

Autumn 1987

*Tomás Mac Giolla steps down — see back page*

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**THE WORKERS' Party** significantly boosted its vote in Northern Ireland in the recent elections for the British Parliament, increasing its total to just under 20,000.

The Party's vote, up over 50 per cent, was achieved despite a co-ordinated sectarian campaign fought both between the unionist and nationalist parties, and between the Social Democratic and Labour Party and Provisional Sinn Féin aimed at producing a sectarian headcount.

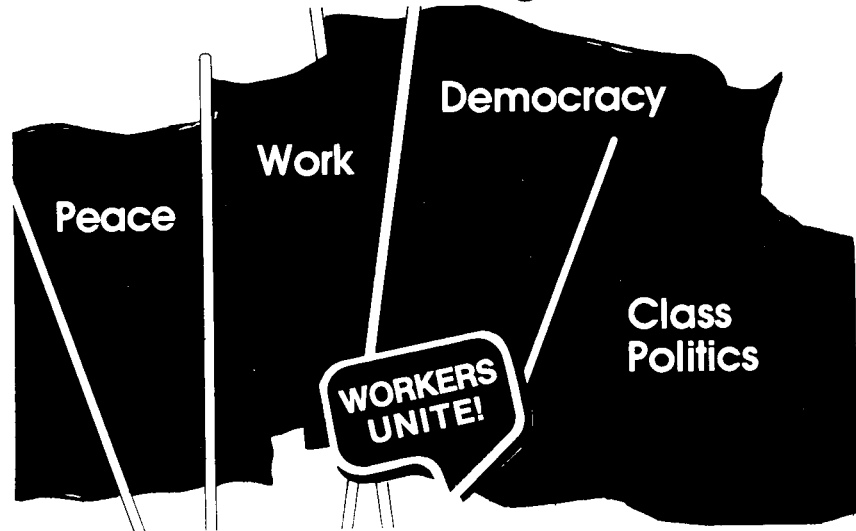
The Workers' Party also overcame the effects of the British non-transferrable vote system, which discriminates against smaller parties, to set the basis for a substantial increase in seats at the next local government elections, which are held under Proportional Representation.

The overall results showed a reduction in support for the policies of bigotry and abstention, with the votes of both the Unionist parties and Provisional Sinn Féin declining considerably on previous performances. The increase in votes for the Alliance Party also indicates a desire among conservative voters to move away from sectarian politics.

Among the constituencies where the Workers' Party more than doubled its vote were:

★ **EAST BELFAST**, where candidate Frank Cullen obtained an equal share of

## Northern election gains



the vote from boxes in Catholic and Protestant areas with a total of 1,314 votes.

★ **SOUTH BELFAST**, where Gerard Carr won 1,528 votes, far surpassing the Provo candidate.

★ **FOYLE**, where Eamon Melaugh won 1,022 socialist votes in opposition to nationalist front runner, John Hume of the SDLP and Provisional Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness.

★ **FERMANAGH/SOUTH TYRONE**,

where Davy Kettles trebled his vote to 1,784.

★ **STRANGFORD**, where first time candidate Imelda Hynds received 1,385 votes.

Following the election Workers' Party Belfast City Councillor Seamus Lynch, who received 3,062 votes in North Belfast, called for renewed discussions between all parties committed to a democratic way forward for Northern Ireland.

## Terrorists murder WP supporter

ON TUESDAY morning, 23rd June, Provisional terrorist gangsters in Belfast brutally murdered an active supporter of the Workers' Party, Thomas Emmanuel Wilson, a young man in his early thirties. He leaves a grief-stricken widow and four children.

Mr Wilson was abducted the night before by three hooded men who dragged him into one of the Falls Road black taxis. He was brutally shot to death in a back entry off the Falls Road in West Belfast.

Emmanuel Wilson had been an active and committed supporter of the Workers' Party over the previous nine years. Faced with all the hardships and difficulties of raising a young family in the midst of unemployment and deprivation in West Belfast, he never hesitated in joining in Workers' Party campaigns to bring peace and work to the community.

At election time he was always ready to stand up for the democratic principles of the Workers' Party against the fascist gangsterism represented by the Provisionals. In the recent election, as in many others previously, he played his part to the

full. For that democratic commitment he was savagely slain.

At a press conference called on the day of the murder, Workers' Party chairperson in Northern Ireland, Cllr Seamus Lynch said: "This criminal act is the work of fascist animals, and is similar to Nazi activity against their political opponents in the Germany of the 1930s. In Europe today they are equalled only by the terrorist murders committed by the ETA in Spain.

"The Workers' Party position on terrorism has been absolutely clear for a long time: We call for its elimination. For this is not an isolated incident. No one is safe: these gangsters have bombed cafes, public houses, slaughtered men and women indiscriminately. And we insist that to label people as 'police agents' is a gross distortion of reality.

"The Workers' Party has constantly called for peace and democracy. We have pointed out time and time again that there can only be one police service and we have called on the community to actively support that service.

"Our position remains unchanged. We reject any notion that the

Provisionals are engaged in a 'freedom' or 'national liberation' struggle. They are, as we have stated, terrorists. The community must reject all terrorist acts and ensure that they cease. That is an absolute responsibility on all who desire peace.

"Finally, we ask Mr Adams and his party, Provisional Sinn Féin, to make a clear and unequivocal statement in relation to this and recent murders. He has already given 'unequivocal support' to the thugs who abused and murdered Emmanuel Wilson. He should make his position clear so that the people and the Workers' Party are in a position to judge how best to obtain peace and democracy in our community.

"The brutal murder of this young man is now being compounded by the repeated vicious slander against his name by his murderers, which is adding to his family's grief and distress.

"We reiterate our call that the criminal gangsters responsible for his death be pursued and brought to justice by the forces of law and order."

# SDLP—Washington connection

The current Irangate enquiry in the United States of America raises once again the nature and extent of Washington's involvement, overtly and covertly, in the politics of Northern Ireland.

Under pressure last year the Social Democratic and Labour Party admitted they were or would be in receipt of funds from the Reagan inspired National Endowment for Democracy through its subsidiary organisation, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. The contradictory nature of the SDLP's statements is quite amazing: on the one hand their Party Chairman, Alban McGuinness denied (June 2nd 1986) that any money had changed hands but that a mere \$30,000 was expected. On the other hand Secretary Eamon Hanna admitted on the same date that the SDLP had signed an agreement in April 1986 and would receive \$100,000 over the next two years.

However, in 1985, authoritative Boston columnist, William V. Shannon, stated quite categorically that "the NDI is involved in helping the SDLP..." and that an SDLP delegation had visited Washington in 1984 to discuss "fund-raising etc.". In June 1986, Democratic Party link-man, Brian Atwood, at a Congressional hearing stated that \$85,000 had already been disbursed in the guise of funding for a training institute and a fund-raising seminar.

In addition to the unspecified amounts channelled through the NDI, the AFL-CIO have now also entered the picture. The Trade Union group, who operate throughout the world as an important arm of American foreign policy, (in 1985 alone they 'gave out' \$11.5 million) have a record of assisting right-wing groups in every continent in the world, from the ultra right-wing French group, Citizens' Action Service, to the CIA agent, Holden Roberto in Angola. We have recently learned that the AFL-CIO were represented at the last SDLP conference by Michael Brennan and that the AFL-CIO have agreed to assist financially with the "precinct development" of the SDLP.

That this deep American involvement with the SDLP is more than a matter of dollars is easily established by looking at the history of the NED and the NDI. Their existence is central to Reagan's foreign policy, and in particular his abiding hatred of countries such as Nicaragua and his support for right-

wing, totalitarian regimes.

As early as 1979, when the Somoza regime in Nicaragua was collapsing Reagan expressed extreme scepticism about the attacks mounted on Somoza by liberal Americans. It was out of this fanatical anti-Socialism that the National Endowment for Democracy was born in November 1983. Its annual budget from Congress alone since then has been just short of \$20 million. It should also be noted that Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, close friend of John Hume and Seamus Mallon, and one of the alleged architects of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, in a fulsome speech supporting the Congress's financing of the Endowment claimed that it would, through the AFL-CIO, be a "signal step in defence of democracy".

What this has meant throughout the world has been the development of an "aggressive American policy in favour of certain foreign political parties, trade unions, newspapers, magazines, books and other institutions". (David K.

**The Irish Republican Club of North America opposes secret US finding of Social Democratic and Labour Party in Northern Ireland through the National Security Council (NSC).**

**The Irish Republican Club of North America supports the virtually universally accepted principle of non-interference by governments in the internal affairs of other countries. It is wholly incompatible with this principle for a government of one country to further its own ends by supplying funds to a political party in another country.**

**The Irish Republic Club of North America condemns the National Endowment for Democracy and its subsidiary groups such as the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs — both organs of the US National Security Council under Admiral John Poindexter and Lt. Colonel Oliver North — for funnelling substantial American government funds to the Social Democratic and Labour Party of Northern Ireland.**

**The Irish Republican Club of North America calls upon all Americans of goodwill to bring this misuse of American funds to the attention of their elected representatives in Congress, and demand an end to this blatant interference in the internal affairs of Ireland.**

Shipler, *New York Times*, June 1986). Furthermore the NED was and is a creature of the US National Security Council. In their Decision Document 77, which provided the charter for the NED, they spelt out exactly what its brief was. The implications for Northern Ireland are all too obvious — "planning and co-ordination of the various aspects of public diplomacy of the United States Government relative to national security. Public diplomacy is comprised of those actions of the US Government designed to generate support for our national security objectives." (emphasis added).

One example suffices. The NED turned over \$375,000 to aid an anti-Sandinista newspaper in Nicaragua, *La Prensa*, in 1986 alone.

That the administrators of these funds have close connections with the Central Intelligence Agency is not in doubt. The current Chairman is John Richardson, former President of the CIA-controlled Radio Free Europe, and Irangate centrepiece, Lt. Col. Oliver North, onetime National Security Council aide, headed up "Project Democracy", an alternative title for the NED.

Their activities have ranged from intervention in the Philippines, where SDLP International Affairs spokesperson Dennis Haughey visited by US invitation, to the well-known 'arms for the contras' deal.

Not all the funds available to the NED are direct from the Congress and the American taxpayer, though, quite rightly, Representative Frank, at a Congressional hearing on the NDI asked why the American taxpayer should be involved with the SDLP and described the funding as "quite strange". Now New York TV journalists, Robert Knight and Dennis Bernstein have produced evidence linking Lt. Col. North, the Contras, and drug smuggling into the USA. Senator John Kerry, Democrat, Massachusetts, claims that members of the "North network were involved in major drug dealings". The Washington *Christic Institute* have laid reports before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence that as much as one ton of cocaine per week was smuggled into the US in aid of the President's "freedom fighters".

These are grave issues and the question must now be asked — What is the interest of America's murky right-wing organizers of covert operations in Northern Ireland? In what way do they see their promotion of the SDLP as serving the "national security objectives" of the United States? We can see evidence of the commitment of these people to the "democracy" they lay claim to in places like Chile and El Salvador, where their plans have prospered. They offer no solution to the problems faced by the people of Northern Ireland.

THE President of The Workers' Party, Tomás Mac Giolla TD (member of parliament) has called on the government to grant formal recognition to the African National Congress (ANC) as the authentic representative voice of the majority of South Africans.

Mr Mac Giolla, who was speaking at a meeting in the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union Hall, Dublin, organised by the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement to mark the 75th anniversary of the establishment of the ANC, suggested that the Congress should be invited to open an office in Dublin, and full diplomatic privileges should be extended to its representatives.

"The ANC has led the opposition to the South African regime, and it has been granted formal recognition by many countries throughout the world. The majority of South Africans look to the ANC and its jailed leader, Nelson Mandela, as their legitimate representatives. It would surely be an appropriate way to mark our solidarity with the ANC on this, its 75th anniversary, by our government extending formal recognition to it.

"There is also at present a proposal from The Workers' Party before Dublin City Council to grant the freedom of the city to Nelson and Winnie Mandela, who more than anyone else symbolise both the suffering and courage of the South African people. Surely there could be no better time for all-party agreement on this proposal than the 75th anniversary of the ANC.

"By formally recognising the ANC, and by granting the freedom of Dublin to Nelson and Winnie Mandela, Ireland would be seen throughout the world to be taking a firm and unequivocal stand in opposition to the vile system of apartheid. These moves, coupled

## Recognise ANC — Mac Giolla



*Above: Tomás Mac Giolla meets A.N.C. Representative Reg September (left) accompanied by Kader Asmal of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement at a rally in Dublin to mark the 75th anniversary of the founding of the African National Congress.*

with strong Irish pressure for mandatory international sanctions would be the most effective response by this country to con-

tinuing refusal of the South African government to dismantle the apartheid system," Mr Mac Giolla said.

THE Workers' Party in Belfast has launched a blistering attack on former London County Council chief and Labour Party MP, Ken Livingstone. The Workers' Party statement from Regional Chairperson Councillor Seamus Lynch followed on remarks made by Mr Livingstone on BBC Radio.

Councillor Lynch said that Mr Livingstone's ignorance of the real nature of Northern Ireland was matched only by his determination to provide the arch enemies of the working class, the Tories, with the type of ammunition which could lead to the defeat of the British Labour Party at the next election.

"To describe the vicious sectarian terrorist campaign of the Provisionals as a 'war' or a 'national liberation struggle' was a gross insult to all those who fought and died in the wars against fascism

## Livingstone's 'ignorance' condemned

from the battlefields of Spain to the end of World War II," Councillor Lynch claimed.

"Equally, to state that the Provisionals were in some way socialist was to display a gross misunderstanding of an organisation which had strong fascist tendencies as was demonstrated in their murder of innocent civilians — from the massacre of Protestant workmen in Bessbrook to the slaughter of a husband and wife in a back entry in Belfast.

"Furthermore the Workers' Party, as the only socialist party in Northern Ireland, will not accept the efforts of Mr Livingstone to equate the State forces

with sectarian terrorist gangs. This smacks of the thinking of the Italian Red Brigade, the German Bader Meinhof and the Spanish ETA, all of whom are deeply influenced by the vicious Trotskyist poison which Mr Livingstone avows," Councillor Lynch said.

"Finally we call on the vast majority within the British Labour Party and British Labour Movement to disassociate themselves from any suggestion that they have sympathy for or anything common with the Provisionals," Councillor Lynch concluded.

# Belfast 1916 Commemoration

NO POLITICAL problem can be solved by terrorism, this was the clear message spelt out by Craigavon Councillor Tom French at the Workers' Party Commemoration of the 1916 Rising in Belfast.

Councillor French also outlined that there is a grave responsibility upon the democratic political parties in Northern Ireland to seek every possible opportunity to come together to bring about a democratic political revival in our community, leading to fresh democratic institutions.

"It is absolutely appalling that the nationalist and unionist parties are both using the excuse of the Anglo-Irish Agreement to avoid coming to grips with the extremely difficult political problems which we face. Our community is paying the price for this intransigence.

"Equally there is a grave responsibility on both the British and Irish governments who secured this Agreement for failing to move forward on key elements of its contents. We refer to the Articles dealing with Democratic Devolved Government and a Bill of Rights. Were these sections included to bluff the people of Northern Ireland into believing that the governments were seriously committed to fundamental democratic principles? No other conclusion can be drawn if there is continued failure to progress on these vital questions during the remainder of the period before the Agreement comes up for re-scrutiny. We have proposed time and again the possibility of convening a Democratic Convention outside of the Agreement whereby a consensus could be reached on a fresh start. Once again we call on the democratic political parties to respond to this initiative," Cllr French stressed.

Civil Liberties, he said, continue to be a source of wide-ranging contention in Northern Ireland. "The right to peaceful demonstration and protest is an essential part, not only of personal freedom, but of a public and vigorous political life for a community. The abuse of this right by bigots and hate-mongers, and by both nationalist and loyalist paramilitaries determined to imply for themselves a legitimacy which they do not possess, has threatened property and life alike, and has imposed severe restrictions on the freedom to express this right publicly," said the tough talking Craigavon Councillor.

"The right to public demonstration must be balanced by responsibility to maintain public order and safety, particularly in a society divided, as ours is, by sectarian intolerance, prejudice and hatred. Legislation designed to reach and maintain such balance, like the new Public Order (Northern Ireland) Order, must not, however, be used to attack or ban legitimate public demonstration by trade union or other groups, merely



*Councillor Tom French*

because the government is unhappy, embarrassed, or opposed to such demonstrations. Past experience on such matters, with the Payment for Debt Act, or the Prevention of Terrorism Act, for example, shows that though designed for one purpose, they were used as a blanket catch-all to suit the purposes of government. Who can doubt that unless preventive steps are taken, then the Public Order legislation will be used in the same manner to stifle legitimate protest," Councillor French argued.

The Workers' Party pledged its support solidly behind the working class and the trade union movements. The exploitation of the unemployed, Councillor French said, created by the monetarist policies of the Thatcher government must be totally condemned and resisted. The use of the 'take-over', often by members of the same management board under the guise of new or alternative companies, has been and is being used to break existing negotiated agreements, to reduce pay levels, reduce holiday entitlement, and to increase the working week.

Workers, he stressed, were being classified as general workers, with an end to separate skilled categories of worker like craftsmen, quality controllers, or engineering technicians. All this is aimed at reducing the wages of the highly skilled and the specialists to a lower general level, and encourages the low pay economy based on exploitation of the workforce and the capitalist greed for maximum profit. The Workers' Party, Councillor French stated, is dedicated to resist these tactics of management, which reflect the policies of the Conservative Party in their attacks, through imposed legislation, designed to undermine and divide the trade union movement. Workers and trade union leaders alike must be aware of this government's objective and take care not to be split on spurious trivial differences of opinion or strategy.

"The Workers' Party believes that the present levels of unemployment, which have more than doubled in the past ten years, are obscene and totally unacceptable. Lord Young in the last few days has

said that the level of unemployment does not matter. What matters, he says, is the trend, which shows some slight reduction based on manipulated figures used by the government to disguise the real levels. For the Workers' Party each and every single individual unemployed person matters. Major emergency action to halt the slide into the economic abyss is necessary if Northern Ireland is not to become an economic wasteland."

The unemployed and the low paid, Councillor French urged, must mobilise and use their collective power, at the ballot box in particular, to force the politicians here to face the facts and make the employment situation here one of the major items on the Northern Ireland political agenda. "They, of course, are too busy with the usual futile struggle between the discredited twins of nationalism and unionism. Workers must reject the sectarianism which has eaten away at democracy here for far too long, and rally behind their class banner, and unite in the struggle for a better life for ourselves and our families," Councillor French stressed.

He called on all workers to challenge those they have supported in the past at the ballot box, to join in the Workers' Party's call for a jobs forum to include all democratic political parties, trade unions and other relevant bodies, to plan a major attack on the unemployment problem. Politicians who fail to join in and support this call must be rejected.

In a situation where jobs are scarce, problems of discrimination and inequality of employment opportunity have persisted in Northern Ireland despite the Fair Employment Act, legislation on equal pay, sex discrimination, and regulations on the disabled. Women continue to bear the worst effects of the economic crisis, and we welcome the recent review of Anti-Discrimination law as extremely important. The legal provisions must be strengthened to secure equality of opportunity for all, and abolish discrimination on the grounds of religion, sex, race, disability, age and any other factor. An affirmative action programme by the State must be instituted if this problem is to be destroyed and this must include a programme of education on tolerance and understanding.

"We are calling the working class of Ireland to join the revolutionary struggle for socialism. We want men and women who are willing to dedicate their lives to this struggle. That task is not an easy one. We must live to fight terrorism and fascism; we must live to fight against unemployment, for the right to work; we must live to fight for a reasonable wage and against low pay; we must live to fight against Capitalism; we must live for Socialism; for the rights of the worker and the rights of those presently unemployed.

"It is by living for Ireland that we can succeed in our objective of a Socialist secular, democratic republic, which will give all men and women in our society equality of opportunity. It is to this objective that members of the Workers' Party dedicate their lives and we call on you, the working class — the real majority in Ireland — to join us in that struggle so that Socialism will succeed."

OF ALL the locations that the Workers' Party in Dublin could have chosen to hold its commemoration of the 1916 Rising, there is none that I can think of which is more appropriate than Kilmainham Jail, because of its historically significant associations.

But 200 years ago this year, the jail has housed prisoners right up to 1924, and for some periods during that time it has been used exclusively to house Irish Revolutionaries.

United Irishmen and women, such as Anne Devlin, Napper Tandy, Henry Joy McCracken, Fenians such as John O'Leary and O'Donovan Rossa, have all been held here, while five of the Invincibles were hanged here; and of course the seven signatories of the 1916 Proclamation of the Irish Republic were shot here, including our own James Connolly, a giant in Irish revolutionary socialist history.

We are not here however to glorify death, or physical force, as some may imagine. We are here to acknowledge that 1916 was a significant point of departure for the Irish revolutionary tradition; to acknowledge too that despite the tremendous sacrifices of 1913 during the great Lock-out; the role that event played in raising consciousness; in the creation of the Irish Citizens Army which played a major role in 1916; that ultimately it was the classes represented by William Martin Murphy who gained the initiative, and remain in control of Ireland today, though they are now serving as 'Squireens' for Anglo-American capital.

There were those in 1916, and since then, who deplored the presence of James Connolly in the GPO, and in their ignorance and doctrinaire attitudes, labelled him as a traitor to his class.

Such people neither know Connolly nor how a social revolution must be fought and won. For there is no such thing as a 'pure' revolution, as Lenin pointed out in his defence of James Connolly and his tiny Irish Citizens Army. "Whoever expects a 'pure' social revolution," he said, "will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip service to revolution without understanding what revolution is."

Connolly of course knew clearly why he was there in the GPO. One week before the rising he warned the Irish Citizens Army to hold onto their rifles in the event of victory, because he said, some of their allies might stop before their goal was reached. "We are out for economic as well as political liberty," he said. Neither had Padraic Pearse any illusions about Connolly's determination to push beyond mere separation from Britain. He is reported to have said to a friend "He will never be satisfied until he goads us into action, and then he will think most of us are too moderate, and want to guillotine half of us."

Obviously Connolly was no starry-eyed romantic, in love with the concept of the 'blood-sacrifice', so prevalent at that time, and revived in our time by the Provisionals. What he saw was an opportunity to place the Irish working class in the leadership of the struggle for independence from colonial rule, and the potential that struggle had at that time for social revolution. And it is important to

## De Rossa's address to Dublin 1916 Commemoration



Proinsias De Rossa TD speaking at Kilmainham.

note here that Connolly insisted that not a shot be fired in Northern Ireland.

Occasions such as this commemoration are opportunities to clarify for ourselves, our class, and our allies, where we stand on the issues of the day. The primary issue, though not the only one of importance to us at present, is the need for peace and democracy on this island and particularly in Northern Ireland. For peace and democracy is needed to build the unity of the Irish working class to enable that class to tackle the 'Irish Question', which Connolly defined as a 'Social Question'. "It resolves," he said, "in the last analysis into a fight for mastery of the means of life, the sources of production."

The Workers' Party, born of the Irish revolutionary tradition, has struggled long and hard, and painfully, to emerge from the dead weight of some of that tradition, which had lost all meaning, which had lost all contact with reality.

The physical force tradition in particular was one which stood in the way of building a modern revolutionary party, capable of tackling the struggle in its modern form. Physical force was and is a tradition which became elevated to the status of a 'sacred duty', by which all other actions were judged, and it effectively smothered political development, and as we can see on a daily basis, it has now degenerated into the grotesque slaughter of Irish men and women, being indulged in by the

Provisional and INLA gangs.

History for them consists of slogans to kill by; for us history is a guide which reveals to us the lessons of the past, and the forces at work in our society.

We must wrest the tradition of Connolly from those who use him to mandate and justify their atrocities, and block the way to working class unity. We must also wrest him from those who have turned him into a 'plaster saint', and who have robbed him of his revolutionary potential.

It is appropriate also at this time and place to refer to another major task facing the Workers' Party and that is to force the Irish Government to seek re-negotiation of the EEC's Single European Act, by campaigning for a 'NO' vote in the forthcoming referendum.

As an Internationalist and Socialist party we have taken a very clear and unambiguous line in relation to this issue. We have spurned the isolationist and old fashioned protectionist approach to the economy and international affairs of some elements who want Ireland to withdraw from the EEC, preferring instead to seek to join with our working class allies in the EEC to struggle for a non-aligned, denuclearised Europe, to struggle for an end to the appalling unemployment which stands at 16 million in the EEC, and to defend the social services which were won through the struggle of the working class in each country.



# Poverty, politics and the Church

*Dublin-based priest, Fr. Peter McVerry, in an interview with Deirdre Purcell first published by the Sunday Tribune (12 April 1987).*

IT IS as simple as this. The poor we will always have with us because that is the way we want it. Our system is designed for it and the budgets are its markers.

Fr Peter McVerry, the man who lives with the poor in Ballymun, is philosophically hopeless. He took extensive notes on Ray MacSharry's budget speech but was not surprised at any of its provisions, since all ruling politicians in this country are middle-class and committed to the preservation of our middle-class free-enterprise, capitalist, competitive way of life.

"From the point of view of the poor, this budget is a disaster. It has done nothing to improve their lot, and in quite a number of cases it has done quite a lot to worsen it. There is no provision for them or for their hardships. They are being treated like any other special-interest group." The poor need more resources spent on them? The answer is, as always, that every group wants more resources. Farmers want more resources. Builders want more resources. Teachers want more resources. So do sports and the arts. The poor are always the last because even though there are a million of them, their voices are the faintest. We keep them locked outside.

Fr McVerry believes it is outrageous that we, the poor included, have bought the line that 'the burden must be spread equally over all sections of the community'. Thus we have accepted that pay-related benefit to a single person has been reduced so dramatically that their real income will drop by more than 15%. This single person, who has been living on an income of £63 per week, will now draw £53.

"In several cases, the income of the poor has been substantially reduced. There is nothing in the budget which so substantially reduces the income of those on high incomes.

"The underlying theme is sinister." He explains this. "The system is trying to push people into low-paid service-sector jobs in private enterprise." With social welfare benefits so low, people will be forced into exploitative labour in order to survive. But that way lies great

cosmetic benefit to the state. "By removing the unemployed from the live register, the problem is swept under the carpet. It is not visible any more. The working poor are no one's concern. It is better to work than not to work, but such exploitation institutionalises poverty."

There is further menace in the 'job-search' scheme, under which those on long-term unemployment assistance are to be interviewed. 40,000 will be placed on Manpower schemes. There will be 12,000 scheme jobs. "This implies that the poor are work-shy. That you can't trust them, because there's a certain amount of fiddling going on. That you really have to push them to get them to do anything." In Fr McVerry's experience, the vast majority of people want to work, even if the job pays hardly anything. "It is not re-training people need, it is jobs."

He rejects outright the current government attitude that before jobs can be created, the environment for them must be built by the lowering of interest rates, thereby attracting investment. "That's the right-wing ideological myth — that unemployment is not the government's responsibility. The reality is that the private sector is quite happy to let workers go as quickly and as often as it can. It is quite happy, much happier, bringing in machinery to replace workers, using as few workers as possible, the minimum necessary to maintain profits margins. The private sector has no commitment to employment — seeing it as a necessary evil..."

He accepts that this is an extreme view and excepts some "caring, committed individual employers" in the private sector. It is the societal structure he is talking about. This structure is underpinned by successful people, to whom the private enterprise system has been rewarding. "The dominant patterns of thinking here are imposed by those who are successful." This group includes those of power in politics and influence in the media. "If you are constantly told that there is no more scope for increased taxation and that message is constantly

coming through — in quotes from politicians and those with vested interests — you come to believe it."

It is a message he vehemently opposes. Of course the PAYE workers have reached the limits, but there is, he believes, a vast hinterland of under-tapped sources elsewhere in society. "The farmers are getting away with murder. It is nonsense to say that now they will be treated in the same way as everyone else, when no government in the history of the state has been able to collect adequate taxation from them. Their contribution is expected to be £35m. When you take into account that withholding tax from professionals (the new scheme whereby professionals such as lawyers on the Free Legal Aid panel and doctors who see medical-card holders will have tax deducted at source by the state) is expected to raise £25m — and that only from work they do for the state — while the entire farming community is expected to contribute only £10m more..."

He accepts that there are some poor farmers. But equally he believes that there are large numbers who are wealthy and who have never contributed their fair share.

Part of the problem is the increasing segregation of the poor. "More and more, they are being confined to particular geographical areas." Middle-class people do not have to live with them, speak to them, or even see them. In theory, everyone is concerned. In practice, no one is concerned enough to do anything about this concern. We deal always with symptoms, not causes."

Politicians are afflicted with this sanitary distancing. "I live with the poor and I see a lot of problems. A priest will always get people calling. You have to distance yourself; you cannot get involved emotionally." If you got emotionally involved with every problem you would end up in St Brendan's.

Politicians see problems, too, at their clinics. People call on them for help and solutions. Because of this they *think* they know the problems. But they, too, are necessarily objective. "A politician will always say, 'I know the problems, I see them in my constituency...'" But when the clinic is over, the politicians, those in the ruling parties, go back to their safe middle-class houses, insulated from the stench of poverty and despair in the ghettos. The struggles and aspirations of the poor are safely case-noted in snug filing cabinets.

In order that anything of lasting value be attempted, it is necessary that rulers and middle-class people see and experience the problems of the poor, not with their heads or with slide-rules, but in their gut. They should, for instance, have a pathetic parade of homeless children turn up on their doorsteps, as he does. The number of homeless children has soared. "It used to be a

trickle, now it is a flood."

At four o'clock one morning the police turned up at the emergency shelter at Percy Place with a six-year-old. The emergency is such that now, in order to obtain admittance to the shelter, children are interviewed to determine whose need is the most urgent. Those who lose in this desperate competition sleep in doorways, sheds, wrecked cars, or out-of-the-way deserted buildings — until they are chased out by alert security men.

Before this interview with Fr McVerry could begin in the spartan office of the Jesuit Centre for Faith and Justice in Sherrard Street, a young boy had to leave the room. He said he would come back later. He wore a clean chain-store anorak and frayed but neat jeans. He had red hair. He was homeless. He had had his interview down at the emergency shelter and was hoping to be accepted. There were three other children on the streets of the city that day who were also hoping — but there was only one bed available.

The children steal food from supermarkets. If they did not, they would not eat. They steal until they get caught and then they are processed into the criminal justice system, where they discover that to have a record is a status symbol in some groups. Only rarely does such a child grow into a 'straight' adult.

It is well-known and movingly documented everywhere why they leave home. We all know that they leave because they are sexually abused, or because they cannot stand the family rows, or because they are thrown out by parents who can no longer deal with them. They are spewed through the open crater of the erupting volcano of poverty. Politicians read the articles too and deal sympathetically with the 'cases' they encounter at their clinics.

"But it is not until you feel it in your gut," says Peter McVerry, who lives with five homeless boys in Ballymun, "that you get angry enough to do anything about it." This is one problem from which he does not emotionally distance himself. He is very angry.

"There is no problem with the public on this issue. The public are way ahead of the politicians on this one. It is one issue on which there is total public support. But the politicians are living in cloud-cuckoo-land. The kids either don't exist, or, at the very best, this problem is exaggerated by us do-gooders for reasons of our own..."

"Even if the problem is not denied, the resources are not made available to deal with it. No matter what ideology you belong to — extreme left-wing or extreme right-wing — that's top priority. 13 year olds living on the streets with nowhere to sleep and no food. There may be 100% public support for any measure you may want to bring in — but there is simply no political will."

So he gets angry because no matter how often he hassles for political attention, the politicians have not caught up with the public and the children still sleep in abandoned cars.

In the ghettos the people, resigned, are not angry. They are too worried about the struggle to be angry. "The struggle to survive takes over, that becomes the dominant theme of life." How am I going to feed the family this week, today, *now*? How am I going to pay the television licence? How am I going to pay for the confirmation? "People feel utterly powerless, with no way of channelling any other feelings into action." The closest they come to anger is frustration.

"They see the signs of wealth all around them and they know that they are excluded." And that the exclusion is permanent.

In the 13 years he has worked with the poor, going straight from the seminary to fill a vacancy in the inner-city parish of Sean MacDermott Street, he has witnessed the inexorable descent of the poor into this valley of hopelessness. "In the Seventies — well, times were bad and maybe you were unemployed, but there was always the idea that things would be better for your children. Now people know that there is zero chance that their children will get jobs. Life is far more miserable now."

"I often wonder what keeps them going. All those poor decent people. Why aren't they into crime? Why aren't they all out robbing? How can they continue, week after week, with the monotony of having nothing to do all day long and £33 a week to do it on... with zero prospects of anything different?"

He finds among the poor an extraordinary level of tolerance, goodwill — and a lack of bitterness. He derides gently the middle-class fear that social revolution is inevitable. "There'll be no social upheaval. There would have to be some sort of organisation involved, and people are basically not interested in being organised." If there were any sort of organisation he would join in, but would not lead it — that's not his role. "The only clout that 250,000 unemployed people have going for them is that there are 250,000 of them." He agrees that marches achieve nothing. "Not if they're once-off." And bus-fare into town is proportionately very high.

So the poor stay home and use their money for bread and tolerate their lot because society does. "A few years ago, we were saying that unemployment levels would be totally unacceptable if the numbers reached 80—90,000. We tolerated that. Now they are at 250,000 and we're still tolerating it." Still dealing with symptoms not causes. "Ours is a middle-class system, run by the middle-classes." A person's status is not defined

by job. Anyone who is "in relatively secure, relatively well-paid employment," is now middle-class.

The phrase 'new poor' was coined to perpetuate class distinctions so the 'old poor' could languish invisible. The 'new poor', those who struggle upward from the lower slopes of middle-class, yoked to mortgages and 'standards of living', keep their eyes raised. "It is a great pity that those in the lower-middle-class bracket can't get together with the poor." Such a coalition would have clout unlike either group alone. Just one step above the old, the new poor will not relinquish their place on the ladder.

Does he not encounter some resentment among those with whom he works? After all, he never has to worry about the next meal...

"I think the more reflective people would be resentful. But the vast majority attempt just to get by and with as good a grace as possible." He believes that the institutional church is not doing nearly enough. "It is certainly not doing enough. The church should be standing on the side of the poor. It should be demanding that there should be political concern for improving their lot, at whatever sacrifice to the rest and to themselves."

Part of the problem is that the corporate church is middle-class and so is its supporting constituency. The training of its personnel is, naturally, pastoral. "We are trained to deal with individuals, to counsel, to advise. Most clergy would feel totally out of their depth when it comes to economics and social policy. We should be trained to see how certain policies affect certain social groups and be demanding that, in the name of the gospel, certain groups have their interests protected."

He believes that in this regard the situation in the church is improving. "I've seen a great increase in awareness among the clergy and among religious with regard to justice issues." Even at corporate level, the Catholic Social Services Conference produced a commentary on the budget and the Conference of Major Religious Superiors made a submission to the Minister. "A number of bishops are now taking stands."

The change is slow but steady. Some bishops cannot change and it is unfair to expect change. "It is an area of reflection that is so alien, so foreign to their training." On the other hand it is perfectly feasible, and is actually happening, that religious conservatism can go hand-in-hand with progressive stands on social issues.

All the talk about 'issues', 'justice', 'poverty traps', and 'the poor' is cheap and cosmetic. Particularly so is the buzzphrase 'transfer of resources within our society'. We all believe in it but which of us, asks a tired priest, will transfer a resource?



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# Talks or terror — Lynch

"THE politicians of Northern Ireland are surrendering the initiative to the terrorists with every day that passes without talks," Councillor Seamus Lynch, Chairperson of the Workers' Party in Northern Ireland said in June. Councillor Lynch, addressing the annual general meeting of the Greater Belfast Region of the Party, called for all democratic parties to act immediately to secure a devolved, democratic structure for the province.

"We are seeing already the sectarian bigots bring bloodshed to the streets of North Belfast again this summer. The murderous attacks we have witnessed this week will continue to increase so long as the political forces in our society allow vicious paramilitary gangs to occupy the centre stage of public affairs. There can be no vacation from the

urgent political task facing democrats in Northern Ireland.

"While rival nationalist and unionist politicians have watched each other warily, sparring for advantage and unwilling to commit themselves to talks, it is the working people who have paid the heavy price in terms of a mounting toll of maiming and murder.

"There must be no question of waiting until the tensions of a 'long hot summer' have passed before moving forward on this issue. That is a defeatist strategy which concedes the initiative to the hate-mongers and murderers, an open invitation to them to do their worst to sabotage any hope of progress towards peace. Discussions should begin immediately, with the aim of establishing well-founded, democratic structures of devolved government here within

months rather than years.

"The Workers' Party have called repeatedly for a broadly based, open ended, democratic convention to be convened in which the representatives of the people of Northern Ireland can hammer out the details of a framework for governing themselves, for gaining control over our own lives, and obtaining a say in what kind of future our children will have.

"This is not some vague, future agenda. It is an urgent, and immediate, priority. As democratic politicians we must not concede any space to the forces of terrorism and death. We owe it to the innocent victims of violence, to the people of Northern Ireland longing for peace, to make positive, political action a reality now."

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## PROVISIONAL IRA — DRUGS LINK

A NUMBER of fund-raisers for the Provisional IRA in the United States have received jail sentences of up to 10 years for drug smuggling activities which raised funds for weapons for the Provisionals in Northern Ireland.

Two were specifically charged with smuggling marijuana into the US, while a number of charges for racketeering were dropped only when agreement was reached to plead on the gun running charges.

Exposure of their links to organised drug trafficking will come as a major embarrassment to the Provisional organisation in Ireland — which have pushed the line of being to the forefront in opposing drugs here.

While to the forefront in forcing alleged pushers out of local communities through their activities in the Concerned Parents organisation, they now appear to raise much of their money in the US by drug dealing.

The link between paramilitary groups such as the Provisionals and INLA, and drug related activities, has long been suspected, with a number of individuals on the fringes of both organisations involved in drug offences here in Ireland.

In Waterford, for instance, an active H-Block campaigner and an organiser of the first public meeting for the IRSP in the city was sentenced for involvement in a drug smuggling offence some years ago.

Another drugs trafficker, James McCann, discovered to be involved in a drugs trans-shipment in an incident on the Naas Road, had close contacts with Provisional boss, Joe Cahill, and regularly boasted of paramilitary links.

Provisional elements within the Concerned parents were also embarrassed to discover recently that one of the pushers targeted for eviction in Finglas was a

steward during the Provisional led H-Block marches and campaign of the early '80s.

Drug smuggling into the US from Latin America has become a highly profitable activity for organised crime — and has

been identified by Provisional support groups there as an 'easy' form of fund raising. Efforts to disguise the organisation's direct links to US drug dealing had, however, proved largely successful until recent convictions.



# BODENSTOWN '87

THE terrorism of the Provisionals and bankrupt policies of the conservative parties are the twin obstacles to be overcome in the attempt to achieve a socialist Ireland, Workers' Party Ard Comhairle member Cathal Goulding stated at the party's 1987 Bodenstown commemoration for Wolfe Tone in June.

"By their campaign of terrorism the Provisionals have alienated Protestant workers in the Six Counties, diverted attention from the struggle for democratic reforms and produced the stimulus the Loyalists needed to recover Orange unity," he stated.

"The Provisionals' sectarian killings force people in the North to place survival itself ahead of normal political action.

## **Ireland's Contras**

"The assassination of building workers, caterers or milkmen exposes Provisional lipservice to the Left as little more than National Socialism. These blackshirts in balaclavas are Ireland's Contras, financed by the same anti-socialist, racist elements," he pointed out.

The secular anti-sectarian policies advocated by Wolfe Tone and his defence of the "men of no property" could not be further removed from the policies of the Provisionals.

"But equally we can see through the so-called Republicanism of Fianna Fáil, who pretend to the tradition of Tone, yet club together with the parties of the establishment on the question of workers' pay, education and health.

"They want to take health and welfare services from the state; to sell, or better still, to give public enterprises to the powerful industrialists. They would sandblast through the industrial rights won with blood and pain by workers over the last century.

## **'Free' market?**

"Then they propose to let the economy have a free rein, to create conditions for 'free market forces'.

"Free for whom? For the unemployed, for the families dependent on social welfare, for the PAYE worker staggering under the tax burden of the nation? — For the sick? the old? the handicapped?

"It is a cynical insult to the working class to speak of 'free' market forces in 1987 when thousands and thousands of our people are beaten down with poverty, barely making it from one day to the next, in terror of debt and without any hope for their future or their children's future.

"The working class have no choices to make, no free force to use in the economic blight of 1987 capitalism in Ireland.



*Cathal Goulding delivering the oration at the Wolfe Tone Commemoration in Bodenstown.*

"The recent referendum on the Single European Act also shows clearly their desire to sell us into NATO, as voters were threatened, bullied and deceived into supporting this erosion of our neutrality.

"The most urgent and pressing need is of creating a strong and vibrant party of the working class with a sense of history, an understanding of the present and a clear vision of the future.

"It is the leadership and class-consciousness of the Workers' Party which alone can bring about the self-confidence and unity of the working class, and shake off past dissensions and

sectarian divisions which have frustrated all social progress.

"The forces of the establishment today are winning because the people are not in unity. The forces of the establishment are bigger, stronger than the force presented by any one of the people's organisations alone.

"But the united potential of working class organisations can face-down the establishment, can present them with an unbeatable opposition. Unity is strength and there will be no revolutionary progress in this country until we realise this," Cathal Goulding added.

# WORKERS' PARTY ANNUAL DELEGATE CONFERENCE 1987

*PARTY President Alderman Tomás Mac Giolla TD gave a lengthy speech to the conference. Here we print some extracts.*

I AM NOW satisfied at last that the Workers' Party has been firmly established in Irish politics. Our uncompromising adherence to socialist principles and our defence of working people and their organisation has been an essential factor during the past few years in fighting off the onslaught of the right wing parties, the parties of the bosses and exploiters, the parties of the cheaters, the frauds and the robbers.

## OUR ROOTS

It was Connolly who first brought scientific socialism to bear on Irish politics. He gave a political voice for the first time to the Irish working class, and in his *Labour in Irish History* he accorded to them their true historical role as the incorruptible inheritors of the fight for freedom. "We cannot conceive of a free Ireland with a subject working class," *Workers' Republic*, December 18, 1915. I think it is important that we regularly take a look at our roots, at the history and tradition from which we have sprung. Ours is no alien philosophy. It is rooted in our history, embedded in our culture.

The Workers' Party is proud to be part of that great tradition, that cultural ethos which gives us our instinctive understanding of socialist principles. We understand Marx because Marx and Engels understood us. They studied and learned from the Irish struggle.

Through the study of scientific socialism and of the experience of other countries, the Workers' Party has grown as a socialist party dedicated to give leadership and power to the Irish working class.

## FREEDOM

We must now begin to raise the struggle to a new level. Freedom is what we must strive for. Freedom for the oppressed class which has never known freedom. How can you be free if you work for slave wages and are hired and fired like a slave? How can you be free if you have no job and are told you never will have a job? How can you be free if you haven't been educated to achieve your full potential? How can you be free if you are illiterate as thousands are, or semi-illiterate as tens of thousands are? Where is the freedom of expression and

of communication, let alone artistic or intellectual freedom? Have we lost our understanding of the meaning of that precious word freedom, just as we have lost our understanding of the meaning of the word republican. 'Brits out' does not bring freedom and 'Yanks in' brings even less.

Capitalism destroys people, the environment and our resources. Socialism constructs, expands, protects, cares for people. It brings freedom.

Capitalism is about the alienation of human beings, one from another. Capitalism is about the creation of divisions in society, where the weak turn on the weakest, while both are manipulated and controlled by the few at the top, the owners of wealth and holders of power. Many who should know their interests are with us have been stampeded by their own fear into cowering with our political opponents, against us. But we are in no doubt now, and never were, that no matter how difficult the task to be done, we will in the end succeed.

## ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT

Mr Mac Giolla went on to deal with the effects of the Anglo-Irish Agreement on Northern Ireland. "The SDLP is telling the unemployed Catholics that they can now hold their heads up and they are equal to the unemployed Protestants. The Unionist leaders are marching about breathlessly trying to get arrested and playing among themselves the 'I'm-more-extreme-than-you' game. The Provisionals after their humiliation in the Republic's general election seem to have added a new tack to terrorism: 'If you don't give us a good vote we'll step up the slaughter'.

Our members on the ground in the North, from both Catholic and Protestant roots, recognise that all the ingredients are there for an upsurge of communal violence. Loyalist insecurity has never been deeper and their leaders jostling for position are feeding that insecurity in a calculated display of frenzied over-reaction. The Provisionals are ever willing to push for a final descent into sectarian anarchy. The world is a much simpler place when viewed through a gunsight in your own little God-given ghetto.

## FAILURE

The result of the Agreement for us is

that the already stony ground for the seeds of an anti-sectarian movement is stonier still. Many of our fears about this Agreement have been realised. It is a wedge between the working classes. The failure to offer any consultation to the Unionists in the run-up to the Hillsborough signing was a serious mistake. It added to their alienation and they felt excluded from a political process which was concerned with their future. Their fear that the Orange culture is about to be subsumed in some way is very real. Whether the threat itself exists or not is academic. Nobody can deny the reality for them of Provisional savagery.

We believe the time is right for a generous gesture such as the re-location of the Secretariat offices or a temporary suspension of Secretariat and conference meetings. Many loyalists have come to the conclusion already that absolute intransigence is basically unhealthy. Maybe they would be ready for talks on devolution and John Hume could then be forced to talk or be isolated.

## UNITY

For the Workers' Party the objectives in Northern Ireland are the same as in the Republic. The struggle is for Peace, Democracy and Freedom and the means of struggle is working class unity. So if the Anglo-Irish Agreement can be used as a vehicle for achieving a Bill of Rights and devolved government as steps towards democracy, then we will use it. If it can't then it's better dead.

Comrades and friends, while we must be very clear in our ideology we must not always maintain a doctrinaire approach. Socialism is not a dogma, it is a philosophy of life; it is a way of life. There are some truths of socialism which have stood all tests in all times — the theory of the means of production, distribution and exchange, the theory of the class struggle in a class society, the leading role of the working class.

## SOCIALISM

Too often we allow our enemies to turn a socialist world into a place of grey skies. This is not how we see socialism.

Socialism is philosophy, economics, and ethics: it is a philosophy of life.

What kind of socialism do we want in Ireland? We want socialism that is true to its principles and adaptable to the genius of our people. We want to enrich town and country and enhance our cities, we want neighbourliness and courtesy to rule again, we want to walk the streets at night and greet our friends and neighbours, we want to retain our culture and traditions and absorb the best from other cultures in a constantly changing and developing pattern of life.

Let us build the Party for the workers, a party that like socialism will stand the test of time and yet change again to meet history rushing towards us.

# The vanguard party — Garland

THE EXISTENCE of the Workers' Party at this point in time is a decisive factor in the history of the Irish working class.

We have arrived at an historical point in time when the class lines are being clearly drawn, when the working class has begun to develop a consciousness of its own role and place in society, to develop an awareness of who the enemy is and of what is required in order to win this war. The past years have taught the working class that every class struggle is a political struggle and that every political struggle is a class struggle.

The results and fruits of today's battles lie not in their immediate result but in the ever expanding influence and unity of the working class led by the Workers' Party.

A decade ago we took the decision to add the title The Workers' Party to our name. This was a reflection of the many changes that had taken place without our organisation over the previous decade and a firm recognition of the political ideology to which we subscribe,



Sean Garland, General Secretary

and a public and lasting demonstration of the class interests that the Party represents.

There are as we know many more difficult tasks to overcome. Many, many more vicious attacks to be met and

defeated, but compared to a decade ago it is possible to state that the ground held by the Workers' Party is now incomparably greater.

As the vanguard party we must continually act as the vanguard. It is not enough as Lenin has said, to attach revolutionary sounding names or labels to ourselves. We must be with the people in every area of struggle.

In these difficult times when the ruling classes of these islands are making concerted and vicious attacks on the working class, it is essential that the ties between the Party and the working class expand and strengthen. It is vital in this struggle to develop class consciousness and unity, that we centralise and direct all local struggles into one national struggle between the classes.

Again and again the lesson of revolutionary struggle is that only a united disciplined class-conscious party of the working class, organised on the principles of democratic centralism can organise and lead the working class to victory.

## Our international role

DEFENCE of Irish neutrality, opposition to the arms race and support for the people of Nicaragua and Southern Africa were among the themes at the International debate.

Delegates criticised the refusal of the government to seek guarantees on our neutrality within the Single European Act, and called for:

- ★ development of close ties between Ireland and the Non-Aligned Movement with a view to our becoming a full member,
- ★ adoption of a clearly independent and non-aligned position by the Irish Government in matters pertaining to EEC foreign policy and at United Nations level,
- ★ constitutional guarantees to ensure that Ireland remains outside all military alliances,
- ★ stepping up of talks on nuclear de-escalation, geared at seeking removal of all nuclear weapons from Europe and the dissolution of all military blocks, including both NATO and the Warsaw Pact were backed.

On Nicaragua, delegates called for diplomatic recognition of the democratically elected Sandinista government, material assistance from our government in the reconstruction of their society, and an end to US support for Contra terrorists.

A number of resolutions backed the ANC and SWAPO as the sole representatives of the people of South Africa and Namibia in the struggle against apartheid and called for the release of Nelson

Mandela, the imprisoned ANC leader.

Attacks on progressive government in Angola and Mozambique by groups controlled from South Africa were condemned.

## Euro Left

THE NEED for greater co-operation and unity between Communist, workers' and socialist parties throughout Europe to combat the unity in the Eurocapitalist camp was stressed. The Workers' Party committed itself to developing links on issues such as tackling terrorism, disarmament and economic integration.

## Women's rights

THE Workers' Party reaffirmed its commitment to the achievement of full equality for women in all areas of society and pledged themselves to vigorously campaign towards that end.

Speaking on women Marion Silcock, Lagan Valley, lashed what she claimed was the criminal exploitation of part-time women workers in Northern Ireland.

In the province there are 90,000 part-time workers who are mostly women. Marion Silcock told delegates that part-time work for women simply meant 'No choice, no rights and very few benefits'.

"I know this because I am a part-time worker. I am employed in the lowest grade and receiving the lowest rate of pay. I have little if any chance of promotion. All of this because I am a woman."

Marion Silcock went on to describe

how most women had to work unsociable hours with no premium payments, with no rights, no sick pay and no rest periods.

The Conservative Government is responsible for this situation, Marion stated and claimed the Government were determined to drive down wage rates, undermine trade unions and encourage cheap labour policies against employees, in particular women.

In spite of ten years of equality legislation, poverty, low pay and unemployment are the realities for tens of thousands of women. In light of this the Workers' Party called for:

- (a) introduction of a new statutory minimum wage for all;
- (b) the government to introduce legislation to protect the rights of part-time workers;
- (c) recognition of the failure of successive governments to make the right to work reality by providing comprehensive child-care facilities.

Other motions passed dealt with rape and pregnancy counselling.

## Veteran members

VETERAN members of the Workers' Party were presented with Connemara marble plaques.

From Belfast came Spanish Civil War soldier of the International Brigade, Paddy McAllister; Jack Brady and Gerry Dunlop, lifelong campaigners for socialism and freedom. Dunleer sisters Rose and Kitty Hickey whose association with radical Irish politics stretches back to the land league.

## Annual Delegate Conference 1987

From Scotland, and now retired in Ireland, Mick McDermott, who is still active in the Drogheda branch of the Party.

From Newry, Dolores Rowntree, Newry Party Branch treasurer and founder member of the local Civil Rights organisation; and from Dublin husband and wife Paddy and Kathleen Whelan, active for over fifty years in working class struggle.

Donegal man Padraig McCallaig, who reckons that he is "almost a hundred years old" worked at the Workers' Party head office until recently, and first became involved in the freedom struggle in Tyrone in 1917.

### Alternative for youth

DESPITE over 100,000 young people having emigrated in the last three years and a further 40,000 on AnCO and Manpower schemes, there are still over 77,000 under 25s on the dole — many of whom are being disillusioned by the persistent policies of conservative right wing governments.

In the debate on youth affairs the Workers' Party outlined a wide-ranging policy that offers young people a real alternative.

Only the Workers' Party has a plan to eliminate youth unemployment.

As the cornerstone to the Workers' Party policy a social guarantee giving young people a right to productive involvement in education, training, leisure and work is being sought.

### Democracy call for Northern Ireland

THE setting up of democratic political

structures with decision making powers is the only means of tackling the current impasse in the North, and tackling the terrorists and bigots on both sides of the community.

Delegates were critical of the failure of the British or Irish governments to utilise the Anglo-Irish Agreement for greater progress on democracy, job creation or introduction of a Bill of Rights. They called for:

- placing the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 'cold storage' to enable all-party talks to begin,

- acceptance of tabling of a Bill of Rights as accepted by all parties as a vital first step,

- convening of a meeting of all democratic political parties to discuss options for devolution.

A stepped up campaign against sectarianism by the Workers' Party in Northern Ireland was also agreed.

### The local message

THERE were many motions on important local issues, which have an echo in most working class estates:

- ★ Dun Laoghaire demanded action on lack of basic bathroom and toilet facilities in over 1,000 local authority dwellings.

- ★ Cork City called on the Minister for the Environment to carry out upgrading of National Building Agency houses in the city and complete re-roofing in Knocknaheeny as a matter of urgency.

- ★ Ballymun, Dublin, called for a crash programme geared to boosting job levels and living conditions in the area.

- ★ Tallaght West branch, Dublin, demanded construction of the new Town Centre along lines originally envisaged to ensure adequate facilities and amenities.

### Nuclear free Irish Sea

THE Irish Sea should be declared a nuclear free zone to keep out military submarines and tackle nuclear pollution waste, particularly that from Sellafield in England.

### Press Council

A PRESS Council with statutory powers to monitor the media and legal sanctions against incitement to violence and to religious, racial and sectarian hatred, linked to abolition of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act (which prohibits interviews with certain organisations) was called for.

### Divorce

the Ard Fheis re-affirmed support for legislation to allow introduction of divorce in Ireland. As a matter of urgency family support services promised in the course of the referendum, particularly a proper family law tribunal, should be introduced.

### Electoral reform

SUNDAY voting to boost turnout, banning of canvassing at polling booths and a limit to the amount of money spent by individual candidates were among proposals agreed during a discussion on electoral reform.

### Health: 'Provide better service'

ON HEALTH services in Northern Ireland, the Conference supported Motion No.8 which endorsed the major strategies of the DHSS Regional Development Plan for the service over the next five years. However the resolution deplored the failure of Government to provide the means to achieve the ends.

Particularly, the proposal from the Belfast Region demanded that the Government make available to the four health boards the following minimal financial demands to provide for at least proper planning of new developments in the service.

1. That the Government agree to underwrite in total all annual pay awards for staff.

2. That the Government continue to provide the half per cent growth allowance as previously suggested.

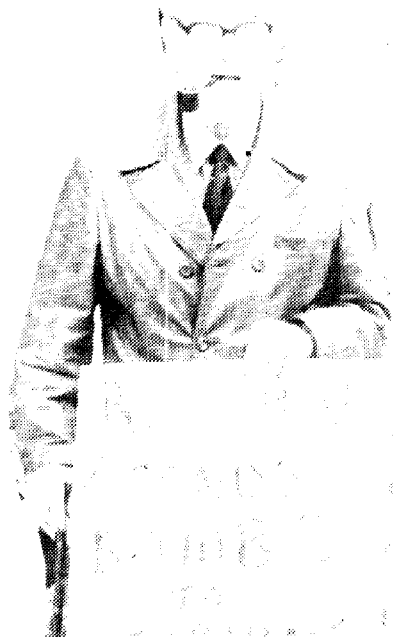
3. That the Government provide bridging finance to enable the transfer of patients from institutional care to community care.

Leading the debate Workers' Party West Belfast representative and health spokesperson Mary McMahon said: "According to the Government's stated objectives, planning in Health and Personal Social Services over the next five years in Northern Ireland should see a major switch of emphasis from hospital care to community care, and in those parts of medicine which have been traditionally under-rated, such as mental illness.

"There would be nothing wrong with an approach which offered higher standards of care, and in an environment they were familiar with."



Tomás Mac Giolla (centre) with (l to r) Igor Sokolov, International Department CPUSSR; Victoria Antonelli, Italian Communist Party (PCI); Yves Jardín, Head of International Relations of the UDB of Brittany; and Henry Davis and Roger Gaimier of the Chilean Socialist Party at the 1987 Workers' Party Conference.



John Hewitt

## Poet dies

JOHN HEWITT, described as "The Father of Ulster Poetry" died recently in Belfast at the age of 79.

A socialist and life-long critic of the establishment, John Hewitt, who was awarded the freedom of his native city, Belfast, will be sadly missed not least by the Workers' Party in whose activities he took a keen interest.

John participated in a number of Workers' Party activities including a number of the annual 'Poets and Pints'.

He is pictured above at a Workers' Party protest against the visit to Ireland of Ronald Reagan in 1984 outside the American Consulate in Belfast.

To his family circle and friends we extend our sympathy.



*The problems of rampant unemployment, low wages, emigration and poverty can only be tackled by a total change in how we run our economy and society, Workers' Party President Tomás Mac Giolla TD, warned at a ceremony to mark the 40th anniversary of the death of Jim Larkin, one of Ireland's most noted trade union leaders, in Dublin last February. In the photo with him are Councillor Eric Byrne (Dublin South Central); Councillor Eamon Gilmore (Dun Laoghaire); Mike Jennings, (Dublin Central) and Councillor Pat Rabbitte (Dublin South West).*

## Passport scandal

THE passport scandal which has rocked the Irish Government has all the hallmarks of a John Le Carre novel.

It has been claimed that British intelligence agents supplied Irish passports to the American CIA for use in the Irangate affair.

However *Ireland* can reveal that the five passports in question fell into the hands of a British intelligence officer in O'Connell Street, Dublin, when a low ranking civil servant who is now serving in the Irish Embassy in an Asian country, alleged he lost five passports en route through Dublin.

The man, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, is believed to have been blackmailed by a British agent operating out of Dublin Castle.

The civil servant was threatened by British intelligence who said they would expose his true sexual preferences if the passports were not made available.

British intelligence wanted the passports for the CIA who handed them over to White House aides, Mr Robert McFarland and Lt. Col. Oliver North for their missions in Iran.

The misuse of Irish passports by foreign powers came to light during the Irangate scandal when those involved confessed to using them to move about the Middle East undetected as Americans.

It has been known for some time that various intelligence organisations have been operating in Ireland, including Israeli secret service Mossad because of the high degree of support here for the

Palestinians.

However, the biggest operators have been the MI6 and CIA. It seems that both are now working in tandem. The reason those in the intelligence community believe is the push by the US to get Ireland into NATO.

The Foreign Office in London declined to comment.

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# McCrackens honoured



L to R: Paddy McAllister and Gerry Dunlop, two Belfast veteran Socialists laying a wreath on the grave of Mary Ann and Henry Joy MacCracken, July 1987.

THE Workers' Party have paid tribute to two of Ireland's most celebrated revolutionaries, Henry Joy MacCracken and Mary Anne MacCracken, in a simple ceremony in the Belfast Cemetery where they are buried.

Addressing those present in the Churchyard off Belfast's Clifton St, Workers' Party activist Sheila McGuinness said: "Mary Ann MacCracken is one of the earliest champions of women's rights in Ireland.

"It is reputed that Henry Joy MacCracken lies here as well. Both were non-subscribing Presbyterian, republican, Ulster radicals who were proud to call themselves members of the movement of United Irishmen.

"The unity they spoke of was clearly identified by their colleague Theobald Wolfe Tone as that of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter, the unity of that honourable class — those of no property.

"The message in these phrases is just as relevant in Northern Ireland today as it was in the Belfast of the 1790s.

"The idea that class should take overriding priority in politics, that religion should cease to be a factor in political life, was a courageous and progressive proposal in the eighteenth century.

"It is the tragedy and shame of our society that as we move into the last decade of the 20th century the call of the Workers' Party for working class unity and for the elimination of sectarian barriers is still being portrayed as an isolated forlorn hope for the distant future. We will never accept such a despairing attitude.

"To those who say 'Your politics are correct, but the time is not right for them' — we say it is the sectarian murderers, the devious tribal politicians who are out of tune. In the 1790s they were already 100 years out of date, as men and women like the McCrackens brought the radical politics of the French Revolution to sow the seeds of change in Irish society. We carry their motto, Liberty-Equality-Fraternity, forward in our campaign for Peace, Work and Class Politics."

## OBITUARIES Ed Boyle

Edward Raymond Boyle, a long-time member of the Irish Republican Club of North America has died at his home in Madison, Wisconsin at the age of 38 years.

Ed was born in Marquette, Michigan, son of Edward and Marion Quinn Boyle. He was a descendant of early Irish pioneer miners of Wisconsin and Michigan. At an early age Ed joined the cause of "the men of no property". He was an active and outspoken foe of the US war in Vietnam and worked as a volunteer among the mountain people of West Virginia. After moving to Madison, Ed continued his involvement in left-wing politics and labour organising. In 1974 he joined the Madison Irish Republican Club and was one of its most active members until his death. Despite serious health problems, Ed worked tirelessly for Peace and Justice in Ireland and elsewhere. He was also a fine traditional musician and for over eight years was co-host and producer of "In Memory of James Connolly", a weekly radio programme of traditional Irish music, news and commentary.

Ed is survived by his parents, six brothers and sister, as well as his many comrades. Ed's ashes were scattered in Ireland.

## George B. Murphy

George B. Murphy, Jr., a man who was often called "the dean of Black journalists", has died in Washington, DC, USA, after a long illness. He was 80 years old.

George Murphy, born into the family that published the *Baltimore Afro-American*, had a lifelong record of service to the world peace movement and the Afro-American people's struggle for equality.

Under George Murphy's influence, the *Afro-American* gave editorial support to the victims of the McCarthyite assault of the 1950s on the civil liberties of black and white progressives.

He was proud of his association and friendship with the leading figures of his day, among them Communists. His grandfather and the father of Benjamin Davis, the Communist Council Member from Harlem, were old dear friends, as were he and Ben Davis. He was personal secretary to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and served as DuBois' campaign manager in his bid for a New York Senate seat on the Progressive Party ticket headed by Henry Wallace in 1948.

George B. Murphy was a firm supporter of the Workers' Party of Ireland and met with several of its members when on tour in the USA, including Tomás Mac Giolla, Seamus Lynch, Malachy McGurran and Sean Ó Cionnaith.

## Workers' Party wins 7% of vote

THE Workers' Party more than doubled its vote in the Court ward bye-election in Belfast in January with party candidate Peter Cullen polling 7% of the total votes cast.

Peter Cullen said that the vote showed that the people of Court ward were starting to realise that their interests lay with their own class and not with the extreme politics of sectarianism and bigotry.

"So-called institutionalised Parties once again showed," he said, "they were not prepared to stand up to the policies of hate. The only party to take up the challenge on behalf of the working class was the Workers' Party."

He pointed out that the socialist policies of the Workers' Party were welcome in all parts of the constituency. "We canvassed every part of the ward and got votes from every box. The alternative politics of the Workers' Party were like a breath of fresh air to the choking politics of violence, sectarianism and no hope," he said.

*WORKERS' Party Vice President and Belfast City Councillor, SEAMUS LYNCH, visited Nicaragua recently. Below he outlines his impressions and examines the web of intrigue behind the US arms sales to Iran to raise funds for 'Contra' terrorists in Central America.*

# THE TRUTH ON NICARAGUA

LAST November, from different parts of the world, people were making their way to Managua to take part in the celebrations of the Nicaraguan people. A small country, struggling for its survival against the military might of the USA, a country newly free and striving to overcome poverty. I was honoured that the Workers' Party would also be present at these celebrations as a tangible gesture of our continuing support and solidarity for these brave people.

Upon arrival at Managua Airport we were warmly greeted by two representatives of the Nicaraguan Government, Fr Fernando Cardinal (Minister of Education) and Tomas Borge (the only surviving founding member of the FSLN and a commander of the revolution). The airport lounge was bustling and young Sandinistas were on hand to arrange our transport and accommodation.

The high walls of the lounge were filled with two enormous paintings — one of Cesar Augusto Sandino, the national hero after whom the political movement is named, and Carlos Fonseca, founder of the FSLN, and its central leader until his death in battle against the Somoza dictatorship in November 1976.

It was in July 1979 that a massive popular insurrection overthrew the 46 year dictatorship of the US backed Somoza family. It was led by the FSLN, the Sandinista National Liberation Front, formed in 1961 under the leadership of Carlos Fonseca to push forward the struggle for national independence and against imperialist domination,

which had been championed earlier in the century by Cesar Augusto Sandino. The FSLN campaigned on such issues as agrarian revolution, women's emancipation, revolution in education and culture, and the right to an independent foreign policy.

After a decade of mounting agitation, in 1979 a general strike and a number of bloody battles finally unseated the Somoza family. The FSLN created the National Reconstruction Government Junta, made up of people from all sectors of society.

## Many parties

Given the abusive propaganda put out by the USA about Nicaragua, it is worth considering the democratic record of the FSLN. They opted for a system of political pluralism and conducted elections in 1984 based on this principle, elections observed and pronounced as fair and democratic by a wide range of international politicians from all political backgrounds.

As well as electing Daniel Ortega as President, these elections returned 96 members to a National Assembly for a term of six years. In the elections there was a turn-out of

75.4 per cent — the results are outlined in Table 1.

The Nicaraguan electoral system was designed to favour the smaller parties which, in many other systems, would have been unable with such small votes, to get any representation in the Assembly.

All seven Parties had contested the presidential elections as well and their six unsuccessful presidential candidates were all given National Assembly seats. Two things were dramatically clear as a result of these elections — the democratic nature of the Nicaraguan revolution, and the overwhelming support of the people, expressed through this democracy, for the FSLN.

The newly elected Assembly has since been engaged in drawing up a new constitution for the country through a system of drafting and consultation and re-drafting. As well as all the political parties, organisations representing trade unions, women, youth, business interests and many others are all involved in considering the detail of the Constitution, article by article, and points being raised are being taken on board and amendments

**Table 1: Results of Nicaraguan General Election 1984**

Party	Per Cent	Seats (96)
Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)	67.0	61
Democratic Conservative Party (PCD)	14.0	14
Independent Liberal Party (PLI)	9.6	9
Popular Social Christian Party (PPSC)	5.6	6
Communist Party of Nicaragua (PCdN)	1.5	2
Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN)	1.3	2
Marxist-Leninist Popular Action Movement (MAP-ML)	1.0	2



*A protest in defence of Nicaragua outside the US embassy in Dublin. Richard Keelan, an Irish missionary priest, joins Charles Liteky, a former US army chaplain in Vietnam, and Workers' Party TD Proinsias De Rossa.*

made.

### **Terror attacks**

Throughout this entire process, it must be pointed out, the Nicaraguan people have been subjected to unrelenting terrorist attack from the US sponsored 'Contra' groups. From 1980 to February 1986 this war had claimed 12,000 victims. More than 4,000 were killed, 4,500 wounded, 3,000 kidnapped and 120,000 displaced. Despite this escalating campaign of terror and subversion, Nicaragua has demonstrated a resolute commitment to democracy.

Through all the threats and pressure, the task of reconstruction, of building a new way of life, goes on. Schools exist where they never were before, hospitals and medical care is being improved, and in the coffee plantations, the peasants now work on land which they own. Young and old alike, the workers are amazingly knowledgeable and politically aware. They talk eagerly about their struggle, the economic tasks facing them, the defence of their revolution, the problems of world peace.

As part of the democratic process, President Daniel Ortega and other government leaders meet regularly, every Saturday morning,

with different groups of people from all walks of life in Nicaragua. The agenda ranges from everyday problems faced by the people to issues of foreign policy. President Ortega, I was told, had attended at least 240 such meetings.

The issue of education is looked upon as one of the utmost importance in Nicaragua. The Somoza years had left a legacy of illiteracy and one of the first steps taken following the revolution was the launching of a National Literacy campaign in 1980. In the first phase of this campaign more than 400,000 people learned to read and write. The campaign has now reduced the level of illiteracy to well below the level in many industrialised, capitalist, so-called 'developed' countries.

### **Priests in Cabinet**

Religion is one issue which cannot but strike any visitor to Nicaragua forcibly. I have already mentioned that we were greeted at the airport on our arrival by the Minister of Education, Fr Fernando Cardenal, a Jesuit priest. At a social function held after the main celebratory parade, when the National Directorate of the FSLN entertained and mixed freely with all their guests from abroad, one of the most

striking figures present was the Minister of Culture, Fr Ernesto Cardenal, brother to Fernando and also a Jesuit priest.

There are, in fact, three priests in the Cabinet. The majority of the Nicaraguan people are Catholic, and many Christians played a leading and active role in the FSLN revolution, a role which is reflected by the presence of these men at the centre of the revolutionary government.

If that is a surprise, however, the attitude and behaviour of the Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Nicaragua strikes an altogether more familiar and more depressing note. The most senior member of that Hierarchy, Cardinal Obando, openly supports the Contras, President Reagan's "freedom fighters". When he was made Nicaragua's first ever Cardinal by the Pope in May 1985, Obando stopped off in Miami on his way home from Rome so that he could say his first mass as Cardinal to hundreds of these terrorists, including Adolfo Calero and Arturo Cruz, leaders of the FDW (Contras).

The openly declared aim of these groups is to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution. Obando has found,

however, that he has been unable to convert religious authority into political authority over the masses. The hierarchy has failed to gather significant popular support for the counter-revolution despite its best efforts. On the contrary, their open identification with the US aggression has decreased the Church's influence in Nicaragua and separated them from large numbers of their own members, as evidenced by the Jesuits in the Government, who have remained resolute in their support for the revolution.

During the latter part of 1986, President Daniel Ortega, together with other members of the FSLN leadership, have been working hard with church representatives in order to arrive at an overall agreement that would put an end to the so-called "church-state confrontation". This change of direction by the hierarchy is partly due to the progressive defeat within Nicaragua, both militarily and politically, of the counter-revolution and the consolidation of the gains of the revolution.

This has demonstrated to Obando, the Hierarchy and to the Vatican that the Sandinista revolution will not be easily destroyed and that the credibility and future of the church in Nicaragua depends on their reaching some accommodation with it. The revolutionary government themselves are clear regarding their attitude to religion. The Minister of Education, Fr Fernando Cardenal, when asked about this, said bluntly "As Minister of Education I am responsible only for the education of Nicaraguans. Their religion is a matter for the churches."

### **Mary surprises**

The central part of the visit to Nicaragua was on Saturday, November 8th, when the 25th anniversary of the founding of the FSLN was celebrated, and the death of Carlos Fonseca commemorated by a huge parade and rally in Carlos Fonseca Plaza.

Along the route to the Plaza thousands of Nicaraguans were waving banners in the red and black colours of the FSLN. Seated on a stand overlooking the square we had an impressive view of the 250,000 people gathered there.

Anyone who travels to Nicaragua with stereotyped, preconceived

notions of what they will find is due for many surprises. The first speaker to the massed crowds on this prestigious public platform was a former United States soldier in Vietnam, Brian Wilson. He had been part of a 48 day Fast For Life in support of peace in central America and he warned of the threat which existed of the US turning Nicaragua into the Vietnam of the '80s. Speaker followed speaker, with support from over 80 countries and liberation movements indicating the extent of worldwide solidarity with the Sandinistas in their struggle.

The key speech was from President Daniel Ortega. He spoke of the establishment of "people's power", and the flowering of democracy in Nicaragua and reviewed the progress of the revolution. On foreign policy he spoke in favour of non-alignment and nuclear disarmament. "Peace demands humanity's greatest efforts," he said in acknowledging "the extraordinary efforts made by the Soviet Union in the interests of Peace."

In this instance a recent statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union contrasts sharply in tone and content with statements from Washington. It said in part:

"In order to justify its line of force against Nicaragua the American Administration uses a false thesis about the 'Soviet-Cuban infiltration which threatens US security and the countries of Central America and the Caribbean basin through which Western Europe is supplied with the American military materials and fuel in case of a global conflict, might have a negative impact on the US capability to 'defend them from the Soviet military threat'."

### **Tense situation**

The statement went on: "The CPSU and the Soviet Government condemn resolutely the interventionist actions by Washington against Nicaragua which only aggravates an already tense international situation, puts new obstacles in the way of clearing the atmosphere in international relations. It is completely clear to us that the idea of the Latin American solution of the crisis in Central America should not and must not be

seen through the prism of "East West" confrontation.

"That's why we support the initiatives by the Contadora group and the group of support which aimed at the political settlement of the situation in Central America, at achieving peace and security of the Central American peoples. It is needless to state that the Soviet Union has ... no military presence there and we do not have any plans on that score."

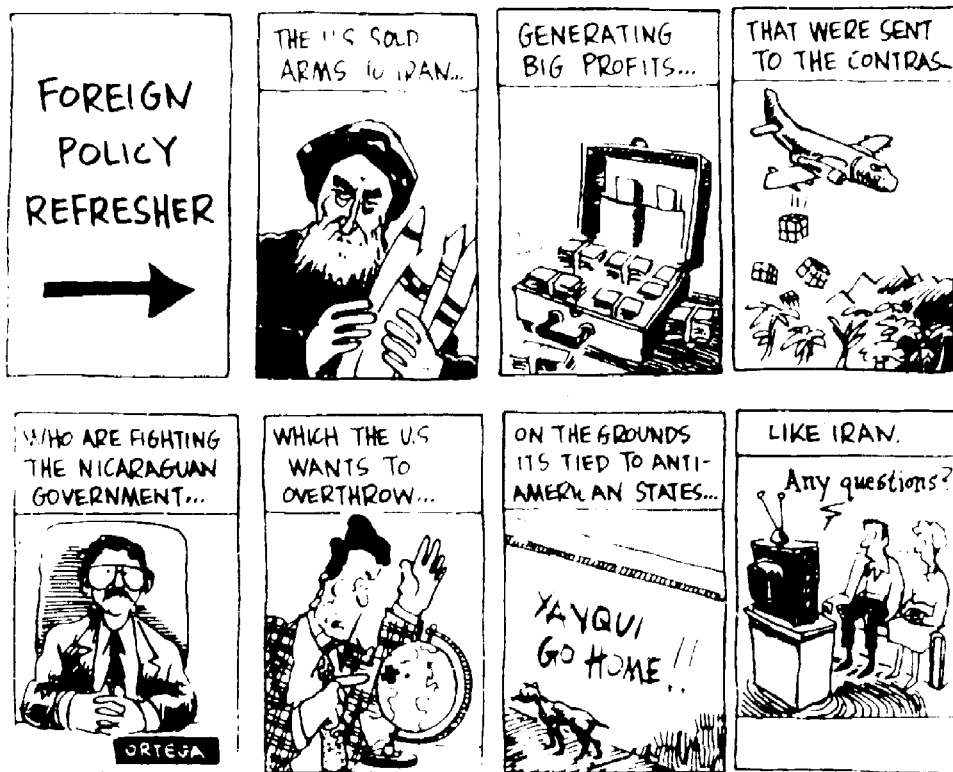
The recent revelations concerning the sale of arms by the US to Iran have also concerned Nicaragua. It is highly revealing the line-up in the Irangate scandal with new facts being revealed daily. In its efforts to destabilise and overthrow the legitimate Sandinista Government of Nicaragua, the US has made use of surrogate regimes throughout the world, most notably the White Racist Regime of South Africa, and the Zionist Regime of Israel. Since the State of Israel was established, it has played an essential and critical role in assisting the US to maintain its power and influence in key areas of the world. The Zionists have supplied arms and technology to some of the most repressive and brutal regimes in the world such as Pinochet's Chile and Somoza's Nicaragua.

In fact, before Somoza's downfall, Israel was supplying over 90 per cent of his arms needs. An Israeli newspaper, 'Ha' Art' stated last year Israel continued supplying arms to Somoza until the last days of his downfall. Among weapons supplied were Galil rifles which were supplied direct to a special terrorist unit headed by Somoza's son. This terrorist gang was responsible for assassinating Somoza's political opponents and its victims included many women and children.

Israel Shahak, Professor at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, pointed out: "This fact assumes great importance if we recall that in the last two years alone, the Somoza regime killed about 50,000 people or that his regime bombed the poverty slums of Managua as well as other towns, mainly with Israeli made Arava and West Wind Planes."

### **Iran arms**

This policy against the Nicaraguan revolution has continued with Israel supplying on



behalf of Washington, arms it had captured in Lebanon from the PLO to the Contras. Israeli mercenaries have also been involved in training Contras at a salary of \$10,000 a month.

It is in the recent shipment of US arms to Iran that other enemies of Nicaragua have been exposed. Ranging from the Sultan of Brunei who contributed \$10 million to the Contras and to the puppet regimes of Taiwan and South Korea, to the reactionary Aytollah Regime in Iran and the Zionists in Tel Aviv, the list grows longer every week.

Combined with their overlords' power in Washington, it all demonstrates very clearly the immense task the people of Nicaragua have to face.

Israel's role in the sale of arms to Iran is worthy of examination for it seems clear now that much of Washington's foreign policy is being formulated and at times dictated by the Zionists. Part of this policy obviously has a connection with the Iran-Iraq war. Certainly of the two combatants Israel has most to fear from a strong united Iraq of all the Arab countries, with an Iraqi army hardened and steeled in war poses

the greatest threat to the Israeli Army and the Zionist regime. The involvement of the US in helping to prolong the Iran-Iraq war and also assist the Iranians has been exposed with the disclosure that Washington furnished false information to the Iraqis and also at Israel's insistence supplied accurate details gathered by satellite to the Iranian regime.

It would be comical except for the tragic consequences to learn that when the US ostensibly 'sold' the arms to Israel for sale to Iran, the Israelis upped the price by many more millions to cover their end of the deal. So much for helping out their friends in Washington!

For decades now Israel has through a policy of terror, denied the Palestinian people their just rights, invaded and occupied Lebanon, aided and condoned the massacre of thousands of Palestinian refugees. Iran through the regime of the Aytollahs has slaughtered thousands of its own people in prisons, sacrificed almost a million in a senseless war and brought the country back into the dark ages.

Its public and hysterical anti-US campaign has been exposed more

than once as a sham. The *Washington Post* reported last year that the CIA submitted a list of Tudeh Party activists to the Khomeini Regime which executed some hundred Tudeh Party members and imprisoned many more.

In other places and situations the Iranian regime also plays its part in assisting Washington. Along with the reactionary Moslem military dictatorship of General Zia in Pakistan which acts as Washington's main agent in its fight against the progressive government of Afghanistan, the Islamic Regime in Teheran aids the counter revolutionaries of Afghanistan with arms, finance and safe bases.

The ongoing debate and investigation into the Irangate scandal will help to expose to many more millions of people the nature and scope of enemies the Nicaraguan people and indeed progressive people all over the world face. For us in the Workers' Party we must make it clear that we will do all we can to assist the people and government of Nicaragua to defeat their enemies and help secure freedom and peace for the people of Nicaragua.

## *World Anti-Communist League:*

# IRISH BRANCH IN BREACH OF CONSTITUTION

According to Article 29 of the Irish Constitution "Ireland affirms its devotion to the ideal of peace and friendly co-operation amongst nations founded on international justice and morality... Ireland affirms its adherence to the principle of the pacific settlement of international disputes by international arbitration or judicial determination".

Yet during the Coalition Government's period in office, two government back-benchers — Alice Glenn and Brendan McGahon — in flagrant violation of the Constitution, established an Irish branch of an organisation which is actively seeking the overthrow of eight governments through supporting rebel groups in Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Kampuchea, Laos, Vietnam, Mozambique and, above all, through supporting the Contra mercenaries in Nicaragua.

In September 1985 Deputy McGahon attended a conference in Dallas, Texas, organised by this organisation — the World Anti-Communist League (WACL). With a theme of 'Counter Offensive for World Freedom', the *raison d'être* for the conference was to co-ordinate a programme aimed at toppling the eight left-wing governments through aiding right-wing rebel movements in these countries. The close links between the World Anti-Communist League and some of these rebel groups were clearly in evidence at the Dallas conference, which was attended by Mr McGahon, with a one-legged Contra and an Afghan mujahid who had no arms from the elbow down being exhibited as proof of the 'heroism' of the World Anti-Communist League-supported rebels. Two of the main speakers at the conference were Contra leaders Adolfo Calero and Enrique Bermudez, the latter a former member of the deposed dictator Somoza's National Guard, an armed military force which had sought to eliminate all opposition to the dictatorship through terror and murder. Also attending the

conference was Mario Sandoval Alarcon, whose White Hand death squad became an instrument of government in Guatemala through kidnapping, torturing and killing peasant and trade union activists.

Chairing the Dallas convention was retired US Army Maj. Gen. John K Singlaub, who has raised over \$20 million for the Contras, a terrorist group responsible for the deaths of over 15,000 Nicaraguans, the displacement of over 250,000, the destruction of factories, bridges, schools, clinics, homes, the burning of crops, the killing of cattle and the most horrific maiming of civilians — including the hacking off of women's breasts, the slitting open of stomachs, eyes being gouged out, testicles being cut off, noses and ears being pulled off and throats being slit.

The World Anti-Communist League's links with terrorist groups such as the Contras and the White Hand death squad is in line with the League's long history of supporting some of the world's least democratic and most barbarous groups and regimes. The Dallas convention called for backing for the South African government in its "defence against Moscow-Peking insurgency" and sent greetings to the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile and to the Colorado Party in Paraguay, which is the anchor of the 33 year Stroessner military dictatorship.

Since its foundation 20 years ago in Taiwan, the World Anti-Communist League has had a history of ultra-right ideology. Among the founders of the League were the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Moonie followers, and two leading figures in Japan's yakuza criminal underworld, Ryoichi Sasakawa and Yoshio Kodama.

Today, Yaroslav Stetsko, the founder and current chairman of the ABN — the world's largest grouping of Nazi supporters and collaborators — is a member of the World Anti-Communist League's executive board. During the Second World War Stetsko was an

ardent Nazi activist and in 1941 established a Nazi puppet government in his native Ukraine, with himself as its head. During his period as Premier, tens of thousands of Ukrainian Jews were exterminated.

Indeed the World Anti-Communist League is riddled with former Nazi officials, neo-Nazis and racists. Among these are:

- ★ Ake Lindsten, the supremo of the neo-Nazi Swedish National League.

- ★ Heinrich Hartle, a leader of the Hitler Youth movement in the 1940s.

- ★ Dr Roger Pearson, a former WACL chairman who authored the racist books *Eugenics and Race* and *Blood Groups and Race*.

- ★ Italian Fascist leader Giorgio Almirante.

- ★ St C de Berkelaar, a former SS officer who now heads a body of over 300 former Dutch SS officers.

- Dinko Sakic, who served as a commandant in a concentration camp during World War II and who is now wanted in both Yugoslavia and Sweden to face a number of charges, including the murder of a Yugoslav Ambassador in 1971 and the 1972 bombing of a plane in which 27 civilians died.

- ★ William Pierce, an American neo-Nazi.

- ★ Salvadorean politician Roberto D'Aubuisson who has been called a "pathological killer" by a former US Ambassador because of his links with right-wing death squads.

- ★ Chirila Ciuntu, a Romanian Fascist who participated in the 1941 massacre of Jews in Bucharest.

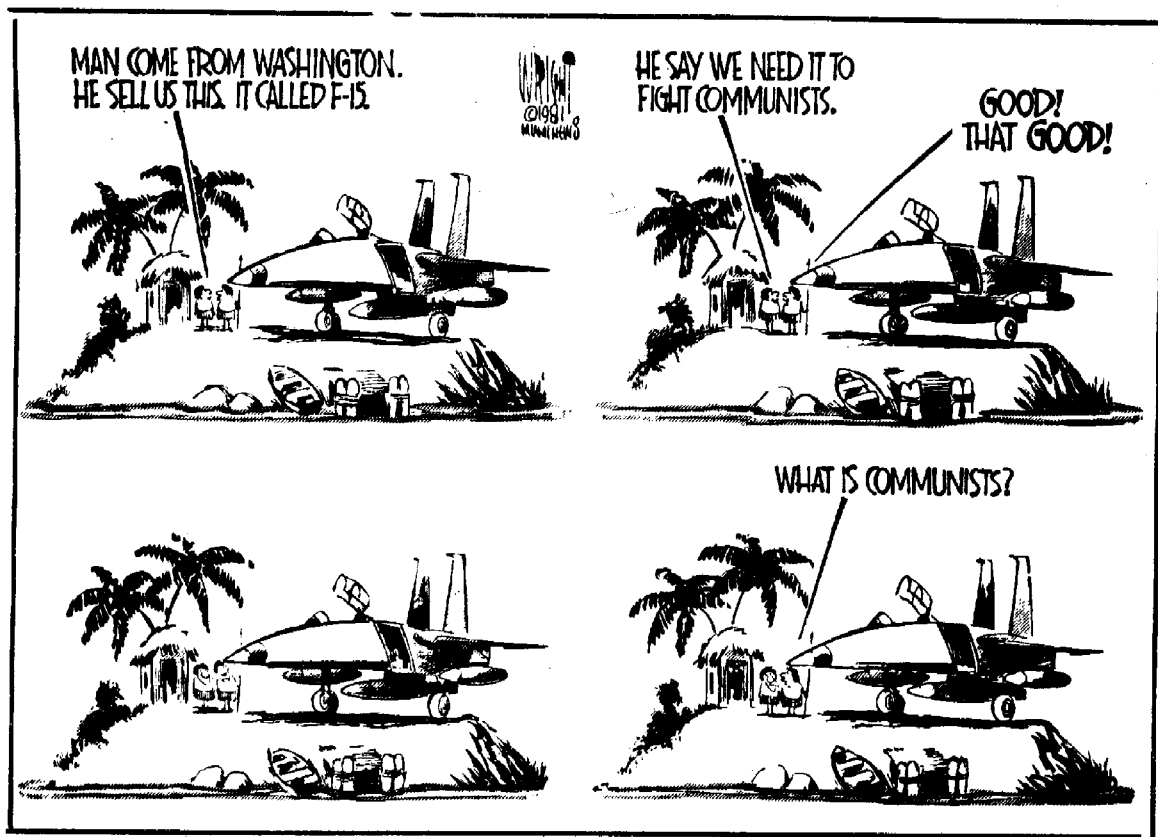
- ★ Pastor Coronel, chief of Paraguay's secret police. He has been accused by the US authorities of being a prominent figure in a heroin-smuggling consortium.

- ★ Wilhelm Landig, an Austrian SS officer during the Second World War.

- ★ Earl Thomas of the American Nazi Party.

- ★ General Jorge Rafael Videla, the





former Argentine military junta leader who is now imprisoned for life for his role in the deaths of thousands of civilians in his country.

The World Anti-Communist League which has been termed the 'Fascist International' by critics — is now to the forefront in co-ordinating fund-raising by right-wing private groups for insurgency campaigns in eight countries. At the moment the World Anti-Communist League is concentrating on channelling aid to the Contras, to help these mercenaries to escalate their terrorist campaign against the Nicaraguan people and against the democratically-elected Nicaraguan government.

That two Irish politicians were permitted by their party to establish an Irish chapter of the World Anti-Communist League while both of them — Alice Glenn and Brendan McGahon — were government backbenchers must raise very serious doubts about the 'liberalism' of the Fine Gael Party. Is it acceptable for two government backbenchers to set up an Irish chapter of an organisation which has such close ties with Fascists, Nazis, death squads, racists, war criminals, and with terrorist

groups such as the Contras in Nicaragua? How can Dr Garret Fitz Gerald explain his alleged support for the concept of Irish neutrality — while permitting two of his deputies to be members of the League, an organisation which is violating the sovereignty of eight countries through supporting insurgent groups in those countries?

Perhaps Mrs Glenn and Mr McGahon and the Fine Gael Party are unaware of the World Anti-Communist League's unsavoury links throughout the world. Perhaps they are unaware of the World Anti-Communist League's role in sustaining the Contra war and of the 15,000 deaths that war has caused. Perhaps they are unaware of Maj. Gen. Singlaub's role in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, where as a commander of US armed forces he initiated covert US operations within Laos and Cambodia — including sabotage, ambushes, air strikes, radio propaganda, kidnapping and assassination — activities which have striking parallels with the Contras' operations in Nicaragua. Singlaub's clandestine actions within Laos and Cambodia were conducted without the knowledge of the American people and in flagrant breach of the 1962 Geneva

Accords and other international agreements. According to *The Irish Times* (27 March 1987), Singlaub is now in the Philippines to help coordinate a strategy of 'low intensity warfare' — warfare from which 23,000 farmers in one area have had to flee and in which newly-created death squads hunt the organisers of slum communities.

Do Mrs Glenn and Mr McGahon wish to associate with people such as Singlaub, Mario Sandoval Alarcon and Yaroslav Stetsko? Do they still want to belong to the League, which through its active support for terrorist groups in Nicaragua, Angola and elsewhere arrogantly disregards and violates the sovereignty of these nations, ignores the code of international conduct and engulfs the people of these countries in bloody wars? Will Fine Gael continue to allow Mr McGahon to be a member of the World Anti-Communist League?

To ensure that Mrs Glenn, Mr McGahon and the Fine Gael leadership are made aware of the true nature of the League and of its nefarious activities a copy of this article is being forwarded to Mrs Glenn, Mr McGahon, Dr Fitz Gerald and the new leader of Fine Gael, Mr Alan Dukes.

**The United People's Movement,  
Kingstown,  
Saint Vincent and The Grenadines.**  
Dear Comrades,

Greetings to you all from the United People's Movement in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines in the Caribbean.

1. First of all, we congratulate you on your significant advance at the General Elections of February 17, 1987. By doubling your Parliamentary representation, you have enhanced the voice of the working people, the unemployed, and the oppressed in the Chambers of Parliament. More importantly, you have been able to convince 20% more of the voting masses that socialism is the only clear and sure path to social progress, peace, and genuine national independence.

2. We wish you success in your continuing struggles to promote the interests of the Irish working class. Needless to say, the cut backs in the social services and the ever growing unemployment are hitting hard on the working people. It is now in vogue in most Western European countries — Ireland not excluded — to strengthen the position of the well-to-do and the employer class, while at the same time dealing harsh economic blows to the working class and their representative trade unions. But, as time goes by, what may be a temporary set back for the working masses today, must be turned into a victory tomorrow.

3. The struggle of the working people, the poor, and the oppressed for liberation, is an international struggle. That being the case, we join with you in expressing our solidarity with oppressed people — especially those in South Africa, Namibia and in Northern Ireland — and everywhere else where imperialism, racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism have robbed and continue to rob the tens of millions of the peoples of their human dignity, the right to their national resources and to national independence and peace. Their struggle is our struggle: to alleviate their pain and suffering must be our common cause.

4. Continue the struggle, dear comrades!

Long live the Workers' Party of Ireland!

For the world-wide success of the cause of the workers of the world!

**Aldo Righi,  
Partito Comunista Sammarinese,  
Republic San Marino.**

Dear Comrades

I wish you a big success in your Annual Conference and success in all your discussions, which I think the



# Letters

**IRELAND MAGAZINE  
International Affairs Committee  
The Workers' Party  
30 Gardiner Place,  
Dublin 1, Ireland.**

most important for you is unemployment and the struggle against terrorism and for peace in Northern Ireland among Catholic, Protestant and Atheists and peace in the world. I would like to congratulate your Party for the big success in increasing its overall vote and doubling your parliamentary representation from two to four — the more the better in the interests of the Irish working class.

**Jenny Little,  
International Secretary  
The Labour Party,  
London SE17 1JT,  
England.**

Dear Friends,  
I wish you all success in your deliberations at your annual delegate conference.

**EDEK Socialist Party,  
Cyprus.**

Dear Comrades,  
We convey to you our fraternal greetings and wish your annual delegate conference every success for the benefit of Irish workers.

**Partido Socialista de Chile.**

We take this opportunity to send you our fraternal and warmest congratulations for the success of the Workers' Party of Ireland in your General Election. We see this success as the success of the Irish working class. Long live the Workers' Party, the Irish working class Voice!

**William J. Leahy,  
Chicago, Illinois, USA.**

Dear Friends,  
Though I have read only about the four seats you have won in the Irish National Parliament (Dáil) I want to say congratulations. I have known all along that all of you would come to play a more and important role in the future of the Irish people.

**Gerard Laprat,  
Secretary General,  
Communist & Allies Group,  
European Parliament.**

Congratulations for your outcome in the election, your new seat in the Dail and especially in Dublin.

**Irish Republican Club of North America,  
243 Mt. Hope Drive,  
Albany, New York 12202,  
USA.**

The Irish Republican Club of North America extends its congratulations of the recent election victories and its best wishes for a successful Ard Fheis (Annual Conference). We are confident that the Workers' Party of Ireland will continue to advance in its struggle for peace and democracy in Ireland.

**Hiroshi Tachiki,  
Chairman, International Commission,  
Japanese Communist Party.**

We congratulate you on the success in General Elections.

**Gerard Laprat,  
General Secretary,  
Communist & Allies Group,  
European Parliament.**

We wish you very successful debates during your Annual Delegate Conference about the current problems confronting the Irish working class.

The Communist and Allies Group in the European Parliament fully shares your concern and struggle for world peace and solidarity. We are fighting in the European Parliament for a more positive approach of the European governments about disarmament.

We know that you share all those concerns and wish you a successful conference on those matters.

**Ron Brown MP,  
Bob Parry MP,  
House of Commons,  
London SW1,  
England.**

Dear Comrades,  
Your Annual Delegate Conference will be one of the most important for the Irish working class, both in the Republic and in Northern Ireland. We therefore send our warmest greetings to your members. Keep up the struggle for Socialism!

**FMLN/FDR,  
El Salvador,  
Central America.**

Dear Comrades,  
On behalf of the FMLN/FDR representing political forces of the people of El Salvador, we wish The Workers' Party of Ireland every success in your 1987 Annual Delegate Conference.

Although the situation in El Salvador has been over-shadowed by other events in Central America, the media silence on El Salvador was broken after the victorious attack carried out by the FMLN against the US designed "impregnable" military base at El

Paraiso, Chalatenango province, on March 31st last.

This was a revolutionary victory widely publicised in the whole world. It was a spectacular action in which the Salvadorean army suffered 650 casualties. The FMLN took over and destroyed 70% of the barracks' installations. The media comments and reports were favourable to us. This action has increased the prestige and legitimacy of the FMLN/FDR.

But, more importantly, it has exposed the failure of the Reagan administration plans in El Salvador. It has also shown that the puppet army and the Duarte regime are far from winning the war against the FMLN/FDR. On the contrary, they are losing it.

We are sure we are not alone in our struggle. We know we can be able to count on your active and constant support to achieve the victory that our people so tirelessly fight for.

**Entese**  
**Dels Nacionalistes**  
**D'Esquerra,**  
**Barcelona, Spain.**

We send our congratulations on your

success in the Irish Republic's elections. The economic position in Ireland is grave. We also send our support for your struggle for socialism and national unification in Ireland. Our best greetings from Catalans and socialists.

**Bert Ward,**  
**Communist Party of Great Britain,**  
**London EC1M 4AL.**

Dear Comrades,  
I have been asked to write a regular column on Ireland for our Party's monthly journal *News and Views*. In order to ensure that the policies of The Workers' Party are accurately represented there, would you put me on your mailing list for your major statements on policy and current issues which you think of interest and value to people over here.

Items of immediate interest are the General Election in the Republic; The Workers' Party attitude to the EEC, the Single European Act, Trade Union initiatives in the Republic including organisations such as Trade Unions for Irish Unity and Independence, and trade union initiatives in the North, particularly the Alternative Economic Strategy, and women's activities.

**Jose Figueroa,**  
**Vice President,**  
**National Federation of Independent,**  
**Transitory-Pem-Pojh and**  
**Unemployed**  
**Workers Unions of Chile.**

Dear Comrades of the Workers' Party, I would like to send you greetings before leaving Ireland, and express to you my thanks for your interest in the struggle which the Chilean people are waging for the conquest of Democracy, as well as for your readiness to support the proposals of FESIT in defense of unemployed workers on an international level.

We are interested in maintaining relations with your organisation, which represents an important current among the Irish working class, and will keep you informed about the situation in Chile and the struggle of the unemployed for their rights.

Goodbye, and every success in your struggle for an Ireland without unemployment and with equality for all.

★ *Sheila McGuinness, Belfast Regional Council of the Workers' Party and Workers' Party General Secretary Sean Garland at a wreath laying ceremony in Dublin's Merrion Square for victims of the US nuclear bombing of Hiroshima last August.*

*This August, in Hiroshima, at a ceremony at the Peace Park, 4,619 names of additional bomb victims who died in the past year were added to the list in the Cenotaph. United Nations estimates of the total number of victims alone stand at 200,000. Therefore we gather, not just in a mood of justifiable sadness, but to pledge that never again should such terrible happenings be inflicted upon people of this planet, Sheila McGuinness stated.*

*"The Workers' Party stands for Peace, at home and abroad. We are for total elimination of nuclear weapons, we oppose their spread to outer space and oppose the build-up of military alliances. Today it is clear there would be no victors in a nuclear conflict, but rather total annihilation for mankind.*

*"Peoples of differing ideologies from conservatives to communists, and religious groupings of all kinds — have united in a common bond of peace and the prevention of nuclear war.*

*"Dissolution of military alliances, and the building of positive links in the political, social and economic and cultural fields between East and West could promote co-operation instead of confrontation.*





# Tomás Mac Giolla to resign as Party President

WORKERS' Party President, Tomás Mac Giolla, pledged to remain fully active both within the Party and as a Member of the Dáil (Parliament) for Dublin West, in announcing his intention to resign as President at next year's Ard Fheis (Annual Conference).

First elected as President of the Party almost 25 years ago, Tomás Mac Giolla was elected to Dublin Corporation in 1979. He won a Dáil seat in November 1982 and was re-elected in the general election earlier this year.

In that election the Workers' Party clearly established itself as the alternative voice in Irish politics, substantially increasing its first preference vote and doubling its number of Dáil Members to four. In Northern Ireland the Party has also established a strong base, offering a socialist alternative to sectarian nationalist and loyalist politics.

In announcing his decision to resign at this stage, Tomás Mac Giolla explained that with the Party having succeeded in achieving so many of its basic aims, it was time for a new leader to continue the battle against the emerging coalition of Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael and the Progressive Democrats.

A new President will be elected by delegates at next year's Workers' Party Ard Fheis (Annual Conference). Candidates may be nominated by any branch of the Party, North or South.

TOMAS Mac Giolla's decision comes following achievement of one of the main aims of his leadership — the establishment of a strong, alternative socialist party in Ireland committed to the interests of working and unemployed people.

In the 25 years since his election as President, the party evolved from its roots as Sinn Féin into a party which challenges the cosy political system which has operated almost since the establishment of the Irish state.

In the Republic of Ireland the party has established itself on many local Councils as offering the only alternative to the consistent cuts policies pursued and accepted by Fianna Fáil, the Coalition parties and the Progressive Democrats, while since gaining entry to the Dáil (Parliament) in 1981, Workers' Party Dáil Members have asserted their position as independent of the political manoeuvres and deals agreed between the traditional parties.

This has led to various attempts to isolate the party from Dáil Committees and other means to prevent a socialist influence on the workings of the Dáil.

Nevertheless the Workers' Party has



Tomás Mac Giolla (centre) with Igor Sokolov, International Department, Communist Party USSR (left) and Solly Smith, African National Congress at the 1987 Workers' Party Delegate Conference.

succeeded in raising many issues such as the PAYE taxation rip-off, the double taxation of service charges, threats to Irish neutrality and an alternative approach to job creation and economic development, which the other parties have been unable to counter politically.

Tomás Mac Giolla's resignation at this stage follows a period of realignment by conservative forces in Irish politics, forced by the continual exposure of the bankrupt nature of their policies by the Workers' Party in the Dáil and elsewhere. It also comes at a time when the Workers' Party is stepping up its own campaigns of public and street protests against the unofficial Coalition of Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael and the Progressive Democrats against the interests of working class people.

In announcing his intention to resign at the end of this year's term, Tomás Mac Giolla explained:

"Now is an appropriate time for the Party to make its plans for a change in the Presidency. Because of the crushing arrogance of the right wing alliance in Irish politics a new era of oppression is just beginning, which could lead to just as much hardship, misery, hunger and death as the old laissez faire capitalist system of the 19th century.

"For the Workers' Party, as the vanguard party of the working class, this means a new era of struggle which must be fought in every possible forum inside and outside of the Dáil.

"I have no intention of opting out of that battle, but I feel a new President with a new style would leave the whole party in better shape for the task ahead. I also wish to assure the people of

Dublin West that I will continue to represent their interests in the Dáil for many years to come."

## What they said about Tomás Mac Giolla...

★ FROM *The Irish Independent*:

"He is an impressive parliamentary performer and conveys dignity and respect for the House."

★ FROM *The Irish Times*:

"His careers, since he was first elected as President of Sinn Féin, then abstentionist and still smarting from the failure of the IRA's campaign in the North in the late 1950s, saw fundamental changes in the strategy of the Republican movement which culminated in the split between the Officials and the Provisionals and the emergence of the Workers' Party with its rejection of Irish unity by force and clearly-defined left-wing policies."

★ FROM *the Irish Press*:

"He has transformed his party from a traditional republican organisation with an active military wing, to one of mainstream politics, with four Deputies in Dáil Éireann. It was an achievement that was as difficult as it was traumatic, and Mr Mac Giolla deserves tribute for his courage in helping to bring about the transition from gun to ballot."



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**Organisation:** Workers' Party  
**Date:** 1987

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