

WORKERS LIFE

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*European
Security*



CHARLES HAUGHEY A WORKING CLASS HERO?

TRADE UNION STRUGGLE IN EL SALVADOR
POLITICS AND THE PRESS

Rembrandt
1639



Rembrandt: self-portrait (etching) 1639

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WORKERS LIFE

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**CHARLES HAUGHEY
A WORKING CLASS
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Eamonn Farrell/IPS*

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THE TRUE FACE of the Provisional IRA was revealed in the Republic last December when a soldier and a garda recruit were murdered in Ballinamore.

The murders also revealed a deep-rooted ambivalence in Irish society towards terrorism. The widespread condemnations which followed the Ballinamore murders contrasted sharply to the indifferent silence which follows murder north of the Border. Indeed, violence in Northern Ireland is barely considered newsworthy by the Republic's news media. Underlying this is an attitude which suggests that British Army, RUC and UDR personnel are 'legitimate targets'. And if civilians are sometimes murdered or maimed, that's too bad but there's a war going... isn't there?

The Provisional IRA say there is. They claim that they, on behalf of the (Roman Catholic) Irish people are waging a 'war of national liberation'. They invoke the 'dead generations' to back up their spurious claim. Conveniently for the Provisionals, the dead are in no position to answer back. And the clerical leadership of the Roman Catholic people presents no great problem either.

Cardinal Tomas O Fiaich's recent comments on membership of, and support for, Sinn Féin (the 'political wing' of the Provisional IRA) reached new heights in ambivalence. His failure to make an outright condemnation of the Provisionals and Provisionalism will be interpreted by the terrorists as confirmation of their political hegemony among Northern Ireland's Roman Catholics. And it will further fuel the suspicions and fears of the Protestant community.

This fits in perfectly with the strategy of tension being pursued by the terrorists, the ultimate aim of which is a sectarian civil war.

The only way this strategy can be thwarted is to bring the full weight of democracy to bear against the murderers and their accomplices. This requires an immediate end to ambivalence — from whatever quarter; there can be no 'ifs' or 'buts' about terrorism. It also requires the active participation of the mass of the people in the struggle against terrorism. And it requires committed political leadership to prosecute the struggle.

The first step in the struggle is to recognise that the terrorists (sometimes known as 'the lads') and their fellow-travellers are in our midst. This is simply to recognise as Brecht did: 'The murderers — my country'.

It should be recognised also that the terrorists seek to reduce politics to an armed confrontation. In this scenario, political issues are resolved by shoot-outs between elite terrorist gangs and elite State gangs. While there is an obvious need for improved police training and organisation, the fight against terrorism cannot be left to the police alone. At best, they can only deal with the symptoms.

The terrorists therefore must be isolated, and not allowed to masquerade as 'patriots', 'freedom fighters' or under any such grandiose titles. Their deadly mixture of the Armalite and the ballot box must be rejected. And their claims to speak and act on behalf of 'the people' must be repudiated — something which can be done most convincingly by the people themselves.

In the last analysis, the tyranny of terrorism can only be overthrown by mass democratic action. There exists in Irish society a great potential for democratic struggle. Given the correct political leadership that potential can be realised, and its realisation will assist both in the conclusive defeat of terrorism and in the renewal and strengthening of democracy.

Folk hero

A NEW folk-hero has emerged among California's Irish-American community. He is a former Vietnam veteran, policeman, and San Francisco city councillor, Dan White, who was released last month from Soledad prison.

Dan White murdered San Francisco Mayor George Moscone and city official Harvey Milk in November 1978. He then visited a church to pray and turned himself in.

He was subsequently sentenced to seven years imprisonment — not for murder but for 'voluntary manslaughter'. His lawyers argued temporary diminished 'mental capacity' on the grounds that White had overdosed on sugary junk food, his diet in times of stress. The 'Twinkie' defence, named after White's favourite doughnut, became part of US legal history.

Four books have been written about the case, and three plays staged in San Francisco. White, who has refused to speak to the press, is writing his life story. This has prompted Democrats to introduce a 'Dan White Bill' in the California Legislature to allow the state to seize any money made by criminals who write about their exploits, and turn it over to victims or their heirs.

The reason for White's popularity with Irish-Americans? One of his victims, Harvey Milk, was homosexual. Obviously a case of 'the family that prays together, slays together'.

Hard times

IF YOU THINK time are hard, spare a thought for our less fortunate porcine brethren.

The plight of the nation's pigs was revealed recently when the Senate passed draft regulations to increase veterinary inspection fees for cattle, sheep, horses and pigs.

Senator John Ellis described the increase for pigs from 72p to £1.10 as savage, 'since every pig in the country was dying in debt and very few left a clean slate behind him'.

Something to think about the next time you savour a sausage or relish a rasher!

No to smoking

AN anti-smoking campaign, organised jointly by RTE and the Health Education Bureau, was launched on RTE's 'Youngline' programme on 9th January. The campaign will run throughout the Spring and is

THAT'S LIFE

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Labour fears

THE LABOUR PARTY is lobbying strongly within the Coalition government for a postponement of the Local Government elections due to be held next year.

Labour strategists fear that the continued advance of the Workers' Party will further erode the party's declining electoral base — particularly in the Dublin region. In last November's general election Labour secured 10.5% of the vote in Dublin, compared to 6.5% for The Workers' Party.

Ironically, the Labour Party is arguing that a postponement can be sold to the public on the grounds of Local Government reform! Unfortunately for Labour, the European elections arranged for next June won't be postponed, and it will take all of Colm O'Briain's ability to get the party into shape to face the people.

Right track

Just two days before Christmas, Liam Kavanagh, Minister for the Environment, announced the postponement of the Local Elections due to be held in June. Workers Life predicted the postponement (see above) in the July/August issue, and also the excuse which Mr Kavanagh put forward.

aimed at young people from fourth class in primary schools to Intermediate Certificate students in second level schools.

Mary Dinan, the presenter of young peoples' programmes on RTE, will promote the campaign through 'Youngline' and will appear on the poster which will be sent to the relevant classes in each school. The poster urges pupils to state their intention to give up smoking or remain non-smokers by declaring themselves a 'Smoke Free Zone'.

Pupils are also invited to give suggestions for an anti-smoking

slogan. Selected slogans will be read out on 'Youngline' during the campaign and a cheque for £500 will be awarded on the programme to the winning school.

'As current research is showing an ever increasing number of young people smoking, we feel that this is a very worthwhile campaign,' said Dr Harry Crawley, Director of the Health Education Bureau. 'We are very pleased to be able to co-operate with RTE in reaching this important audience.'

Peace

TOMAS MAC GIOLLA TD, President of The Workers' Party in a New Year's statement summed up the first full year of the Coalition's disastrous handling of the economy in biting terms. "Increased taxation, reduced social welfare payments, higher bus and rail fares, new charges for local services, and wage increases well below the rate of inflation have all contributed to a serious reduction in the standard of living for the majority of working people," he said.

Mr Mac Giolla attacked the "racist and sectarian philosophy of Provisionalism" and called for "the building of working class unity and the strengthening of democratic institutions both in Northern Ireland and the Republic" as the only means to free "the country from the scourge of the Provisionals and other paramilitaries".

During 1984 the Party, he said would be encouraging into its ranks those "who were sick of corruption, unemployment, exploitation, and human misery; those who want peace on our island, who want an end to fears of international carnage and destruction; those who want to create a democratic, secular, socialist society", he said.

Public sector

THE Public Services Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions has launched a publicity drive to make people more aware of the role of the public service. The public service plays an essential role in the operations of the economic and social matters in the state.

The Committee, which represents one hundred and fifty thousand workers throughout the health, education, local authority and civil services, believes that the ill-informed and prejudiced attacks made on the public service have contributed to a lack of understanding by the public of the role of the services provided.

Public services exist due to the policies and legislation of successive governments. Indeed, these policies were the basis on which these governments and local representatives were elected. To implement these decisions taken at central and local government level, the politicians have decided to recruit and organise staff. Attacks against the functions of

the public service are attacks on the basis on which politicians were elected.

The major items of expenditure are education — this is understandable as we have the youngest population in Western Europe; health — again this is understandable in view of the very high dependency ratio in the population; and social welfare — the unprecedented levels of people unemployed and the continued existence of real poverty in the country readily explain this area.

Elsewhere the public services provide essential services and practical assistance to the agricultural, industrial and commercial sectors.

The public has been subjected for some time to a barrage of criticism against the public service. Unfortunately these critics seem to gain wide-spread media coverage when they make their utterances. The end result is that the views held by the public on these matters in many cases are far from being the real situation.

The Committee is issuing posters and leaflets to affiliated unions. It wants the workers in the public service to regain their pride in the work they carry out.

Eye-opener

LABOUR PARTY strategists still puzzled by the party's poor showing in the Dublin Central by-election should take note of recent comments by their Leader.

Prior to the by-election, Dick Spring's contact with Dublin Central began and ended with the Labour Party offices in Gardiner Place. The by-election campaign proved an eye-opener: 'If you had tried to tell me before Dublin Central about the level of deprivation in that area,' he told the *Irish Times*, 'I wouldn't have believed you, and people in country places wouldn't have believed me if I had told them about it.'

Little wonder that the electorate of Dublin Central were in no mood to believe the Labour Party!

Drug problem

A CORRESPONDENT has drawn our attention to two interesting articles which appeared in December 1983 in the *International Herald Tribune* and the *Daily Telegraph* respectively.

Jim Nordheimer writes of Dublin as a city "that is

DID YOUR PARENTS LET YOU WATCH THE TELEVISION SHOW ABOUT NUCLEAR WAR?



WHAT PART MADE THEM SCARED?



YEAH - AND THEY WERE THE ONES WHO GOT SCARED



THE PART WHEN I ASKED THEM WHAT THEY WERE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT



beginning to fear its young". And goes on to spell out the problem of the growing number of heroin users, now estimated to be close on 6,000.

"Five years ago there was no heroin and little crime and now the papers carry articles every day about addicts, girls as well as boys, who have turned to theft and burglaries to pay for drugs. The same papers say the country's economy, one of the weakest in Europe, has little chance of offering new jobs for the young in this decade."

A picture we all know too well.

In the *Daily Telegraph* diplomatic correspondent David Adamson gives chapter and verse on the heroin trade from the still feudal dominated mountains of Afghanistan and that equally well-known home of "liberty" Pakistan.

Ninety per cent of heroin sold in these islands comes from this region. From Afghanistan alone there is an estimated 400 tons flowing onto the Western markets through the Landi Kotal bazaar in Pakistan.

According to Adamson, "the major dealers in the country are well known" but the chances of any being arrested in Western orientated Pakistan are "not great".

We hear a lot about Soviet intervention in Afghanistan so wouldn't it be a good idea if Irish Foreign Minister Barry, now in Stockholm, sought the assistance of the USSR in stamping out this monstrous traffic which is reaching epidemic proportions in Dublin?

ITGWU

CONGRATULATIONS to the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union which celebrated its 75th Anniversary

last month.

The following are the answers to our New Year Quiz. The winner, Patricia Hamilton, 58 Glenhill Road, Finglas, receives a copy of Martyn Turner's 'The Book'.

1. Which development authority chief suspended his chief accountant and demoted his publicity officer but ended up losing his own job? **Frank Flynn, Udarás na Gaeltachta**

2. Which Irish politician boasts a TD's pension, a Ministerial pension, a Euro pension, £75,000 travelling expenses and a wage of over £800 a week? **President Hillery**

3. Which union conference this year called for all their members to be issued with guns for use at work and at home? **The Prison Officers' Association**

4. Name the new trade union formed in 1983 which failed to lodge a deposit of £5,000 with the High Court or notify Congress of its intention of applying for a negotiating licence? **The Irish National Bricklayers' and Associated Craftsmen's Trade Union**

5. Name the Archbishop who said that he couldn't see any protesters as hundreds chanted 'Remember Romero' at him before he wined and dined with US Vice-President Bush in Dublin? **Archbishop Ryan**

6. Name the only Fianna Fáil backbencher TD with the courage to publicly challenge Haughey's moral blackmail over the 'pro-life' amendment? **Mary Harney**

7. Which building and property firm jailed two workers for non-payment of ground rents? **McInerneys**

8. Which politician said of a party colleague: 'He's a bollocks and you can quote me'? **Dick Spring**

Liberty, the Union's journal, in its January issue states "At the present time, the Union has over 160,000 members across every industrial sector and at every level.

"There are now seven branches of the Union catering almost exclusively for white collar workers — and with over 25,000 members in this sector the ITGWU is in fact the biggest white collar union in the country.

"In this way, the dream of the founders, contained in the motto, 'One Big Union', has made the ITGWU the most powerful and influential workers' organisation in Ireland."

9. Which Director of Elections introduced his party's candidate to Dublin Central as 'a three-time' loser? **Bertie Aherne**

10. The centenary of the death of which great political thinker occurred in 1983? **Karl Marx**

11. Which head of state said of his country's invasion of another: 'We got there — just in time'? **Ronald Reagan**

12. Name the film to which British Defence Minister, Michael Heseltine demanded the right of reply? **The Day After**

13. Name the politician who said following the 'pro-life' amendment: 'No one should misinterpret the signs that have been given last week. No Church, be it Catholic or Protestant, will dictate the laws or the Constitution of this State, which will be decided by the people and their political representatives in accordance with their own life'? **Bertie Aherne**

14. Name the 76 year-old boss of a 'guaranteed Irish' insurance company who finally retired in 1983? **Joe Moore, PMPA**

15. How many of the Labour members of the European Parliament are elected members? **None**

16. Name the parties abstaining from the Northern Ireland Assembly? **SDLP; Sinn Féin; OUP**

17. Name the British Roman Catholic clergyman playing a leading role in CND? **Bruce Kent**

18. Who was elected Deputy Leader of the British Labour Party? **Roy Hattersley**

19. Who is the longest serving President of an Irish political party? **Tomas Mac Giolla**

20. Who socked it to whom in a Martyn Turner cartoon? **The Workers' Party to Dick Spring**

CHARLES HAUGHEY A WORKING CLASS HERO?

'Among the Republic's leading politicians, Haughey epitomises what the working-class most admires in a man...'

The above statement is *not* an abstract from the recent infamous instruction manual issued to all cumainn PROs from the Fianna Fáil headquarters. Rather is it taken from *independent* commentator and Irish Catholic Nationalist philosopher, Desmond Fennell. In fact, the statement represents Fennell's main thesis to which he felt obliged to return on two successive weeks in his *Sunday Press* analysis of the pre-Xmas IMS opinion poll. Although he is 'the bogey man of the English establishment, Fleet Street and Northern Unionists' Haughey is, according to Fennell, 'by a long stretch the favourite politician of the Republic's working class'.

From his leisurely exile in Connemara, and as a literate man one must conclude that Mr Fennell is aware of the treatment his working class idol receives from Joe Joyce and Peter Murtagh in *The Boss*. Indeed Mr Fennell's timely piece leaves the impression that it has been prompted by the contents of *The Boss*, and the IMS opinion poll is merely a convenient vehicle for Mr Fennell to re-assert the real Haughey. 'The Dublin media by and large,' says Fennell 'show the same preference... as the English establishment.' In Fennell's view of things Joyce and Murtagh are clearly in this camp.

Coincidentally on the same Sunday Mr Fennell's chief rival for the position of High Priest of Irish Nationalism, Mr Vincent Browne (who brought us the New Sanitized McGlinchey Show alias Robin Hood) contributed his own tuppence worth to the Haughey rehabilitation campaign. Unlike Fennell, however, Browne admitted that the object of his *Sunday Tribune* profile was to attempt a rebuttal of *The Boss*, 'the best book to be published on contemporary Irish politics'. This was a generous aside from a man who has established something of a reputation for himself as the author and publisher of 'Folen's Notes' of Irish politics for Inter-Cert students and other beginners. Joyce and Murtagh may not however rest on their laurels; it has

MAIRTIN NAUGHTON responds to the current media campaign to advance the political fortunes of Charles Haughey

not escaped Browne's notice that their work 'betrays a prevalent contempt for Haughey' and worse, like Fennell, he detects 'a contempt laced with class undertones and a sneering disregard for anything or anyone "tainted" with Republicanism'.

JUSTIFICATION

Whereas Fennell's literacy and philosophical clarity enables him to set out his case with precision, Browne's apologia is woeful. In a longwinded, meandering, confused, begrudging and illogical statement he succeeds in revealing more about himself than he does about Haughey. He either sees nothing remarkable in the extraordinary events chronicled in *The Boss*, or he justifies this by reference to the alleged conduct of 'previous Taoisigh' or other 'Ministers for Justice, Cooney and Collins'. The tapping of the phones of two journalists was a 'venal abuse' and all the notoriety which it attracted caused Browne to 'wonder what was so terrible that when (my) own phones were tapped by order of several Ministers for Justice (including Doherty) for a period of several years'.

If Browne were to re-read his own article — although reluctance to do so would be understandable — it may help him to understand why the tapping of his phone did not provoke the same public outrage as surrounded the cases of Bruce Arnold and Geraldine Kennedy. For example, referring to the Arms Crisis, Browne writes that 'the only thing (Haughey) did wrong was to refuse to admit his role in the attempted arms importations?! Clearly, in certain respects it is not very difficult to measure up to the standards which Browne expects although he deplores the fact that Haughey did not demonstrate the same 'courage' he showed during the Falklands war when dealing with the British 'in the



The Boss points 'The Way Backwards'

months of April and May 1981 when the H-Block hunger strikes were reaching their climax'.

Browne goes on to make the extraordinary charge that 'the behaviour of the Gardai over the past decade and the complicity of Ministers for Justice with what has gone on has been a far greater scandal than anything done by Doherty'. He concedes that 'Doherty's attempt to subvert the course of justice in the Roscommon area is thoroughly documented in *The Boss* but one wonders what the hullabaloo was all about'. Sure is it not a fact 'that the Gardai have been interfered with and abused by politicians and successive Ministers for Justice for years?'

All of this has prompted long-time Haughey loyalist John Healy to wonder: 'Do I detect the start of a "Let's-be-nice-to-Charlie-session"? Healy knows he is right.

CONNECTION

This development, of course, is not solely due to the publication of *The Boss* but there is a definite connection. The authors have done little more than diligently chronicle 'the grotesque, unbelievable, bizarre and unprecedented' events of Mr Haughey's government of nine months in 1982. Whereas we all lived through that period there is something chilling about seeing it all between two covers. Although it is an all too rare achievement for investigative journalism in this country, it carefully eschews conclusions. Nonetheless it is an appalling indictment of Haughey and his chosen administration.

He emerges as a man who wanted power for its own sake and used it primarily in an attempt to stay in power. Surrounded by aides who told him what he wanted to hear, he appointed Ministers of similar ilk. On the night he first became Taoiseach, Noel Browne described him in the Dáil as a mixture of former US

President Nixon and the Portuguese dictator, Salazar and wondered if Haughey would hand over power if defeated in a subsequent election. Well Haughey did hand over power but not before some extraordinary things happened in the attempt to avoid having to do so. Like the original Boss, Mayor Daley of Chicago, Haughey seemed to regard the police as his personal staff whose task it was to patrol his fiefdom, spy on his enemies and protect his reign. He would clearly like to run the State the way Daley ran Chicago, and he clearly longed for the kind of security of tenure which Daley enjoyed.

So what kind of man is this who 'epitomises what the working class most admires in a man'? He is very wealthy and has never sought to explain the source of that wealth. Neither has he challenged the usual explanation, which is that he used his position and information as member of Government to accumulate that wealth especially during the building boom of the Sixties. This man supposedly so revered by the working class resides in a twelve-bedroom Georgian mansion designed by James Gandon 'complete with four reception rooms and a ballroom'. Leisure time may find him walking his 280 acre estate or resting in his purpose-built island refuge off the Kerry coast. (Unfortunately communications to the island are sometimes difficult as former Attorney General Patrick Connolly discovered when he found the Taoiseach unable 'to grasp the significance of events' when Connolly rang to tell Haughey that his house guest Malcolm McArthur had been charged with murder.)

'STATESMAN'

Alternately, our working class hero may be out surveying his stables the occupants of which include a racehouse called Aristocracy. In this ambience Haughey lives 'like a country squire, delighting in the pastimes of the displaced aristocracy, hunting, breeding horses,

POLITICAL LIFE

patronising the arts and enjoying the high life'.

Joyce and Murtagh get on with the story of Haughey's nine months in power with very few flights of fancy. And even then how many would disagree with the following: 'In power, Haughey behaved like an actor, savouring the role that had been given to him. The main point about power was that it thrust Haughey into the limelight, all day for every day that he kept it. He loved the trappings of power, the reaction of people to the Taoiseach, the ability to have his whims gratified. He played the role for all that it was worth, occasionally hamming it up by replacing comment with imperious waves of the hand. He never wore a watch, relying on some aide to have him wherever he should be on time. He adopted a statesman-like walk which, like his method of delivering speeches or comments, was slow and measured.'

Are these the qualities which 'epitomise what the working class most admires in a man'? If Mr Fennell's source document had been the RTE TAM ratings (instead of the IMS opinion poll) he would probably have us believe that Irish workers would elect JR Ewing as their shop steward because of the popularity of "Dallas" among the working class.

The other possible explanation lies in what seems to be Mr Fennell's opinion of the working class: 'The working class think, judge and act instinctively while the middle class are suspicious of instinct and try to be guided by reason.'

INSULTING

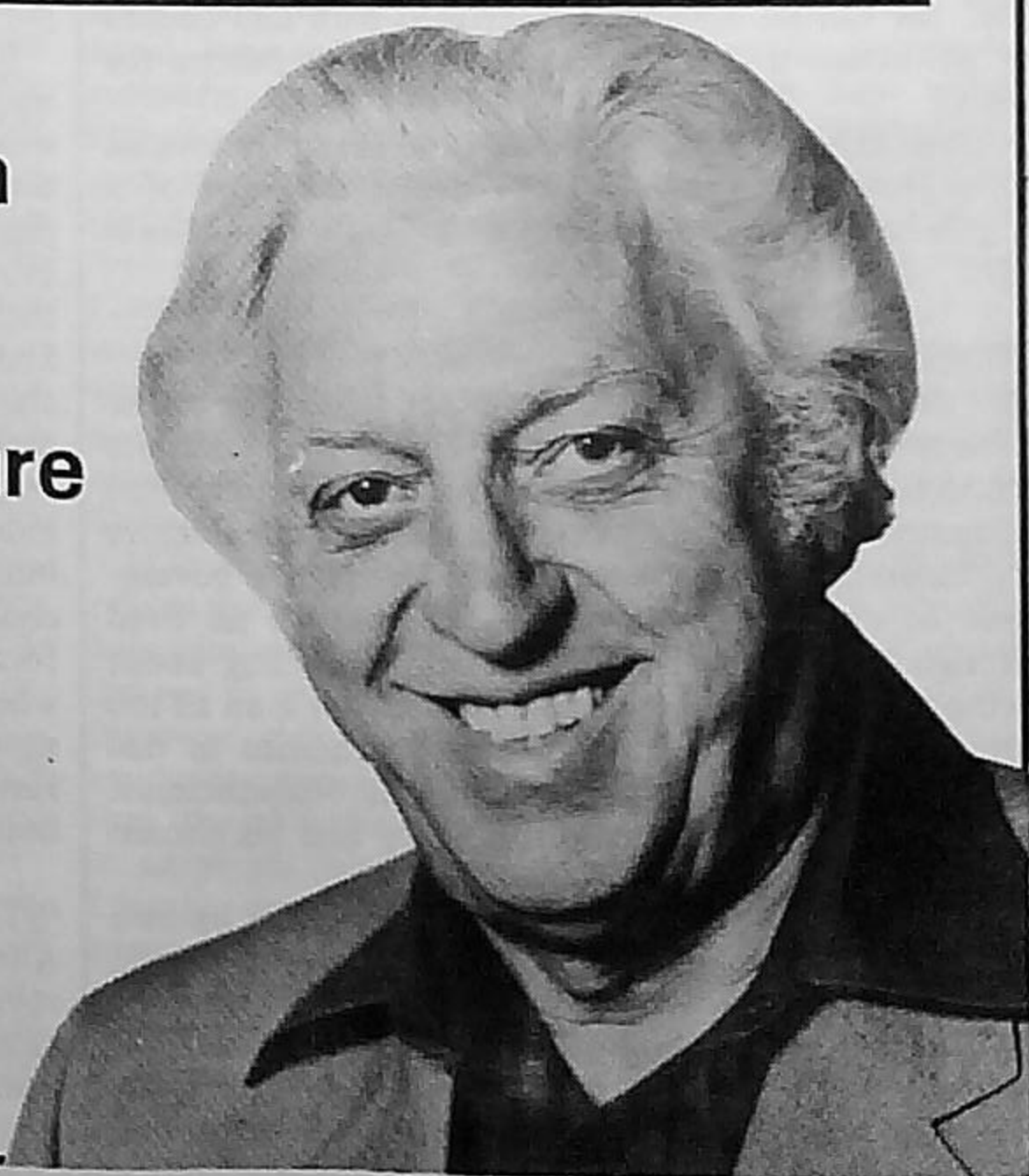
This is the classic distinction between human beings and monkeys. Is Mr Fennell arguing that the Irish working class are not far removed from monkeys and/or that Mr Haughey has mass appeal for monkeys? Either way Mr Haughey is unlikely to mind so long as they have votes, but the argument is insulting to the Irish working class who have never been presented with a socialist alternative until the recent emergence of The Workers' Party. Mr Fennell dismisses the claims of both the Labour Party and the Workers' Party to speak for the working class because Haughey 'is entitled to be its spokesman'. Apparently Haughey enjoys this natural 'entitlement' because the working class, according to Fennell, 'frankly admire "strokes" and all other sorts of clever dealing which don't offend against basic loyalties'. These loyalties by which the working class 'set much store' are loyalty to 'persons, parties and nation'.

It is undoubtedly this 'loyalty to nation' and a feeling of affinity with Haughey in this regard that has inspired Fennell to such fantasy. Anybody desperate enough to understand Mr Fennell's concept of the nation may wish to study his *The State of the Nation*. Suffice it to say that the political leader whose loyalty to Mr Fennell's nation is least suspect is Charles J Haughey. After all in 1969/70 when men were men, Mr Haughey put taxpayers' money where his mouth was. Wasn't he the author of the 'pro-life' Amendment to the Constitution,

SAY IT AGAIN SAM*

'Workers Life — a most impressive journal; its strongest feature is the high quality of the writing'

* SAM McAUGHTREY: 'the Voice of Leftish Ulster Protestantism inclined Towards Trade Unionism, the Workers' Party and a Bit of a Gamble but Not Above Staying in Bloom's Hotel...' (Irish Times 5/1/1983)





'Hail Fellow Well Met'

and didn't he emerge during that campaign as a modern Defender of the Faith? Did he not re-assert the values of the nation when others were backsliding at the New Ireland Forum?

In the eyes of its supporters Fianna Fáil and the Nation have always been indistinguishable. Haughey, however, like Louis XIV began to identify himself with the Nation. Consequently he seemed to have convinced himself that his opponents were by definition 'anti-national'.

FLEXIBILITY OF PRINCIPLE

In practice, however, Haughey demonstrated the same flexibility of principle on Northern Ireland as characterised his approach to other issues. According to *The Boss* Haughey left the Workers' Party with 'the impression that (he) would not actively oppose the Assembly plan'. He gave a very different undertaking to Blaney and his supporters. He became so euphoric about the 'historic breakthrough' at the Dublin summit with Thatcher that in a script prepared for the Ard Fheis 'he declared confidently' say Joyce and Murtagh that 'the road to unity would be clearly visible within a year'. But when asked at a Cabinet meeting to explain what was going on and the implications of 'the totality of relationships' he said: 'I can tell you, between these four walls, that what's been going on is nothing.'

At one stage he made much of his 'unique relationship' with Thatcher; later he dispensed with the traditional Cabinet Security Committee and organised the top level briefing where the head of Garda Intelligence, Two-Gun Joe Ainsworth, explained why

the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act would no longer be enforced apparently because of his belief that 'the Provisional IRA would bring their war to the South' if the Government of the Republic continued to operate the Act.

All of this transpired in 1982 which, according to Vincent Browne, was 'Haughey's best year'!

What are the implications of all this for democrats and socialists? If Haughey and his closest Ministers were prepared to use the full apparatus of the State to crush dissent within their own Party, what would they be prepared to do against 'enemies' outside the Party? If smears, bugging, harassment and bribes are weapons to be used against Party colleagues, why shouldn't the same weapons be turned on 'anti-establishment' parties with greater ferocity at the appropriate time?

And how does the 'respectable' wing of Fianna Fáil come through? Not very well. They were prepared to facilitate big business in removing Haughey. Having got rid of Haughey they were willing to do the bidding of big business. The manifest stench of corruption surrounding Haughey became unacceptable to those who call the shots in our 'democracy'; he must be gotten rid of and replaced by someone who would also take the shilling but with the proper image. Otherwise, Mr Fennell's working class might revolt. The plan failed primarily because of the incompetence of those selected to implement it.

And now that Mr Haughey has survived and may indeed be 'Boss' again, the Fennells and Brownes are busy sweeping 1982 under the carpet while elsewhere bridge-building continues apace.

WHAT THEY WANTED FROM THE BUDGET

Eamonn Smullen

A NEW Budget enables us to measure the increased burdens which ordinary people are forced to carry. Experience over the past few years has led us to expect additional burdens with each new Budget. A combination of increased taxation and cuts in social spending has steadily forced down the standard of living of ordinary people. We are now one of the most highly taxed countries in the world.

Tax bands were not raised to keep pace with pay increases — increases made necessary because of the ever upward spiral of inflation. This simple device, fixing tax bands to an old level meant that, over a period of years, the amount of tax paid by wage and salary earners crept up and up.

Before each Budget various interests in the economy make representations which they hope will influence government Budget decisions. Some of those making submissions can be more optimistic about their chances of success than others. The government does, without doubt, represent Private Enterprise.

Private Enterprise wants the government to move towards a balanced Budget and at the same time refrain from either imposing new taxes on Private Enterprise or putting a break on the numerous government hand-outs to Private Enterprise.

The main line of attack made by spokespersons for Private Enterprise in their various submissions in relation to the Budget can be summed up under four headings: (1) reduce overall Exchequer borrowing requirements; (2) reduce and control the Budget deficit; (3) minimise the possible adverse effects on people with low incomes; (4) achieve moderation in pay policy

in order to reverse the substantial decline in recent years on both the home and export markets.

Point four ignores the fact that, with the exception of Greece, we have the lowest pay in Europe.

Cuts in government spending which all employer organisations have called for in the Budget, cannot take place in a vacuum. In 1983 total government spending amounted to £5,490,339,000. A total of £920,826,000 was voted for Social Welfare payments. Cuts in Social Welfare payments impose severe hardships on the unemployed and the sick.

The high level of unemployment — 15.5%, the highest in the EEC — obviously restricts spending on the home market and reduces government income from taxation both directly and indirectly. People on Social Welfare do not receive a sufficiently large income to pay tax and they cannot afford to buy items that are heavily taxed.

ENERGY COSTS

Some of the proposals made in the Confederation of Irish Industry submissions to the government are reasonable although they do manage to move the blame for the present crisis away from their own door. The submission to bring electricity charges down to the EEC average — a cut of 25% - 50% — could make a saving to industry of £50 million.

It is obvious that we need an electricity generating capacity which uses a cheap fuel to generate electricity but the employers do not say this. The government in fact uses the ESB to impose a hidden taxation. The ESB is now forced to find £20 million in rates charged on its

plant and must also pay a tax on its oil imports of 10%. The ESB is, of course, compelled to recover these payments to the government by charging more for electricity. The employers do not give the real reason for the high price of electricity because it is a fundamental principle with their organisations to attack the state companies and State Enterprise.

High tax on all forms of oil energy put a heavy charge on the whole economy. Private Enterprise interests never call for a national energy policy which would include the building of an oil refining capacity to meet our energy needs. If we possessed this capacity we could then seek food for oil barter deals with countries like Nigeria.

The Confederation of Irish Industry's call to cut employers' PRSI payments — saving £70 million for them — must be examined against their call to increase public sector workers' PRSI payments by 2%. This would, they say, yield £55 million. It means that the Confederation of Irish Industry are advocating that the greater part of the PRSI contributions they want to escape paying should be carried by public sector employees. A typical piece of Private Enterprise reasoning.

It is not surprising that the CII also called for the removal of VAT at point of entry. They claim that this would save high administration costs to companies and to the State. It is difficult to see why this should be a problem — if VAT must be paid, the same amount of clerical work is involved no matter whether the bill is paid sooner or later.

But before this tax was imposed at point of entry the State lost an estimated £200 million in

one year through various schemes to avoid and otherwise dodge paying it.

In relation to "the VAT at point of entry" part of the CII submission, they list a cash-flow cost to industry of £40 million. The cash-flow problem they complain about could be removed by extending the bonded warehouse principle to cover all imports.

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE

All employers' organisations are campaigning for vigorous cuts in current government expenditure and quote an example that such spending was 37% of the Gross National Product in 1970 and that it is now 70% of the GNP.

To put the matter bluntly this argument is rubbish. The real solution to the problem is to increase the Gross National Product in real terms by the increased sale of output from industry and from the land.

The employers lament that the government spends a greater proportion of the GNP than is the case in the USA, in Japan or Switzerland — 30% - 33%. This is a dishonest argument. The USA, Japan and Switzerland are modern, industrialised nations with high levels of output. This well-known fact is not mentioned in the CII submission.

It is also well-known that investment, by Private Enterprise, in the Irish economy is falling, i.e. investment in the productive sectors — manufacturing and construction — not property speculation. It is also a well-known fact that the government spends a lot of money attempting to breathe life into some sections of Private Enterprise.

There are signs of increasing opposition to the high levels of

indirect taxation — one of the highest in the world. It loses jobs and — although the employers do not have to pay the tax — it is bad for business.

A deputation from the Society of the Irish Motor Industry told the Minister for Finance that more new cars were sold in Northern Ireland in 1983 than were sold in the Republic. They produced figures to support the case they were making. In the first ten months of 1983, 62,000 new cars were registered in Northern Ireland compared with 56,760 in the Republic. The full meaning of what this means is not absolutely clear until another set of figures is examined — the Northern Ireland population is 1.5 million while the Republic of Ireland population is 3.5 million.

The Society of the Irish Motor Industry accused the government of short-sighted greed by stating that 55,000 new cars were not sold in the past two years and that this meant a loss of £160 million to the Exchequer.

CONGRESS SUBMISSION

Various groups have made submissions to have VAT removed from theatre tickets. It will kill the theatre, they claim.

The Irish Congress of Trade Unions' submission to the government before the Budget supports that view. This was not, of course, the most important part of their submission.

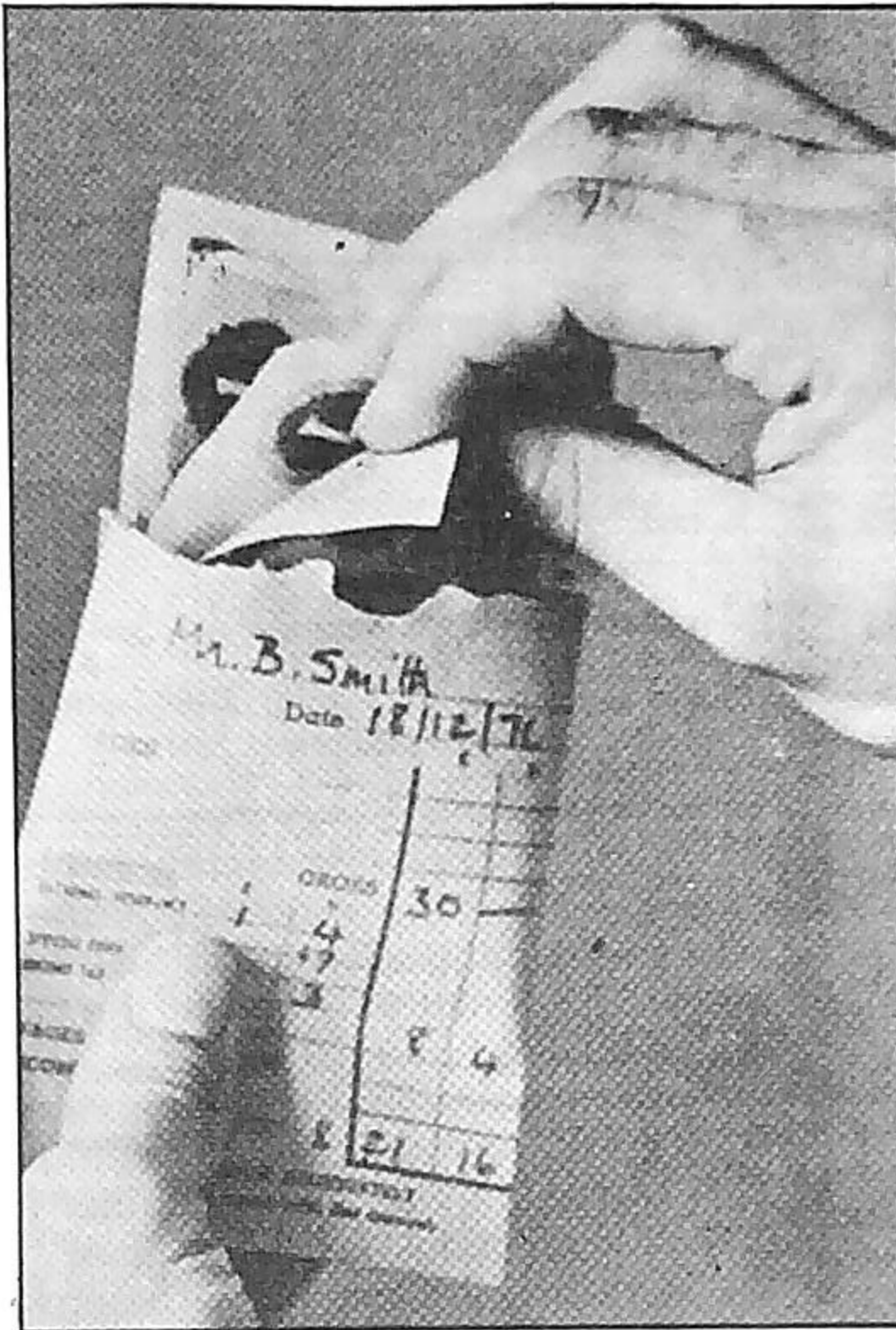
The ICTU stressed the need to drastically reduce the present very high level of unemployment. They pointed out that Social Welfare payments and tax losses will cost the government over £900 million in 1984 and remarked that it is not very far short of last year's Budget deficit of £960 million.

Congress told the government that "retrenchment and fiscal delation was certainly not the way forward."

ICTU state that this year the PAYE taxpayers will carry a £2,000 million burden in income tax, Social Insurance contributions and levies. Half of all PAYE taxpayers pay tax (including PRSI and levies) at a rate of 53½ pence or more on every extra pound earned. Congress stated that this is too great a burden of tax.

When the figures quoted are spread over the population as a whole they mean that in 1983 only £40 million was collected from farmers and this amount covered an eighteen month period. It brought in less than 4% of farm income.

Income tax paid on wages and salaries totalled £1,414 million —



Real wages continue to shrink

18% of total wages and salaries. It is obvious that there is very little more money in that particular bag for the government.

The same section of the community is also being badly hit by VAT. The Dublin Print trade Union Group asked the government to reduce the massive 23% VAT on newspapers. The root of this grievance is best understood when it is realised that British newspapers are zero-rated for VAT purposes.

The print unions are concerned about the continuing employment prospects of their 6,000 members. The circulation of British daily papers in the Republic increased by 34% in 1983 and sales of British Sunday papers went up by 10% over the same period. The print unions claim that the high rate of VAT on newspapers is the cause of this development.

CONSTRUCTION JOBS

Very few calls have been made for a reduction of the total tax bill. All are agreed that the government needs its present income, and more, but no

section of the population wishes to carry the burden. The argument is about how the bill will be paid. The government want the PAYE sector to pay in one way or another.

According to the ICTU £90 million could be chopped off the tax bill if everyone had a job and this makes sense. One quick way of putting a substantial number of people to work is to pump money into the Construction Industry.

Building employers would welcome this approach but in their pre-budget submission they complicated matters considerably by putting the main weight on measures designed to benefit property speculators. It is, of course, true to say that all our major building firms — those who call the tune when it comes to making a submission on the Budget — are also property speculators. They had much more in mind than creating jobs in the Construction Industry.

The building unions made a strong case for the relief of their industry and showed that savings on Social Welfare

payments and pay related benefits would considerably reduce the real cost of reflating the industry.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The present situation is very similar to the situation in Britain in 1931. In that year "money" became "a mystery" and a balanced budget an "article of faith". The "we are all in this mess together" philosophy was given massive publicity and Ramsey MacDonald and the Tories were pushed together.

MacDonald and one or two others became the scapegoats for the 1930's depression and some of the people who were loudest in condemnation of the man were those whom he did not ask to join "The National Government". The important point to make is that we are in a "National Government" position now.

In later years the truth was told — the Tories were quite content for MacDonald, wearing a Labour Party brand, to be allowed and encouraged to make the cuts they wanted made. They also knew that they would pick up votes when the population passed judgement on the government's performance. It is obvious that Haughey's mind works along the same lines.

The truth of the matter at that time was that few people really knew what was happening; no doubt the same is true of some circles around the government today. The bankers, then and now, succeeded in convincing many people that they alone understood "money".

People were opposed to cuts in Social Welfare benefits and cuts in pay in the Public Sector but there were few practical alternatives being canvassed.

It is useful to be aware of the size of the problem but it is also necessary to popularise policies which will show a way out of the difficulties.

The Workers' Party pre-budget submission to the government states that the main structure of the tax system — which is loaded in favour of the wealthy — has remained unchanged over the past few years. The recession, they say, is not a valid reason for making no change in the tax structure.

The Workers' Party believes that there are considerable amounts of untapped sources of tax revenue if strong measures were taken to locate and tap the sources. They want wealth and property heavily taxed and the heavy tax burden on the people eased considerably.

POLITICS AND THE PRESS

THE MOST striking feature of Irish political life during the last ten years has been the successful growth of The Workers' Party. The various conservative parties have not failed to note the challenge to their position.

In recent years the parliamentary successes of the Workers' Party have underscored this political fact. The Workers' Party can no longer be ignored, therefore other methods and means must be used to discredit it, and maintain the *status quo*.

Over the past ten years it is the working class that has borne the full brunt of the economic crisis that this society has experienced; unemployment has grown to massive proportions with almost 1/4 million people out of work; every day we see more and more factory closures. It is the working class which has had to pay for the disastrous mess into which the conservative parties have plunged our economy by having to accept further and greater cutbacks in the areas of hospitals, schooling, housing and general welfare rights. And those who have jobs are expected to pay more and more in direct taxation.

At the same time, we are faced with a growing crime wave, fuelled by an epidemic of drug abuse, much of it emanating from an increasingly younger population to whom the government can offer no hope whatsoever.

Terror

We have had this tragic and dangerous situation compounded by

The press in capitalist society is playing a more direct role in political life — usually in the interests of reaction. There is nothing new about this; the notorious 'Zinoviev Letter', designed to discredit the British Labour Party, was published in the 1920s.

More recently, the British Labour Party has been subjected to a systematic campaign of press vilification. This campaign was a major factor in the Conservative landslide election victory in June.

The French Socialist government — no threat to the existing social order — has felt compelled to introduce legislation to curb the power of the conservative press.

This power, its potential for abuse, and its concentration in fewer and fewer hands represents a major threat to democracy. In recent years, this threat has begun to make itself felt in Ireland, as SEAN GARLAND, General Secretary of The Workers' Party, pointed out at a party meeting in Dublin last month.

members of Dáil Eireann lending aid and encouragement to vigilante gangs organised by the same terrorist gang which has brought so much destruction and death to the people of Northern Ireland over the past 15 years. And in recent months, this monstrous spectre of terrorism has reared its murderous head south of the border with the killing of a young garda and soldier in Leitrim.

The demands of Peace, Work and Democracy have always been a cornerstone of the Workers' Party. We have always argued that politics is not the preserve of the few, but is the right of all. We alone as a Party have stood four square on the side of the working class against conser-

vative monetarist policies; against intimidatory elitist terrorism, and against the moral hypocrisy of the self styled defenders of the faith. We are a Workers' Party organised and determined to represent the interests of workers.

We have warned time and time again of the terrible consequences which would result economically, socially and politically as a result of the policies being pursued either publicly or in private by the conservative parties. Naturally they refused to listen. The unemployed the hungry, the sick, the poverty-stricken, the people of Northern Ireland are simply fodder for them at election time. But they feared and

TODAY'S
WEATHER

Cloudy, generally dry.
Above normal temperatures.
(See Page 11).

Irish Independent



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LARGEST DAILY SALE IN IRELAND

Election candidate's firm got £90,000 in legal aid fees

By P. J. CUNNINGHAM
MORE than £90,000 was paid to the company of Workers' Party by-election candidate in Dublin Central Michael D. White in criminal legal aid last year.

The State paid out £11 million in criminal legal aid last year and it is estimated that Court fees under this section will jump to £1,830,000 next year.

The Workers' Party candidate said he was aware Fine Gael had not done a question in the Dail on this topic.

figures could be misinterpreted because the fees were a gross payment.

first preference in the general election before finally going out on the fifth count.

plan which would provide jobs for young people. "What's good enough for the children of Castleside cannot be held back from the children of Cabra, Marston, East Wall and other areas," he said.

'Skulduggery'

ON FRIDAY, 18th November 1983, during the course of the Dublin Central by-election campaign, a front-page report in the *Irish Independent* gave details of legal aid payments made to the company in which The Workers' Party candidate, Michael White, is a partner.

On Monday, 21st November, *Independent* columnist, Maurice Hearne, wrote:

'A particularly nasty piece of skulduggery was worked last week when it was disclosed in the Dail that Mr White's firm of solicitors was paid £93,000 in criminal legal aid fees last year.

'I am not questioning the accuracy of the figure or the probity of eliciting this information by means of a parliamentary question.

'It's the innuendo and the timing that is shabby. For the suggestion being made is that there is a hypocritical inconsistency between Mr White's

socialist views and the way that he earns his living. Also implicit in all of this is the suggestion that Mr White has a vested interest in crime, of which there is a high incidence in Dublin Central.

'So the effect of this device in the heat of a by-election campaign smacks of a smear. But it also indicates that Mr White has arrived as a force to be reckoned with by the established parties in Dublin's working class areas.

'I have never met Mr White, and were I an elector in Dublin Central I would not vote for him. For I disagree fundamentally with his politics. Mr White deserves to be judged on his views and his suitability for office. Nothing more.

'But on the basis of this shabby smear that has been deliberately dealt him in this campaign, I hope that I shall not be regarded as perverse in wishing him well.'

still fear our ideas, our politics, because we challenge the divine right to rule theory held so deeply by so many in the corridors of power.

During all this time they have never once sought to confront The Workers' Party politically in any real sense; rather they have resorted to smears, innuendo and downright lies.

Smear campaign

A few examples of this continuous campaign will suffice to demonstrate this; less than two years ago we had issues of *Magill* magazine devoted to smearing The Workers' Party. Attempts were then made to link The Workers' Party with bank robberies, post office robberies and even killings. When this failed to halt the growth of The Workers' Party, a new and more outlandish accusation was tried — that The Workers' Party was funded by Moscow, that we were receiving

Russian gold.

When we opposed the sectarian and divisive amendment to the Constitution last year, we were accused of being pro-abortion and Party President, Tomas Mac Giolla was singled out for despicable attacks on this issue in one particular daily. When he demanded the right of reply which was eventually and reluctantly conceded, this reply was so distorted that it went no way towards correcting this malicious smear.

Again before that, when The Workers' Party absolutely opposed the Provisional hunger strike they accused us of lack of humanity. Who was more humane than those of us who saw through the thinly concealed veil that shrouded the terror campaign and the continuing bid to begin a sectarian civil war?

And of course when all else failed they cried 'Official IRA' and pointed at a history that we cannot change

but have long since left behind.

The smear campaign has not been confined to the political arena. Party members have been accused of seeking to take over the trade union organisation. Indeed we know that membership of The Workers' Party has been used by an unholy alliance of Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael and the Labour Party and other elements, to conduct whispering campaigns against honest, hard-working trade unionists who by virtue of their dedication as trade unionists and socialists have exposed the inadequacies and downright laziness of some so-called leading trade unionists.

We have stated time and time again that all Workers' Party members should as far as is possible, be active in their trade union in the interests of the working class. We make no secret of that demand. But we do not have any interest or intention of seeking

through any form of action, overt or covert, to take over any trade union.

But we do say loud and clear that it is not only a duty for our membership to be active in a trade union but that it is also the right of any trade unionist, no matter what position they may occupy, to be a full and active member of The Workers' Party if they so desire.

In the past we have defended that right and we will continue to do so in spite of the efforts of reactionary elements both inside and outside the trade union organisation to smear our active trade union members.

During the Dublin Central by-election, attempts were made to smear the party candidate Michael White by distorting income his company was in receipt of for legal work done on behalf of the Department of Justice. Indeed some journalists employed by the paper concerned also expressed their contempt and disagreement with such actions.

But all along, of course, there are some journalists waiting, and only too willing, to take up the anti-Workers' Party cudgels on behalf of their masters. These same people who attack The Workers' Party in *Magill* and *Phoenix* in a manner reminiscent of *An Phoblacht* and at times the more orthodox newspapers, are of the same stable as those who champion the Provisionals' drive for respectability through various election campaigns, and at times have provided belated explanations for the most heinous crimes.

These same people bear a heavy burden of responsibility for creating the mythological mandate that caused the Harrods bomb, the Ballinamore murders and countless other atrocities in the North.

Investigation

The day after the Dublin Central by-election which saw the Workers' Party almost treble its vote, the printing premises at the rear of 30 Gardiner Place was visited by gardai. The gardai stated it was part of a city-wide investigation in which they were visiting all printing premises. During the course of this visit, the gardai took away samples of ink, plates etc. They stated they had in fact taken possession of

'We do not seek through any form of action, overt or covert, to take over any trade union'

many printing machines from various other printers throughout Dublin. Every assistance was rendered to the gardai during the course of their investigation. Recent scurrilous attempts to link The Workers' Party to a forged bank-note racket are no more than crude attempts to discredit the Party, to confuse supporters and to halt the development of class politics in Ireland.

We would point out that the latest smear is very obviously and carefully timed to coincide with the forthcoming EEC elections. There will be only one alternative to the conservative parties in these crucial elections this coming summer, and that is The Workers' Party.

We would emphasise the following points:

1. The Workers' Party is not and never has been involved in any fraud.
2. Contrary to press reports, no senior member of the Party is missing, nor, to our knowledge, is any being sought by the police.
3. The police did not raid the offices of The Workers' Party.
4. The tone of these press reports are deliberately designed to smear The Workers' Party by association and by anonymous reference to senior policemen and by untruthful reference to "senior" and "prominent" or "key" members of the party.

Defamation

Until Ireland has a strong and impartial Press Council, the Press Barons cannot be taken on on their own ground. As things stand they make their own rules, they throw the stones, they can smear whom they like and then as judges, jury

and witnesses in their own court they can edit, distort and "bury" any reply.

With the purpose of strengthening our democracy, with improving the quality of public life and in the hope of going some way towards counteracting the worst excesses of the smear mongers, The Workers' Party will introduce in Dáil Eireann a Bill to establish a Press Council.

Lest anyone should consider that I am being somewhat paranoid as to the role of the media in this sense, let me draw your attention to a recent Media Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries held in New Delhi during December 1983.

Delegate after delegate pointed to the fact that "the flow of information in the world remains a one way street... the Western mass media distort virtually everything that comes their way". Although this Conference was essentially concerned with the role of the media in the struggle for world peace, the same points that I have made were made on a larger scale by the participants. As one speaker put it, "You are exposed to a torrent of defamation distorting the essence of revolutionary change".

In relation to the publication of the so-called Hitler diaries the Swiss Daily *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* had this to say in a recent article about the nature of such journalism: "That the reporter or editor examine or consider all sources, as far as probity is concerned, before publishing his information or commentary is the most primitive assumption for mastering the trade."

It is clear that some Irish journalists have no desire to conform to such "primitive assumptions". Nor would they worry unduly about being accused of lacking "a journalistic sense of values for which reliability and carefulness are the highest merits". (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*)

A further sensational smear campaign on an international level is also worthy of mention. That was the failed effort to link Bulgaria with the attempted assassination of the Pope. Writing in the *Journal of The International Organisation of*

Au cours de la crise polonaise, le Pape aurait informé Brejnev de son intention de rentrer à Varsovie

Jean-Paul II : l'explication du complot bulgare...



A story since proven false

Journalists, Michael Janata had this to say: "The point is not that they (the journalists) should relinquish their political and philosophical convictions — to expect something like that would be too unrealistic. But that we should jointly counter such a crude abuse of the mass media as happened in this case, that we openly come out against its originators who consciously circulated hatred and set in motion the mechanism of the campaign. That is in our common interest." (December 1983).

honourable Irish journalists who agree with those sentiments.

Socialist Republic

Our Party will ultimately be judged by the people on our record or the record of our TDs and not on smears in the conservative press. The members of The Workers' Party have no illusions about the task they have set themselves, to forge the unity of the working class and build a strong Workers' Party to establish a Socialist Republic. Over the past two decades we have overcome many difficulties, solved many

problems. We have seen our friends and comrades murdered, if we mention just a few it is simply because they capture for us all their memories: Paul Crawford, Trevor McNulty and the most recent David Nocker. They were murdered because they were members of The Workers' Party and because they wanted to build this Party, and above all else liberate their class. Given the history of the past, the future will no doubt be equally as difficult, this is no party for the timid, the weary or the disillusioned. We have learned the lessons of history, the clock cannot be turned back, all around us is the evidence that capitalism has failed.

The only hope for the future of Ireland and of the world is Socialism. This can and will only be realised through the work and efforts of a strong Workers' Party which has won the confidence and active support of the working class. This is our primary task, to continue to build such a Party.

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"ONE OF THREE IRISH PUBLICATIONS THAT I WOULD PAY MONEY TO READ"



A HERMIT BY NATURE

TOM O'Shaughnessey, author of *Rest Your Head in Your Hands* (Ward River Press, 1983; IR£4.95) is hardly likely to be appointed as Professor of Theology at Maynooth or anywhere else for that matter. More's the pity.

He is a Roman Catholic priest, an intelligent theologian, undoubtedly widely read — maybe in the wrong books — has long years of experience in Africa and America, studied missiology in Rome, speaks a number of foreign languages and has a passionate interest in all things human; the sort of talents that one would have imagined the presently hard-pressed Irish Roman Catholic Church would have been anxious to put to work in their vineyards.

On the other hand someone capable of a not so throwaway remark like "There are no such things as infallible dogmas" might find it hard to scratch out a living in the hallowed corridors of Maynooth.

Nor would his brand of theological quip have the blood and thunder, hell-fire and damnation preachers rolling in the aisles in saintly sympathy: "I wouldn't ask anyone to have concepts of God such as they have in books."

In Tom O'Shaughnessey's view the Hindu and Buddhist concepts of "God as the void", although difficult to verbalise, come closest to the truth. A deeply thoughtful and critical man he sees common understandings in all the world religions and states quite simply that "different cultures put different

DES O'HAGAN talks to Fr. Tom O'Shaughnessey about his experiences as a missionary priest.

faces on God". And suggests that these religions are like the spokes on a wheel coming together in understanding at the centre.

Juju

Undoubtedly a key influence on his thinking has been the French Jesuit and renowned anthropologist, Teilhard De Chardin whom he likens to an "intellectual explosion who cannot be confined". Though he himself rejects the idea of belonging to any particular school: "It's ridiculous. People make a school out of everybody. Systemization always leads to lies. The best thing is not to bother your head about dogmas."

He talks about his years in Liberia with grim humour: "No human being should be sent there. No prison anywhere could have been worse. At least if you were in prison you could complain to the governor."

Not knowing the language or the culture left him occupying one world while the people carried on with their everyday business as he dressed in his robes in the morning "and made my juju".

What probably preserved his sanity and humour was his love of books and the works of Shaw and Shakespeare who were his companions on the Liberian station. The evidence of loneliness naturally

prompted the question as to his relations with the local female population. "I had a lot of natural helps. Venereal disease was rife. And if I had done, the story would have gone through the village like wildfire and been in Galway in no time."

At the same time he reckons that he is a hermit by nature although he did learn the Manu language and enjoyed seeing a recent television programme which featured "my own tribe" currently having a problem with the multi-national Firestone in Liberia. "I built a primary school and taught ABC by rote though I would rather have been teaching philosophy."

Rest Your Head in Your Hands is an account of those years and was widely reviewed very favourably in Ireland. While he clearly enjoyed the reviews Tom O'Shaughnessey is modest in his own estimation of his work. "It showed the way it could be done, I think I provided glimpses of openings. In the past if you questioned anything like *that* you were ruined. Even today they would put me in chains if they could." The criticism is modified by an infectious chuckle.

Times have changed and Vatican II does seem "to have smashed the Church's insistence on tradition". But the key problem which Tom O'Shaughnessey identified in his

childhood still remains. Like the good teacher he tells the story of a dilemma presented to him as a child when a visitor sought out his uncle, then a member of the IRA. He was torn between bringing the person to his uncle on what seemed to be an urgent issue or obeying the instruction that no one was to know where his uncle was to be found: "It was a theological problem for a kid. Who am I going to obey?"

Policemen or priests

He is prepared to criticise on just those grounds clerics who are incapable of seeing outside their training. "I remember when lounge bars first came to Ireland. I thought they were the best things in the world. There were priests who saw them as dens of iniquity, but for me it meant that people would be drinking less and talking more."

A mention of the hell-fire preaching of the Redemptorist priests on the dangers of lounge bars and dance halls produced the beautiful comment: "Alphonsus (the Order's founder) clutching his little statue had a hump on him with prayer. Isn't dancing as natural as breathing?"

His years in California produced other stories and one hopes another

book in the near future. "I met an old man from Spiddal, Conemara, who had been in the Irish Republican Brotherhood. He told me that the boss of his cell instructed him that he was to be a good Catholic, but that he was to have no truck with policemen or priests. I think I was the first priest he ever talked to."

Whom to obey and blindly following the rules have their funny side as in the case of the local Californian undertaker. Tom had gone to dinner with a fellow cleric when one of his parishoners died and the undertaker being unable to trace the priest decided that the man would have to be anointed "dead or alive" so he deposited the body at the Church house until Tom would return from his meal to perform the necessary ritual!

Back home in Ireland now and living in the Order's house at Dromantine near Newry he sees considerable change in our lifestyles and not for the better. "I am not very hopeful for Ireland; there's no real danger of revolution, no two can get together and agree to do anything." Whether he is right in that respect certainly not many would disagree with his estimation of the quality of life in our society.

"There isn't the same social happiness. Nobody seems to give a damn about anybody else."

Nor is he impressed with our education system. "We are producing efficient technicians. People who are not interested in wide reading, in liberal reading. It's a narrow form of education useful for a profession but it's a mistake. Wide reading is absolutely vital."

Retired

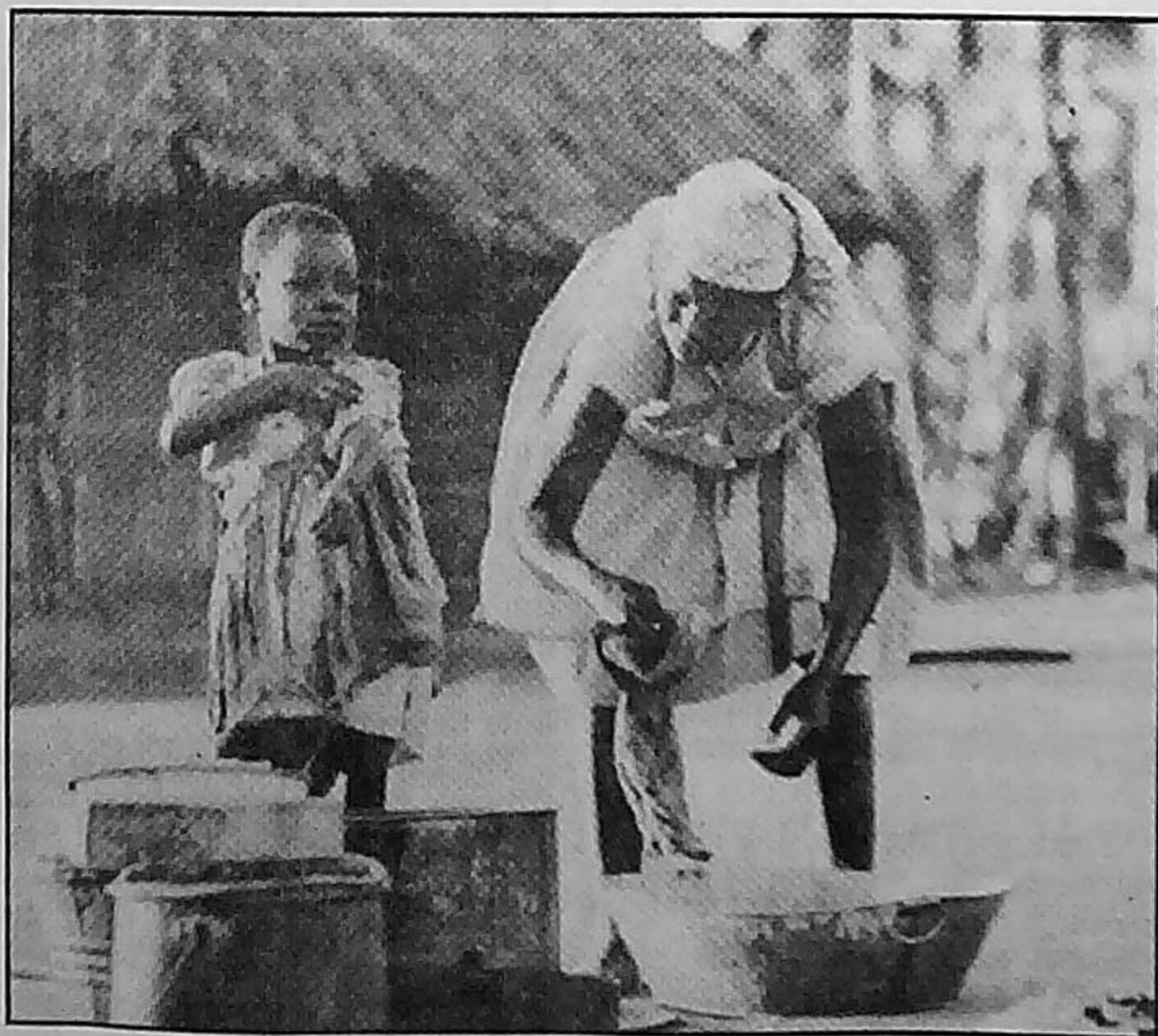
But then in criticism of what he has just said he tells of a newly ordained priest who told him that his mother had advised him "be fond of books and you will never be lonely". So Tom gave him a book to add to his collection.

At 73 years of age last month and retired from pastoral activity, Tom O'Shaughnessey says that he has no plans of any kind and is just enjoying each day as it comes, which is not entirely accurate. He has at least two books waiting to see the light of day, one based on his Californian experiences and another drawn from his love of nature.

He has published other work and indeed wrote for the Belfast paper the *Irish News* under the pen name Sean Nussy. A jesuitical touch. It is unlikely that he will make any further forays into the theological field although he has no qualms about any possible attacks arising from the theological elements in *Rest Your Head in Your Hands*. That is not surprising in someone who scorns systemization and prefers the aphorism or the mental nudge to encourage a fresh view of the world.

Whether there will be more from his pen unfortunately is still a question, for Ireland North and South could do with his irony, his humour and his humanity. He knows the power of the written word. As he said himself not too seriously as we parted company, "If you write anything which causes me trouble, I'll deny it like the rest of them."

Tom O'Shaughnessey's journey from Liberia to Dromantine requires the fullest telling possible for we have had too many clerics whose message was based on death and so few who could relate to human existence.



Everyday business

LIFE PAST

ALTHOUGH I don't particularly like to be reminded of it, 1974 was the year when I joined — and left — the Labour Party. Earlier in the year I had joined the party in University College Galway of all places, and it wasn't too bad, after all the whole branch were anti-coalition and wasn't there the occasional little junket out to the wilds of Connemara to visit the left-wing shrine that was the holiday home of Dr Noel Browne who was one of my political heroes at the time — along with Michael D. of course.

It was possible to survive in the Labour Party at that time. Unemployment wasn't too high and the Labour Party seemed an O.K. place to be in UCG, secluded as it was from the harsh realities of life on the outside.

The harsh reality was brought home to me later in the year when I arrived in New Ross to take up a teaching position. The Labour Party in County Wexford should be O.K. shouldn't it? Wasn't Brendan Corish the leader of the party and hadn't he been leader during the surge to the Left in the party in the late '60s. Naturally enough I decided to make a few inquiries in New Ross, sure what else was there to do.

So I asked my old friend Cllr Denis North a few questions about the Labour Party in New Ross. 'Well Denis,' says I, 'do you have many members of the party in Ross?'

'Oh, we have well over two hundred,' came the reply! Next question. 'And do you have any Anti-Coalition element in it,' I asked. 'Ah no, sure the only ones that cause any trouble are the women,' said Denis. I didn't pursue that line of enquiry.

A couple of weeks later the Annual Conference of the Labour Party was on in Galway. I could have attended as a delegate, in fact I could have the choice of being a delegate from any one of a dozen paper branches in my native Clare. However it would have been presumptuous of me to attempt to represent the views of the proletariat of such hotbeds of socialism as Bodyke or Kilmaley. But I did accept an offer to be a steward at the conference. Invitation duly

'...and where were you in 1974?'

MICK ENRIGHT recalls the heady days of a decade ago in the Labour Party.



Brendan Halligan, the new Messiah, embraces Frank Cluskey

accepted I then took up position inside the main door to the conference hall.

Exit

There were a couple of occasions when high drama took over as for instance when Noel Browne launched into a vigorous attack on Corish and Keating and needed the protection of supporters on his way back from the rostrum. We wondered would Noel resign then but he stayed on for three more years before he 'resigned himself' (the Labour Party is very democratic you know) from the party when he stood as an Independent Labour candidate in the 1977 election because the Administrative Council decided that nomination by five out of eight branches in Dublin North Central wasn't quite democratic enough and they refused to ratify him.

There were the amusing and sad moments too. Amusing when the stewards were notified by the General Secretary from the platform that the constant flow of delegates to the bar was creating a bad impression on the T.V. and

would we please close the exit door leading to the bar. Being dutiful stewards who wouldn't dream of disobeying the all-powerful General Secretary (a man to be feared) we duly closed the door. All hell broke loose as about 50 red-faced and hostile delegates told us what they would do with us if we didn't let them through to the bar! In order to avoid a near-riot — which would have looked even worse on T.V. — we finally reopened the door and just got out of the way of the stampede in time!

Unfortunately little has changed with the Labour Party since that conference ten years ago. The anti-coalitionists are still trying to do the impossible — trying to graft socialism onto a social democratic party dominated by rural deputies whose main interest is protecting their own little fiefdoms.

The Left in the Labour Party was stronger and more principled then. Today it is led by the General Secretary of 1974, Brendan Halligan. Maybe this is no more than the Labour Party deserves but how ironic it is that Halligan is now the Messiah of the Labour 'Left'. Best of luck lads. You'll need it!

PROPOSALS FOR PEACE

DES GERAGHTY comments on the first phase of the European Security and Co-operation Conference in Stockholm

1975 was the year in which 35 European countries along with the representatives of the United States and Canada signed the Helsinki Final Act.

It was a year which ushered in a new era in East-West relations. Our political vocabulary was extended to include concepts like "detente" and "peaceful coexistence". All Europe was assured that not only could we live free from the fear of war but that the future would see a de-escalation of the arms race, a shift of scarce human and material resources into peaceful production and the development of world wide scientific capacity not in the pursuit of war but for the benefit of mankind.

Not only have those hopes been dashed but the mass of European people now live more aware than any time in our recent history, under what the late President Kennedy described as "the sword of Damocles". Successive conferences of the major world powers have not produced a halt to the arms race. In fact the decision by the United States to draft in Cruise and Pershing II missiles into Western Europe effectively brought to a halt the talks between America and the USSR in Geneva.

Over the next five years 572

Cruise and Pershing missiles will be deployed in Western Europe. The Soviet Government has described these weapons as first strike missiles. In other words they believe that the decision by the USA to enforce their location is a serious escalation in the nuclear arms race. Already the first Cruise missiles are in location in Britain.

Warmongering

The November Irish edition of the *EP (European Parliament) News* reports in considerable detail on the debate which took place in Strasbourg on this question while the first of the American missiles were actually being installed. Two headlines on the front page indicate the general orientation of the paper. "Pacifism is not the answer — votes Parliament" and "Put not your faith in the Kremlin" the other.

In spite of the fact that the resolution in favour of deploying the missiles was carried by Parliament (170—107, 26 abstained) against the overwhelming opposition of the people of the Common Market, *EP News* relegates that opposition to the back page under the headline, "In the public's opinion". Interestingly enough the major headline on that page is "Stand firm to force talks",

as if the present crisis was one of a neighbourhood gang row instead of the potential destruction of millions of Europeans.

In the actual reporting of the debate there is only one reference to the 107 MEPs who voted against. Ann Clwyd (Mid and West Wales) summarised the views of the anti-war movement: "The very existence of these weapons is an obscenity," she said. And in referring to the fears of people everywhere she pointed out "There have been 107 computer malfunctions in the United States in the last ten years, yet they are the world's leaders in computers."

The concluding paragraph of *EP News* front page 'Comment' is a most vicious piece of war-mongering: "But there is no doubt where Parliament's majority lies. Peace *may* (our italics) deserve a chance but it deserves a better chance than Europe can expect by trusting to the tender mercies of the Kremlin."

Apart from the bellicose character of such a statement, the entire tone of the reporting is a serious attack on Ireland's neutrality and surely at least some of the Republic's 15 MEPs will be raising the partial nature of this journal with the European Parliament's Information and Public Relations office in Luxembourg.

Indeed this type of journalism must undermine Ireland's position at the Stockholm European Security and Co-Operation Conference which began last month under the Chairmanship of Foreign Affairs

EUROPEAN LIFE

Minister Mr Peter Barry.

Different philosophies

The signatories to the Helsinki Final Act have once again convened arising out of a decision at Madrid last year which recognised the growing dangers to Europe of the arms race and the accelerated shift towards a cold-war position. The collapse of arms talks in Geneva and Vienna have also heightened fears.

First indications from Stockholm are hopeful, given the limited though highly important central theme of the Conference, to seek ways and means of securing confidence building measures which will enable future positive agreement to be arrived in arms reductions.

Although US President Reagan's speech prior to the Conference did smack of propaganda for home consumption in election year, there does appear to be a move away from the anti-Soviet position held by his Administration during the past three years. What remains to be seen is whether his words will be trans-

lated into meaningful proposals at Stockholm.

"We must and will engage the Soviets in a dialogue to promote peace, reduce the level of arms and build a constructive working relationship."

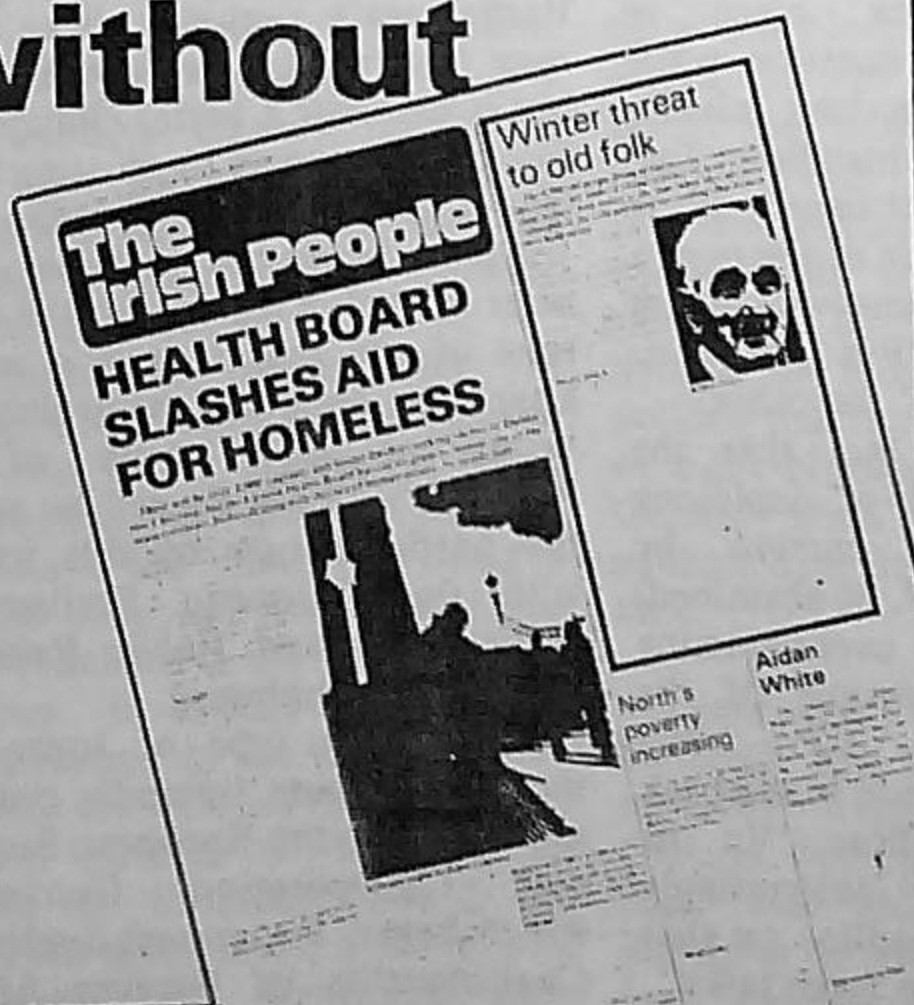
In the same vein President Reagan continued: "Neither we nor the Soviets can wish away the differences between our two societies and

our philosophies. But we should always remember that we do have common interests and the foremost among them is to avoid war and reduce the level of arms," he said. Undoubtedly had these sentiments been dominant in the Washington Administration before foisting a fresh round of the nuclear arms race on Europe then the outlook at Stockholm would be more hopeful

The threat of nuclear war in Europe is growing.



You can't be left without

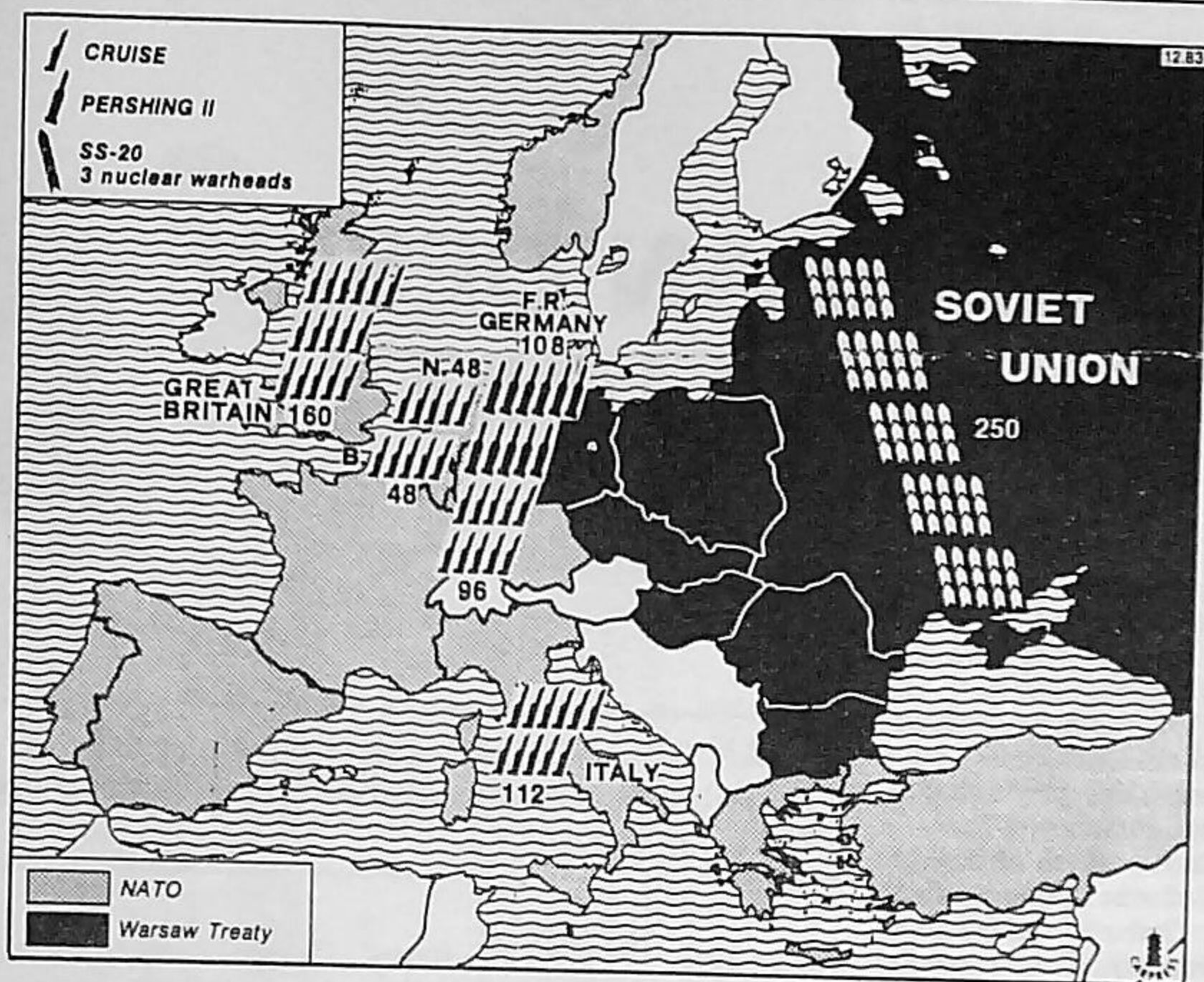


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The European nuclear scenario as seen by 'EP News'

and Europe considerably less tense. However, the first meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Andrei Gromyko and US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz has been received enthusiastically and optimistically.

Timely initiatives

The initial series of discussions lasted an unusually long time — five hours instead of the expected three hours, and while no formal statement was issued the extent of the meeting is taken as a positive indication that future talks will prove fruitful.

Mr Gromyko in his speech to the Conference was firm in relation to the Pershing and Cruise missiles, stating quite bluntly that the Soviet Union would not return to the Geneva nuclear missile talks until such time as the US removed Cruise and Pershing from the Continent.

At the same time the Soviet Foreign Minister reaffirmed that "the USSR had always advocated political dialogue between East and West and had no intention of giving this up". Mr Gromyko then put forward a series of proposals to promote confidence building measures in Europe, including a ban

on chemical weapons in Europe, a nuclear free zone in northern Europe, mutual non-use of force and a ban on the first use of nuclear arms. The Soviet Union has already given a pledge on the non-first use of nuclear weapons.

Ireland like the other eleven neutral and non-aligned signatories to the Helsinki Final Act will be seeking to use every opportunity to bring the nuclear powers to firm agreements. The position expected to be adopted by the neutral countries was outlined by Yugoslavia which stressed the significance of the Stockholm meeting as the "first all-European Conference to contain the military threat". And while the neutral and non-aligned countries recognised the primary responsibility of the USSR and the USA for securing agreements, the Twelve will make "timely initiatives".

Foreign Minister Peter Barry's speech in the main was a welcome indication of the continuation of Ireland's neutral position. He stressed the need for realism in the discussions and his references to the decline in the process of detente begun in Helsinki (1975) would also

seem to indicate that the present Irish government would support a return to the mood of the period.

However it does seem that our neutrality will not mean any courageous proposals emanating from Ireland at Stockholm. Given the critical nature of the present situation and the clear need to take steps to break the deadlock in negotiations, Ireland could play a signal and leading role in the promotion of better East-West relations.

At a minimum one should expect complete support for the Soviet nuclear free zone proposal and an early statement committing Ireland to such a region. Equally Ireland could help to recapture the original mood of detente by raising the question of bilateral non-aggression pacts crossing the NATO-Warsaw Pact blocks.

Proposals of this type would be in keeping with Mr Barry's own words and would encourage others to take real steps to break the circle of fear and suspicion. It would also be a positive demonstration that Ireland's neutrality means that we are on the side of Peace and Disarmament.

KOREAN DESIRE FOR UNITY

ANY SMALL country which borders on both the USSR and China must inevitably play a major part in US foreign policy.

So it is today in South East Asia that instead of one single unified Korea, we find an artificially partitioned country. To the south we find South Korea, occupied by 40,000 American troops, and housing over 1,000 US nuclear warheads. To the north lies the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, a socialist state governed by the Workers' Party of Korea.

Liberation struggle

The present situation in the Korean peninsula stems from the 1953 Armistice with the USA. The country had been occupied by the Japanese in 1910, and there immediately began a liberation struggle which continued until successful in 1945. The country was then divided by United States forces who occupied the South ostensibly to oversee elections. By 1949, when the Democratic Republic was declared in the north, the US had effectively removed all opposition and installed its own puppet regime in the south. Extensive US provocations along the border led to the war in 1950. The Armistice agreement was signed in 1953. During this period, US actions were carried out in the name, and under the flag, of the United Nations. To understand this one has to realise that the then UN was considerably weaker than it is today and the US was dominant.

ADRIAN GALLAGHER reports on the visit by a Workers' Party delegation to the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea

Since 1953, however, US forces have continued to fly the UN flag and despite numerous and regular provocative actions by either US or their South Korean puppet forces, they still try to pass themselves off as a peacekeeping-force.

Just how serious is their commitment to peace and reconciliation can be judged by the fact that every serious peace initiative since 1953 has been rejected by the US. Today, for the world to see, the border is marked by a twelve feet high concrete wall constructed by the US and stretching from east to west across the entire country.

The DPRK suffered terribly during the war. Whole cities including the capital, Pyongyang, were reduced to rubble. Houses, hospitals, schools and work places were flattened by the US military machine. In 30 years the country has been completely rebuilt and the Koreans, understandably, are very proud of this. But beyond this pride lies a deep-seated understanding that the enemy remains US imperialism.

The Workers Party

The DPRK feels that it has a case to argue to the world and it seeks to make contact with governments and progressive groups throughout the

five continents. It was as part of this policy that the Workers' Party of Korea invited a delegation from The Workers' Party of Ireland to meet with them in the DPRK. The Workers' Party delegation comprised General Secretary Sean Garland, and International Affairs Director Sean O Cionnaith. This was not, however, the first contact between the two parties. Both had been in touch for some years prior to this meeting, and the Koreans had regularly sent messages of support to Ard Fheiseanns of the Workers' Party. Both also had received each others publications.

The start of the visit was marked with an introductory reception where the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Party, Kim Yong Nam, gave a speech welcoming the Irish visitors. Sean Garland responded on behalf of The Workers' Party.

On the following day there took place the formal Party to Party meeting. The Irish delegation opened by giving a short historical account and analysis of Ireland and a detailed outline of the development and structure of the Workers' Party. The keystone of the address was the Workers' Party's commitment to peace and working class unity.



Seán Ó Cionnaith and Sean Garland being greeted on their arrival in the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea

On behalf of the Workers Party of Korea, Kim Yong Nam, gave a detailed analysis of Korean history and spoke of the developments his country had made since the war. The long term aim of his Party he explained, is the reunification of Korea. In the short term, however,

the strategy is for a confederal state maintaining two separate parliaments linked in a common assembly, and respecting the differing social systems in each part of the country. Kim Yong Nam said that The Workers Party of Korea was convinced that such a system would

be entirely feasible were it not for US interference.

Developments

Economically the country has been remarkably self-sufficient. They have resisted tempting offers from developed countries to extract their natural resources and as a result they have built up a strong domestic industrial base on which to develop their heavy engineering, shipbuilding, car and tractor industry.

The Irish delegation was particularly impressed with what it saw in Korea. Whilst there they visited health centres, schools, factories, a new metro system, co-operative farms, sports and recreational centres. They travelled to the seaport industrial city of Nampo and stayed for two days in Panmunjon on the border where the Armistice agreement was signed in 1953.

Asked what was his most striking impression of the country, Sean Ó Cionnaith said that it was the remarkable, almost unbelievable recovery the country had made since the war. Thirty years after almost total destruction, whole cities have been rebuilt. 'The standard of living is quite high and the shops are well stocked with plenty of customers in them. The people are well dressed and there were no indications of the sort of poverty that we witness daily in this country,' he said.

Sean Garland felt that the trip was educational, interesting and worthwhile. He felt that contact between the two Parties would continue. 'I feel that we can assist each other in what is a common struggle and help to bring both peoples closer together through making available information on what is happening in both countries,' he said.

NEXT MONTH GRENADA: A REVOLUTION DESTROYED

TRADE UNION STRUGGLE IN EL SALVADOR

ACCORDING to a report commissioned by the US Department of Commerce in 1981, El Salvador's 'greatest advantage (to investors) lies in the character of the working people, who are industrious, adopt willingly to new methods and demand lower wages than those prevailing in the developed world. It is said that if you tell a Salvadorean to plant rocks and harvest more rocks, they'll do it.'

The US Department of Commerce has also reported that for every dollar invested by US companies in the region, a profit of three dollars accrues to the companies. To enable the companies to reap these high profits the workers must suffer. In El Salvador the workers do not 'demand lower wages'. They are *compelled*, under the threat of being sacked or even being murdered, to accept low wages — wages which are approximately one-tenth of the average wage pertaining in the United States. It is these low wages, and hence higher profits, which have attracted a host of US companies to establish subsidiaries in El Salvador — companies like Esso, Goodyear Tyres, Texaco, Standard Oil, Phelps Dodge, Levi Strauss, NCR, ITT, IBM, Coca Cola, to name a few.

Foreign companies are also attracted by the country's Export Promotion Law, which permits the repatriation of all profits to the parent company abroad, and by the ten-year tax-free holiday. The pathetically low wages paid to the

TOM HANAHOE talks to Roberto Hernandez, an official of the Trade Union Revolutionary Federation in El Salvador



Roberto Hernandez

Salvadorean workers coupled with the repatriation of enormous profits to other countries, have precipitated economic stagnation and decline in El Salvador.

For decades US-backed regimes have subjugated the Salvadorean people to the systematic use of terror, torture and murder. But now the workers have begun to organise, to unite and to resist their oppressors. Trade union leaders like Roberto Hernandez, a senior official in the Trade Union Revolutionary Federation (FSR), are now

demanding the most basic rights for the workers — the right to a fair wage, the right to permanent and pensionable employment, and the right of workers and their families to have access to social welfare benefits. The ruling regime has reacted to these demands in a predictable manner, kidnapping and killing union leaders and workers. In recent months four senior officials, Santiago Hernandez, Rosendo Manjivar, Manuel Quintanilla and Mario Aguilar have been kidnapped and murdered, while twenty-three workers who were on strike 'disappeared', almost certainly detained and killed by the country's security forces.

According to Roberto Hernandez the Salvadorean workers 'are prepared to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to free ourselves from the oppression and repression to which we have been, and are being subjected — oppression and repression which is to a very considerable extent being masterminded and supervised by the US Government'.

'We are demanding the abolition of all anti-trade union legislation. This legislation is the creation of American legal advisers, who are working closely with the Minister of Labour. As a result of these laws we have witnessed a worsening of the



Troops confront striking electrical workers

workers' living conditions. One of these laws, the Law of Economic Stabilisation, has made it impossible for the workers to receive any wage increase since 1980, despite the spiralling inflation. A consequence of this is that only 6.2 per cent of our families have been able to satisfy their most basic needs — for food, housing, health and so forth. As a result of this, 45 per cent of families in San Salvador, the capital city, live in sub-human conditions, inhabiting 117 shantytowns and 11 refugee camps.

'Another of the anti-union laws is Decree No. 296 which makes strike action illegal for employees in the public sector and which prevents these employees from organising themselves in trade unions, while Decree No. 366 makes possible the banning of trade unions and gives legal backing to the presence of soldiers and police in all workplaces.

'There are laws which make it possible for the regime to arrest, kidnap, torture and murder trade union leaders and people from the rank and file. Decree No. 507 legitimises the use of statements made under torture as evidence. Such laws have enabled 4,419 of our colleagues to be murdered last year. This cannot be allowed to continue. We are now demanding the immediate release of trade union activists who have committed no crime, except being trade unionists.

'Since 1980 our trade union premises and printing facilities have been destroyed by the forces of "law and order" — the buildings bombed, the

documentation burned or stolen.

'In the last three years, there has been an increase in the repression of the trade union movement — not only physical repression, but also legal and even technological repression. What we mean by technological repression is that the bosses are placing TV monitors within their factories so that they can scan the factory floor and corridors and thus can prevent the holding of small union meetings between workers. This helps to debar trade unions from recruiting or organising members within the factories.

'This has compelled us to go outside the factories to hold our meetings after working hours, and we hold these meetings in secret houses which are not known to the general public. Because of the repressive laws it is extremely dangerous to be caught carrying union documentation and so the only method of filing open to us is our memory — we must study and memorise union documents and then destroy them.

'Women workers suffer a lot at the hands of the bosses. For instance, female employees who refuse to allow the bosses to seduce them may be victimised, perhaps sacked, allotted unpleasant difficult work or have their working hours changed.

'A practice that is becoming quite common is that when our unions seek certain rights or improvements for the workers in a factory, the bosses sack the entire workforce and shut the factory. Salvadorean work-

ers earn paltry wages, barely sufficient to buy food for their families. There is rarely anything left over to pay for education for the children, for medical treatment or for rent for housing. But when a worker is sacked his plight is truly appalling — no income to even pay for food.

'Yet despite all this adversity, this suffering, this repression, the combative spirit of the workers is increasing — the level of trade union struggle in El Salvador is increasing. For example, on the 29th August 1983 the workers in the Housing Department went on strike demanding the reinstatement of over 1,000 colleagues who had been unjustly dismissed. Because they are public sector employees, they are forbidden by law to join or form a trade union or to take strike action. This strike has given a tremendous boost to the trade union movement. There is now a wonderful confidence, a great consciousness, among workers which has resulted in members of eight other trade unions going on strike in solidarity with the Housing Department workers.

'The government and the bosses have countered by increasing the repression of the workers and the trade union movement even further. A few weeks after the strike commenced the four union officials were murdered by the security forces, and twenty three colleagues 'disappeared'. Some of these were later found strangled to death.

'Despite the intolerable conditions under which the Salvadorean trade union movement is compelled to work, the movement is expanding, is fighting for the rights of our fellow workers. We believe that we have earned the right to appeal to the worldwide trade union movement, to Irish trade unionists, for solidarity — political solidarity, economic solidarity — which will help us to achieve our aims.

'We appeal to the Irish trade union movement to redouble its solidarity. Every small success, every concession we wring from the bosses and the government, brings the day closer when North American imperialism in our country will be vanquished. Our victory will be your victory.'

WORK & CULTURE

READING BETWEEN THE LINES

Paddy Gillan

KEN WORPOLE's book consists of a series of linked studies which 'are attempts at cultural reconstruction, of some particular patterns of reading and writing during the past fifty years that conventional literary criticism has ignored'.

Worpole is also concerned with the work which conventional publishing has either ignored or suppressed. Commercial publishing, he argues, 'has usually floundered in a sea of stereotyped thinking, anachronistic imagery and the paucity of detail which always comes with the commercial need for generalization'. But, he cautions, 'we cannot dismiss popular literature, genre fiction, and popular history as produced within a commercial framework as simply "escapist" or "diversionary" reading'.

Referring to the origins of the English novel 'in the popular culture of criminal ballads and the street literature of London's underworld or *demi-monde*', Worpole points to early disapproval of genre. Such disapproval was based on the belief that reading about crime encouraged crime among readers of the lower orders. This belief in turn was related to the failure among readers to distinguish between fact and fiction — if it was in print, it had to be true.

Imaginative literature met with distrust on other — most notably religious — grounds. 'A principal objection was on moral grounds: the characters in fiction inhabited a very secular world, in which they found happiness or otherwise through material or sensual gratification rather than through piety and self-denial... A second major objection was that reading fiction was time-

BOOKS

DOCKERS AND DETECTIVES by Ken Worpole;
Verso/NLB; Cloth UK£14.00/Paper UK£3.95

wasting, time that would be better spent on good works, contemplation or direct religious activity.'

Such attitudes carried over into the radical working class movement. 'He who burns a romance,' according to a 19th century radical publisher, 'purifies the human mind'. The Left has yet to rid itself completely of this puritanism, whereas the working class of Engels's time had no such inhibitions. Worpole quotes from *The Condition of the English Working Class*: 'I have often heard working-men, whose fustian jackets scarcely held together, speak upon geological, astronomical, and other subjects, with more knowledge than most "cultivated" bourgeois in Germany possess. And in how great measure the English proletariat has succeeded in attaining an independent education is shown especially by the fact that the epoch-making products of modern philosophical, political, and poetical literature are read by working-men almost exclusively.'

A century later, 'working-men' were ahead of the bourgeoisie in their discovery of the American detective novel. The master of this genre was Dashiell Hammett, and one of his contemporaries, Raymond Chandler, is quoted by Worpole:

'He (Hammett) had a literary

style, but his audience didn't know it, because it was in a language not supposed to be capable of such refinements. They thought they were getting good meaty melodrama written in the kind of lingo they imagined they spoke themselves. It was, in a sense, but it was much more. All language begins with speech, and the speech of common men at that, but when it



Cover illustration from 'Dockers and Detectives'

develops to the point of becoming a literary medium it only looks like speech.'

Hammett, a former Pinkerton detective, began writing stories for the *Black Mask*, a cheap mass-circulation magazine. In his hands, 'the detective novel became an important vehicle for radical social criticism, without reading like a polemical text'.

Hammett pulled no punches in his portrayal of the jungle of the cities. Together with Hemingway, he 'developed a tough, masculine, vernacular (or demotic) style of writing which helped transform and democratize American literature from the 1930s onwards, and which provided vicarious excitement and a sense of freedom for a number of British readers, for whom the British short story and novel was still preoccupied with provincial manners. Hammett and

Hemingway evoked a harsh (but definitely twentieth century) world of mining towns, transit camps, life on the road, seedy bars, boxing rings, corrupt city governments, and a proletarian politics that took guns and baseball bats to picket lines.'

The vernacular style was later to surface in such works as Frank Norman's *Bang to Rights*, Brendan Behan's *Borstal Boy* and Alan Sillitoe's *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*. These books heralded a 'new wave of working-class realism which broke across British culture in the late 1950s and early 1960s.'

The British literary establishment resisted the 'new wave', dismissing it as 'popular' (with strong undertones of vulgarity), as distinct from 'serious' (a prerequisite of 'real' literature). Worpole is strongly opposed to

this distinction: 'The rigid demarcation line that separates "popular" and "serious" writing is a product of a class culture — and its many institutions, particularly the universities — which resist all attempts to widen cultural democracy.'

The Left, in Worpole's view, is not blameless in this regard, preferring 'the safer role of criticizing popular consumption'. He points to the 1930s as a model for a more positive role for the Left: '...the working class movement responded to the inability of capitalist cultural production to meet felt needs by developing its own film-making, theatre-making, photographic and documentary recording projects as well as socialist publishing initiatives.'

In *Dockers and Detectives*,

Ken Worpole draws attention to many long-forgotten examples of authentic working-class literature — some very different from the received image of proletarian realism. More importantly, he identifies the literary arena as one of class struggle: 'Despite the development of many new forms of cultural production since the 1930s, the production of popular literature remains the site of very serious cultural struggles which need to be addressed more consciously than they have been so far by socialists.'

Ken Worpole has addressed himself to his task with scholarship, style, and above all, commitment. *Dockers and Detectives* deserves the widest possible readership among all those with a commitment to socialism.

Looking for a home

RED IS THE PORT LIGHT by Joseph Tomelty; Blackstaff Press; UK£3.95

STEPHEN DURNAN, the protagonist of *Red is the Port Light* (first published in 1948), is a man plagued by a tyrannous past. His dead mother 'has left his life gaping, empty, unhappy.' If only he could forget, he could then live the moment without being crippled by an embittered memory. As it is, this bastard-martyr is now unutterably alone in his search for his father, for home, for the warmth and intimacy he sees in the symbol of the port light.

No sooner has the 'gravedigger scraped the last clay from the bank' when the sea beckons, and 'the young man they call Ramble Away' is off again on board an old sea-whore, *The Glendry*. The drunken Captain Norton is another wraith from Stephen's past whom he has wronged. The two arch enemies and a hum-drum crew set off only to meet drama and tragedy on the high seas. The sea holds no fear for Stephen, in fact, it is a kind of home for him. When a storm arises the others, including Norton, crumble in this fight with death. Stephen's strength holds out; he saves the snivelling Fenner (who ever after believes in the God of fear) but, despite his efforts, Norton drowns.

Both the survivors are washed ashore and in convalescence Stephen finds a prospective wife.

There is a discreet irony here, and Tomelty is far from comfortable with it. It is Norton's widow who nurses Stephen back to health. Stephen says, 'It's like something you'd read in a book'. Surely it is a book. This unwelcome self-consciousness is a feature of the novel which makes it less than great. The self-consciousness goes hand in hand with the theme of remorse. Stephen's madness at the end of the novel would be a necessary conclusion if the only theme were his inability to free himself from his past. But Tomelty is surefooted when describing land and seascape.

Winnie Norton is a curious rat-bag of innuendo. Stephen loves her because she is generous, warm and able in the home. What better reasons for loving a woman! (Perhaps some will find Stephen's attitudes sexist?) But she wouldn't let the Captain sleep with her. She accepts his death without a tear. Stephen finds this apparent ability to leave the past to its own devices very attractive indeed. But later he notices that she eats weeds, and is perhaps frigid or just plain afraid of the burdensome intimacies of the marriage bed. Once we get a picture of this tortured woman every reference to her is ominous. And the reader's worst fears come true. She is the ultimate frustration for Stephen. With her he is so close to the home he seeks, and yet so far.

Susan and Robert King, the characters Benedict Kiely in his introduction calls 'the great triumph of the novel', also bring him close to home, in fact, closer

than the myopic Stephen ever realises. From their creaking ketch, *The Summer Breeze*, the most beautiful similes of the novel emerge. For example, Suzan was cooking and she 'complained that the whaups (curlews) were young and that their flesh was boiling through the pot like feathers tumbling in the breeze'. Again Suzan teasing her ageing songster of a husband: 'Robert King, it was never in you to sing a song well. But scrake, oh aye, you can scrake like a cornrake in harvest time.' This man and woman are perfectly at home in their landscape. They are unselfconscious and full of the joy freedom from one's past allows. For them each moment is a celebration of their contact with the world.

Unless a writer overcomes the onslaught of his own anguish his writing clangs abrasively. The bulk of this novel is a joy to read but to allow Stephen the luxury of madness, especially when there are possibilities of sanity and happiness, is to forsake the creative effort at its zenith. Down with the melodrama of remorse which questions the greatness in normality of people like Suzan and Robert King!

Aidan Parkinson

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Let Erin remember

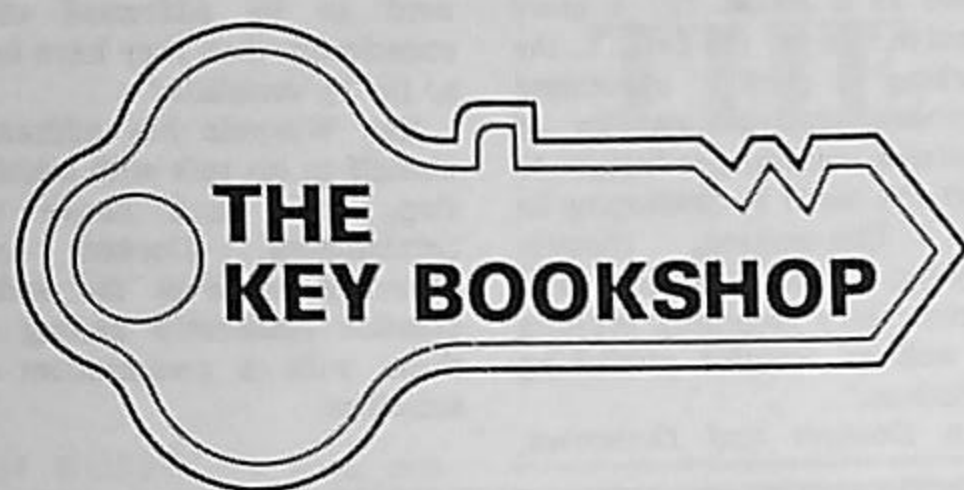
THE BOSS by Joe Joyce and Peter Murtagh; Poolbeg Press; £1R6.50

THIS IS 400 pages of GUBU charting Charles J Haughey and his political associates through 1982. Concentrating on the nine-month administration of the last Fianna Fáil government, it details and builds on the bones of what we vaguely remember. Nine months — each containing another 'stroke', disaster or deception by the Fianna Fáil leaders: Richard Burke's nomination to Brussels; Paddy Power's outburst on the Falklands war; Dublin West by-election deals; Bruce Arnold's family phone tapped.

And we are only half way through Haughey's rule — another journalist, Geraldine Kennedy, has her phone tapped; Malcolm McArthur was found in the Attorney General's flat; Justice Minister Doherty's escort car crashed in Kerry; two cabinet members quit in a loyalty crisis; Haughey's government is defeated over 'The Way Forward' economic policy.

Joe Joyce and Peter Murtagh take this jumble from the first overtures of the 'Gregory deal' to Haughey's nationalist rant at his party's Ard Fheis this time last year, and provide a very readable, if dense, account which will stand as a regular reminder of the dangers and anti-democratic core of those within Fianna Fáil (and other parties)

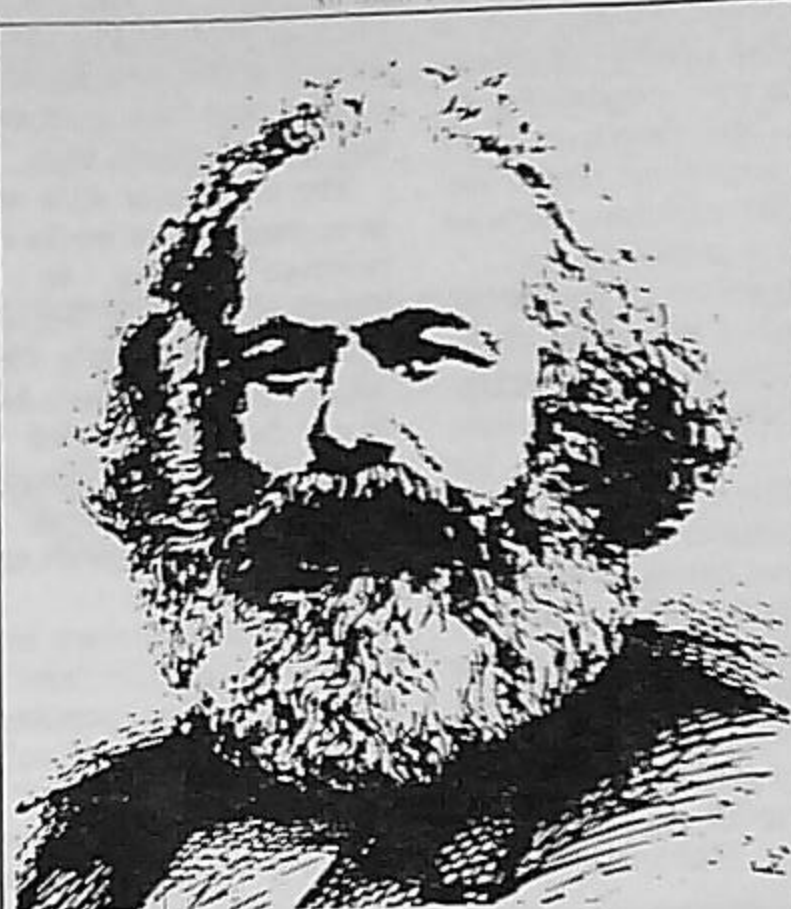
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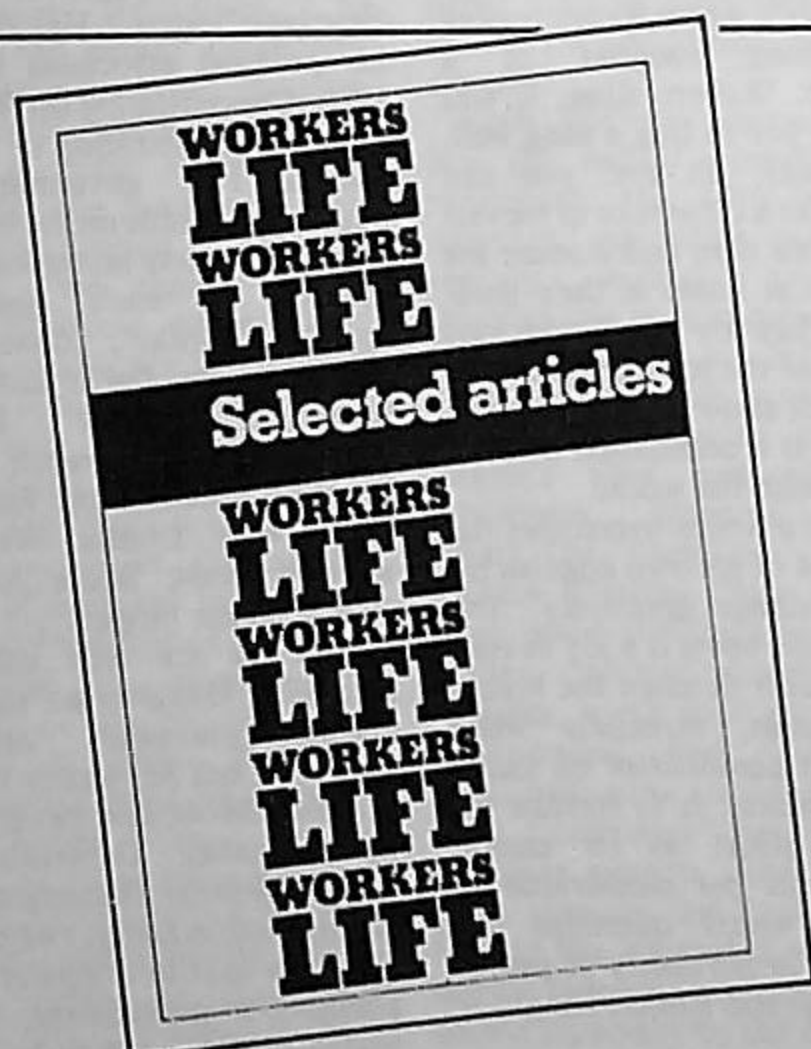
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Class Politics is the new theoretical and discussion journal of The Workers' Party. It aims to explore and develop new frontiers in Irish political, economic and social thinking, and to provide a much-needed outlet for scholarly work falling within a broad Marxist framework.

The first issue contains articles by Henry Patterson, Nicholas Garnham, Maurice Goldring, Eamonn Smullen, and Dominic Behan. Together with a comprehensive book review section, they provide much food for thought.

Class Politics is now on sale (price 90 pence). Order your copy from:

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who crave a 'strong man' as leader.

Haughey's apologists have been forced to throw Doherty to the mob as a scapegoat, while castigating the two authors as Dublin-based, middle-class, sneering journalists eager to berate a determined and capable leader who suffered from some weak associates and simple bad luck.

Ever since Jack Lynch told Haughey in hospital that he was suspected of smuggling arms, and sacked him as Finance Minister the seeds were sown.

Like all history books there is very little that is new in *The Boss*, apart from some enjoyable anecdotes, but its real impact lies in its immediate relevance. It is less than a year since Haughey survived his last power struggle, while Dowra and Doherty's re-admission to the Fianna Fáil parliamentary party are very much in the news. Shortly after reading this book, Doherty made his rabble-rousing comments at a Roscommon Dáil Ceantair function that he could again be Minister for Justice and then the journalists wouldn't have it all their own way! No better reason to purchase this book and keep it close if Haughey ever regains the reins of power.

Joyce and Murtagh have sprinkled their work with little gems of insight into leading political and establishment

figures. Not least is the dead duck delivered by Haughey's garda driver to Martin O'Donoghue's wife with the terse note inside: 'Shot on Saturday'. In the atmosphere of Fianna Fáil thugs following Geraldine Kennedy or attacking Jim Gibbons inside the Dáil gates, this thoughtful wildfowl gift takes on a much more sinister aspect. Others abound, such as Environment Minister Ray Burke's order to plant shrubs in Dublin West on the eve of a by-election, and to uproot them when Fianna Fáil failed to win the seat.

There is little doubt but that

Sean Doherty, the former Special Branch detective, saw justice and policing as arms of Fianna Fáil. The police in the Phoenix Park garda headquarters were forced to constantly look over their shoulders — the watchers were being watched. Even allowing for the authors' obvious close relations with some gardai, it is still clear that it was the middle-ranking gardai who refused to be browbeaten by their superiors and exposed Doherty's devious plots and Haughey's concern at 'national security' leaks. This amounted to Fianna Fáil TD George Colley chatting with journalists about the continuing

low standards in high places under Charles Haughey's direction. They were simple Fianna Fáil party matters.

Even the faceless phone-tappers who transcribe personal conversations had little stomach for the idle chatter of Bruce Arnold's children with their friends. The Department of Justice civil servants were quick to question Doherty's orders to make indiscriminate phone taps, and ensured that their strong reservations were on file to conveniently show to Fine Gael minister, Michael Noonan as soon as he settled into his Stephen's Green office. Doherty was a yob implicating talented subordinates in sharp practice. Haughey appointed him, and might well have appointed many similar sycophants to ministerial office had his rule continued.

Apart of course, from the Haughey-Doherty shambles, *The Boss* provides detailed coverage of the wider political playacting which opened with the 'VAT on shoes' election and closed nine months later with the 'I hate Haughey' election. In between there was the foothold in parliamentary politics established by Workers' Party TDs and other socialists. The insights into the pledges and promises behind the Tony Gregory deal, and the tentative moves for a socialist alliance between Workers' Party, Democratic Socialist Party TDs and Gregory, are of special interest to the left-wing reader.

Before providing a useful index, transcript of the Ray McSharry bugging of his conversation with Martin O'Donoghue, a chronological digest of events for the bewildered, and a 'who voted for or against Haughey' list for the confused, *The Boss* closes with a brief Epilogue. These three pages describe Haughey's triumphant Ard Fheis last year after he retained his party's leadership. 'Looking around me here tonight, I know one thing for sure. Those who sought to weaken or confuse us have failed,' he told the packed RDS filled with pre-selected loyal supporters.

Afterwards he publicly shook hands with a group of journalists, including Geraldine Kennedy despite the risk to 'national security'. He then adjourned to a Cairde Fáil session to join his family and alleged double-voting neighbour and election agent Patrick O'Connor. There he danced and joked with the Furey Brothers and nothing had changed.

Gerry Flynn

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LOONY PURGE

Conflicting reports continue to emerge concerning the raid by police on the offices of the Labour Loony Tendency. At one stage it was thought that the affair may put unbearable strain on the government partners. Big Dick Spring said he couldn't sleep at night at the thought of the Throne behind the power and all his little disciples being harassed, no matter what the source. He demanded an explanation.

At first it was claimed that there had been a tip-off that Shergar was being held in the Loony Offices. This was unfounded, according to the police, but they did find a lot of horse-shit lying around.

Subsequent reports seem to suggest that there were reliable rumours that a member of the Labouring Party would be found on the premises.

This too was denied by a Loony spokesperson who denounced it as an invention of the capitalist press. 'All Loonies are in the Labouring Party,' he said, 'but no Labouring Party member is in the Loonies.'

Some sources suggested that the Labouring Party member thought to be on the premises was Brendan Damascus Halligan, hiding after his vote on abortion in the European Parliament. However he is said to have escaped through the backdoor when the heavily armed Special Branch surrounded the front door in an operation known as the Claremorris Technique.

Asked if the entire farce was not a deliberate ploy by the



Loonies themselves to defeat the attempt by the Ageing Hippy from Galway to have them expelled from the Labouring Party, the Loony spokesperson almost became speechless. 'There is no way that the tip-off could have come from any of us; everybody knows that all Loonies speak with a Liverpool accent except on *Féach*. The police would have immediately recognised us' he claimed.

Meanwhile Party General Secretary, Colm O Briain, denied that he was trying to expel the Loonies because he needed their offices. 'I know my own offices have been taken over by the students but I would have nothing to do with offices that are financed by

English money' he declared.

However Party Chairman, Michael D Higgins, speaking from Galway said he hadn't changed his mind: 'I will not tolerate a Party within a Party' he said. Party Chief Whip, Mervyn Taylor, said he would only tolerate a Party within a Party 'for as long as they work for me on the ground'.

Party Leader Big Dick Spring said he 'deplored the entire affair. Just when we are all beginning to live in harmony this is a divisive business.'

'As socialists,' he continued, 'we are not concerned with dividing society or the government. If the PAYE workers are prepared to carry the main brunt of taxation and the farmers, accountants, doctors, dentists, land speculators and solicitors are not prepared to pay any tax — then we should leave well enough alone. There is harmony within the government; we agreed on the Budget which will take only slightly more from the PAYE workers; therefore I am calling for harmony within my own party. That's why I deplore this Loony affair at this time' he said trenchantly.

Meanwhile, a spokesperson for the Elect-Brendan-Halligan-To-Something-Campaign claimed that the man the police were looking for was Frank Cluskey. 'The Bearded Butcher is desperately looking for an issue of principle to launch his Euro-campaign. It shows how desperate he is when he thought he might find it in the Loony offices.'

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V.I. Lenin THE IRISH QUESTION

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Workshop Talks was first published in America in 1909.

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