

WORKERS LIFE

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Rosc '84

**PROVO
POLICING**



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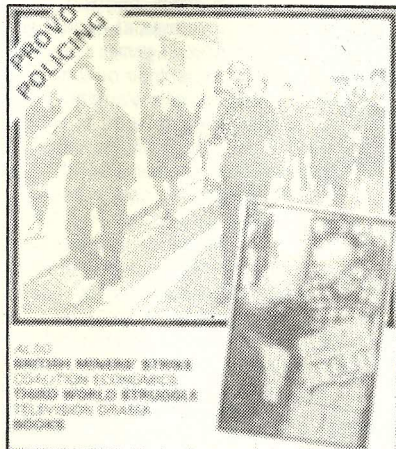
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WORKERS LIFE

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Mary McMahon traces the origins, and outlines the practice, of the Provisionals' 'alternative' policing in Northern Ireland/Page 6

Eamonn Smullen looks at the economic state of the nation/Page 10

Gerry Flynn outlines the background to the British National Union of Mine-workers' dispute with the National Coal Board/Page 14

Third World struggles for liberation — illusions and realities: Paddy Woodworth/Page 18

Labour History: the 1934 San Francisco general strike/Page 20

Rosc '84/Page 24

Television drama/Page 26

Books/Page 28

The article 'Nuclear Winter' by Christopher Meredith which appeared in the August issue was first published in *Peace News*.

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NOW that the controversy and emotion have died down, it is important that the events of early August should be put in context.

On Friday, 10 August, a Garda officer was murdered in cold blood during the course of an armed robbery in County Meath. Although no organisation has owned up to this foul deed, it is not unreasonable to assume that the Provisional IRA was involved.

On the same day, Provisional mouthpiece Owen Carron called on Noraid to provide money for guns so that the Provisionals could match the fire-power of 'their enemies'. (It should be noted that 'enemies' in this instance includes members and former members of the RUC and UDR, members of the Garda Síochána and the Republic's Defence Forces, as well as unarmed men, women and children).

Mr Carron made his appeal for funds while escorting a group of Noraid supporters on a tour of Provisional graves. The Noraid gang was in Northern Ireland to savour the excitement and thrills of the 'freedom struggle' at first hand. No doubt they were cheered by the Provisionals' landmine attack of Saturday 11 August following which one RUC officer died.

The Provisional rally on the Andersonstown Road on Sunday 12 August provided further excitement. Star attraction was Noraid leader, Martin Galvin, who was in Northern Ireland in defiance of a banning order imposed by the British Home Secretary.

The Provisionals lost no opportunity to exploit the event to the full. Minutes before Galvin appeared at the rally, Gerry Adams virtually invited the RUC and British Army to murder men, women, and children if they wanted to arrest Galvin.

The RUC rose to the bait. The police employed excessive force, and plastic bullets were fired indiscriminately as a result of which one man died. The RUC action was unwarranted in the circumstances, and was widely seen by the Roman Catholic community as a further example of partisan policing.

But it was all grist to the Provisional mill. The stage-managed confrontation had paid off. The Provisionals celebrated in their usual macabre fashion — black flags and crocodile tears were the order of the day. Their Noraid fellow-travellers returned home to the United States to make financial capital out of violence and death.

The cycle of death and destruction has been renewed by the Andersonstown Road debacle. Both the British authorities and the RUC must shoulder their share of the responsibility for this. However, it is brazen hypocrisy on the part of the Provisionals to cry 'police brutality' given their continual rabble-rousing provocative behaviour, and the barbaric methods employed by their own 'police irregulars'. The Provisionals seek to reduce politics to an armed confrontation, and the events of August 12 were a direct consequence of this strategy.

The Provisionals' strategy is greatly assisted by the political vacuum which presently exists in Northern Ireland. This vacuum is primarily a result of Direct Rule, but has been compounded by the SDLP's boycott of the Assembly.

The SDLP should forsake nationalist obduracy in favour of an approach which takes account of the real needs of the people of Northern Ireland. Chief among these is democratic devolved government. In its absence, both Thatcherism and terrorism will flourish, and sterile confrontation will continue to further polarise the community.

Women, work, and history

THE ROLE of women in the labour market has had a great influence on working patterns and the status of women in this century. Women at work still provoke mixed attitudes and some very selfish opinions from male workers and some women. An excellent chance to review this whole issue of 'Women in Irish Labour History' has been provided by the Irish Labour History Society and the Modern History Department at Trinity College who have organised the eleventh labour history symposium to be held from September 28th—30th.

Workshops and themes covered during the symposium include motherhood; domestic work; education; nationality and emigration, with a range of contributors from Irish and British colleges and universities including Sheila Rowbotham (London), Mary Daly (UCD), Mary Cullen (Maynooth) and Rosemary Owens from Dublin. Other speakers will cover the experiences of women in various strikes, campaigns for equality, nationalist struggles and women's liberation.

The aim of the workshops and discussions, according to the Labour History Society secretary, Paul Cullen, is to focus attention on the areas where women have struggled in the past. 'Labour history should help us to recognise the part that work plays in people's lives, not neglecting the shifts between paid and unpaid work and the balance between domestic responsibility and outside employment.'

The conference and registration fee of £10 covers documentation, morning and afternoon coffee. Places are limited and all bookings and further details are available from the Conference Organiser, c/o Employment Equality Agency, 36 Upper Mount Street, Dublin 2 (Tel: 605966).

Step together!

THE NEW YORK police band which led a Provisional march through Bundoran recently has marched for reaction before.

In 1972, the band took part in a welcoming parade in New York for US servicemen returning from Vietnam. Leading Noraid personalities took part in the same parade.

All of which makes nonsense of the Provisionals' claim to be 'anti-imperialist'.

THAT'S LIFE

City vision

TWO years ago, a group of young Dubliners came together to produce their own video film, and since then have developed City Vision Productions which boasts three well-made documentaries to date about life in unemployed Dublin in the 1980s.

The videos are now available on lease to community and youth groups as well as schools for as little as £5 for each tape. Their first production, *One Day Time* took its title from some graffiti on the wall of Cumberland Street dole office. It is a 30 minute video tracing the life of Eddie drifting around the city feeling powerless and worthless and returning home to the suburbs to argue with his parents and friends. Already it has been shown to over 4,000 people in various community centres, schools and clubs leading to lively follow-up discussions.

Its popularity led to the making of two other videos — *What Do You Do When There's Nothing To Do?* and *Loking On* which captures the atmosphere of the Inner City 'Looking On Festival' held in 1982 as the old flats in Gardiner Street and Sean MacDermott street were being demolished. *What Do You Do...?* is a documentary video on the Darndale estate in the north city and the experiences of its tenants during the estate's first ten years.

This month City Vision's latest production, *Childscapes* about how children see themselves and their surroundings through drawing and painting by children with specific mental and physical handicaps was released. The group also provides a service to communities wishing to use video as a powerful means of expression like *Drug Free* and *Flat Open* made by residents of St. Theresa's Gardens and *Her Indoors* about training schemes

for women in the north inner city.

In association with the Irish Film Institute, City Vision run weekend courses for teachers in basic video skills. More recently with finance from the Youth Employment Agency the video production group has been able to engage five young people to work on a full-time project for six months.

Details about hiring these excellent and imaginative videos can be had from City Vision, 65 Harcourt Street, Dublin 2 or telephone 01-784970.

Labour history

READERS who enjoyed Gerald O'Reilly's article (July 1984) on the early struggles to unionise the New York subway workers, may be interested to know that the Labour History Workshop has just published a pamphlet by Seán Cronin entitled *The Transport Workers Union of America — The Irish Connection* which covers the same story in greater detail.

This re-issue of the pamphlet replaces an earlier edition which unfortunately contained a number of typing errors. Any readers who may have bought the flawed issue can have it replaced by sending the copy to the Labour History Workshop, c/o 10 Glasanaon Park, Finglas East, Dublin 11.

Mail order

FORMER kidnap victim, Ben Dunne is receiving a lot of post from his customers these days but it's not ransom notes or good wishes. The very energetic peace group, Action from Ireland together with the Anti-Apartheid Movement have organised a postcard petition to highlight the immorality of supporting the racist South African system.

Ben Dunne as owner of the country's largest chain of super-

markets has drawn the wrath of AFRI and the IAAM following his sacking of Mary Manning, a member of the IDATU shop union when she refused to sell South African fruit.

According to Don Mullan of AFRI the postcard petition is part of a wider, ongoing campaign aimed at removing South African goods from the shelves of all Irish outlets, as a step towards implementing the international boycott of South African goods and services, called for by many South African bodies and by the United Nations.

The postcards, costing 25p each, depict a young African girl fetching water, and highlights in the words of Bishop Desmond Tutu, who visited Dublin last June, the plight of starving South Africans who must drink water to fill their stomachs, while their food is exported to Ireland. AFRI hope that Ben Dunne will receive 25,000 cards by the end of the year which state: 'As a customer of Dunnes Stores, I ask you to withdraw all South African goods from your stores until Apartheid is dismantled and justice for all the people of South Africa finally prevails.'

The postcards are available from AFRI, 86 Summerhill, Dublin 1 and the fruit-selling Mr Dunne is based at Dunnes Stores, 19 South Great Georges Street, Dublin 2. So why not drop him a line this week!

Twenty years on

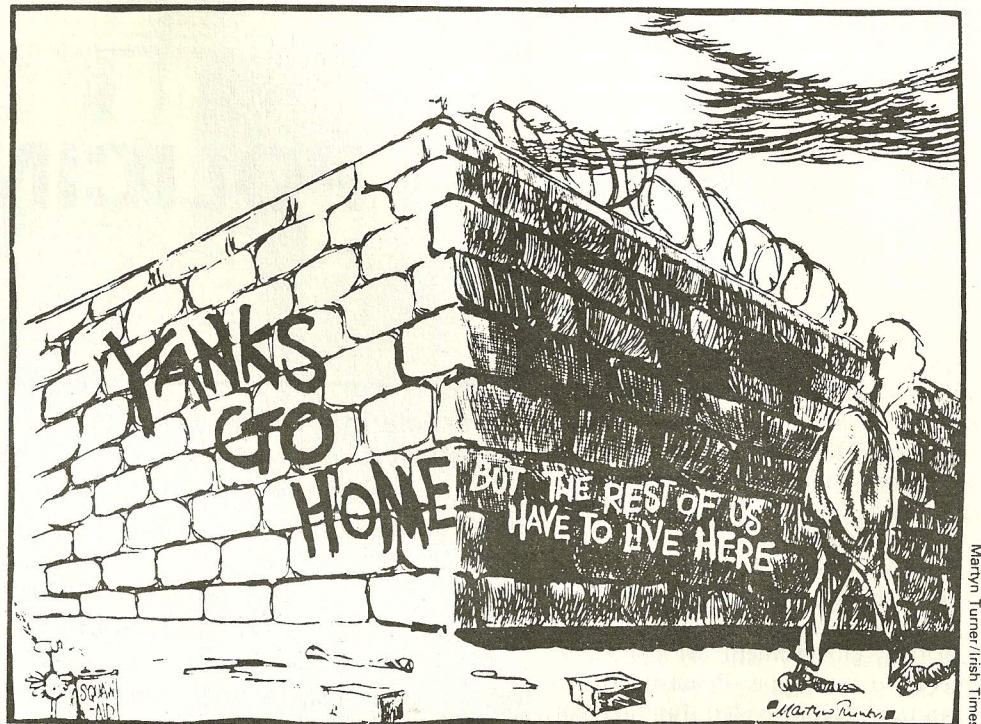
THE Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement celebrated its twentieth year of struggle against the racist South African regime last month as a minority of black and coloured politicians took their seats in two new second-class assemblies formed under the new Constitution which was imposed by the whites-only government.

The political map of Southern Africa has changed greatly since the formation of the IAAM with the independence of Angola, Zimbabwe and Mozambique and the growing liberation struggles in Namibia and South Africa. Nevertheless, the racist system in South Africa continues to exert enormous economic control over neighbouring countries afflicted by drought and underdevelopment.

When formed in September 1964 the IAAM was the second anti-apartheid group in the world modelled on its sister organisation in Britain

In spite of political developments in Ireland, like membership of the EEC, changing governments and terrorism, the IAAM has managed to maintain a broadly-based membership with close contacts within religious groups, trade unions, political parties and business interests. It was the first solidarity organisation to establish a liaison committee with the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and the creation of a Michael Mullen Memorial Trust Fund last year in memory of the ITGWU leader has helped continue the close links between IAAM and various trade unions.

As the IAAM chairman Kader Asmal pointed out in his review of the past year, racist repression and violence has grown but so also has the political and trade union opposition which culminated in the very successful boycott of the elections of Indian and Coloured MPs last month.



'The ould triangle goes jingle jangle...'

SEAN (Johnny) Kavanagh was governor of Mountjoy Prison for 34 years. He was in charge of one of Dublin's best known, most colourful and sometimes grim institutions, for a long time. He was the last person in Ireland to hold such a post with experience of being both inside and outside the bars.

Johnny first went into Mountjoy as a prisoner. People who claimed to know say that his romantic life had not been sorted out at that stage, and he had the problem of writing to several young ladies when only a limited number of letters were allowed officially. He bribed a warder and the low character took his money and presented the letter to the English Governor. The Governor was a gentleman: 'Did you take the man's money?' he asked. When he discovered that this was the case he ordered: 'Then post his letter!'

Johnny became Governor of Mountjoy and the English Governor, still a gentleman, complained that he did not

EAMONN SMULLEN remembers his early acquaintance with Sean Kavanagh, former governor of Mountjoy Prison who died recently.

know what was to become of the service when the new Governor was coming straight to the Governor's office from a job on the railway.

The English Governor was a man easily shocked and easily embarrassed. This was a fact well-known to Dublin ladies who earned their living by the use of their persons. One day, soon after he was appointed, Johnny said to one such lady who was refusing to get out of a prison van: 'Move along there and stop making a nuisance of yourself.' She answered, with the English Governor in mind, 'That's not what you said to me in the park when you gave me the money!' 'Bloody poor value I got for it too,' Johnny told her.

I first met him when I was interned in Mountjoy — an

easy way they had at the time of holding onto a prisoner for as long as they liked. I was the only internee there at the time and so was completely on my own.

I asked Johnny for permission to associate with other prisoners awaiting trial. I thought he was annoyed by my request; he refused it and wrote his refusal in his desk diary. I thought a mistake was being made when I was allowed association. I was later told by a friend: 'That's the system Johnny operates. He writes the rule in the book and does the common-sense thing on the quiet.'

He was a humane man at a time when there were few such people. Most of his years as Governor were under the brutal 'Hang 'em and Flog 'em' Gerry Boland.

Boland had been in prison himself, but he remained a strong supporter of the porridge twice a day system. He once quoted the *De Profundis* in the Dáil in a debate on prisons, but that was only to score off James Dillon, a reactionary with cultural pretensions, the Conor Cruise O'Brien of his day.

Johnny got a top tailor to make him a suit when the man came in as a prisoner. He paid the full rate for the job into the man's account — money with his property in the prison office. He was reported to the powers that be and as punishment was transferred as Governor of Portlaoise. Barrows, ex-Major in the British Army, was sent to Mountjoy as Governor. Barrows had been born in Cork Prison when his father was Governor there — in Victorian times. When Johnny returned to Mountjoy, Barrows had a long list of rules that he discovered were being broken and presented them to Johnny at the hand-over. Johnny threw them in the fire before Barrows had left the office.

Mountjoy would have been a much worse place without him during the 34 years that he listened to the old triangle go jingle-jangle along the banks of the Royal Canal

PROVO POLICING

THE RELISH with which both the Provisionals and INLA have taken on the role of 'policing' Catholic ghettos should not surprise any observer of the Northern Ireland political/para-military scene.

In 1974 Merlyn Rees was in the hot seat at the Northern Ireland Office. Rees was one of the first British Government Ministers to seek to turn the Provisionals to politics. He provided funding for the Provisionals' 'Incident Centres' prior to the Provisionals launching a murderous attack on members, supporters and families of the then Republican Clubs. It is now accepted that Rees demanded evidence from the Provos that they could control the Catholic ghettos as evidence of the soundness of his financial investment. That episode was written off by virtually everyone at the time, except its victims, as a 'Republican feud'.

More recently other voices have been heard to say that the event had much greater and deeper political significance. Rees was obsessed with the Ulsterisation of the security forces. Part of his plan was to use the Provisionals, or at least elements within them, as Police Reservists in the Catholic areas, so providing 'religious balance' within the revamped police.

The 1975 Provo cease-fire didn't last. But the Provos gained a lot from it. Time for re-organisation; a certain amount of political credibility; a most definite belief that the British would negotiate a settlement with them sooner or later. The idea was also firmly planted in the mind that the Provos just might be able to establish 'an alternative system' in areas under their control.

New role

It was this latter idea that Gerry

An article in a recent issue of *In Dublin* magazine states: 'The Provisionals in the North have made vast electoral capital out of the fact that they are regarded as an alternative police force and government by large sections of the nationalist community there. The drugs issue has brought their first opportunity to repeat that phenomenon on any significant scale in the Republic.'

MARY McMAHON traces the origins, and outlines the practice, of the Provisionals' 'alternative' policing in Northern Ireland, and argues that murder and thuggery offer no solution to crime and vandalism.

Adams dwelt on at length in his dispatches from the Kesh in 1976 and 1977. His 'Brownie' column in *Republican News* talked about 'civil administration'. The idea of 'policing the ghettos' was something that offered the organisation:

1. Action for volunteers on the ground who were now deemed to be bad security risks: the old battalion structure was being replaced by cells to stop the leaks that had become waterfalls to the security forces.
2. Would provide an image of the Provos as concerned and active on

issues affecting the community they depended on for support.

3. Kept the RUC, as a police force, at arms length from Catholic ghettos: the idea being to make them redundant.

The year 1977 also saw a marked increase in the number of 'punishment shootings' — a total of 126 (see table). This was the tangible evidence that civil administration, Provo style, could work.

Over the next few years attention focused not so much on the Provo 'war' effort or the problems of the ghettos but the prisons. Civil administration had to take second place. But it still had its role within the organisation. Hundreds of young men were being continually released from prison. Many wanted to resume the 'fight for Irish freedom'. Gone were the local units and battalions that did their own thing. The secretive cell structure was never designed to cope with large numbers of volunteers. So local people deemed not suitable for these specialist units had to be deployed. Basically local units became responsible for low level intelligence gathering and identifying 'anti-social elements'.

The emotions and hysteria raised by the hunger-strike campaign (1980

KNEECAPPINGS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

1973	74
1974	127
1975	189
1976	98
1977	126
1978	67
1979	76
1980	77
1981	82
1982	80
1983	57
1984	12*

*to July 1st 1984 and not including hurley-stick incidents



Hooliganism is only anti-social when the Provisionals say so

and 1981) created a dilemma. On the one hand 'anti-social behaviour' à la 1977 was now a necessary display of 'Nationalist youth in up-rising'; stealing and burning cars is only anti-social when the Provos say so. The dilemma was that once authorised to engage in such activity the young people didn't see why it had to stop. At this time too the Provos drew into their support ranks many people seeking 'remission' of sentence' for criminal conduct. Prominent among these was one Robert Lean. It is widely believed that Lean was due to get a 'hammering' from local Provos for his buying and selling exploits. He surrendered himself to the Provos and was detailed to swell the numbers at marches, man offices etc.

Execution

On the night of April 22nd 1982 Raymond Devlin, aged 19, was sitting on a wall near his Riverdale home in West Belfast. A car pulled up close by carrying two Provo gunmen who opened fire on the unsuspecting teenager. He was killed

instantly. Later that night the Provisionals put out a statement which claimed responsibility for his execution alleging he had carried out hijackings and armed robberies despite having had a punishment shooting the previous June (1981). Then he had been shot five times in the legs, arms and back by the Provos — just five days after he had received a suspended jail sentence for stealing cars.

In the wave of public condemnation which followed this Provisional action, Cllr Cormac Boomer SDLP said that the Provisionals had created, encouraged and sustained the lawlessness in the community and it was hypocritical of the Provos to now project themselves as protectors. The Provisionals put out a further statement which suggested that Raymond Devlin had been involved 'in organised crime' and described him and 'his likes as the scourge of the Nationalist community'.

The action seemed to send shockwaves down the spine of even some Provisionals. 'The war of liberation' was not expected to

become a gruesome series of Islamic-style law enforcement. Two weeks earlier the Provos had shot Daniel Valliday as he sat in a drinking club in the Clonard area of the city for alleged 'organised crime'. Mr Valliday survived. He too had served a prison sentence for an armed robbery offence.

When the hunger-strike was eventually ended the Provos were still left with the dilemma of massively swollen ranks of supporters looking for action, outside the prisons. So it was that Lean, mischievously described by the police at the time of his defection to the informers' rank, as Brigade Adjutant engaged in the latest episode of buying and selling. Lean was not, as the police well knew, Brigade Adjutant of the active service Provos. Rather he was Adjutant of the 'Auxiliaries', the local lads with nothing to do and all day to do it. Only weeks before his 'defection' he had publicly warned young people from the Ballymurphy estate, in the Community Centre, that their activities were not compatible with Provisionalism. Some weeks after his defection another local Provo sent for some skin-heads and warned them that, despite the apparent absence of Provisionals (due to widespread arrests and confusion in the ranks), they were being watched and would be dealt with at the appropriate time.

The trauma of the super-grass system decimated the ranks of the Provisionals yet again. But those who survived it and were not involved in 'active service' had to be given a role. But there had been dissent to a hard line on 'anti-social activity'. A resolution had been sent to the Provo Ard Fheis, from Long Kesh, seeking a more enlightened attitude to crime. With the success at the ballot box in the autumn of 1982 the Provos did have to clean up their act. The line on crime was apparently delivered by Chief of Staff McGuinness when he spoke at the Easter Commemoration in Belfast on April 4th 1983 — almost one year after Devlin's public execution and nine months after a Derry man had died following being 'kneecapped' by the Provisionals.

POLITICAL LIFE

New line

McGuinness told his audience: 'Crimes by young people, such as break-ins, demanded attention because of people's hardship. The IRA accept that punishment shooting of young offenders has outlived its usefulness and now favours a socially involved solution to the problem'. This was probably reflected in the statistics: 1983 had the lowest number of recorded kneecappings (57) since statistics were kept from the beginning of 1973.

The most serious effect of the super-grass system was felt by the organisation on the ground. No one knew who might be next. So the war effort abated considerably. Apart from the occasional, but nonetheless lethal lamp-post bomb or the rare 'prestigious' operation with an M60 or rocket launcher, there was little evidence of a war of liberation. In the relief of such events people could more easily identify their day-to-day problems. And, hardly surprising in an area such as West Belfast, with somewhere in the region of 75% youth unemployment (and nowhere less than 30%), the problem of crime was a daily source of anger, discontent and fear. Equally apparent, and not without significance, was the growth of friction between the Provos and INLA over protection money. INLA, hardly a cohesive politically motivated organisation at the best of times, was particularly fond of the good life. They put the hammers on businesses already paying to the Provos for the privilege of being allowed to do business in the west of the city.

Then, on the night of April 13th 1984 armed men walked into the Twinbrook home of Jimmy George and shot him dead. There was no immediate 'claim of responsibility'. Forty-eight hours later INLA admitted they were responsible and said he had been executed for 'anti-social and criminal activity'. The Provos were alarmed. Publicly committed by McGuinness to avoid kneecappings, they could not sit back and allow INLA to do the very thing they thought they were best at.

Public relations

In the weeks ahead, in a frenzy of

'The Provos could not sit back and allow INLA to do the very thing they thought they were best at'

activity, concerned parents and residents groups started springing up all over the west side of the city. The first of these was held in Lenadoon early in May: several hundred people attended. Over the next four weeks similar meetings were held in Turf Lodge, Cavendish Street and Clonard. Gerry Adams then issued a public statement calling on the community to become involved in stamping out the menace of anti-social activity. Glue sniffing he included in Provo Civil Administration style offences. These public meetings were supposed to be spontaneous. But the two Provo councillors, MP and local Sinn Féin personnel were well to the fore. All stated quite openly that one organisation could solve the problem overnight but it wouldn't be right for it to have to do it. Local people must do their own thing.

At the Lenadoon meeting one of the Sinn Féin councillors advised residents to march to the home of alleged 'anti-social elements' and ask them to leave the area. Eviction was threatened if there was non-compliance with the request. *Republican News* summed up the Provo concern with crime as follows: 'There is considerable accumulated local anger and frustration both at youthful anti-social behaviour and at organised petty crime... In addition a small hard-core of organised and frequently armed criminals has long existed... who have been granted virtual immunity from prosecution by the RUC... in the ill-founded belief that nationalists might be induced by such pressure to accept the RUC back into their areas of "protection"... Decades of sec-

tarian discrimination, British colonial domination and repression have deprived residents of nationalist ghettos of control over their own lives.'

'The IRA now acknowledge that punishment shootings in isolation from constructive measures could not and cannot resolve or even contain for long the problem of youthful delinquency.'

'Hurley-stick' justice

But the public meetings of concerned parents did not happen in isolation. In Lenadoon a local priest read the names of a number of young people from the pulpit alleging them to be anti-social offenders. In Turf Lodge the clergy announced the time and place of the meetings. In Beechmount the local PP turned up at the meeting shook hands with his MP and pledged support to stamp out crime. Those who went along to protest about the possibility of rough justice were not listened to.

The meetings had, in fact, one objective. They were to provide the public 'authorisation' and justification for brutal, malicious attacks on named 'offenders'. The Provos had indeed abandoned kneecappings. Instead they formed two teams of hurley-stick justice gangs. Hurleys were specially prepared, with a hole bored in the shaft and a nut fitted to the bolt placed through it. This would ensure that, if a bone was hit, it would break. A name was sufficient: a rumour all the intelligence that was needed. In an eight week period there were seven reported incidents of 'hurley-stick' justice. One team of Provo judges were driven about the town in a taxi lest their services were required. The squads are believed to be under the direction of two prominent Sinn Féin members. One has a well-known reputation for demanding human rights for prisoners.

The blood lust demanded more than just beatings which somehow didn't have the media impact of kneecappings but certainly caused immense pain and suffering to the victim. At least one victim has been 'done' twice. He returned from hospital to find Sinn Féin personnel outside his home, his furniture stacked into one room, and a

'West Belfast will suffer much more maliciously anti-social activity in the cause of Irish freedom at the same time as the freedom fighters go around literally knocking lumps out of anyone they deem to be a criminal'



demand to quit the premises. He did. He is now back in hospital.

If the INLA could execute those engaged in 'serious crime' then so could the Provos and show they too meant business. The Provos walked into their own social club, The Pound Loney which receives rates exemption courtesy British Government, on Saturday June 9th and shot dead Jimmy Campbell, a former volunteer in their ranks. Adams had left Belfast the day before to spend the weekend in Dublin on the Euro trail. It is widely believed he had been demanding restraint. It is now thought that with him out of town it was time to show a bit of muscle... and he wouldn't be available for media comment. He didn't have to explain Provo social policy to the media: nor would be able to demand an explanation for the flouting of his own political authority. Yet he had left the door open for executions. In *Republican News* 31.5.84 he says: 'There is a need for discipline, control and unity plus the ability to differentiate between alienated youth, anti-social elements and criminal thugs, hoodlums and gangsters... we must ensure that a stop is put to the anti-people activity of a minority which is having such a diverse effect on ordinary people... the people themselves isolate those who prey upon them.'

Cynical abuse

The public meetings have now ceased. Not for the first time people witnessed the Provos cynically abusing their legitimate fears and using their anger as an excuse for barbaric behaviour. As well Provo intelligence has been shown to be very far of the mark. One victim was alleged done for 'offences against children'. Yet the most suspected person is only out of jail having served a long term for the Provos. Another victim has publicly, vigorously and viciously demanded that the Provos provide the evidence on which he was deemed a target. Not for the first time in the history of the Provos 'the unfortunate element of risk, mistaken identity and civilian casualty' will be trotted out.

The public in the ghettos have a right to be concerned about crime. It is of massive proportions. But just as the Tories short sharp shock treatment offers no solution, neither does the Provo hurley-stick brigades. What is needed is political education: an understanding of causes: the political organisation to channel that understanding into progressive and radical politics and away from the right-wing forces that surround and dominate them.

But all is not lost. In many parts

of the town the Provos were unable to get beyond the first meeting... it might well be that they unleashed the hurley squads too quickly and people could then see what would happen if they endorsed an action demand against crime. In the Short Strand area Donal Donaldson turned up at a meeting to lecture the gathered crowd on the evils of crime. He left the hall to discover that his bicycle had been stolen while he was holding forth. We understand he was not amused.

The police have provided the Provos with breathing space again. Adams did mention on the night after Sean Downes' death that 'tonight is not a night for burning cars'. We can presume that West Belfast will suffer much more organised, orchestrated and maliciously motivated 'anti-social activity' in the cause of Irish freedom at the same time as the freedom fighters go around literally knocking lumps out of and breaking the bones of anyone they deem to be a criminal.

Both the PD and Fr Des Wilson held 'public inquiries' into the tragic events surrounding the death of Sean Downes on August 12th — in the same building as Jimmy Campbell was shot dead. We do not believe either is concerned to hold a public inquiry into his death.

GETTING THE ECONOMY TO WORK

THE GOVERNMENT will soon produce a plan for the country — for our economy. All our economic ills will be seen by both government and Fianna Fáil as 'a matter of money'. The problems of the economy are not just 'a matter of money', and it is because they were seen as such by successive governments that we are in the present mess.

A short history of the Irish economy in the last ten years would read something like this. One, we need money. Two, we tax for it and we borrow it. Three, we give it to 'our boys'. Four, 'our boys' spend it and ask for more. Five, things get worse so we tax some more and borrow some more.

Fianna Fáil will produce some fireworks in the Dáil and pretend to be very annoyed about the 'state of the nation' but all that is just for public consumption. Their views on economic matters are identical to those of the Fine Gael/Labour Party government.

Point number one in the new government plan is to reduce pay by delaying or reducing the amount of pay increases — allowing increases in the cost of living to bring about the reductions they seek.

YOUTH

All those who have been in and out of government during the last few years pay great lip-service to 'youth'. In the next year or so, as much money as possible will be milked from the EEC's Social Fund to 'train youth'. To train youth as part of a general economic plan, to ensure that skills are available to take up jobs that are really in the pipeline — that is sound commonsense. But that is not what is happening nor planned to happen in the near future. Many

As the government unveils its National Plan, EAMONN SMULLEN looks at the economic state of the nation.

young people can see through the present farce — they are not really being trained for anything. Many young people have been sent on several completely unrelated courses.

The truth of the matter is that the EEC will not pay straight-forward doles to youth so the money has to be acquired through the fiction of 'training'. It is, of course, better than just being unemployed.

All the money granted from the EEC Social Fund and the government to 'train youth' does not go to youth. The training/instruction is carried out by various private enterprise outfits hired for this purpose. In this way private enterprise get its cut. The wage-bill of firms who employ 'workers in training' is, also, paid out of funds earmarked for 'training'.

Workers in employment are also milked to provide additional funds for 'youth employment'. Private enterprise gets a cut out of this money as well.

Young people are told that they would be well-off if they started their own business and night after night this line of propaganda is pushed out on RTE. Fianna Fáil would do exactly the same. Young people, desperate for a job, naturally, see some hope in this rubbish. They also build up an inferiority complex about themselves if they cannot think of an idea that will bring them some government money — grants.

TAXATION RACKET

This is how the government taxes the needy to make life better for the greedy. The rate bands for taxation are not raised to keep pace with increases in the cost of living. A pay increase may not bring full compensation for the increase in the cost of living — the worker may be worse off, but the increase may bring that person into a new tax band or into the tax net. Some low-pay workers are now paying tax when, at a time when the social

conscience was more sharp, that particular category was never supposed to be taxed. Holding the tax bands at the same rate, or raising the tax bands more slowly than inflation was the means that this government and Fianna Fáil used to increase taxes paid by the least well-off section of the population.

The well-off sections — the rich and the near-rich — have a very neat way of expressing their self-interest. They do not say to the government: 'Cut taxes on our class' — language that everyone can understand. They talk about 'Creating the right climate for investment'.

The government and Fianna Fáil know that there is widespread anger among the PAYE section of the population because of the burden of taxation. It is for this reason that they are now engaged in operations to hide the imposition of new taxes by calling them by some other name.

An example of this is the imposition of a £15 million rates bill on the ESB, and the imposition of a duty amounting to £60 million on ESB imports of fuel oil. The ESB are forced to pass on these charges — mostly to the PAYE sector. This operation ensures that the ESB gets the blame for 'inefficiency' and every hack-journalist and establishment economist gets to work to 'prove' the point the government wants to make.

Another part of the same operation is to sell natural gas to the ESB, an old established State Company which they want to discredit, and mark up profits for An Bord Gais which is a new creation and a credit to government 'initiative'.

A serious attack on the public sector is one of the main planks in the government's strategy to

Cost of children aged 0 to 14	£169,000,000
Cost of persons sixty-five years plus	£225,000,000
Unemployment Assistance	£269,834,000
Social Assistance	£39,293,000
Social Welfare	£306,557,000
Health	£1,019,112,000
Primary education	£348,847,000
Post Primary education	£405,449,000
Higher education	£98,660,000
This amounts to a total cost of	£1,872,068,000
Total government income	£5,580,974,000

divide the working class in the coming hard winter.

GOVERNMENT VIEW

Every civilised government in this day and age is obliged to spend money on those under fourteen years of age and those over the age of sixty-five. It is, also, necessary to spend money on health and education. (See table.)

Our Gross Domestic Product — the measure of the worth of all we produce — was £12,917,000,000 last year. This figure was reduced by money sent out of the country to £11,989,000,000. When we put the Gross National Product — £11,989,000,000 beside the total budget figure, £5,580,974,000, the facts speak for themselves.

The figures just quoted show clearly that no amount of messing about with money will make the necessary changes. We need vastly increased output of 'goods', especially goods for export. Our economy cannot grow in a real sense unless there is much more 'output'. The government concede this point and say that the working class must tighten their collective belt and sweat more. Even if this were to happen, it would not greatly change the situation.

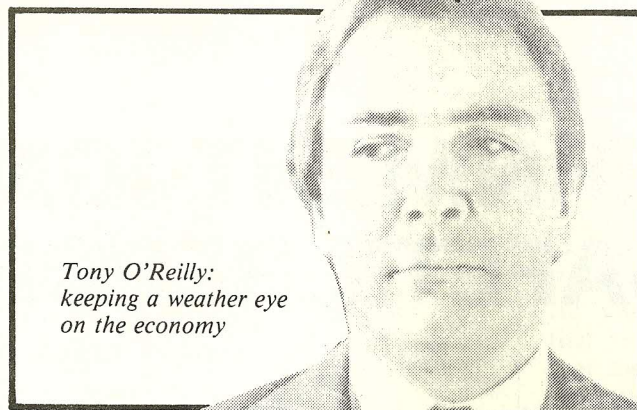
We need serious 'production plans'. The government's and Fianna Fáil's idea of a production plan is to give more grants to private enterprise and to ask them to pay less tax. A serious production plan is to ensure that more is produced from the land — saleable products not for intervention — and more factories producing more. There is no other real meaning to the term 'production plan'. Until this is faced in a serious way we will be in the middle of a continuing crisis.

CASE STUDY

We have a private enterprise economy. The 'businessman of the month' — selected by *The Irish Independent*, one of Tony O'Reilly's stamping grounds — is Ken Rohan. What has this man done in the last month to merit such praise?

The Rohan Group used to employ a workforce of 650. All but one hundred have now been sacked. The working class are unlikely to regard getting rid of the greater part of the workforce as behaviour meriting an award, but, then they have different standards.

The Rohan Group had a reduction in turn-over of £5 million in the first six months of this year but profits were in-



*Tony O'Reilly:
keeping a weather eye
on the economy*

creased by £1.5 million. The profits have been achieved mostly by money invested abroad. It is important to point out in relation to the Rohan outfit that they got rich on government money and that three-quarters of their rent-roll at present comes from letting to State companies. That money now creates jobs in the United States and the government pays social welfare to the workers who lost the sweat to make the Rohan Group's fortune. Some people ask: 'Why do the workers not go abroad as well?' That has for a long time been the economic and political philosophy of this state.

DIVIDE AND CONQUER

It is government policy, and Fianna Fáil used the same tactic when they were in power, to divide the working class and play one section off against the other. The old Richie Ryan story is about to get a re-run with maximum publicity — public sector workers are 'being carried' by workers in the private sector.

It is most important to nail this lie. Some aspects of the public service are designed solely as props for private enterprise. In various forms private enterprise received over £2,000 million from the State last year. Some of this aid to private enterprise is put down as 'the cost of the public service'. When the £2,000 million which goes to support private enterprise is added to the cost of maintaining various dependants and services like health and education, then the state is left with about £500 million to meet all other debts.

Private enterprise will continue to lobby government for more funds for itself while at the same time complaining about the size of State intervention in the economy. This is a part of their campaign for "cuts" in government spending. The first cuts to be made as a result of this campaign have already been

made — half the food subsidies now — all the food subsidies, when?

The sick, these people say, must be forced to pay for doctors and medicines. Doctors receive different amounts out of public funds for their part in the health service. If all the doctors in the country received the same amount from this source of income then each would have received last year £26,000. Is it any wonder that Rolls Royce cars can be seen outside some doctors surgeries. Some consultants become stinking rich on the illness and poverty of the sick. This is one of the most immoral aspects of the immoral society we live in; the government, to pay these vultures, must take from the poor and the very poor.

BASIC PROBLEMS

The fate of any society is governed by production — goods must be produced and sold. It is this activity that really pays for all else. The private enterprise governments we have endured in this country since the state was established have attempted to distort this simple fact.

The production of goods carries three basic costs — the cost of raw materials, the cost of energy, and the cost of labour.

The cost of raw materials in Ireland depends on several considerations — imported raw materials cost more as the Irish pound falls in value. Irish raw materials go mostly to the food industry and the full potential of this industry has largely been killed off, mostly by Fianna Fáil and people like Tony O'Reilly.

The cost of energy means the cost of electricity and the cost of oil. Efforts are being made to reduce the cost of electricity by burning our limited supplies of natural gas in ESB power stations. Fifty per cent of our electricity is now generated in this way. The government, as has

already been mentioned, clawed back the major part of the saving.

The high cost of oil energy is not being tackled at all. We pay 10% to 15% more for industrial oil energy than do any of our EEC trading rivals. The only way to effectively tackle this problem is to build an oil refining capacity sufficient to meet our oil energy needs.

We now purchase our oil in dollars and the Irish pound is losing value against the dollar. This constantly increases the price we must pay for oil. The four giants who dominate the Irish oil market, Esso, Texaco, Shell and BP, dictate the price they charge us for oil because we are completely dependent on their supplies so long as we lack sufficient refining capacity to meet our oil energy needs.

WAGES BILL

The government, the media and the employers' organisations concentrate on pay costs as the reason for the present economic crisis. We are continually being told that we are "pricing ourselves out of the market". Workers are in this way blamed for the economic crisis. The fact that we have the lowest pay in the EEC — with the exception of Greece — is ignored. We do have a lower level of productivity than some countries but that is not the fault of the workers. High levels of output come from the amount and the quality of the machines that employers instal to aid workers' efforts. Some machines in some factories go back to the early part of this century.

The media builds up persons like Tony O'Reilly as having great knowledge of "the economy". The only knowledge he has ever displayed was on the subject of how to lose jobs and feather his own nest. Just one of his nests pays him £2 million a year.

Watch out for government plans to deal with out economic problems. They will attack the public service and the state companies. They will attempt to cut off profitable sections and give them to private enterprise — as Maggy Thatcher is doing in Britain. The working class in defending its own best interests must rally to defend the public service and the state companies.

The campaign against unemployment — the most important question at present must be organised in a massive way. If for no other reason the tiny size of our Gross National Product shows the urgency of putting more hands to producing more.

GOVERNMENT IGNORES SAFETY REPORT

Gerry Flynn

THE TOLL of accidents at work continues unabated in spite of the detailed inquiry into safety at work which was presented to the Minister for Labour just over a year ago. There are anything up to 250,000 first aid accidents at work each year, but the official figures only cover serious injuries amongst just one in every five workers. Despite the high rate of accidents and low level of official protection, the Department of Labour sat on the inquiry report for nine months and only released its findings after they were unofficially leaked.

The Labour Inspection Report for 1983 has not yet been published, but last year 3,894 serious accidents at work were notified to the Department of Labour in which 15 people lost their lives. These figures are merely the tip of the iceberg as they only apply to 20 per cent of the workforce and involve accidents causing over three days' absence from work. There are no reliable figures on accidents in dangerous occupations like forestry, hospitals, agriculture, laboratories and amongst the self-employed.

Every year between 30 and 35 people are killed in factories, building sites, mines and quarries while about another 30 are killed in agriculture. The official figures do not include the numbers killed in road accidents which take a toll of distribution workers and sales staff, nor do they include fishermen drowned at sea.

Inquiry on Safety, Health and Welfare at Work, chaired by Mr Justice Barrington, estimated that there are 'somewhere between 150,000 and 250,000 first aid accidents at work each year and between 4,000 and 36,000 accidents involving slight injuries'. Even five years ago the Department of Labour admitted that 'we seem to have arrived at an unacceptably high plateau of accidents which, despite progressively more regulations and high levels of inspection, show no sign of decreasing'.

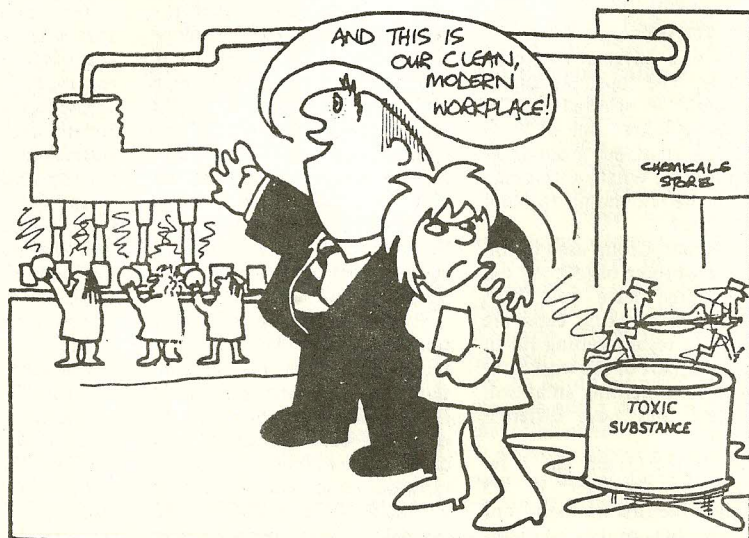
Traditionally, the most dangerous workplace is on a construction site which last year resulted in at least six notified deaths and in 1982 claimed seven lives. The food and drink sectors also provide high risk jobs with over 900 serious injuries and four fatalities last year. The number of serious accidents on

building sites rocketed by nearly 200 in 1982 despite the depression and high unemployment in the construction industry.

Responding to the dangers associated with work on roofs, in deep trenches, erecting structural steelwork, laying asbestos sheeting, scaffolding and demolition, the Industrial Inspectorate referred to contractors who 'have always been what could be described as uncaring people, so uncooperative and so ill-organised that they will only act if specific requirements are enforced'.

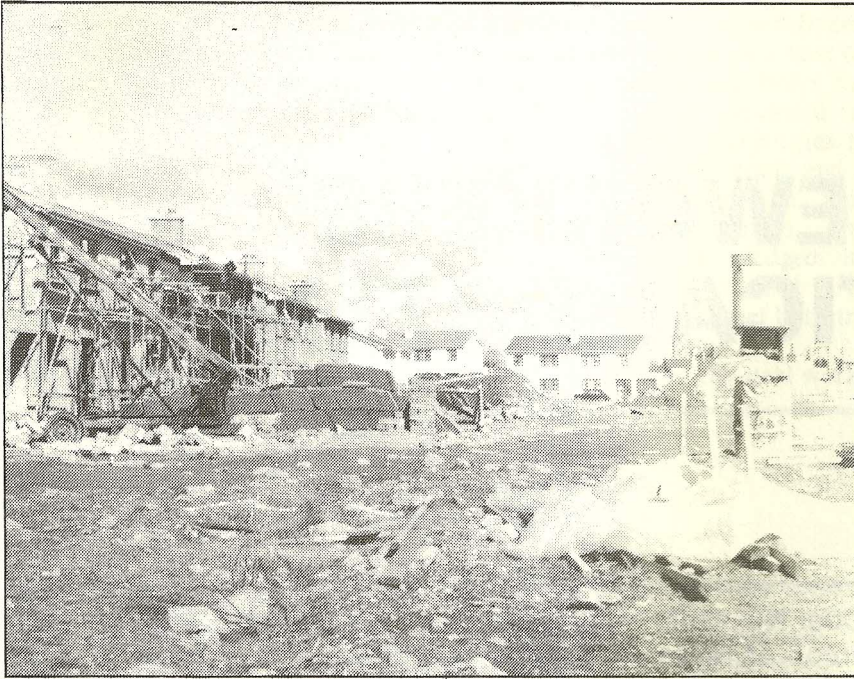
Government failure

Recent accidents and deaths have often resulted from employers' failure to ensure that equipment and workplaces are safe. When workers were examining damage to a burned boilerhouse, part of the chimney collapsed killing one man. A fitter



High accident rate

Last year the Commission of



Accidents on building sites continue to rise despite rising unemployment in the construction industry.

checking an oil leak on a hydraulic crane died when a ram flew out and hit him in the chest. A building worker stripping off old corrugated asbestos from a roof stepped off the crawling board and fell through the roof to his death, while in another case a plank was blown off in a high gale and killed another worker when part of it hit his head.

Despite the growing number of cuts, bruises, wounds and injuries occurring at work, the government has failed to implement any of the recommendations in the Barrington Report which was presented to the Minister for Labour over a year ago. This detailed 250-page study by industrial experts, doctors, employers, trade unionists and lawyers recommended that a framework Act be introduced containing general principles and that a new organisation — a National Authority for Occupational Safety and Health — be established.

Minister for Labour, Ruairi Quinn told the Dáil last month that he broadly agreed with many of the recommendations and intended bringing legislative proposals to the government after further consultations with the 'social partners' referring to trade unions and

employer bodies. Little progress, however, has been made on drafting the basic framework legislation though similar model legislation has been introduced in most European countries.

Congress warning

ICTU social affairs officer, Peter Cassells, told a recent National Industrial Safety Organisation seminar that 'Congress is now warning the Minister that the trade union movement will not tolerate the shelving of this report'.

'The legislation should also, as recommended by the Barrington Report, give workers the right to appoint their own safety representatives to investigate complaints and to make representations to management on all aspects of safety and health at work.' Peter Cassells was one of four trade union members of the safety inquiry.

At the same seminar, IFA industrial committee member, Mervyn Stanley said that farmers made up 15 per cent of the working population but suffered a higher proportion of fatal accidents. He called for new safety laws to cater for modern sophisticated farm machinery.

Apart from the growing discon-

tent among experts at the delays in improving workplace safety and the collection of accurate accident statistics, there is also a feeling that managements must bear much of the responsibility for the maimings and amputations resulting from injuries at work. Introducing the most recent Industrial Inspectorate Report, for 1982, the then Minister for Labour, Liam Kavanagh said that he was 'certainly not satisfied that there has been sufficient concentration by employers on the development of proper safety statements as an aid to better management of safety'.

False notion

For many years accident victims were admonished that they should be more careful in future or simply 'watch what they're doing'. The Barrington Report stated that the notion of accident-prone workers is false. The members were deeply convinced that the theory that most accidents are caused by carelessness is wrong.

The consequences of the 'accident-prone' theory produces a preoccupation with making workers safety conscious instead of looking at the root causes of poor design or inadequate maintenance to ensure that everyone works in a safe environment.

To move in this direction the safety inquiry called for the pruning of a maze of current acts and regulations and the introduction of a new code and guidelines with the option of safety improvement notices, similar to fire safety notices, warning owners of dangerous buildings or workplaces to improve or face court injunctions.

In spite of the rising toll of injuries, the reports made by the country's 45 industrial inspectors are kept secret and are not available for publication in the press or disclosure to employees. The emphasis on a 'softly, softly' approach with very few prosecutions has given a false sense of security to those at work.

So before you risk taking that job offer it might be worth many people's time visiting the casualty department nearest your new workplace to see if you'll survive to collect a pension!

MINeworkers' POLITICAL BATTLE

IN 1979 there were 235,000 miners employed in 223 pits in England, Scotland and Wales. With constant pit closures and redundancies there are now 182,000 working in 175 pits. About 20,000 mining jobs were lost in 1982-83 and the National Coal Board plans to reduce employment further to about 112,000 and close up to 70 pits, mainly in the North of England and Scotland where unemployment now exceeds 20 per cent.

Apart from the nitty gritty tactics over which mine is economic and skirmishes over redundancy payments and transfers, the real battle is about wider issues such as the future energy policy of Britain and the part played by coal as well as the future existence of mining communities and employment policies. This is what makes it a class war and political battle rather than a run-of-the-mill strike. The difficulty for the Labour Party and British trade unions is that they have to take sides at a time when they feel weakened and would rather cheer from vantage points well behind the front lines.

The Conservative Party has no such qualms and is prepared to use all the resources of the state — police, electricity boards, judiciary, social security — to re-arm Ian McGregor who was chosen by Margaret Thatcher to 'sort out' British Steel through forced job cuts and closures. Having earned his stripes and knocked the steel union senseless, he has been given full powers to do the same with the coal

'Coal Not Dole' is the slogan of the British National Union of Mineworkers in its prolonged and bitter dispute with the National Coal Board. The NUM's aims are 'to stop colliery closures and stop job losses on a massive scale'. The NCB — with the full backing of Margaret Thatcher — insists that the coal industry must be 'rationalised'. GERRY FLYNN looks at the background to the dispute.

industry.

Changes

While the Tories and National Coal Board concentrate on their concept of an 'uneconomic pit', the NUM are holding fast to the 'Plan for Coal' agreed nearly ten years ago. A lot has changed in those ten years. More electricity production has shifted to nuclear reactors, while large coal deposits have been confirmed in the English midlands and reaching under the North Sea. The greatest change is that there are three million people without work and Margaret Thatcher has a huge majority in Parliament following the purge of the Tory moderates whom she terms 'wets'.

Too much coal is being produced, and much of it in the wrong areas to suit the Conservative government's shifting policy which has all but renounced the 'Plan for Coal'. Since 1979 the miners have increased overall productivity by 9 per cent, and coal face production is up more than 20 per cent in the past three years. British coal production is now the most efficient within the

EEC relying on the lowest subsidies but straddled with interest payments of £366 million a year. Even with the existing subsidies it costs more to close pits than retain them because of redundancy payments and social assistance. To close 70 pits and make 70,000 miners redundant would cost £4.5 billion — nearly twice the £2.3 billion to keep them open.

The Conservatives were humiliated by the miners strikes in 1972 and 1974 and have learned many valuable lessons. When they failed with their Industrial Relations Act in 1972, they introduced similar legislation in the recent Employment Acts and hope to force ballots on unions and restrict picketing while outlawing sympathetic strikes and secondary pickets. They no longer rely on the 'bobby-on-the-beat' but have selected rapid deployment mobile squads to follow picketers and introduced blanket checks on motorways and introduced 'exclusion zones' around various pitheads. The memory of Ted Heath's three day weeks and the loss of the 'Vote for Ted' — for

four days in bed' general election has confirmed the Tories in their determination to wreck the miners' union and bring the TUC to heel. In readiness for a strike through the winter months local police forces have been issued with warm clothing, fire braziers and even military style night-sights and image-intensifiers to watch picketers.

Conflict

After a six month struggle, the strike has become well and truly entrenched and creates its own side

show — not least the wild-eyed Trotskyites in their *haute couture* balaclavas and camouflaged commando gear getting in a spot of cop bashing before the Polys re-open. But it has also spawned its second dock strike which hit nearly 60 per cent of Britain's trade and a fair slice of Ireland's as well. This time the dockers' union, the TGWU, has clearly pledged its backing for the miners, and is in open conflict with the steel industry managers and workers.

Relations between the steel work-

ers and miners is now at an all-time low with Arthur Scargill last month telling the steel union chief, Bill Sirs that: 'Throughout the attitude you have displayed has been diabolical and in violation of every principle understood and accepted by the trade union and labour movement.' Relations are so tense that the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation hired four bodyguards for Sirs at the TUC conference in Brighton.

The steelmen's plight is exactly what Scargill's union is trying to avoid while the dockers realise that

Irish support

IRISH SUPPORT for the NUM strike has been slow in taking off but during the summer months, with the encouragement of various trades councils it has grown, with the support fund now exceeding £70,000. Some areas have combined a collection with sponsored holidays for miners' children and factory fund-raising tours for miners' wives.

These tours have brought home to many Irish workers the reality of family life for striking miners who are forced to return the tv to the rental companies, and plead with local councils to defer mortgage repayments while their children depend on the strike fund for pocket money and the odd day trip to the seaside. The callous decision by the Thatcher government to deduct £15 each week from strikers' supplementary benefits, to compensate for alleged strike pay which the NUM cannot pay, has been seen as one of the most savage plays in the dispute. It is aimed

as much at pressurising miners' wives and children as the striking pit workers but appears to have rebounded with mining families more determined than ever to succeed in stopping the Coal Board's programme for pit closures.

That determination is evidenced by the three miners' wives who arrived in Dublin during July. Not only did they describe the food kitchens which have been established in local schools and halls, but revealed that they are already planning Christmas menus and small treats for the children around Christmas holidays. They take it for granted that Thatcher will try to sweat them out for up to a year but appear confident that the strike will hold.

Ann Scargill, wife of the NUM President, felt that the £10,000 her group collected during their week long visit to Dublin, Drogheda, Newbridge and other towns 'was a fantastic return which I'm very grateful for on behalf of miners'

families'. 'We didn't come across any opposition or hostility here since we came, just the reverse.' She felt that the Irish media has been much fairer in their coverage of the dispute than those in Britain.

The Dublin Council of Trades Unions presented each of the miners' wives with some Irish crystal, and executive member Des Bonass announced details of a 'food convoy' being prepared with various union branches invited to sponsor some food supplies to fill a container for miners' families in South Wales.

One of the women explained that her family now lives on £7.09 social security and 'the kindness of other people' to support two adults and two children. Though the women were from Yorkshire, they said that they did not begrudge most of the funds collected in Ireland being sent to the South Wales area. There have been long associations between Dublin and South Wales stretching back to the 1913 Lock-out when Welsh miners donated a massive £1,000 each week to the ITGWU strike fund.

British mining families also offered to accommodate Dublin children during the Lock-out seventy years ago and that favour is now being returned with Welsh children holidaying in Dublin homes in August. Residents' groups and youth clubs in Cabra and Tallaght have hosted children from Yorkshire and Wales as have families in Waterford, Cavan and Monaghan. Some families have been so taken by the miners' kids and their loyalty to their fathers' cause that they offered to keep them indefinitely until the coal strike ends.

Many of the children have witnessed the bitterness in their villages as police clash with picketers and strike breakers provoke isolated violence and assaults. Their attitude to Margaret Thatcher is well illustrated in their chant: 'Burn, Burn, Burn the Bitch — Maggie Thatcher is a Witch'. This hatred for the Tory administration has been reinforced by the loss of family holidays, and a dependence on union organisers and supporters for pocket money and gifts of sweets, while many of their mothers volunteer for duty in the food kitchens.



Miners' wives meet officials of Dublin Council of Trade Unions during Irish tour

IRISH HISTORY IN PRINT

Sean Cronin YOUNG CONNOLLY

In Dublin from 1896 to 1903 Connolly tested his theories by seeking to apply them to the actual facts of Irish life. His experiment has not received the attention it deserves. His goal, as always was social revolution. His means were limited to the Irish Socialist Republican Party and — when there was money to print it — the *Workers' Republic*. The day-by-day problems Connolly and his colleagues faced and sometimes overcame are the subject of this short study.

'Essential reading for anyone wishing to understand Irish socialism and republicanism... a very honest book.'
Sunday Press

'A short and attractive study of Connolly's first phase in Irish politics.'
Irish Independent

'This fine book is one to be read, thought about and read again.' **Irish Times**

Paperback; £2.40

V.I.Lenin THE IRISH QUESTION

The Irish question is still very much an important part of European politics. Any serious effort to understand its modern dimensions will be helped considerably by reading this selection from Lenin. In particular, his ability to cut through the nationalist smokescreen of the period 1913—1916 and identify the interests of the Irish working class, is an important corrective to any suggestion that what is happening in Ireland today will be of future benefit to that class. The present trend of right-wing nationalism and terrorism threatens to bring about fascism rather than a society governed by the principles of peace, democracy and socialism. *90 pence.*

James Connolly WORKSHOP TALKS

Workshop Talks was first published in America in 1909.

The author, James Connolly, was a Marxist, Socialist revolutionary, trade union organiser, writer and military commander of Ireland's first worker militia — the Citizen Army. Connolly was executed following the 1916 Rebellion.

Workshop Talks is unlike Connolly's other writings. It is no exaggeration to state that while it is a political tract, it contains elements which prefigure the lyricism, humanism and ironic humour of the great Soviet revolutionary poet Vladimir Mayakovsky. *90 pence*

John de Courcy Ireland IRELAND'S REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION

Dr John de Courcy Ireland, a noted Irish historian and one of Europe's foremost authorities on maritime affairs, delivered this lecture in Co. Cavan in 1971.

In it he traces the contradictory aspects of the Irish revolutionary movement in the 19th and early 20th centuries, both in national and international terms. Dr Ireland demonstrates a thorough grasp of the different forces which determined the directions which each movement was to take. *90 pence*

Repsol Publishing

30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1, Ireland



NOW REPEAT AFTER ME, IAN: 'THE GOVERNMENT HAS NO INTENTION OF INTERVENING IN THE MINERS STRIKE.'

if the NUM loses, the National Dock Labour Scheme will be the Tories' next industrial target. After his return from America, Ian McGregor succeeded in decimating British Steel during the 13 week strike in 1980. When that strike started, British Steel had 22 blast furnaces but that has now been reduced to just nine at the remaining five steel operations. Ironically, the steel mills most at risk of closure from a shortage of coal are the two Scottish furnaces at Ravenscraig and the four in Wales at Llanwern and Port Talbot. The steel leaders reckon that solidarity with the miners, who live and work quite close to them, is not worth putting their heads on the block for. They tried to oppose McGregor and lost.

This lack of solidarity is now rampant with Britain's larger

unions. The NUM is suffering from about a 20 per cent 'scab rate' mainly in the Midlands, where members know that their jobs are secure with huge coal deposits and modern machinery to extract it. The scabs and strike breakers seem to care little or nothing for fellow miners and use the ruse of a ballot to excuse their behaviour. This has fed the frustration of other striking miners who have developed such a hatred of them that the rifts within the NUM are likely to continue for some considerable time.

Tactics

Differences of opinion still exist about the best time to have a coal strike especially as Britain's power stations have enough coal stocks to last until next February, as well as the trickle of coal being produced at

the strike breaking pits. But many miners realise that there is no ideal time to strike because of major shifts in energy policy. At present one sixth of Britain's electricity supply comes from nuclear power stations and two more nuclear generators will start up this autumn to meet increased winter demand.

The NUM had prepared slightly for this strike with a three month overtime ban which cut back production, but the very mild winter also reduced the demand for coal and helped maintain the record coal stocks. The Tories know that they were caught once with low coal reserves, and clearly prepared for a drawn-out dispute even if they did not expect it quite so soon. With electricity rationing and maximum use of oil power stations there could be uninterrupted electricity supply until next summer. If the Thatcher government uses troops to transport the existing stocks at strike bound pits (which amount to 18 million tons) they could keep up the strike until the end of 1985, by which time they would expect the NUM to be totally split and disorganised.

The NUM leaders see it quite differently, and note that the strike has been very successful so far with pickets able to travel to different areas during the good summer weather while less militant members have been able to go fishing or enjoy the outdoors without feeling hemmed in at home because of the dispute. The use of oil for electricity generation is costing about £20 million extra each week and this, according to some miners, will become a growing burden on the government which will be forced to raise electricity prices.

While McGregor and Thatcher pin their hopes on the long drawn-out drift back to work, they must realise that the coal dispute is now at a stalemate. The NUM realise much the same and need the assistance of other large unions to open up new fronts in their class war. Each side knows that the stakes are very high. The end result will be either a decimated nationalised coal industry, or the first serious reversal of Thatcher's declared policy of reducing and privatising much of Britain's state industry.

ASPECTS OF THIRD WORLD STRUGGLE

DISTANCE creates comforting illusions. From the perspective of the First World, Third World struggles for liberation often look clear-cut, a momentary relief from the complexity of political life under advanced social democratic capitalism. The very extremes of poverty and repression seem to create a model of political change which has, for all the horror of its conditioning factors, at least got the virtue of clarity.

This mirage, itself a product of a patronising world outlook fed on imperialist myths, was particularly powerful in the '60s. Guevara's rhetorical prophecy of 'many Vietnams' found a quick response among Western leftish youth. Unlike Che himself, the vast majority had no conception whatsoever of the realities of that struggle, and the slogan itself was simplistic.

The happily successful conclusion of the anti-imperialist phase of the Vietnamese struggle was not repeated in other oppressed countries like the Philippines or Indonesia, and even where the outcome was an apparent victory for the anti-imperialist forces, as in Cambodia, the gap between that triumph and the construction of socialist democracy became horrifyingly obvious.

Lessons

Through the Seventies the mirage of quick and easy victories faded, with the experience of Chile on the one hand, and the continuing difficulties faced by Mozambique, Angola, and

An interview with El Salvadorean trade unionist, Cristina Marin, prompted PADDY WOODWORTH to reflect on the illusions and realities of Third World struggles for liberation.

Afghanistan on the other.

With the precarious victory of the Sandinista revolution at the end of the decade, two lessons should surely have been learnt: firstly, imperialism still has immense resources at its disposal to divert and contain third world revolutionary movements; and the struggle for hegemony within those movements between different social classes can often become extremely acute and costly, with no automatic guarantee that the working class will emerge as the leading force of the revolution.

It should go without saying that none of the foregoing is intended to detract from the very considerable global advances which progressive forces have made against imperialism over the past twenty years; rather it is intended to stress that each anti-imperialist struggle must be understood in its own concrete historical context — and that the idealistic imposition of the two most progressive models of third world revolution (Vietnam and Cuba) is to impose a false clarity which hinders rather than helps effective solidarity work.

El Salvador

Christina Marin has spent all of her thirty-three years close to the

struggle of working class of El Salvador. She has a remarkable capacity to move from a passionately felt expression of the need for international solidarity to a dispassionate and acute analysis of the recent history of her country's labour movement and of the complex geo-political factors which will influence the outcome of the liberation struggle.

She came to Ireland in July to attend the ICTU Congress in Waterford, where, despite speaking no English, she diligently and successfully canvassed for an emergency motion in support of the release of imprisoned Salvadorean leaders, and backing the demands of striking post office workers. The latter included a clause seeking shoes for postmen.

She is the European representative of the Revolutionary Trade Union Federation of El Salvador (FSR), and her experience is different, though no less dramatic, to that of the representatives of the illegal political and political military opposition.

The labour movement is mostly confined to the country's one heavily industrialised zone, the city of San Salvador. Trade unions suffer a constantly varying degree of



The El Salvadorean opposition is gathering strength.

quasi-illegality, depending on emergency decrees from the Ministry of Labour, and on the willingness of individual employers to negotiate with them. The latter, not surprisingly, tends to be in proportion to the strength of union organisation in any particular factory.

The political opposition, on the other hand, is completely illegal and has all its bases in the countryside. Cristina is adamant, however, that there is considerable support for the opposition among the urban workers, and that links between the economic and political struggles are well-developed.

Commitment

Economic struggle in a right-wing dictatorship can require every bit as much commitment as political or military opposition. Resentment at lack of schooling, long hours, bad conditions and appalling wages brought Cristina into the trade union movement. Her experience in the early Seventies disillusioned her for a period, as she felt that the union organisation was undemocratic, and that its leaders were adopting too conciliatory an approach to the employers and to the regime.

She did not, however, at any stage feel excluded from decision-making

because she is a woman. 'There is sometimes an attitude of "You, woman, go home to your husband to cook and iron". But it could be overcome. On the other hand, women were respected because they brought a certain discipline to meetings, precisely because they had no time to use union activities as a cover for socialising or for drinking.'

She became involved again organisationally during the revolutionary upsurge of the mid-Seventies, when she could see that the unions were not only fighting for economic demands, but for a complete change in the social system. Workers repeatedly occupied factories in pursuit of the demands, and the state's response was ferocious. Factories were surrounded by tanks; bosses' vigilantes became a feature of working life even when production was normal. These armed thugs would break up any gathering of more than three workers, and search for propaganda being smuggled into the workplace, though their official role was to stop thieving. They have frequently shot workers, and their children, during strikes and demonstrations.

A further development has been the use of 'free industrial zones', mainly by US-owned companies,

where all union activity is suppressed. About 15% of the Salvadorean working class are now employed in these zones, which Cristina compares to the 'strategic hamlet' policy in Vietnam.

Delicate phase

State forces intervened directly also. Union leaders were arrested and 'disappeared'. Cristina herself was imprisoned and tortured with electrodes. It is typical of her matter-of-fact approach to the sacrifices inevitable in such a struggle that she prefers to pass over such experiences. One of her daughters was shot as a reprisal for her trade union work, but she did not consider this worth telling me: other people have suffered so much more, and she dismisses any suggestion that her situation is exceptional.

As well as the stick of repression, the state offers workers carrots like cut-price TV sets and cheap loans if they will abandon their unions. Cristina believes that the movement is stronger and more militant than ever. But she agrees that the overall struggle is at a delicate phase, and she does not believe that anything short of a region-wide revolution can provide a basis for socialism in El Salvador. She bases this view, not on any dogmatic hostility to the concept of 'socialism in one country', but on the interdependence of the small Central American countries and the vulnerability of each and every one of them to US destabilisation.

When asked how she sees the struggle developing, she quotes her union bulletin:

'(We demand) a government in which the workers have a guiding hand on the new direction our society needs. In that sense we support dialogue, which must serve to strengthen the position of the workers without betrayal or surrender. History has taught us that we cannot trust the bourgeoisie for the formation of a government, and that the only people interested in solving the problems of the working class are the workers themselves.'

Cristina Marin believes that anything less would be a betrayal of the struggle.

ON THE WATERFRONT

MAY 9 marked 50 years since the start of the historic West Coast strike of longshoremen and seamen that climaxed with the San Francisco general strike. Tense warfare, at times bloody, marked every one of its 82 days. And there were many months of struggle for the right to organise and bargain leading up to the strike.

The Great Depression was at its lowest point. It was during Franklin Roosevelt's first term. There was still very little in that period that resembled what is called the New Deal. The National Recovery Act (NRA) was based mainly on stimulating higher profits, on the old capitalist theory that workers would benefit from some trickle down.

After more than two years, the NRA, symbolised by a Blue Eagle, did raise profits. But conditions for workers became worse. A section in the NRA, titled Section 7A, promised the workers the right to organise and to collective bargaining. Soon, however, it became a legal stamp for recognition of company unions, an employer weapon for exclusion of legitimate unions or any real protection of rights on the job.

Waterfront employers on the West Coast seized upon Section 7A to legalise an outfit they set up in the post-war open shop period of the 1920s called the 'Blue Book' union. Job seekers were required to carry books certifying they were union-free and eligible for employment on the docks. In practice, it provided for a "shape up" system, in which longshoremen lined up when work was available and the hiring boss simply pointed to those he favoured. This made possible racial and other forms of discrimination, encouraged corruption such as pay-offs to hiring bosses, and promoted racketeering, which had already

GEORGE MORRIS of the *Daily World* recalls the 1934 San Francisco general strike

been common on the East Coast for years.

Thousands of longshoremen usually gathered along the Embarcadero on early foggy mornings, hopeful for a day's work. Many stayed on for hours, discussing, arguing, and exchanging bitter observations over waterfront conditions. Out of that massive bitterness developed a rank and file group headed by a young man the workers called 'Australian Harry'. They believed it was time to follow complaints with action. They started a mimeographed paper called the *Waterfront Worker*.

The *Western Worker*, a West Coast Communist paper of which I was then editor, enthusiastically supported the movement. Waterfront developments affecting both longshoremen and seamen were a major feature in our paper. Occasionally the rank-and-file group used our mimeograph machines.

Leadership

The movement grew, and the name

of its leader, Harry Bridges, was as highly revered among the workers as it was hated by the shipowners. A turning point of struggle was reached when hundreds of longshoremen made a bonfire of the Blue Books on the waterfront and began joining the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) in large numbers. San Francisco's organisation became the focal point of the coastwide struggle. Longshoremen from Seattle to Los Angeles looked to it for leadership and initiative.

More and more, however, it was the rank and file movement that became the real authority in the struggle. The appointed district leaders, their allegiance more to the New York ILA office bossed by Joe Ryan than to the workers, worked to accommodate the shipowners, in conflict with the Bridges forces.

After futile efforts to negotiate a meaningful agreement, the longshoremen bypassed the ILA's district leaders and named a committee of 75, headed by Bridges, to call a strike. One strike was called



Illustrations by Bits Hayden from *The Big Strike*

LABOUR HISTORY



off after mediation, but when further negotiations failed, a strike call was finally issued for May 9. On that morning the committee of 75 met on the second floor of a loft on Water Street. I was allowed into the meeting as editor of the *Western Worker*, at my request. I simply came to tell them that while they would surely face a united front of the press and all other strikebreaking forces, they could count on the *Western Worker* and should consider it *their* paper, to serve them in their struggle in any way possible. I also offered to assist in the publication of a 'baby' *Western Worker*, under editors they designated, to serve as an information bulletin. The committee accepted my offer, and two strikers were chosen to work with me on the 'baby'.

On the following day seamen, led by the left-led Marine Workers Industrial Union, also began to walk off ships. In time, they were joined by other seamen's unions, bringing the total number of strikers to 35,000, under a joint maritime committee.

Many longshoremen became acquainted with the *Western Worker* as a result of frequent distributions of the paper on the waterfront. As the struggle advanced, the paper was greeted more and more warmly. And my work with the strike representatives on the paper and its 'baby' was a most pleasurable experience.

Dirty tricks

There wasn't a dull moment during the long strike. The enemy tried

every trick, manoeuvre, lie, distortion and splitting tactic in the strikebreaking handbook.

Some of the most dangerous curves were thrown at the strikers by a handful in the ILA district bureaucracy. On at least two occasions the district bureaucrats reached agreements with the shipowners that were turned down by the members. Ryan, the dictatorial, reactionary ILA head, came to San Francisco and signed an agreement. When it was brought before a mass meeting of the strikers, he was booed out of the hall and had to escape through the back way. The strikers then voted that only their strike committee of 75 could negotiate with the shipowners.

There were two key demands on which the longshoremen refused to compromise: a rotary hiring hall and an end to the shapeup. Further, they refused to settle until the seamen, too, got an acceptable agreement.

Most remarkable was the coast-

wide unity that remained unshaken in the face of the intense red-baiting and the concentrated efforts to split the strikers or manoeuvre them into an arbitration deal.

William Green, then president of the American Federation of Labour (AFL), denounced the strike as 'unauthorised'. Andrew Furuseth, the head of the Seafarers Union, pleaded with the seamen not to tie themselves to the longshoremen. Federal mediators Secretary of Labour Frances Parkins, her assistant E. McGrady, rated as the expert on labour matters, and Gen. Hugh Johnson, head of the NRA came representing the Roosevelt Administration. They used threats and promises to convince the workers to end the strike. But they got nowhere: there wasn't a crack.

It was also apparent that the shipping interests were in no hurry for an agreement. Backed by the Coast's big business generally, they wanted to break the rank-and-file controlled ILA as well as the strike. They speculated that after a few weeks of hunger the ranks would crack. They also figured on recruiting students as scabs when colleges closed in June for summer recess. The employers stocked bedding, blankets and staple foods in preparation for the decisive stage.

'Red plots'

The Industrial Association, representing San Francisco's business, stepped up its drive in June, filling the air with fantasies of red plots and threats to start moving cargo with scabs. As tension increased, the police became more active. They aimed their violence



LABOUR HISTORY



and arrests at the seamen especially, believing they were more vulnerable to a split.

The Industrial Association planned several attempts to move cargo with scabs, only to postpone them. When they finally tried, on July 3, with the support of hundreds of police and the news media, which printed all kinds of scare headlines, they were met on the waterfront by more than 2,000 longshoremen. Fighting broke out, and many workers were arrested and injured.

Several trucks were loaded with bags of grain for a 'dry run' up Rincon Hill towards the Belt Rail Line, which connected all the docks. When the trucks reached Rincon Hill, longshoremen jabbed their balehooks into the sacks and tons of rice spilled onto the street. At the end of that bloody day, the Industrial Association announced it would complete the run on July 5.

On July 5 there was again a big mobilisation of longshoremen, and an even bigger police mobilisation. Governor Merriam ordered the state's 4,500 National Guards to be in readiness. Again fighting broke out. There were many injuries, some serious enough to require hospitalisation.

Bloody Thursday

There was a lull, and I went back to the office. I found to my surprise that Mike Quin, that journalist and satirist, had arrived from Los Angeles, finally taking up my standing invitation to come up and join our staff.

As we talked, the phone rang. Two long-shoremen had been shot

dead. Mike and I rushed to the strike headquarters at Steuart and Mission Streets, the scene of the killing. The bodies had already been removed. The blood-spattered area on the pavement was marked off with lines of roses and an inscription: 'Two men killed here, murdered by police.'

That day became known as Bloody Thursday.

The two dead men were Nick Bordoise, a devoted Communist and a member of the cooks' union who worked night and day in the strike kitchen, and Howard Sperry, a rank-and-file longshoreman. That evening 1,700 National Guardsmen, the first contingent, arrived. They were lined up along the Embarcadero, many on roofs, with machine guns cocked for action.

The funeral, held on July 9, was attended by over 40,000 people, and more than 20,000 people marched down Market Street in the procession.

After that, there was no doubt

that a general strike was imminent. The day after the funeral a meeting of 2,500 members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters voted overwhelmingly to strike July 11. That, in effect, signalled the start of a general strike, because the city's dependence on truck drivers was basic. The city's population took for granted a general strike was coming. Stores were mobbed by people stocking up on staple food products. Gas stations were getting drained off rapidly. A store specialising in cheese near our office was besieged.

Strike

The leaders of the San Francisco Central Labour Council had condemned the longshore strike, but could no longer ignore the sentiment in favour of it. Edward Vanderleue, its president, named a committee of seven, consisting entirely of opponents to a general strike, to 'investigate' the sentiment. The Communist Party of California issued a statement charging the committee was named not to investigate the general strike sentiment but to kill it. Following a conference of many of the city's local unions that voted for a general strike, the CLU officials had no recourse but to declare a general strike starting Monday, July 16.

That Monday, San Francisco was paralysed. With transit down, many non-union workers did not work and many non-union establishments were shut down. Neither buses nor cars were seen on four-track Market Street. An estimated 60,000 San Francisco union members struck and another 40,000 were out in



LABOUR HISTORY



Oakland.

But even on the first day the CLU officialdom exempted newspapers and many services from the strike. On the second day one of the transit systems was allowed to work, and many more exceptions were made. On the third day, the CLU staged a meeting of affiliated locals to sanction calling off the strike. It was approved, but by the close vote of 191 to 174.

The start of the general strike also signalled a stepped-up use of terror. Mayor Angelle Rossi supplemented Governor Merriam's National Guard forces of 4,500 men with 'vigilante' raids by his 'citizens' committee of 500.

They systematically marched to each of the Communist Party's four neighbourhood centres, smashing everything in sight and beating people they found in the offices. They did the same at the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's centre on Howard Street, and at the Worker School on Haight Street. They set fire to the privately-owned establishment where the *Western Worker* was printed, and the firemen finished the job of destroying it with water.

They finally raided the Communist Party and the *Western Worker* offices and bookshop on Grove Street, which faced the Civic Centre green and the City Hall, and smashed everything. They piled the books and furnishings on the green and staged a bonfire. One alert news reporter noticed in the fire the best-seller of the time, Sinclair Lewis's *It Can't Happen Here*. He snapped what became a historic photo of fascism, US-style.

As this was happening, I was in

the Western Union office around the corner sending a wire to the *Daily Worker*. The manager, concerned for my safety, suggested I use the back office.

Hundreds of workers active in the strike or suspected of being 'subversives' were arrested, many of them picked up in house raids, and thrown into jail on vagrancy charges or under the state's criminal syndicalism law. Jails were so crowded some inmates had to sleep on floors.

The decision by the Teamsters on July 20 to end their strike, the Embarcadero lined with National Guardsmen, and the city's press screaming against 'Communism' all prompted the longshoremen to vote to return to work. They agreed to return based on assurances of an end to discrimination, the right to have a union representative observe the dispatching of men from a joint hiring hall, and the firing of all scabs. The assurances were given pending a decision by an arbitration board of three.

The coastwide vote for return was 6,378 to 1,471. The 82 day strike ended July 31.

On October 10 the arbitrators announced their decision: a joint hiring hall, but with a union dispatcher; the five-day, 30-hour week in place of the old 48 hours; 95 cents an hour in place of the 85 cents, and \$1.40 overtime instead of \$1.25.

The aftermath

Although the general strike was scuttled by the CLU bureaucracy and the longshoremen's strike was termed 'lost' by the press, history showed they were both resounding

victories. The arbitration decision in the end was certainly far better than what was offered before the long, militant struggle and general strike.

The unity maintained throughout the struggle also won union recognition and contracts for the seamen in subsequent negotiations. Far from furthering the aim of the California employers to break the strike and weaken unionism generally, the settlement led to a strong upswing of unionism. The terms marked a new advance in shorter hours and a union influence in hiring. The wage was relatively high for its time. By no means least important was the pattern set for democratic unionism.

Especially significant historically, the West Coast struggle focused national attention on the impotence and failure of Section 7A of the NRA as a legal form for labour relations and recognition of real unions and meaningful collective bargaining. It was in the weeks following the West Coast strike that Senator Robert Wagner and a number of associates in Congress saw the necessity for a change and went to work for a new law — what became the Wagner Labour Relations Law enacted in July 1935, a major step for the real New Deal.

It took two more years of struggle to clear away legal attempts to prevent the validation of the Wagner Act. But by April 1937, after the second great historic struggle — the sitdown in General Motors plants which launched sweeping Congress of Industrial Organisations (CIO) organising drives — the Supreme Court validated the Wagner Act. The longshoremen and general strikes were also major pressures in the first stage of organising the CIO, dramatised in the John L. Lewis move and split at the AFL 1935 convention.

What happened to the much-attacked Communist Party of California? Soon after the strike most vagrancy cases and criminal syndicalism charges were beaten in the courts. The prestige of the Party grew tremendously because of its role in the 1933 agricultural strikes and the 1934 maritime struggles. Its membership grew substantially and rapidly, especially among workers.

WORK & CULTURE

INTOXICATING!

THE FACT that Rosc can please and entertain so many different types of people is remarkable considering that one man's Modern Art can often be another man's Load Of Old Rubbish.

Part of the reason for its success must lie in the wide variety of the works on display. Where else will you find an elephant assembled out of bits of car doors? Or a picture of an artist showing a picture to a group of excited teddy-bears? Or a creel of turf spread out on the floor in a sort of rustic parquet?

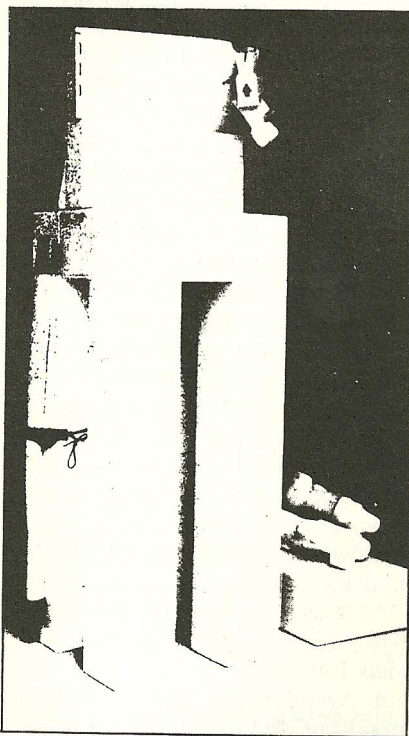
The immediate effect produced by many of the works is one of bafflement. What are we to make of Richard Long (born 1945, England) and his huge set of seven concentric circles of mud hand prints? Or his 'Dublin Line' — a long rectangle of stones stretching the length of the room? 'The heart of Long's work lies in its instinctive emotional and physical evocation of the natural world' says the catalogue. Fair enough.

And then there is 'The Vendor' by Irish artist Deborah Brown. Here we have four figures of papier-mâché: one figure (the vendor) demonstrating a yo-yo to three potential customers. 'The work is essentially an exploration of the nature of the material' (again, the catalogue).

Some works are more sombre. For example, the large sculpture-cum-painting by American Richard Morris which features a slow movement across its surface from recognisable human bodies to barely recognisable skeletal remains. Enough to bring to mind those photographs taken by the Allied forces when they entered the Nazi death-camps. Works like this can have a very dramatic effect on the

ROSC '84

EAMONN LYNKEY
samples the 'poetry of vision'
currently on view in Dublin



'Apparatus' by Tom Fitzgerald

viewer, while at the same not being very dramatic in themselves. Often they are the kind of thing one goes back to for a second look. Often they are the kind of thing one never forgets. Is this one definition of 'true' Art?

Also there is some very heavy metal on display. To be precise: 'corten steel with 9cm flange, 5 units each 12x30x50, over-all

120x305x350cm.' This item comes all the way from New York and doesn't look like it should be trifled with. The artist is Donald Judd and we are told that his work 'has an obsessive intensity and is stripped of both illusion and allusion'. A truer description you will not find.

But we should not allow the simplicity of Judd's work to blind us to the workmanship that went into it. This is true too of many other exhibits. Like, for example, 'apparatus' (Tom Fitzgerald, Ireland). White and stark. But notice the high polish on the marble and the careful holes drilled for the leatherwork.

So. Questions abound. Not least among them these three: Is it Art? Is it as good as previous Roscs? Is it worth the £2 admission (unwaged 50p)?

Well the answer to the first question is — go and judge for yourself. One of the great functions of Rosc every four years is to make a nonsense of distinctions drawn between art and work and craft. Remember too that much that is written about the visual arts is worth very little (except articles like this one, of course).

The answer to the second question can't be as glib, especially for those who can remember back to that Rosc where Roy Lichtenstein's strip-cartoon canvasses screamed from the walls. This Rosc seems tamer. But doesn't everything seem tamer as one grows older, as one becomes less susceptible to the 'shock of the new'?

As to the question whether it's worth £2 admission: Yes. It's still less than the price of two pints and it's far more intoxicating.

Speaking of pints, full marks must go to Guinness organisation



'Matador On A Stick' by Julian Schnabel

who made available the nineteenth century Hop Store for conversion to a permanent art gallery. Even if the place was empty it would be a treat to walk around and view the

wonderful ironwork, brickwork and woodwork newly scrubbed and painted and very much in the tradition of Rosc — evidence of the best that human eye and hand can

produce.

ROSC '84. The Guinness Hop Store, Rainsford Street, Dublin 8. 24 August — 17 November.

DRAMA ON SCREEN

TELEVISION DRAMA is likely to shift away from direct RTE control, and become more the creation of writer-directors who are capable and comfortable working with modern but simplified video equipment. This was the clear message at the end of the Irish Film Institute's fifth summer school held in July.

The week long series of discussions, film clips and lectures centred on the topic: 'Fictions, Factions and Soaps — the development of television drama'. With co-productions, international competition, authors who direct their own dramas, and a growing number of independent video studios the control and content of television plays is rapidly moving away from monolithic or established drama departments.

Irish Film Board chairman and Controller of RTE 1 TV, Muiris MacConghail outlined the competition which RTE faces and the changing conditions for drama production. He cited Brussels with sixteen TV channels available compared to the six in much of Ireland, and the influence of foreign programmes on local resources and decision-making. Canada is another country deeply penetrated by foreign television signals with 80 per cent of viewing devoted to US programmes and signals. This has placed the Canadian public service network under threat. Over-reliance on foreign products weakens a state's sovereignty.

Video

Just as film production changed with shifts in technology, making it easier to use outdoor locations, so technological changes, associated with video, and foreign signals will influence the selection of themes to provide TV drama. Muiris Mac Conghail also spoke of the need for new talent and felt that this was developing with the explosion in video, especially of music videos being made by small groups in different schools and colleges.

These changes will influence the topics selected for drama, and break

GERRY FLYNN reports on the prospects for television drama

down some of the barriers instituted by television over the years, such as fixed 48 minute slots to present drama. Already Channel 4 in Britain is getting away from such constraints and is using more material made by small independent production units such as the Belfast Media Workshop. He felt that changes may also influence presentation of the civil conflict in Northern Ireland which has been largely ignored by RTE not just because of the Section 31 restrictions, but because the audiences want to get away from Northern problems.

RTE producer, Eoghan Harris, who is currently rewriting a script entitled *A Million and a Half* for BBC 2, slammed RTE drama department's record asserting that drama should be shifted into the centre of life and not treated as a fringe luxury. It should be immediate and topical with only a

short time lag between news events and the screening as TV dramas. Citing the popular BBC series *Boys from the Blackstuff* as drama which was centre stage with insight and not in any way autonomous from its audience, he claimed that current affairs programmes and documentaries provide some of the best and more meaningful drama available on RTE.

'Political timidity'

Emphasising that drama exists within *Today Tonight* reports whether in the head-to-head confrontation of the election arena, or documentaries on drugs, travellers, unemployment or political parties, he claimed that the drama department does not provide this current drama immediately identifiable with by viewers.

Alleging that RTE is being 'screwed' by the government and suffering from a lack of interest in public service broadcasting, Eoghan Harris stated that RTE cannot afford to shift resources or fully consider internal debate on drama. He accused RTE of 'political timidity' over the years and a



Stock characters from the RTE Drama Department

willingness to bow to pressures from legal writs as well as being unwilling to alter scripts because of the dominating and traditional influence of a theatrical and literature element in the drama department.

He said that the rise of co-productions such as *The Year of the French* and *Caught in a Free State* had helped establish global contacts, but were based too much on nostalgia and created a culture within RTE whereby those not involved in making co-productions felt isolated and worthless. He called for a recognition of the Provisional Sinn Féin vote in recent elections which he felt reflected an 'anti-politician' attitude which should be dealt with by drama producers who 'need to be on the side of the people'.

Realities

RTE Head of Drama, Niall McCarthy, tried to place drama production in perspective, and revealed some of the financial realities and viewing ratings. He

spoke of four periods in RTE drama beginning with Hilton Edwards' stewardship in the early 60s when plays by foreign or deceased authors were simply transferred from the stage to a studio. From 1965 to 1971 drama by 51 living Irish authors were screened while 80 per cent of households had only RTE and both *The Riordans* and *Tolka Row* became longrunning popular drama series.

From 1972 to 1978 *The Riordans* grew in popularity with TAM ratings of about 65, leaving it just second to the *Late Late Show*. Other drama productions averaged TAM ratings of just 35 while more colour sets were purchased and multi-channel areas grew from Waterford to Sligo. Then for four years, from 1978, Louis Lentin, the Head of Drama, attempted plays of current interest and topics with serious content as well as the controversial series *The Spike* which was axed after a short run. Despite the current topics the average TAM ratings were just about 32 with only

Bracken (an off-shoot of *The Riordans*) getting 58.5 TAM ratings.

The last two years in drama have been dominated by financial restrictions with cutbacks proportionately heaviest in the drama department. Niall McCarthy stated that the department's policy by the end of 1981 was to concentrate on co-productions with other networks, and did not produce a single film drama as any money left from co-productions was devoted to *Glenroe* (son of *Bracken*).

Even now the average play attracts a TAM rating of 43 with the costly *Caught in a Free State* series only rating 42. *Glenroe* attracted ratings of 68. According to Niall McCarthy money for drama will not increase in RTE, and if drama is to survive it will have to depend on co-productions. Once the limited pool of traditional and historical material is used, he feels that co-production will turn towards fresh and original material reflecting topical issues.

'The Longest Day'

For at least a decade women in Europe have looked forward to 1984 as the year when sex discrimination would be finally removed from social welfare

But for women in Ireland the six years since the EEC directive have almost passed and the deadline for implementation — December 22nd — is starting to loom large... meanwhile what plans has the government to tackle the problem?

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Putting religion into politics

RELIGION AND THE NORTHERN IRELAND PROBLEM by John Hickey; Gill and Macmillan; IR£15

THIS WORK is something of a disappointment. It belongs to that category of books which has little to contribute in terms of original research and understanding, and relies instead on a rather jaded review of the literature. Much of it is taken up with a critique of Marxist work on the Ulster question, but the task is not carried out with much skill or even conviction.

It is also — considering that this is after all a book, and not say a hastily prepared lecture — rather casually constructed. The author does not consider any of the extensive writing of the Marxist authors he considers on the genesis of partition (as opposed to its working), though this is clearly relevant to the task he has set himself. It does not consider at all the work of the B. and I.C.O. which — however evaluated — is clearly also relevant to his project.

Hickey confines himself in fact to two works, *The Orange State* (1975) by Michael Farrell and *The State in Northern Ireland* (1979) by Bew, Gibbon and Patterson. Hickey finds aspects of both works 'impressive' but, somewhat amazingly, in view of the truly vast political and theoretical differences which separate them, he finds both books suffer from a common, basic flaw. The author writes: 'Why do they (catholic and protestant) not join forces and see where their common interests lie instead of confronting each other at the polls and on the streets? The answer from the Marxist viewpoint to these questions is encapsulated in the concept of "false consciousness". These people do not realise that they are being exploited by the capitalists and their cohorts. They have not yet come to the understanding that the millennium cannot be achieved and their full capacity as human beings realised until they have destroyed the people who are exploiting them.'

Yet Hickey is here knocking down a straw man of his own creation. The first chapter of the *State of Northern Ireland* explicitly rejects the notion of 'false consciousness'. In *Origins of Ulster Unionism*, Peter Gibbon (p145) explicit-

BOOKS

ly denies that Ulster Unionism emerged as 'a conspiracy of landed notables and industrialists to dupe the people' and so on, more or less endlessly. The achievement of Marxist writers in recent years has been to explore the role of class within Unionism and Nationalism in Ireland. There are weaknesses in this body of work, but it is well capable of surviving this rather feeble critique.

The rest of Hickey's book is thankfully rather better. There is some relatively interesting discussion of religion and some interesting tables. In arguing for the 'prime importance' of religion in the Northern Ireland conflict, he stresses the role of Paisleyism. Fair enough as far as it goes, but this leads him to describe the Ulster Protestant world view (p73) as being based on 'the importance of the individual's direct access to the Almighty — in contrast to the Roman Catholic doctrine of grace through the sacraments'. Yet as Paisley has himself acknowledged, he owes his success to the fact that many, many thousand Protestants who are indifferent to these questions, who never in his words 'darken the door' of a Church, are militant Unionists. The massive nature of Paisley's support is due not primarily to his theological positions but to the IRA, the disintegration of the Stormont system and most recently to the Forum — in other words, to politics.

Paul Bew

Problem child

AND I DON'T WANT TO LIVE THIS LIFE by Deborah Spungen; Corgi Books; UK£5.95

DEBORAH SPUNGEN tells the story of how she and her family coped with their 'problem' child, Nancy, who died at the hands of punk celebrity, Sid Vicious. In 1958 at twenty, Deborah Spungen was just married and at college studying languages out of which she hoped to make a career in foreign trade. Then she discovered she was pregnant...

'There were abortionists around but you didn't go to them — at least not if

you were a nice Jewish girl, which I was. And Frank, well, Frank was a nice Jewish boy... We never discussed an abortion. It simply wasn't an option.'

Nancy was, according to her mother, an 'angry and restless child'. A doctor prescribed liquid phenobarbital to make her sleep. She was only three months old. The dosage was increased with her years. She was also sent to psychiatrists and approved schools where she was introduced to hard drugs and early sex. According to Deborah she was the source of all their problems including a near break up with her husband, when they both embarked on affairs to 'console' themselves. One psychiatrist went so far as to suggest they might be in some way responsible for Nancy's behaviour.

'We were stunned. He was saying it was our fault that Nancy was the way she was. She was disturbed because we had a lousy marriage. Admittedly, ours had not been a perfect marriage. We had some problems.' This turns out to be the understatement of the whole book.

There is no doubt that Nancy was a very disturbed child. But the treatment she received from her doctors and the people closest to her had a lot to do with her behaviour and attitude to life. Nancy's 'life', (if it can be called that) story is not light reading, but it given an interesting insight into the lack of facilities for the treatment of disturbed children by American doctors and authorities in the 50's and 60's.

Blanaid Behan

Romantic to revolutionary

WILLIAM MORRIS NOW: Socialism by Design by Roger Simon; Communist Party of Great Britain; UK£1.00

THIS PAMPHLET provides an excellent introduction to the life and work of William Morris — 'one of the most creative and original English socialists.'

Morris was born in 1834 into a well-to-do family, attended public school and went on to Oxford University. His life's work embraced literature, arts and crafts and — perhaps most importantly — a search for alternative values to those that pervaded the society in which he lived. That search eventually led him to communism.

The starting point in Morris's odyssey

was the Romantic Movement; his greatest influences were Carlyle and Ruskin. It was Carlyle who denounced capitalism for reducing all human values to cash values, and this denunciation remained indelibly imprinted on Morris's consciousness. In later years he constantly reiterated that a society based on cash and self-interest was not a society at all, but a state of war.

On leaving Oxford, Morris was briefly apprenticed to an architect, but turned to painting under the influence of the leading Pre-Raphaelite, Dante Gabriel Rossetti. His dislike of Victorian furniture and decorations led Morris to design and make his own. This in turn led to the establishment of the famous Morris firm in 1862 which specialised in high quality furniture, textiles, wall-papers, carpets, as well as stained glass for churches.

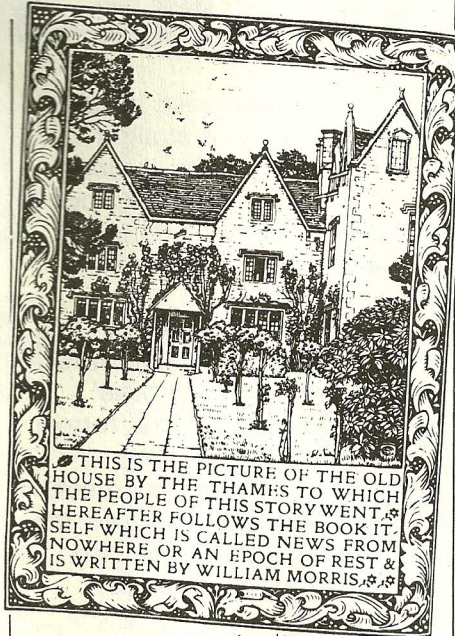
For the rest of his life, Morris was occupied in designing and making things. He became a talented craftsman as well as a designer, and mastered no fewer than twelve crafts. He produced some 600 designs during his life.

His work as a craftsman and designer led Morris to develop his views on art, believing that 'art is the expression of pleasure by man in his work'. As his views on art matured, his hostility to Victorian society grew for he saw it as a society which was not just anti-art, but anti-humanity. Morris's concern for humanity and his critique of Victorian values led him to join the Social Democratic Federation.

Despite his enthusiasm for socialism and his full acceptance of the basic principles of Marxism, Morris quickly became disenchanted with the dictatorial methods of H.M. Hyndman in running the S.D.F. In 1884, Morris and his supporters, who included Eleanor Marx and Edward Aveling, formed their own party, the Socialist League. Differences of strategy led to a further split in 1890, when Morris left to found the Hammersmith Socialist Society.

None of this, however, prevented Morris making a unique contribution to socialist thought. He attached great importance to education in creating a socialist consciousness. 'Socialism can only be won,' he wrote, by 'first, educating the people into desiring it, next, organising them into claiming it effectually.'

In pursuit of this aim, Morris became a prolific contributor to the Socialist League journal *Commonweal*. He lectured extensively on art and socialism, wrote two great socialist romances, *The Dream of John Ball* (1886) and *News from Nowhere* (1890), and, in verse, commemorated the Paris Commune in the long narrative poem, *The Pilgrims of*



Opening page from 'News from Nowhere' (above), and William Morris from the drawing by George Howard (below).

Hope. On January 5th 1896 in the Hammersmith Clubroom he delivered his last lecture on 'One Socialist Party'. On October 3rd he died.

Conventional Left wisdom has tended to dismiss William Morris as a utopian socialist, while the Labour Right claims him as one of their own. Yet his views on socialism echo those of Marx as expressed in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*: 'I call myself a communist and have no wish to qualify that word by joining any other to it. The aim of communism seems to me to be the complete equality of condition for all the people, and anything in a socialist direction which stops short of this is merely a compromise with the present condition of society; a halting place on the road to the goal.'

Morris's ideas and vision continue to be of assistance in illuminating the road ahead.

Paddy Gillan

Pulp

Finbarr O'Farrell

Christy Moore has been quoted recently as saying Gerry Adams is one of his heroes. To Gerry and Christy I dedicate this poem.

'drunkards,
sectarians,
lickspittles,
They strut around
so proudly
as peacocks.'
Mayakovsky

It seems
The baladeer's heroes
strike
a chord
With car-bombs

Picture this:
Shattering glass
severing
Once vibrant
limbs
Now pulp
smokey
Pulp

I record for future reference
Hanky

shoved in
mouth
to stop
the blood
From pouring out
The congealed blood
of the working class
My class
Is the balladeer listening?
Perhaps

next time
HE'LL
volunteer
to shovel them
Into plastic sacks

Next time Christy
don't forget
your shovel.

IFA ALL THE WAY!

Following consultations with the Irish Farmers' Association, Dr Garret FitzGarbled gave details of a major Cabinet reshuffle at a special session of the Dáil.

'The Government is delighted that Mr Joe Rea has agreed to join the Cabinet as Tanaiste and I would like to put on record my personal thanks to the former Tanaiste, Dick Spring, who unselfishly moved aside to facilitate Mr Rea. In the history of politics rarely has this country experienced such selfless dedication to the public good as that shown by Mr Spring who will now be attending Cabinet meetings as Minister Without Portfolio. I am confident that his new office will be marked by the same breadth of achievement as characterised his previous ministries in my Government.'

An Taoiseach Dr FitzGarbled went on to tell the Dáil that his address was an historic one. 'This is the last time that a leader of an Irish Government will address the representatives of (some of) the people in Leinster House. As and from the opening of the new session Parliament will be located at Bluebell in the historic premises formerly known as The Farm Centre.'

'I object most vigorously' interrupted the Leader of (some of) the Opposition, Charley Hawkeye. 'If there is to be a move out of Leinster House then why not to Kinsealy? I want to be near my work when you shower are thrown out' concluded Hawkeye to applause.

'I'm afraid that's not practicable for a number of reasons' replied Dr FitzGarbled. 'Firstly, most Fine Gael backbenchers are already out in the Farm Centre. Secondly, the IFA

has generously agreed to take Leinster House in a straight swap. This will mean, according to the Minister for Finance E T Dukes, a drastic reduction in the costs associated with Parliament.'

'I think the Government should give the IFA a grant for taking over Leinster House' squeaked Austin Dreary, former Minister for Agriculture.

'Quite' replied An Taoiseach. 'Oh! I should have informed the House that Joe Rea has also taken over the Agriculture Ministry.'

'But he always had it' protested Tomas Mac Giolla. 'What will he do now that's different?'

Mr Rea rose to make his maiden speech. 'I will put the Labour Party into intervention,' he snarled.

'What about a Land Tax?' persisted Mac Giolla.

'I would invite the deputy'

continued the new Tanaiste and Minister for Agriculture, 'to study the Government's Economic Plan which I approved before publication. There will most definitely be a tax on all non-agricultural land located in urban areas. Any city dweller whether tenant or owner who has a garden of less than one acre adjacent to his dwelling will now be subject to an additional tax which varies according to Section 5 sub-section H of the Chapter of the Economic Plan entitled "Land Tax". The deputy will note from that sub-section that should the owner/tenant engage in growing vegetables or any other commodity which could be deemed to be in competition with the farming community that he will be liable to a more punitive level of the same tax. In addition, if the Revenue Commissioners should have a reasonable suspicion that the occupier is using piped water for the purpose of artificially watering his vegetables then the separate water tax will be automatically doubled.

'Failure to comply with this tax may lead to seven years' imprisonment or confiscation of the property in question. Proceeds from the sale of such sequestered properties will go towards one or more political parties who will declare as their first National Aim the preservation of the Irish Farming Community as an untaxed class.'

An Tanaiste, Joe Rea, then left Leinster House for Government Buildings at the Farm Centre followed by An Taoiseach, Dr FitzGarbled, and the rest of the Government. They were greeted at Bluebell by the rest of the Fine Gael Party.



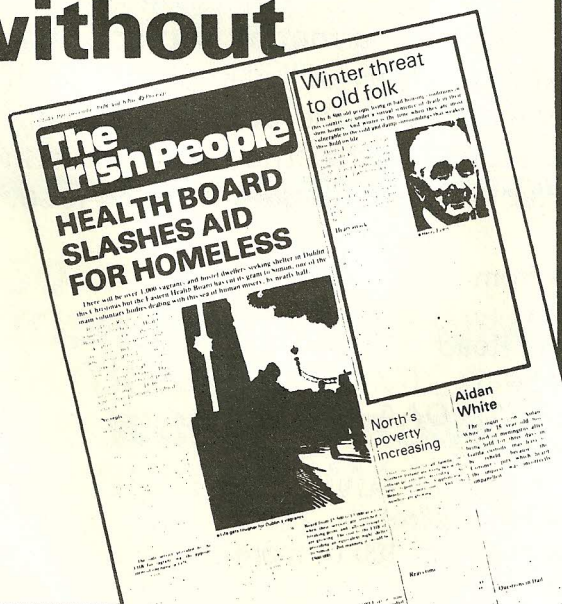
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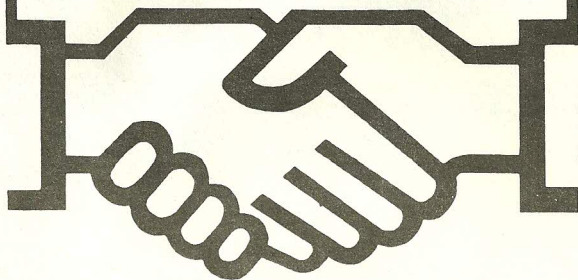


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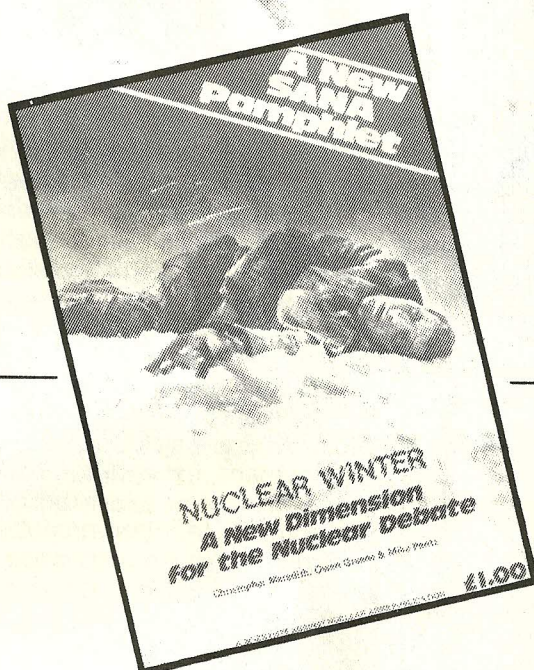
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This pamphlet is a further source of factual information and scientific assessment of nuclear winter predictions and their policy implications. It should be priority reading for everyone active in the peace movement and, above all, for every man and woman concerned with human survival and with the *right to know* exactly what dangers we now face.

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