there we are all agreed that we must undergo a major overhaul at all levels, if we are to build the mass party we require in the '90s.

Many of the suggestions made in the last detailed report on organisation, discussed and accepted by a special Ard Fheis in 1983 have not been implemented. There have been many developments in the intervening seven years and we must now ensure we have the structures necessary for development over the next decade.

While reviewing our organisation 'the show must go on' and there are many things we can do immediately. The following points were agreed at the meeting of organisers and now require action.

\*Comprehensive reporting to and from Central Executive Meetings.

- \*Careful selection of Regional Delegates to the CEC to ensure they have the capabilities to fulfil their roles.
- \*The election of Regional Delegates within the required period after the Ard Fheis
- \*Greater attention to be paid to the selection of Constituency Organisers
- \*The provision of training to all Party officers.
- \*Provision of an Organisers Handbook
- \*Regions, Constituencies and Branches must plan activity and select targets.
- \*Supporters must be invited to Party meetings, parts thereof being set aside for such purpose, with a view to recruitment into full membership.
- \*Recruitment is a responsibility of each and every member.
- \*We must get back to basics and develop agitations and campaigns from branch to Regional levels.
- \*Above all, we must all ensure participation by members at every level and most particularly in the constituencies.

## CONCLUSION

This Ard Fheis takes place at a time when the world and many socialist parties in particular, are undergoing deep fundamental change. As a party we have never been afraid of change, never been afraid of recognising the need for change. It took considerable effort, intellectual, moral and indeed physical effort to undertake the changes that we began in the 1960s. From that time we have altered to such an extent, from a narrow nationalist militarist organisation to a developing class conscious socialist party that very few, even those involved in the process of change, would not recognise us today. And yet the reality is if we had not analysed, examined our history, our mistakes, if we had not recognised the need for change then history would have passed us by and we would have, rightly, become irrelevant to the people. We have come a long way in these past 25 years or more and we know that we still have a long way to go to achieve all our aims. What assisted and made possible a realistic assessment of our past, of our problems, what made it possible to formulate and develop the correct strategies, tactics, principles and programme for the future was respect for each others point of view, honesty in all our discussions and unity in a common cause. Naturally there were individuals who did not subscribe to this concept, people such as Sean MacStiofain, Rory O'Bradaigh and Seamus Costello, who at different times concealed their true intentions, who went along with the general line but who secretly conspired to divert and defeat the new ideas, the new direction we were taking in building a class conscious socialist party.

Today the party is embarked upon another major discussion, a debate sparked off in many respects by the recent events which have occurred in Eastern Europe. Naturally this discussion whilst of immense importance to our future development is not concerned to alter the fundamental principle or character of the party.

Nobody in the party, least of all those in leadership positions, can be or is complacent about the shortcomings in our political and practical activities, but in saying this we must have regard for all the circumstances of our position. It is essential, as we have said so often, to view and examine the situation in its totality and not allow ourselves to be diverted into narrow areas which will finish up in a cul de sac. The changes that have occurred in the world over the past decade and in particular over the last year are of such a nature, are so deep and thorough that they require a very comprehensive and informed analysis. This has already begun in the party with the publication of some documents and more to come by some party comrades. However the debate develops, it is always worthwhile bearing in mind the statement by Eric Hobsbawm in his book *Politics of the Rational Left*

"Rethinking Socialist analysis and the socialist project may certainly lead to major, far-reaching and, for some of us, painful modification of long-held views... but it does not undermine the classical socialist case against capitalism, the classical understanding of the socialist project, or the Marxist conviction that capitalism is destined to be a passing phase in mankind's long historical development."

Again to underscore this point we must be clear that what is happening in the Soviet Union for instance is not a retreat from socialism but as President Gorbachov has stated so often a renewal of socialism which was and is vital if the Soviet Union is to survive. Capitalism and its allies naturally want to take full advantage of the present situation in what was termed the Socialist countries where they have been and continues to be a massive peoples backlash against the old regimes, against what is called the Command-Administrative style system which was upheld by a stifling bureaucracy, against the widespread corruption, the denial of democratic rights on a personal and collective basis. It is clear that all these factors and many more combined to such an extent that there was almost total alienation of the people from the party. What is required is to grasp Marx's and Lenin's concept of Socialism, taking into account the conditions of today under capitalism. We must determine what is truly socialist and what is alien to the very idea of socialism, to rid socialism of everything that distorted it, that deformed it in the past. Socialism as practiced and interpreted by Lenin made it possible for a pluralism of views, of interests and requirements. Lenin's concept of Socialism differs as sharply, as

widely from Stalin's concepts and practice of Socialism as Gerry Adam's concept and practice of Irish Republicanism differs as sharply and as widely from the concept and practice of the Republicanism of Theobald Wolfe Tone. It is essential at this point of our development as a party to be critical, indeed to be hostile to those who have besmirched, betrayed Socialism but let us not confuse the people and ourselves by throwing out the baby with the bathwater.

We are a small party with limited resources struggling against immense odds to change this society. We have a lot to be proud of, we have made substantial advances, we have brought forward and placed on the political agenda of this country the issue of class. We have made it clear that we are not a catch-all party, all know where we stand, on the side of the working class and let us recall we do not have any narrow definition of this working class. All other parties have tried to smother or deny the existence and relevance of class in this society. We have demonstrated that we have the programme, the personnel and the capacity to win workers. Last year in the Elections more and more people recognised that the Workers' Party was articulating and representing their interests. This was no mean achievement when we consider the range and the strength of the opposition forces ranged against us.

Let us above all else remember who is the enemy, who it is that is responsible for the exploitation, the misery and degradation that is inherent in capitalism. The many issues that confront the party and our class in this society, unemployment, emigration, health, education, housing cuts, the struggle to expand democracy in the Republic, indeed the struggle to achieve democracy in Northern Ireland, to defeat terrorism, to unite the working class, develop and raise class consciousness, to increase and expand our membership and influence among the people; these remain our tasks and at the end of the day the working class of this country will judge us by our policies and our activity as we relate to their lives in this country.

## Members of Ard Comhairle/CEC and members of EPC, EMC and Chairpersons of Specialist Committees

The Ard Comhairle/CEC met on five occasions, two of which were a two day event.

Proinsias De Rossa, T.D. was elected Party President at the Ard Fheis and the following officers were elected the Ard Comhairle (CEC) at the second meeting.

### Vice Presidents

Jimmy Brick, Triona Dooney, Seamus Lynch, Joe Sherlock.

### Party Officers

General Secretary: Sean Garland  
P.R.O.: Tony Heffernan  
Treasurer: Seamus Harrison  
Assistant Treasurer: Padraig Mannion  
Director of Finance: Gerry Doherty  
National Organiser: Peter Kane

### Committee Chairpersons and Secretaries

**Ard Comhairle (CEC):** Chair: Proinsias De Rossa T.D., M.E.P.,  
Secretary: Peter Kane

### Executive Political Committee:

Chair: Des O'Hagan  
Secretary: Sean Garland

### Executive Management Committee:

Chair: Pat Rabbitte  
Secretary: Sean Garland

The Ard Comhairle (CEC) is as follows.

Number - the number of attendances and Es the number of times excused.

Proinsias De Rossa, .5

### 1988

i.e. outgoing thirteen

Jimmy Brick 4 + E  
Gerry Doherty 3 + 2E  
Francie Donnelly 3 + 2E  
Tom French 5  
Eamon Gilmore 4  
Sean Garland 5  
Peter Kane 5  
Pat McCartan 4 + E  
Tomas MacGiolla 5  
Des O'Hagan 2 + 3E  
Pat Rabbitte 5  
Joe Sherlock 3 + 2E  
Eamon Smullen 5

### Co-Options

Angela Cassidy 4  
Paddy Gillan 4  
Paddy Joe McClean 3+E  
Fearghal Ross 4

### Ex Officio

\*Eric Byrne 3

\* Please note T.D.s not elected to CEC are ex-officio members of the Ard Comhairle/CEC (Sect D, 5 Party Constitution).

### Regional Delegates

Northern Ireland Area I  
Northern Ireland Area I  
Northern Ireland Area II  
Northern Ireland Area II  
Connaught Ulster  
Munster West  
Munster Cork  
Munster North  
Leinster Nth  
Leinster Mid  
Leinster Sth

### 1989

thirteen elected last year 2 years

Rosheen Callender 5  
Triona Dooney 5  
Paddy Gallagher 2  
Des Geraghty 5  
Cathal Goulding 3 + 2E  
Seamus Harrison 3 + 2E  
Tony Heffernan 5  
John Lowry 5  
Seamus Lynch 5  
Catherine Murphy 5  
Mary McMahon 5  
Henry Patterson 3  
Kevin Smyth 3 + 2E

### Observers

John Gallagher 4  
John McManus 1  
Padraig Mannion 4  
Noel Ward 1

Brendan Burns 4  
Ciaran Bradley 2 + 2E  
Kevin Morgan 2 + 2E  
Tommy Owens 4  
not filled  
not filled  
John Bowan 4  
Mick O'Byrne  
John King 3 + E  
Dan O'Sullivan 2  
Virginia Frayne 3 + E



**Specialist Committees Chairpersons**

|                              |                 |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| Cultural & Communications    | Paddy Gillan    |
| Economic Affairs:            | Eamonn Smullen  |
| Education:                   | Henry Patterson |
| State Education:             | Noel Ward       |
| Electoral :                  | Pat Rabbitte    |
| Environment:                 | Eamon Gilmore   |
| Women:                       | Angela Cassidy  |
| Finance:                     | Oliver Rogers   |
| Health and Social Services:  | John McManus    |
| International Affairs:       | Sean Garland    |
| Justice and Civil Liberties: | Triona Dooney   |
| Northern Ireland             | Seamus Lynch    |
| Youth:                       | Fearghal Ross   |

**Executive Management Committee (EMC)****Executive Political Committee (EPC)**

The EMC and EPC are elected at the initial meeting of the CEC, the Party President and General Secretary are automatically members of both committees.

Executive Political Committee in alphabetical order:

Angela Cassidy, Triona Dooney, Des Geraghty, Eamon Gilmore, Cathal Goulding, Seamus Harrison, Tony Heffernon, Seamus Lynch, Tomas MacGiolla, Mary McMahon, Des O'Hagan, Henry Patterson, Pat Rabbitte, Eamonn Smullen.

Executive Management Committee in alphabetical order:

Gerry Doherty, Des Geraghty, Seamus Harrison, Tony Heffernon, Peter Kane, Seamus Lynch, Tomas MacGiolla, Pat Rabbitte,

**Title:** General Secretary's Report

**Organisation:** Workers' Party

**Date:** 1990

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