

AN PHOBLACHT Republican News

IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING
POLITICAL WEEKLY



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FACING THE FUTURE

SINN FEIN came out of its 79th ard fheis last weekend re-invigorated, under new leadership, and with its eyes firmly fixed on the future.

It has declared itself firmly for an extensive political push forward in the twenty-six counties and a determined advance on its gains already achieved in the North.

Central to the party's strategy in the coming year will be the campaign in the EEC elections in June, and which coincide with the local elections in the South. With the decision to contest the EEC elections on an attendance basis, Sinn Fein is poised to make the final thrust against the SDLP in the North, replacing it as the majority nationalist party there.

At the same time, the local elections in the South and the EEC contest there, if decided on by the incoming ard comhairle, will be an early opportunity to go before the people there with credibility and begin a process of political action aimed at broadening the base of support for republican policies and building upon that base.

More immediately, Sinn Fein goes into next week's Dublin by-election with realistic optimism.

United and with the strength gained from its historic past, Sinn Fein faces the future with confidence.

Tiocfaidh ár lá.

**FULL ARD FHEIS REPORTS
ON PAGES 6 TO 11**



سین فین
آرد فیس
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● Sinn Féin's candidate in the Dublin Central by-election, Christy Burke, listens intently to one tenant's grievances whilst out canvassing with Gerry Adams MP.

WAR NEWS...WAR NEWS...WAR NEWS...WAR NEWS...WAR NEWS

PERJURY CHIEF SHOT

IN A DEMORALISING attack on the enemy on Tuesday night, November 15th, just before midnight, IRA Volunteers in Derry shot and seriously wounded the RUC's controller of the paid perjury operation in the city, Detective Inspector Derek Martindale.

In a statement after the attack, the IRA said:

"Martindale had spearheaded the RUC campaign against republicans in Derry for the past seven years.

"Most recently he had personally recruited Raymond Gilmour and Robert Quigley to act as hired per-

jurers against innocent Derrymen and women."

His importance was such that he had his own personal security escort to protect him and he is described by the IRA as "a key figure within the RUC senior ranks and for us is an important military and prestigious

target".

On Tuesday night, two heavily armed IRA active service units, involving almost a dozen Volunteers, were waiting for Martindale to leave Strand Road Barracks. Each ASU was positioned to cover the two separate routes which he might take on leaving.

The RUC detective inspector eventually drove out of the barracks, accompanied by an armoured Land Rover and an armoured car carrying four RUC men.

Less than 250 yards from the heavily fortified barracks, the convoy was

ambushed by five IRA Volunteers — two using M15 rifles, a third carrying a Ruger pistol and a fourth a sub-machine gun, while the fifth waited in a nearby commandeered car.

The Land Rover sped off at the outset of the attack and, as one Volunteer opened up on the armoured car, the other three Volunteers concentrated their fire on Martindale's vehicle. The RUC inspector was hit and very seriously injured.

The five IRA Volunteers successfully made their escape.

UDR major and RUC man killed

A UDR MAJOR was killed instantly on Monday night, November 14th, when a bomb exploded in his car outside the headquarters of Armagh District Council, of which he was chairperson.

The major, Charles Armstrong, was a leading member of the Orange and Black Institutions, and the Official Unionist Party, and had just left a council meeting.

Shortly before the bomb exploded, around 11.15pm, two IRA Volunteers, supported by several more armed Volunteers, crossed the open fields around the council headquarters and cut their way into a specially constructed compound in which councillors' cars are parked.

The compound, and the surrounding area, is well-lit with floodlights, and monitored by remote control cameras. The RUC regularly patrol the area and while the Volunteers were placing the device they could see the RUC close by.

Having placed the bomb, the Volunteers returned the way they had come.

On Thursday night last week, November 10th, the IRA in South Down extended the war against the crown forces into a part of the six counties which had not previously been the scene of armed action —

Annalong in the Mourne area.

Two IRA Volunteers burst into the Brackney home of a Catholic RUC Reservist, at around 9.30pm, and fired three shots, killing him instantly. The RUC man was based at the nearby Newcastle Barracks.

After the attack, the Volunteers escaped on a motorcycle and, in spite of an extensive search operation in the surrounding area, returned safely to base.

IRA DENIALS

IN A STATEMENT issued on Friday, November 11th, the IRA said:

"After carrying out a thorough investigation, the Irish Republican Army denies any involvement in the shooting of two gardai in the Roscommon area on Friday, November 4th."

And in a separate statement, the IRA's Tyrone Brigade has denied any involvement in several robberies which have taken place in the Coalisland area recently.



● The wreckage of UDR Major Charles Armstrong's car lies within the security compound which was penetrated by IRA Volunteers



● An IRA engineer prepares the mortars for Saturday's blitz

Carrickmore Barracks bombarded

IN ITS most impressive mortar-bomb attack to date, the IRA devastated Carrickmore RUC Barracks on Saturday evening last, November 12th, killing one RUC man and injuring 33 others.

Several armed IRA Volunteers of the Tyrone Brigade had earlier in the day commandeered a suitable heavy lorry in the Pomeroy area, driving it to a safe area where IRA engineers carefully loaded 10 mortar tubes, each containing a mortar bomb weighing 75lbs, of which

50lbs was explosives.

At the same time, other Volunteers carried out a series of checkpoints in the Cappagh area to protect the active service unit involved in commandeering the lorry and a car.

Shortly before the lorry was driven into position, 10 armed Volunteers moved into the immediate vicinity of the barracks to ensure the safety of the IRA Volunteers around the lorry and to protect against civilian injuries.

Each mortar was then manually fired and all 10 mortar bombs landed inside the barracks, destroying administrative and living accommodation, killing one RUC man and injuring 33 others, 20 of whom it was learned have serious hearing difficulty and six of whom are detained in the Tyrone County Hospital at Omagh.

After the attack, the IRA Volunteers removed the firing mechanism before leaving the scene, some by car and others across country.

In Cappagh, a five-person ASU operating a checkpoint as part of the back-up precautions were stopping cars and questioning drivers. As the mortar bombs exploded they fired shots in the air in an exuberant salute.

Sinn Fein support grows in Dublin poll-battle

BY JACK MADDEN

WITH LESS than a week to polling day, on Wednesday, November 23rd, in the Dublin Central by-election, it's all systems go for election workers supporting Sinn Fein candidate Christy Burke. Despite a late start to their campaign, the election team has virtually completed its first canvass and according to Sinn Fein's canvass co-ordinator, Denise Cregan, a second canvass will be fully completed before voting starts.

On Monday this week, Christy Burke was accompanied by Sinn Fein's new president, Gerry Adams, on a walkabout of flats complexes in the constituency. In Hardwicke Street, Sean McDermott Street and Sheriff Street flats, the West Belfast MP was welcomed and Burke was greeted affectionately by people who referred to him as 'one of our own'.

Everywhere the problems were the same: bad housing, unemployment and vandalism (the drug problem has obviously abated). At the end of the walkabout, Adams commented:

"It's exactly the same as Belfast, except that people here don't talk about the Brits and RUC."

Rent increases are also a major worry to voters and in outlying areas, such as Marino, the proposed CIE fares increase of 20% is a major issue.

WATER RATES

The widespread reaction against water rates has been used by a number of parties, including Labour, Fianna Fail and the Workers' Party, to garner support. Waiver forms, postponing payment on grounds of hardship, have been distributed throughout the constituency. In a statement, Christy Burke has warned:

"Filling out waiver forms is not



●The Sinn Fein candidate in Dublin Central, Christy Burke (centre), with his election agent, Tony Flaherty (left), and the Dublin High Sheriff, after lodging his nomination papers

a way out. Most people who do claim hardship will still be expected to pay their bills in the end.

"Sinn Fein is committed to supporting and working with the National Association of Tenants' Organisations (NATO) and other local tenants and residents groups in their campaigns against the introduction of water rates."

Commenting on the amount of work done by election workers to date, Denise Cregan, who last weekend was elected Sinn Fein general secretary, said:

"We have been inundated with people coming in off the streets asking can they help. In fact, the majority of workers in this campaign have not been Sinn Fein members."

"One problem we have been facing is that all the other parties, without exception, have been systematically tearing down our posters."

"On one night in Ballybough we posted three times and each time they were torn down. We have people coming in reporting that this has happened in various areas and that's how we find out who is responsible. In any case, we are getting new posters up again within the hour and will put up another 4,000 before the election."

By-election fund appeal

SINN FEIN are appealing for financial support to contest the Dublin Central by-election.

Donations should be sent to: Dublin Sinn Fein, 5 Blessington Street, Dublin 7; or Sinn Fein Dublin Central By-election Fund, A/C No. 56335758, Bank of Ireland, Dorset Street, Dublin 7.

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HARASSMENT

In separate press statements this week, the Sinn Fein election PRO, Aine Nic Murchadha, has highlighted both the bias of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act which denies Sinn Fein spokespersons access to the airwaves, even during elections, and the harassment of Sinn Fein election workers by the gardai. One election worker, Michael Seenan, publicity director for the Cabra area, was arrested and held for two hours while on canvass there with another election worker and had election posters confiscated. The statement adds:

"Meanwhile, Special Branch men are stopping our workers coming to and from our election headquarters at Blessington Street, asking them their names and addresses, and noting the numbers of all cars arriving outside our offices."

KILMICHAEL CONTRADICTIONS

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

THE CONTRADICTIONS in Free State attitudes to the national question have been underlined again by the controversy this week over the invitation to Sinn Fein's West Belfast MP and new president, Gerry Adams, to speak at the annual Kilmichael commemoration in Cork on Sunday, November 27th.

Con Cahalane, a member of the Fianna Fail party executive, has resigned from the organising committee because of their decision to invite Gerry Adams to speak, in case it might "embarrass the party".

The secretary of the Kilmichael committee, Donal MacGiolla Phoil, said, on Monday, November 14th, that Adams had been invited as an elected representative and that there was nothing unusual in the decision.

For the past few years, the Free State army has provided the firing party, made up of IRA veterans, with rifles and a security escort to protect the arms. The usual request has gone to the Free State army's Southern Command in Cork for their co-operation in providing weapons for the firing party, said MacGiolla Phoil.

David Ashe, of the Free State army's press office, said that the request would go through the 'normal channels', but if it was considered 'controversial' then it could be referred to the chief of staff of the Free State army, the Minister for Defence, or both.



●The Free State army commemorates those who died defending Britain's imperial interests, including those killed in the North — they won't, however, accord fallen IRA Volunteers of 1920 the same honour if Gerry Adams attends the ceremony

It is almost certain that the request will be refused, as gardai in Cork are rumoured to have advised the Free State army not to issue the guns for 'security reasons', and an instruction is expected to go from the Free State government to Collins Barracks in Cork, telling them not to participate in the commemoration in any way —

another obvious contrast to the Free State army's Poppy Day participation with the British Legion in Dublin last weekend.

AMBUSH

On November 28th 1920, three Volunteers — Michael McCarthy, Jim Sullivan and Pat Deasy — were killed during an am-

bush on a British patrol at Kilmichael, County Cork. Eighteen British soldiers died in the ambush, which was led by Tom Barry, the highest number of British soldiers killed in a single IRA operation until the ambush at Narrow Water, Warrenpoint, in August 1979, when the same number of Brits were killed.

Suspensions remain at paper mills

BY JACK MADDEN

IN A DRAMATIC move on Wednesday night this week, the hunger-strike by Brian Nolan and Miley Speight at Clondalkin Paper Mills ended following assurances by Free State Industry Minister John Bruton that the Industrial Development Authority (IDA) had reached 'agreement in principle' with a Canadian firm, FMI, that they would re-open the mills.

Bruton's announcement came in the course of a debate in Leinster House on a Fianna Fail motion calling for the re-opening of the mills and reportedly "left the house in silence".

This move, which has come as an obvious relief to the hunger-strikers after a fortnight without food, as well as to their families and co-workers who have fought against closure of the mills for two years, also means that a half-day work-stoppage planned by the Dublin Council of Trade Unions (DCTU) for today (Thursday), in solidarity with the Clondalkin workers,



● Brian Nolan and Miley Speight, the Clondalkin Paper Mills hunger-strikers has been cancelled. Although details of the proposed IDA/FMI agreement have not been released as we go to press, some grounds for concern have

already become apparent. Besides the fact that state ownership now seems a non-starter, the FMI agreement will not be implemented for another fortnight to allow IDA talks with an unnamed British firm to continue. It is then somewhat premature of Bruton to state that "the government has resolved the Clondalkin Mills problem".

EMPLOYMENT

Another area of concern are the levels of employment proposed in the plan, with only 35 to 40 people employed in paper conversion to start with. Asked whether full production and full employment will be restored to the mills, Bruton replied that it would have to be a "slimmed-down paper-making operation to be efficient".

Despite these reservations and the wait-and-see approach of the government it is already apparent that the long protest of the Clondalkin workforce and the hunger-strike of the past fortnight has been successful in highlighting the unacceptable price of redundancy.

But it is still too early to say for certain that the long Clondalkin confrontation has been satisfactorily resolved.

No hiding Dundalk housing faults

BY JACK MADDEN

IN A PANIC reaction to a High Court ruling last week, Dundalk Urban District Council sent workers to the Muirhevnamor housing estate in the town to camouflage serious structural faults in a number of houses by filling cracks with fibreglass and plaster.

Their action, which abruptly stopped when a press photographer reached the scene, was prompted by the ruling of Justice Murphy in a case involving structural damage to the home of James and Mary Coleman in the nearby Oaklands Park estate. Finding the council guilty of negligence, Justice Murphy has paved the way for thousands of families who are persuaded to enter house-purchase schemes in local authority areas, and who later detect structural damage to their homes, to claim compensation.

Unlike the Oaklands case, families in the Muirhevnamor area have not entered such purchase schemes, despite council pressure to do so. But because of structural faults in some of their houses are even worse than in Oaklands, with one terrace visibly sinking and cracking apart, the need for urgent rehousing is obvious.

According to Mary Duffy, Sinn Féin spokesperson in the area, as many as 100 of the 650 houses in

the estate are affected by varying degrees. Even so, she adds, the pressure on tenants to buy their homes continues:

"As one tenant told me, the rents are going up and it would be cheaper to purchase."

UNINHABITABLE

As in Oaklands, where the Colemans were only one of a number of families affected by structural damage, tenants in Muirhevnamor have watched as their homes sink, causing glass to crack in windows and leaving some rooms uninhabitable.

Indeed, so widespread is the problem in Dundalk that the council may be forced to take the case to the Supreme Court or accept legal advice which suggested that the council could possibly take court action against the professional bodies involved in the construction of these houses.

The risk of defeat in either action would be costly, given that the Coleman case has already cost



● Mary Duffy points to the serious structural faults in Dundalk houses

about £40,000. As long ago as 1977, when the Colemans were advised by Sinn Féin councillor Fra

this far, it will be difficult not to proceed now.

Although Muirhevnamor tenants could take legal action on grounds of inconvenience and general hardship, it is unlikely that they will do so, according to Fra Browne, who points out:

"Tenants are slower than purchasers in taking such a course which inevitably means a long battle."

CONSTRUCTION

The problem in Dundalk may go deeper (literally) than simply faulty construction methods, however, and two factors have together affected all housing programmes in the town.

The first is the existence of souterrains (cave-like channels) lying beneath the ground which weaken the sub-soil and are not sufficiently taken into account when laying foundations.

But a second problem, directly responsible for the weakening of house structures in Oaklands, is a natural phenomenon where unequal sub-soil drainage leaves the ground arid in dry weather. It was during the dry summer of 1976 that cracks began to affect the Colemans' home.

The question Fra Browne is asking is whether there are enough tests on the ground before houses are built and, if not, who is responsible? Until these questions are answered, legal action and costs against the council will increase.

Resistance to water rates

POPULAR RESISTANCE to the introduction of water rates by local authorities has become widespread throughout the twenty-six counties in recent weeks. In one action, illustrating the extent of public anger, residents of the Fettercairn estate in Tallaght, County Dublin, publicly burned 500 of the demands sent to their area by Dublin County Council outside their O'Connell Street offices.

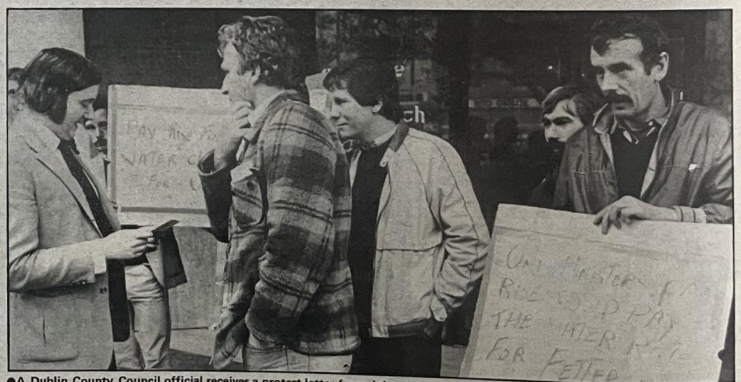
When bills of £30 were sent to each of the 750 houses in the estate the local Sinn Féin cumann immediately organised a non-payment campaign. According to spokesperson John Noonan:

"Of the 750 houses, we collected the bills from 500. Of the remainder all, bar two, had either destroyed or lost their bills. Only two paid."

Residents in the estate were totally behind any action which

Sinn Féin took in their campaign and it was decided that the public burning of the rates bills collected outside of the council offices on Friday last, November 11th, was the best way of "telling the council that on no account would the residents of the estate pay now, or ever, for water."

In the Killinarden area of Tallaght, where almost 1,700 homes are affected by the water rates demands, about 1,400 families are refusing to pay the bills. In a



● A Dublin County Council official receives a protest letter from John Noonan of Tallaght Sinn Féin prior to Fettercairn residents burning 500 water rates demands

similar campaign to that in Fettercairn, the bills were collected and are being returned unpaid to the council.

CAMPAIGNS

Other protests in the Ballymun area of Dublin and in Kerry, where Sinn Féin cumann in Tralee

and Killorglin are organising campaigns against the imposition of the rates, are making it increasingly difficult for local authorities to receive payment and the issue has proven so detrimental to the Coalition parties canvassing for support in the Dublin Central constituency that they have agreed to a 'stay' on

payment in this area until after the by-election.

Describing this move as a cynical "stay of execution" Sinn Féin has urged people in the area not to accept forms postponing payment as this would be an acceptance in principle that they would pay at a future date.

CHARGES DROPPED AGAINST PERJURY VICTIMS

SKELLY RETRACTS

CHARGES against 10 Belfast men were dropped in Crumlin Road Court-house on Monday, three days after William Skelly had retracted false statements he had previously signed against them under RUC pressure. The 10 had faced charges including killings, possession of firearms and IRA membership.

Skelly's retraction, following within a month of those of Robert Lean and Dungannon man Patrick McGurk, is being seen as yet another weakening blow to the RUC's paid-perjurer strategy, exposing once again the British government lie that such men are 'converted terrorists'.



● Relatives and friends meet the 10 men released after Skelly retracted his evidence



● Tuesday's press conference in West Belfast

Nine of the 10 cleared men appeared at a West Belfast press conference on Tuesday morning, organised by the Stop the Show Trials Committee. Also present was William Skelly's brother, Daniel, who told reporters that his 37-year-old brother is currently being held on 24-hour lock-up in the annexe of Crumlin Road Jail, where he has become the subject of continual RUC harassment. Daniel Skelly explained:

"At the moment, William is, really frightened, not of anyone outside but of the RUC. The police have been in there quite a lot and they won't leave him alone."

William Skelly, who has a previous history of giving himself up for offences he patently did not commit, was apparently not granted immunity from prosecution and is charged with the killing of an RUC man in an IRA rocket attack.

Referring to this, Daniel Skelly

told the press conference:

"The family is calling for his release as there is no evidence against him only his own, and he retracted that."

WEAKNESS

According to his family, William Skelly has a long history of psychiatric illness and it was this weakness that the RUC exploited in pressuring him into signing statements against men whose names the RUC supplied him with.

At Tuesday's press conference, 37-year-old New Barnsley man James Duffy, on behalf of all the men arrested on Skelly's statements, said:

"He implicated us through the harassment of the RUC. We hold nothing against him at all."

Another of those freed, 33-year-old Harry Maynes, revealed that during interrogations in Castlereagh last August, following his arrest, he was offered a large amount of money and a new identity with his family in another country in return for implicating Sinn Féin members, including Gerry Adams MP. He said:

"The RUC made it clear that

they would make a statement up, I would put my name to it and they would clear the streets of West Belfast, as they put it."

Maynes, a married man with three children aged 13, 11 and eight months, has been a frequent target, over the years, of Brit/RUC harassment, which has included, since 1981, 10 seven-day periods of interrogation in Castlereagh. Commenting on his latest, two-month, period of internment-by-remand, Maynes observed:

"This is just a step-up in the harassment I've been getting over the years from the RUC."

Closing the press conference, Maura McCrory, chairperson of the Stop the Show Trials Committee, who earlier had warned that all the freed men, by virtue of their arrest and subsequent media comment, are 'open to assassination' by loyalists, stated on behalf of the committee:

"We demand the immediate release of William Skelly and once again call upon all the legal profession, politicians, church figures and all fair-minded people to demand an end to the use of paid perjurers."

RUC bribe refused

A 35-YEAR-OLD man from the Dungannon area this week made public a continuing campaign by the RUC Special Branch to bribe and intimidate him into supplying information about Sinn Féin activities.

Tony Gildernew was arrested in mid-August from his English home under a Section 11 order and taken to Gough Barracks. In the course of three days' interrogation, a senior Special Branch officer showed Gildernew, a

former Sinn Féin member, £600 'in good faith' and repeatedly pressed him to rejoin Sinn Féin and supply the RUC with information on party members, their jobs and politics.

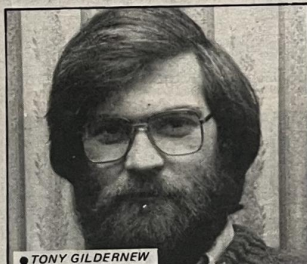
Father-of-five Gildernew, who had been having some financial difficulties, was offered £100 a week in return for regular information, being told:

"Anything particularly big on top of that will be a bonus."

After his release, the RUC man said they

would contact him by telephone, using the name 'Pat Devine', to arrange a meeting. In fact, since his release, Gildernew has received five calls from them.

Gildernew, who sensibly informed Sinn Féin of the RUC's offer immediately upon his release, but who had initially wanted to avoid media attention for the sake of his family, finally decided this week, in view of the RUC's persistent and intimidating attentions, that his safest course is to publicise the incident.



● TONY GILDERNEW

Tyrone youth assaulted

BY JANE PLUNKETT

A 17-YEAR-OLD County Tyrone youth on his way with friends to a weekend dance, suffered a black eye and other facial injuries when he was assaulted by a British soldier on Friday, November 11th, near Dungannon.

At around 10pm, Colm McNulty, of the townland of Galbally, and three friends, Paul Kelly (19), Sean Boman (17) and Mark Kelly (19), were stopped near Cappagh for 20 minutes. The youths were questioned, searched, along with their car, and verbally abused by mem-

bers of the Cheshire Regiment, which in recent weeks has considerably stepped up their harassment of local nationalists.

About an hour later, the four were stopped again by the same foot patrol, about 20 in number, on a dark road near Galbally. One Brit,

who on the first occasion had removed and examined money in Colm McNulty's pockets, arrogantly accosted them, saying:

"Well, did you spend your social security money tonight?"

Colm McNulty was singled out for particular abuse by him and told to leave the car. When he pointed out that the patrol knew their identity and where they were going, and objected to these bullying tactics, the Brit handed his rifle to another soldier and punched McNulty several times in the face, cracking a bone in his nose and

inflicting a black eye.

The other youths were also threatened by increasingly aggressive members of the Brit patrol, one of whom menacingly shoved the butt of his rifle against Paul Kelly's face.

The youths demanded that the RUC be called immediately to note the incident, but they failed to appear. The four were released after about 45 minutes and made complaints to the RUC in Dungannon naming McNulty's assailant. Predictably, however, no Brit has yet been charged with the assault.



● COLM MCNULTY

SINN FEIN ARD FHEIS 1983

BY JANE PLUNKETT

A MUCH-INCREASED awareness among Sinn Fein members of the importance of women's issues was evident at this year's ard fheis, with motions discussed under several sections of the agenda.

Many important resolutions focussed on the position of women within Sinn Fein, the progressive character of which won general approval.

The high level of interest was obvious when the topic was first raised early on Saturday morning, in an already crowded hall and with no signs of the 'rapid exit' of male delegates traditional at many political conferences during discussions on women's issues.

A crucial group of motions were passed by the ard fheis which commit Sinn Fein to a policy of positive discrimination towards its women members — in the selection of election candidates, advice centre staff, officer boards and ruling bodies. In particular, a successful motion from a Belfast cumann specified that in future no less than eight, i.e. one-quarter, of all ard comhairle seats shall be held by women.

Successful Dublin motions stressed the need to avoid typecasting women full-time party workers in traditional roles, as secretaries, book-keepers and receptionists, for example.

A motion passed during a later session, proposed by the ard comhairle, affirmed the special responsibility of male Sinn Fein members to organise childcare facilities, crucially backing up this principle by placing a practical duty on each cumann and comhairle ceantar "to organise childcare locally when national events (seminars, conferences) are organised to enable women to participate".

CLOSED

Delegates also voted, in recognition of the specific nature of women's opp-

Positive decisions on women's issues



● Assembled delegates to this year's Sinn Fein ard fheis

ression, to rename the Department of Women's Affairs simply as the Women's Department, and affirmed the right of women members of Sinn Fein to hold

closed meetings. As the motion's proposer, Rita O'Hare, pointed out: "Many women are excluded from political activity by their oppression.

These proposals must be seen not as excluding male comrades but as including women in the most positive way." Shortly afterwards, a somewhat con-

fused motion from Derry comhairle ceantar, arguing for a shift in Sinn Fein's activity on women's oppression towards joint discussion by men and women members on the establishment of equality within the Movement, was defeated after strong objections that it would water down Sinn Fein policy and abandon constructive work already begun by the Women's Department which, as many speakers emphasised, has been a positive focus for women in Sinn Fein.

A successful Ballymun resolution proposed that under a Sinn Fein government of Ireland, all relevant grants and pensions would be paid to women directly, "since women will be truly equal and seen to be, and not treated as just appendages of their husbands".

This year's ard fheis included yet another debate on the highly emotive issue of abortion. After a lengthy debate focussing largely on whether or not Sinn Fein as a political party should take a stance on the moral issue of abortion, an attempt by the same Ballymun cumann to have the sentence "We are totally opposed to abortion" deleted from the Sinn Fein policy document on women was defeated. However, the word "totally" was removed from the sentence.

ABORTION

The recent campaign against the amendment, on the issue of abortion, to the Free State constitution also came up for re-discussion. Sinn Fein members' frustration at being unable over the past year to participate in the campaign as a party, and their recognition that the issues at stake went deeper than Sinn Fein's non-recognition of the Free State constitution, resulted in the passing of a Dublin motion allowing Sinn Fein participation in any campaign to be determined in future by the aims of that campaign, rather than by whether it makes a reference to a constitutional issue.

And a successful related motion, from a Belfast cumann, proposed that in the event of any individual woman, group, family planning clinic or Well-Woman Centre being prosecuted as a result of the eighth amendment to the Free State constitution, Sinn Fein should take an active part in any resulting broad defence campaign.

CRITICISM AND SUPPORT FOR ICTU

THE ARD FHEIS discussion of trade union affairs concentrated on two long and important motions outlining strategies for advancing republican policies in the trade unions. An ard comhairle motion, highly critical of the ICTU's failure to provide "effective leadership as a distinct working-class organisation on social and economic matters or the national question", argued that to advance the interests of working people Congress must return to the policies of Connolly. The motion affirmed the need for Sinn Fein union members to fight for a republican position within the ICTU through open and non-opportunist work "with all progressive and national forces and individuals", on the basis of broad political agreement.

Proposing the successful motion, ard comhairle member Paddy Bolger pointed out that 65% of insured workers in Ireland are members of the ICTU, and stressed:

"Sinn Fein, as a serious revolutionary organisation, has to take its politics into the mass organisation of the working-class."

A broadly complementary motion from Derry comhairle ceantar was passed next, which called on the ard comhairle to launch a campaign amongst republicans and Irish trade unionists who support national independence with the aim of raising the North as an issue within the ICTU.

The motions proposer, Daisy Mules, head of Derry Sinn Fein's trade union department, who pointed out that the loyalist Northern Ireland Committee of the ICTU at present determines British Labour Party policy on Ireland, reminded delegates:

"As a result of the loyalists' numerical superiority in the gerrymandered



● DAISY MULES

six counties and the discrimination in jobs against Catholics, the Northern Ireland Committee embodies the loyalist veto."

A successful Ballymun (Dublin) mot-

ion proposed that Sinn Fein, through the trade union movement, should campaign for the abolition of the 1% levy on PAYE workers collected by the Free State government. And another Dublin motion that trade union members within Sinn Fein should become actively involved in setting up industrial action committees was also passed, though not before it prompted a word of caution from a supportive Paddy Bolger, who advised delegates:

"People should not think that we think that every industrial dispute can be settled by a sit-in."

During this section also, two motions were passed expressing support for the Ranks and Clondalkin workers.

CULTURE

THE IMPORTANCE of promoting the Irish language, succinctly termed by a Lagan Valley delegate as "another arm in the freedom struggle", was a recurring theme of the ard fheis, and during the debate on culture, on Sunday afternoon, delegates instructed Sinn Fein cumann to organise basic Irish language classes and decided that, in future, resolutions on the ard fheis clár will be inserted in both Irish and English.



● Newly-elected Sinn Fein vice-president Phil Flynn chats to Paddy Bolger, national organiser, as Rita O'Hare, head of the Women's Department, focusses her attention on the Mansion House audience



● Aine Nic Mhurchadha, head of Sinn Fein's Roinn An Chultuir during 1983

Due to lack of time, other motions in this section, including calls for Sinn Fein campaigns to increase Irish language coverage on radio and TV, and to extend the Gaelicisation of street and town signs

throughout Ireland, along with a motion from Portlaoise prisoners criticising the Free State's failure to give realistic grants to Irish language publications, could not be discussed.

SINN FEIN AND FHEIS 1983



● Francis Molloy, Danny Morrison, Tom Hartley and Paddy Bolger

A PARTY ON THE MOVE

BY KEVIN BURKE

LAST WEEKEND'S Sinn Fein ard fheis, with a harmonious change in leadership as well as significant decisions on electoral strategy, can be justly described as a milestone in the party's long and dramatic political history.

"We hand over the great Sinn Fein organisation to a new generation, more vigorous and more successful at the polls than at any time since 1918," said Ruairi O Bradaigh in the course of his address as outgoing president on Sunday. And perhaps the other most significant feature of the weekend was the decision, by the overwhelming majority of delegates at the ard fheis, to contest next year's EEC elections on an attendance basis.

The ard comhairle proposal that Sinn Fein contest on that basis "with an anti-imperialist policy of opposition to the EEC", was supplemented by other resolutions passed which decided that any successful candidates would attend the EEC assembly "under the guidance of the ard comhairle" and "with the declared intention of working for the disbandment of the EEC as a European capitalist power bloc".

CONTEST

There was general agreement that Sinn Fein should contest the EEC elections, but speakers who opposed the taking of seats argued that, although not against the letter of Sinn Fein's constitutional ban on taking seats in Leinster House, Westminster or Stormont, it was against the spirit. They also claimed that Sinn Fein's consistent total opposition to the EEC would be weakened by entering the assembly.

Other speakers, representing the majority opinion, argued that this was not so and Sinn Fein elected representatives from the North, including Danny Morrison, Martin McGuinness and Owen Carron, urged delegates not to tie the hands of the Sinn Fein challenger to John Hume in the North by an unne-

cessary abstentionist position.

"To fight the EEC election on an abstentionist basis would be madness," said McGuinness, "when it provides the best opportunity ever to beat the SDLP."

DISCUSSION

The Sinn Fein policy of abstentionism had earlier been the subject of lengthy, but largely restrained, debate when a motion was moved by the Galway comhairle ceantair seeking to reaffirm the ban on discussion of abstentionism as it stands in the constitution of Sinn Fein.

Proposing the motion, Matt O Bradaigh of Galway argued that anyone who wanted to discuss the abstentionist position of Sinn Fein should get out of the organisation.

Tom Hartley of Belfast, speaking against the motion, said that Sinn Fein's task was to build an open revolutionary party and that lack of discussion meant lack of understanding. There must be democracy now, not just a promise in the future.

Ruairi O Bradaigh stated that there is no point in discussing something unless you are going to do it. He said:

"Discussing going into Leinster House, Stormont or Westminster is

as foreign and as alien as that the IRA would sit down and discuss surrender of arms."

The motion was defeated by 180 votes to 140 and a further motion "that no aspect of the constitution and rules be closed to discussion" was passed by the wider margin of 208 votes to 98.

Another motion which sought the expulsion of members who advocated that Sinn Fein should register as a political party in the twenty-six counties was also soundly defeated.

The new confidence of delegates in declaring for open discussion was summed up by a Monaghan delegate, Brian MacDonald, who declared:

"It is strange that an organisation which complains so much about censorship would censor itself. There is a lot of talk about the Stalinist 'Stickies' but surely there is nothing more Stalinist than saying you can't talk about a subject."

PRINCIPLES

In another constitutional debate, the declaration that Sinn Fein based its objects on "Christian principles", was changed to read:

"Irish republican socialist principles in accordance with the Easter Proclamation of 1916 and the democratic programme of the First Dail in 1919."

An attempt to have Sinn Fein re-adopt the federal policy which had finally been rejected after a number of years of heated debate failed by a large majority, after a fairly short debate, with some of those who had favoured federalism putting the view that this was not the time, nor was there any point, in reviving the debate.

REASONS

In a statement to the ard fheis

NEW ARD COMHAIRLE

THE NEW Sinn Fein ard comhairle elected at last weekend's ard fheis is as follows:-

President: Gerry Adams; vice-presidents: Phil Flynn and John Joe McGirl; general secretaries: Denise Cregan and Brendan Swords; treasurers: Joe Cahill and Seamus McGarrigle; PRO: Danny Morrison.

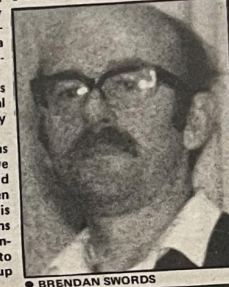
Also elected were:- Martin McGuinness (Derry), Paddy Bolger (Dublin), Rita O'Hare (Dublin), Tom Hartley (Belfast), Owen Carron (Fermanagh), Aine Nic Mhurchada (Dublin), Pat Doherty (Donegal), Martin Ferris (Kerry).

Twelve further members will be elected as regional representatives from the newly formed comhairli reigiun.

The ard comhairle also has the power to make up to five regular co-options and should there be less than eight women members at that stage it is obliged, following resolutions in favour of positive discrimination passed last weekend, to co-opt women to make up that number.



● DENISE CREGAN



● BRENDAN SWORDS

outlining the reasons for his not seeking re-election this year, Ruairi O Bradaigh said that the decision to reject federalism in 1982 — a policy with which he had been closely identified — had made his position untenable.

He continued:

"Then during the past year I was defeated in ard comhairle sub-committees and on the ard comhairle itself on important policy questions. I opposed Sinn Fein candidates participating in the EEC assembly if elected next year."

"I also opposed a commitment in principle to contesting all parliamentary elections in the twenty-six counties whether the time was opportune from a republican viewpoint or not. On these two questions I was beaten. My paper on the effects on our political strategy in the twenty-six counties of Sinn Fein's abstention policy was rejected by the sub-committee in question."

"I would emphasise that I consider the public credibility of the office of president, and through it of the entire Movement, to be of

paramount importance. Such credibility was seriously impaired with the defeat of policies which I wholeheartedly believed in and had publicly espoused over a long period of time."

"I am very proud of two things. Firstly, I regard the period of 1969-83 as having marked a high point on the graph of the Irish people's struggle for freedom, ranking alongside the 1798 Rising, the Land War of 1879-82 and the 1916-23 period. Secondly, during my 14 years as head of Sinn Fein there were no splits or splinters — long may it remain so, as it will, provided we stick to basic principles."

In a similar statement, outgoing vice-president Daithi O Connail told delegates that he had considered the dropping of federalism to be a major mistake and that he felt the office of vice-president had become merely a titular one, with the party leadership not reflecting the organisation as a whole.

He added that he intended to continue to serve the party as a rank and file member.



● Ann and Eileen Gillespie, who were released in August after serving 9½ years in English jails, with their mother at the Sinn Fein ard fheis

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

'Armed struggle necessary form of resistance in the six counties against a government whose presence is rejected by the vast majority of Irish people' — Adams

EIT would be fitting and appropriate for me to take this opportunity to make a few personal observations regarding my election as president of Sinn Féin.

When I heard of Ruairi's reluctance to stand for re-election and when my associates commenced lobbying me to stand for the leadership position it will come as no surprise to many of you to learn that I was extremely reluctant to let my name go forward. My reluctance does not stem from any false sense of modesty but from what I believe are practical problems coupled with some personal reservations. I already have a heavy workload and feel that the leader of this party, at its present stage of development, needs to be able to give the many tasks facing us, his or her undivided attention. The emphasis needs to be upon the 26 counties and thus I would have a preference for a leader who was based in this area.

My election as president has, as is to be expected, led to media speculation of a 'Northern takeover' or domination of Sinn Féin and to quiet little rumours that I am about to lead you into Leinster House. My election means neither of these things. There is, of course, as is natural given the nature of our struggle until now, a predominance of Sinn Féin people from the six counties in the public eye, but we are not a Northern nor a Southern party. We are an Irish republican party organised throughout Ireland, and we are the only party with a membership in all thirty-two counties.

On the question of Leinster House: we are an abstentionist party; it is not my intention to advocate a change in this situation. The retention or rejection of this policy, as with all others, lies with the Irish people and I am happy to abide by party policy on this issue, as on any issue.

I would like to state that I consider it to be a great honour to serve Sinn Féin in the capacity of president and a personal honour to be chosen to fill a position which was administered for so long by Ruairi O Bradaigh. I am sorry, on a personal as well as on a fraternal level, that Ruairi is standing down. I am also sorry that another comrade for a long time associated with the leadership of this party, Daithi O Conaill, has chosen not to stand for re-election. On behalf of this and the Irish people, I would like to extend our appreciation to them both and to Cathleen Knowles who, as our outgoing general-secretary, performed the often thankless tasks associated with that post.

It is my intention to outline, in general terms, the course we have taken over the last few years and particularly the development of Sinn Féin since the mid and late '70s.

That was the period when for many reasons — historical and otherwise — anti-imperialist politics and the struggle for Irish independence had become, to a large extent, isolated and restricted to its active base. There was unconscious slipping into 'spectator politics' whereby many people who had previously been involved in the struggle during the years when the base was broader and, at least in the six counties, when it had some of the clear manifestations of a mass struggle, were pushed to the sidelines. An analysis of how this happened, or why it happened, is beyond the scope of this address and, anyway, I have, on other occasions, advanced my views on this subject. What is important is that a realisation at that time that the 'situation needed a clear and critical reappraisal led to the conscious re-orientation of Sinn Féin towards an electoral strategy and the orientation of our policies towards the radical roots of our republican ideology.

This process was accelerated by the sacrifices of the political prisoners, by the efforts of the hunger-strikers, by the self-inflicted inaction and at times hostility of the Irish establishment, and by the obvious intransigence of the British government. It became clear to many that it was no longer sufficient to be passive supporters of the IRA and more and more people realised that, insofar as the IRA had established a military alternative to the British war machine, that they, as republicans or republican supporters, had a duty and a responsibility to establish alternatives to all the other facets of British involvement on this island. Sinn Féin, with its increased and growing membership, began to develop attitudes towards and alternatives to the social, political, economic and cultural aspects of British rule in the six counties. The results of this work are clearly evident in our dramatic electoral successes over the past year and in the high morale of our supporters.

We have broadened our struggle

and we must continue to broaden it so that our party can become the focal point for all those who suffer under British rule. That suffering is not restricted to the victims of direct British military involvement. Linked with the victims of plastic bullet murders, or show trial and hired perjurer strategies, or the victims of shoot-to-kill policies, are the victims of a decadent social and economic system which is geared not in Irish interests but in the interests of foreign and native capitalists or in the military and strategic interests of a British government and its super-power allies.

Thus we have 21.5% of the six-county workforce unemployed — a grand official total of 119,843, excluding those over 60 and young people on schemes which are thinly disguised as youth opportunity projects.

We also have more people existing below the poverty level than in any equivalent area in these islands and we 'enjoy' the worst housing conditions in Western Europe. With the highest infant mortality rate in Europe, a growing youth population, and a high proportion of old and disabled, we are ill-equipped to survive the ravages of British government cuts in health and social services. In the welfare state, in education and in housing. With lower wages for those lucky to find employment and a higher cost of living than any other part of the so-called United Kingdom, those of us from the six counties pay a high price for the dubious privilege of enforced British citizenship.

As was obvious, Sinn Féin's gains, and the potential for further gains, have not been sufficient to move the British government. We never said or thought it would. There is no magic formula nor short-cut in the struggle we have been forced into. On the contrary, there is only patient, well-planned and sometimes mundane work which will in time create an irreversible thrust towards independence and the restoration of an Irish democracy.

I would like to take this opportunity to appeal to those Protestant people in the six counties who have justifiable, if misguided, fears about their future in an independent Ireland. I know the leaders of loyalism will dismiss my appeal, as will even the leaders of the SDLP, but nonetheless I direct a sincere appeal to working-class Protestant people who have been badly served and misled by these same leaders over the years.

As an Irish democrat and a separatist, I am opposed to the so-called unionist veto, but there is a clear distinction between the alleged 'right' of Northern loyalists to the union with Britain and their right, with the rest of us, to shape the new society which

would replace the partitionist statelets into which this island is unjustly and forcibly divided at present. We stand for the fundamental principle that the British connection, the British presence, partition and the so-called unionist veto are denials, in themselves, of the democratic wishes of the Irish people and an encroachment upon our right as a nation to national self-determination and sovereignty. They are obstacles to peace. We do not seek mere territorial re-unification or the merging of the six and twenty-six county statelets. We seek the unity of all our people in an independent Irish democracy shaped by all its citizens to fulfil their needs. We, as republicans, have a decided preference that this society should be a democratic socialist republic, but we accept that, in a post-British withdrawal situation with Irish democracy restored, we will be bound by the democratic wishes of the Irish people.

The Protestant people have as much right to a full and equal involvement in this process as any other section of the Irish people and will, for the first time since the Act of Union, have the opportunity to play a full part, with the citizenship which is denied them now under British rule, in the shaping of the future of this island.

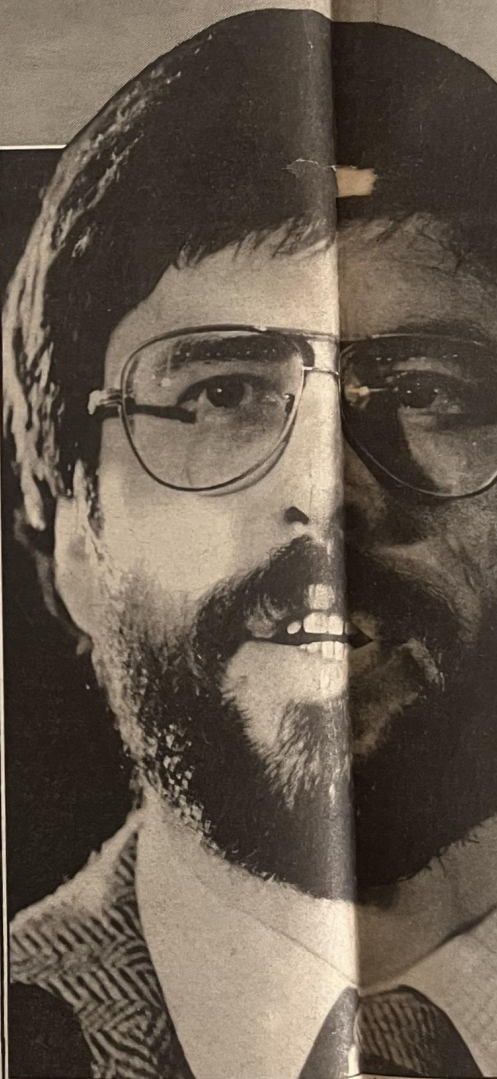
Political Protestantism is based partly on the fear that Irish 'Home Rule is Rome Rule'. Protestants need to be reminded that the Catholic Hierarchy has seen fit to attack Sinn Féin more often this past year than it has ever attacked rabid anti-Catholic demagogues such as Ian Paisley.

Republicans do not seek a sectarian state. On the contrary, we seek a secular, or at least a pluralist, society. We in Sinn Féin remember with pride that our republicanism grew from the separatist roots of the mainly Presbyterian United Irishmen. They are as much your heritage as ours and much more our common legacy than the Siege of Derry or the Battle of the Boyne. We have, despite the imposed divisions, tragedy and suffering of the last 60 years, more to unite us than to divide us.

We offer nothing but equality. We ask nothing for ourselves but equality.

In the twenty-six counties, Sinn Féin is associated in people's minds primarily with its position in regard to the North. In that regard it is known without question for its consistent, unequivocal and unapologetic position that Britain has no place in this country and that the Irish people are more than capable of settling their own affairs without foreign interference.

At times of heightened nationalist



awareness, in prison crises and in the wake of British atrocity, Sinn Féin in the South has shown the ability to mobilise on an impressive scale. The extent of this was seen most recently in the electoral significance of the H-Block hunger-strike, but outside of its nationalist policy Sinn Féin has, to a great extent, been isolated in the twenty-six counties and, because of our almost exclusive con-

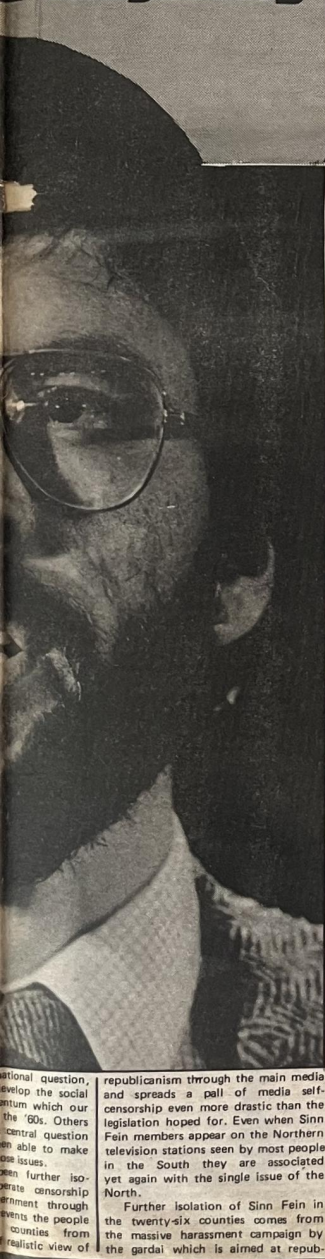
centration on the national question, we have failed to develop the social and economic momentum which our party began during the '60s. Others who abandoned the central question of partition have been able to make political capital of these issues.

Sinn Féin has been further isolated by the moderate conservatism of the Dublin government through Section 31 which prevents the people of the twenty-six counties from forming any kind of realistic view of the

SINN FEIN AND THE 1980s

SINN FEIN AND THE 1980s

Struggle is a resistance government majority



lians and their supporters, and in particular the systematic intimidation of new members and young people, to restrict organisational expansion.

The restrictive relevance of Sinn Féin to the public mind in the South has also come from our policy of taking a position on the sidelines of everyday Free State politics. Between 1961 and 1982 we took no part in general elections, whilst the vast majority of the people in the twenty-six counties, long accepting the institutions of this partitionist state, even though prepared to criticise them severely, voted for the establishment parties, seeing and thinking of their politics in electoral terms. Our electoral intervention in the South in the aftermath of the hunger-strike was more of an effort to hang on to the H-Block nationalist vote than a planned or well thought-out policy on the progress possible on electoral politics. In that election of February, 1982 Sinn Féin held half the H-Block vote and did not enter the Free State general elections in the following November, but that vote did show an encouraging base of support on which Sinn Féin has the ability to build in the long-term.

All this, however, does not mean that we have not been developing our policies outside of the nationalist question. In recent years we have been updating, revising and extending our radical proposals on wide and varied issues of economic, social and cultural importance. But the publication of these in policy documents, relevant both North and South, is obviously a process which needs continuing attention and detailed consideration and development. Most importantly, this party has to let it be known that we have these radical policies, particularly in the South, to explain them and to gain support for them.

THE twenty-six county state, partitioned to suit British interests and to protect British interests with an economy of British life, for all its constitutional declarations, failed to establish an ability to act independently in the interest of its people. The potential social and economic revolution that could have followed the nationalist upheaval of the 1916-21 period was successfully blocked by the partition of the country and the creation of a state controlled by the native beneficiaries of the capitalist system.

The centrality of partition to the maintenance of that evil social and economic system is not alone highlighted by constant republican rhetoric, nor indeed by the level of repression in the North, but most importantly, perhaps, by the millions of pounds which the Free State government is willing to invest in collaboration in order to maintain partition. The figures recently released by the Dublin Forum estimate the cost to the Free State of maintaining partition over the last 14 years to be £2,300 million. How much in the same period was spent in attempting to end partition?

The nature of the neo-colonial state also dictates that it is impossible to foster the true national or independent spirit in the twenty-six counties because the only possible progression of that is a determined effort to actually achieve the primary national demand, the very unity of the country. Thus, the separate Irish culture which does exist, is allowed to wither and is starved of vital encouragement at every level. The so-called first language of the Free State is denigrated and ignored while a mid-Atlantic pseudo-culture is transposed over any independence or sense of Irish culture.

In the economic area the Free State also lacks the will to pursue an independent course. Having thrown itself open to the multinationals with the most abject pleas and attractions of fiscal allurements, the Free State entered the EEC on the coattails of Britain. The people of the Free State are now reaping the whirlwind. The multinationals have followed a predictable pattern, using up their benefits, pulling natural resources, and then pulling out for pastures new, leaving jobless and demoralised communities behind them. The EEC experience has seen this process accelerated with control of economic and social decisions passing to Brussels, where the big partners reign supreme and with the total collapse of native industries unprotected in any way

from the price-fixing or dumping tactics of the mass producers. Agriculture, which was to be the golden miracle of EEC entry, has foundered. Money may have gone in large quantities into the pockets of the few hundred big ranchers, but the twenty-six counties is not allowed the independence to process its own food in a socialist agricultural state. It has so little control over its own economic destiny that its farming sector is in such chaos that it not only cannot feed itself but has potatoes as one of the largest Irish food imports.

How far have we come in this so-called independent state? Not even a potato republic!

The social system which exists amidst all of this is one which has as its values the alien values of capitalism. So the 196,309 official jobs, up again this month by 3,070, are not allowed to get to work building homes or hospitals or providing education or supplying health services but must stand idle on the dole queues whilst one third of the population lives below the poverty level in need of all these basic social rights and plagued by such symptoms of that poverty as drug abuse and vandalism.

Also in the social context, useless Victorian notions imported and accepted a century ago as economic and social controls of the subject nation remain enshrined in conservative confessional brainwashing which inhibits the natural spirit of the Irish people. The disavowment of economic rights, the question of divorce and marital breakdown, the invidious social distinctions which surround the question of illegitimacy, one-parent families and so on, are questions which should be mature enough as a people to decide and settle for ourselves, without fear of crozier waving in the background and without pretending that such problems cannot exist in Ireland. But the absence of any real independence encroaches on all aspects of life in the twenty-six counties, because of the very nature of the partitioned dependent state and the very nature of its dependent client-economic system.

What hope then have the people of the twenty-six counties who are faced with Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee parties as alternative governments? They have seen each fail to deliver the only promise which a capitalist system has to offer the workers, whether urban worker or rural small farmer, that a rising tide will lift all boats. That has proved totally unbelievable prospect in recent years. Even as unemployment continues to creep up, and even as public spending is throttled to the tune of 500 million pounds, the political preachers of financial belt-tightening and monetarist rectitude cynically awarded themselves salary increases of 19% to cushion their already-cushioned and luxuriously pampered lifestyles. Shonism is thriving, slave-masters are alive and well dressed in pin-stripe suits.

At the same time, workers at Clondalkin Paper Mills are thrown out of jobs, cheated by false promises and forced to take the terrible and ultimate form of protest — the hunger-strike. Workers such as those at Ranks doggedly attempt to stem the tide of redundancy, and vital centres of work around the twenty-six counties, like Dunlop's in Cork or the Snia factory in Sligo, dose with immeasurable damage to local communities but with hardly a shrug from those responsible.

IF all this is the case then some may wonder why the people have not risen up in revolutionary fervour to overthrow the system which enslaves them. The reality is, of course, that things are bad enough without taking a mass plunge in the dark, and this situation will remain unchanged until a credible alternative emerges.

There is a duty, therefore, on those of us who are striving to build such a radical and revolutionary alternative to put those policies before the people in the clearest and most understandable terms to win support and confidence for the logic of the socialist alternative republicans offer. If Sinn Féin stands on the sidelines, separate from the isolated groups of people, it cannot hope to attract support for what looks like a vague utopian image of some perfect Eire Nua of the future. The solution is for Sinn Féin to get among the people in the basic ways which the people accept. This

means new approaches and difficult, and perhaps risky, political positions have to be faced up to by us.

First of all, self-inflicted isolation must be ended in a determined and planned fashion. Internally this means reconstruction of the organisation to achieve maximum efficiency at present membership levels coupled with the ability to successfully attract and absorb a new and expanded membership in the future.

At a practical level it means shaking up and extending the Sinn Féin publicity machine in Dublin and providing it with the resources necessary for a serious political party. It means providing the proper research and back-up facilities for policy creation and expansion. At a working level it means that Sinn Féin's policies are not just pleasant aims for some future hoped-for united Ireland but are tough practical policies which will give leadership now and persuade results even in the present partitionist state.

Sinn Féin members have to get stuck in whether through separate political campaigning, advice centre services or full involvement in existing trade unions, tenants' groups, curatorial bodies or other agitational associations, always promoting the republican viewpoint in the context of the particular aims. At another political level we must make it clear at all times where the present system is wrong and what the alternative suggested by us would mean in practice.

The Sinn Féin political analysis of partition as the primary block to Ireland's social, economic and cultural progress and Sinn Féin's acknowledgement of the legitimate use of armed struggle to remove the British occupation forces from the six counties must be presented in its clear and historic support for national sovereignty.

It also needs to be made clear that republicans are not interested in armed struggle in a twenty-six county context aimed at the takeover of the state.

Sinn Féin has an obligation to move as close as possible to the political understanding of the people we would represent and that means to come before it in a way that is commonly comprehended. A planned offensive at the ballot box, accepting the support that exists already and building on that in the future, must be seriously examined as part of that overall political strategy. This means that a detailed examination is necessary of all the problems of such an electoral strategy in a twenty-six county context. Full use must be made of the opportunities presented by the forthcoming local government elections.

THE concentration of Sinn Féin work on the ground and in policy development against the economic, social and cultural dependency of the Free State as well as against the openly partitionist collaboration must have as its aim the creation of a totally new system in a united democratic socialist republic. That new system includes democratic institutions of government with direct and realistic popular control and participation. It means a planned economy which is controlled by its workers, which can set its own aims and divide its own wealth with justice and equality, an independent economy which can exploit and develop its own extensive natural resources, process its own food and feed its own people. An economy serving not the profiteer but the people, providing work for all, along with the satisfaction of the social needs of all.

The social system would be one in which the eradication of poverty and inequality is the first and overriding aim and its people would have the independence of mind to resolve in a mature fashion the problems of social injustice and deprivation of civil liberties which burden the present-day society. The new republic would also provide the conditions for the development of a living, useful independent Irish culture unrestricted by the need to preserve what is left of traditional culture or to flow as our people wish. The Ireland envisaged by Sinn Féin, an Ireland with a policy of absolute neutrality as the cornerstone of its foreign policy, is in so many respects the reversal of the

partitioned island people North and South suffer today. It cannot be achieved by idealistic talk alone but can only be achieved by determined, courageous and practical action.

On the question of culture, I would ask everyone here to do their utmost to educate themselves and to do their best to learn our own language. While individual effort will not rectify what is the legacy of the partition and the unresolved national question, and while such effort cannot reverse the Dublin sell-out on the language question, we cannot, as a party, call or struggle for an Ireland 'ní hé anáin Gaelach ach saor, ní hé anáin saor ach Gaelach' if we ourselves speak only English, 'b'Féarr Gaelige briste ná Bearla cliste' — 'Better broken Irish than clever English'. If you have Irish, no matter how little or how poor, use it.

Iwould like to elaborate on Sinn Féin's attitude to armed struggle. Armed struggle is a necessary and morally correct form of resistance in the six counties against government whose presence is rejected by the vast majority of Irish people.

In defending and supporting the right of the Irish people to engage in armed struggle it is important for those so engaged to be aware of the constant need and obligation they have to continuously examine their tactics and strategies. Revolutionary force — and this excludes sectarian violence — must be controlled and disciplined so that it is clearly seen as a symbol of our people's resistance.

There are those who tell us that the British government will not be moved by armed struggle. As has been said before, the history of Ireland and of British colonial involvement throughout the world tells us that they will not be moved by anything else. I am glad therefore of the opportunity to pay tribute to the freedom-fighters — the men and women Volunteers of the IRA.

In conclusion, I would like to quote from James Connolly and a critical piece he wrote, *Sinn Féin and Socialism*. He was, of course, referring to an organisation politically, and in its social composition, totally different from our party today. Nonetheless I think his general opening remarks are equally pertinent now:

"Sinn Féin. That is a good name for the new Irish movement of which we hear so much nowadays. Sinn Féin, or in English, 'Ourselves'."

"It is a good name and a good motto. The first essential of any party, or of any movement, is that it should believe it carries within its own bosom all the material requisite to achieve its destiny. The moment any organisation ceases to believe in the sufficiency of its own powers, the moment its membership begins to put their trust in powers not their own, in that moment that party or that organisation enters into its decline."

As a party which is on the move, as a party which has made, is making and will continue to make gains, I believe the clear lesson spelt out by Connolly is one we should always keep to the forefront in the days ahead as we expand our membership, broaden and consolidate our base, and develop our policies.

Furthermore I believe we should also be mindful of Connolly's clear understanding of the need for republicans, socialists and progressive nationalists to find unity on democratic republican demands. We must be mindful of the dangers of ultra-leftism and remember at all times that while our struggle has a major social and economic content the securing of Irish independence is a prerequisite for the advance to a socialist republicanism. Therefore, because we are the guardians and the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland, republicans have a duty to beware of any tendencies which would narrow our demands and our base. This is true not only of forces outside our movement but also of tendencies within our party. We must strive therefore to ensure that each and every one of us has the opportunity to play whatever role our commitment, political perception or circumstances permit.

SINN FEIN ARD FHEIS 1983

DELEGATES from many countries and representing political, revolutionary and trade union groups in France, Euskadi (Basque country), Denmark, Norway, West Germany, Corsica and Flanders, were joined by Irish solidarity groups from England, Scotland and Wales at last weekend's ard fheis, underlining, yet again, the international support which Sinn Fein enjoys.

Calling for European solidarity "not the artificial unity of the EEC, but a unity which gives focus to small countries and cultures", Vital Geererts, representing the Volksunie of Flanders, was the first foreign delegate to address the ard fheis and was followed by a speaker from Britain's Troops Out Movement who, along with an earlier speaker from the Labour Committee on Ireland, emphasised the growing support for Sinn Fein amongst rank-and-file members of the British labour movement.

One delegate from the Movement for Corsican Autonomy was arrested by French police on his way to Ireland but another who did arrive was able to tell the ard fheis of the struggle to "reclaim the national rights of the Corsican people".

GREEN PARTY

Ulla Jelpke, an MP of the Green Party in the West German federal parliament, emphasised the threat of global nuclear war and the danger to world peace which the US invasion of Grenada has caused. In a special message



● ULLA JELPKE for women in Sinn Fein she pointed out the equality of male and female

International support for Sinn Fein



● Some of the foreign delegates listen intently to one of the speeches

representatives in the Green Party.

The question of nuclear proliferation was again raised by the French delegate, Andre le Gac, of the Breton

region of the French Communist Party, who said:

"We want no Cruise and no SS-20s. Our policies will be decided in France,

not Moscow or Washington. The forces engaged in anti-imperialist activity are getting larger and larger."

An enthusiastic welcome was given to Juan Okinena of the Basque Herri Batasuna (ETA), while solidarity greetings were read from SWAPO, the CGT union of France (representing 1½ million workers), the Central Committee of the French Communist Party (PCF), the Finnish Human Rights League, and many others.

And in the course of his main address, outgoing Sinn Fein president Ruairi O Bradaigh emphasised Sinn Fein's disgust at the "imperialism and the madness of the Reagan administration's foreign policy". With particular reference to the invasion of Grenada, he added:

"So much for the much-vaunted rights of small nations — treated as pawns on the international chess-board between the super-powers." In a reference to CIA involvement in the overthrow of Salvador Allende in Chile and the establishment there of "the ruthless Pinochet dictatorship", he added:

"How long can little Nicaragua and its courageous new experiment with stand a similar aggression?"

Exemplary conduct in the republican cause

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

PAYING TRIBUTE to the outgoing president of Sinn Fein during the course of his address to the ard fheis on Sunday, his successor, Gerry Adams, said:

"It is said that a week is a long time in politics. If that be the case, then 14 years as president of this party must seem like an eternity. I trust you will spare me such a long sentence. Ruairi's 14 years, following a lifetime of involvement in the republican cause, commenced in the crisis days following the 1969 period, when those of us then involved in active republicanism had a choice between revolutionary republicanism, or creeping reformism. Ruairi O Bradaigh was not found lacking when it came to making that choice and I can state with absolute certainty, given events since then, that time has proven the correctness of our position during that period. His

presidency has spanned the continuing national crisis which continues to dominate the affairs of our country since that time, and I for one have valued his advice and judgement on many issues where his experience is greater than mine."

Ruairi O Bradaigh joined the Republican Movement in 1950 at the age of 17. He was active in the IRA's border campaign in the '50s, was captured in 1956 and spent six months in Crumlin Road Jail. He was handed over to the gárda on his release and immediately interned in the Curragh.

On March 5th 1957, he was elected as a TD for the Longford/Westmeath constituency, while a prisoner in Mountjoy, and in 1958, on September 27th, he and Daithi O Connail escaped from

the Curragh.

Elected as Sinn Fein's president in 1970 following the 'split', Ruairi O Bradaigh was re-elected every year until he decided not to seek re-election at last weekend's ard fheis.

In 1973 he was arrested and charged with IRA membership, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. He has been arrested, detained and barred from entering Britain, the North, and the United States on several occasions during his 14 years as president of Sinn Fein.

DAITHI O CONNAIL

Daithi O Connail, who did not go forward for the vice-presidency last weekend, was born in Cork city in 1938, has been imprisoned in Mountjoy Jail, the Curragh, Crumlin Road Jail and Portlaoise Prison during his long service in the Republican Movement.

He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in January 1957 and on his release in 1958 he was interned in the Curragh, escaping later that year.

In 1959 he was shot and seriously injured by the RUC whilst on active



● Ruairi O Bradaigh and Daithi O Connail receive the applause of John Joe McGirr and delegates at the ard fheis

service in Tyrone and after four months in hospital was sentenced, in March 1960, to eight years in Crumlin Road Jail. He was released in 1963 after the 1962 ceasefire.

In July 1975 he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment in Portlaoise, and three months after his release, in April 1976, he was again arrested and

jailed for two years. It was during this term of imprisonment that Daithi O Connail was on hunger-strike for nearly 50 days.

He was elected vice-president of Sinn Fein in 1971 and, apart from his terms of imprisonment and a year as general secretary in 1979, has held that position until this year's ard fheis.

Ard fheis anamúil

LE TOMÁS Ó SÉ

BHÍ na sluaite i láthair ag Ard Fheis Shinn Féin i mblana. Bhí Teach an Ard Mhéara plódaithe le poblachtaithe ó chian is ó chónagar agus bhí plé agus cur trí cháile mar gheall ar Shinn Féin le cloisint i ngach cúinne. Bhí an beocht nua atá sa pháirtí le brath in achan áit.

Tá caighdeán ard bainte amach ag cainteoirí Shinn Féin agus is maith a bhí na cainteoirí in ann na ceisteanna éagsúla a tháinig ós a gcomhair a phlé. Deineadh na pointí go réidh stuama agus ba shóisleir go raibh ullmhúcháin déanta go maith acu.

Ar ndóigh b'é an rud is mó a tháirgadh ná gur sírih Ruairi Ó Bradaigh as uachtaránacht Shinn Féin agus gur tháinig Gearóid MacAdaimh i gceannas ina áit. Is lomaí deor a síleadh fad is a bhí Ruairi ag fáil slán linn mar uachtarán.

Labhair Ruairi mar gheall ar thábhacht na Gaeilge agus chein sé tagairt ach go háirithe do Saoirse Iris nua Shinn Féin.

Dúirt sé:

"Foilíodh an chéad eagrair dár n-iris nua Gaeilge Saoirse le linn na bliana. Ní ag maíomh atáim nuair adeirim gur lomaí pháirtí pólitíochta níos mó agus níos saibhir ná muid nach bhfuil aon Iris Gaeilge acu, ach cuir-eann Shinn Féin a leithéid ar fáil, ainneoin na ndeacrachtaí, mar go gceoidimid gur cheart soiscéal na Poblachta a chraobhscaoileadh i dteanga náisiúnta na tíre, ní hamháin do mhuintir na Gaeilteach ach freisin do gach aon duine a bhfuil greim ar bith aige nó aici ar an teanga, tuadh nó seas."

"Is féidir le Sinn Féin cabhrú go deonach leis an nGaeilge ina

gcuid chumann féin agus is é dualgas Shinn Féin an teanga a chur chun cinn sna comhairlí áitiúla éagsúla ar a bhfuil ionadaloct againn. Ach ní féidir a bheith ag súil go ndéanfaidh dream deonach ar bith, go fóu dream reabhlóidíoch, an rud ba cheart don chéad oideachais agus forais eile an phobail a dhéanamh go gairmiúil agus go leanúnach, mar chuid dá ngnáthobair.

"Sin é an fáth go dtuagaimid tacaíocht don fheachtas pólitíochta Gaeilge atá ann faoi láthair, go háirithe maidir leis an nGaeilge, staid na teanga sna scoileanna, coarta pearsanta an Gaeilgeora, a theaghlach agus a phobail agus go háirithe scéal na Gaeilge ar an teilifís."

Cuireadh iúlite mór roimh Gearóid nua a labhair sé. Ní dabht ag duine ar bith ach go ndéanfaidh sé uachtarán maith. Tá a chumas léirithe aige agus



● Cuid des na ballaí a bhí i láthair ag cruinniú den Roimn Chultúrtha de Shinn Féin i rith na hArd Fheise ní amháin ar bith ach go dtreoróidís sé Sinn Féin chun bus. Tríd is tríd, bhain mé dóchas as an Ard Fheis agus is dóigh liom go bhfuilimid go daingean ar an mbóthar chun na saoirse.

SINN FEIN AND FHEIS 1983

WE PRINT HERE EXTRACTS FROM THE ADDRESS OF RUAIRI O BRADAIGH AS OUTGOING PRESIDENT AT LAST WEEKEND'S ARD FHEIS

SINN FEIN—the most progressive political force on this island

EWE are in many senses on a significant threshold in the history of our long and difficult freedom struggle in this country. Various factors allow us to attempt some form of balance sheet which, I suggest, clearly indicates, as clearly as day follows night, that it is only a case of time before the reality of the basic preconditions for a final and just solution to the problem of British interference in the affairs of the Irish people becomes so acute that even those who are at present engaged in their last desperate attempt to prevent any progress beyond the stage reached in 1920-21, in order to protect their own selfish interests, are left totally bankrupt.

It is Mrs Thatcher and the British government who firmly believe in a combination of rigged ballot boxes in one hand and armoured cars, tanks and guns in the other as the best method of telling the Irish population what is good for them.

It has always been Mrs Thatcher and her various predecessors in No. 10 Downing Street who felt they could ignore the democratic will of the Irish people whenever the results went against them, provided their troops and corrupt 'law and order' lackeys were strong and brutal enough to ensure that 'Brits rule OK'. Gun-boat diplomacy has been replaced by involving local sub-contractors in violence and repression, North and South, when bad publicity internationally and a more economic use of British lives forced new tactics.

That process, from the counter-revolution of 1922-23 which saw the Free State terror troops defeat the republic with an efficiency of barbarity that the Black and Tans could never get away with, to our own day when law, order, justice, morality, democracy, human rights and freedom of speech have all been so distorted in a massive last desperate effort to hold down England's oldest colony, has now driven the local handlers and operators of the unjust system to try the ultimate big lie by pretending that the problem which brought about all this misery is no longer the problem.

I would also like to remind any good Irish people who still seem to think, or to hope, that Fianna Fail is in any way a republican or even a self-respecting nationalist party, of the supine reaction of the deputy leader, Mr Brian Lenihan, on the invasion of Grenada. It was a total contradiction of everything which Mr de Valera is ever said to have held in his reply to Churchill in 1945.

And while nobody is fooled anymore by the shadow, not to mention the substance of that de Valera stand, in the light of what we now know about the history of those years in office it is worth mentioning, if only to indicate just how far Fianna Fail have drifted along the road of Free State sub-contracting for the NATO powers, compared with the shadowy republican stance of a former generation of them.

We know the reality of that bogus stand. We suffered its vindictive lash as early as the mid-1930s and recognised it as the type of Free State Mark 2 scenario we predicted as soon as de Valera and Fianna Fail took the oath and entered the Free State parliament in 1927.

Since then we have had Clann na Poblachta — a reaction to the Fianna Fail barbarity and sense of betrayal in the '40s — whose ultimate achievement was to give the kiss of life to the dying Fine Gael party with whom it entered the first Coalition. And again, in the 1960s, we saw Sinn Féin infiltrated and manipulated from the sidelines by Stalinists and other opportunists, leading to the split of 1969-70, the entry of the so-called Workers' Party into the Leinster House and leading to establishment rehabilitation and the abandonment of the Irish national cause.

I do not wish to engage in a history lesson here, but I think the logic of what has happened in the case of the faction which took the soft option of state capitalism within the status quo in 1969 is proof, if proof were needed, as to who was right in that particular revolutionary conflict which was, based, last anybody forget, on basic disagreement about poli-



●A standing ovation is given to outgoing president Ruairi O Bradaigh by the platform party and Sinn Féin delegates

tical options and fundamental principles as they needed to be applied in that moment of supreme crisis.

IT is a measure of the achievement of those who took the long, hard and unpopular road of principled revolution at that time that this movement can still be recognised today as the most progressive political force on this island, internationally and even by many of those who went other ways in '69 and whose criticism of us is still so blind as to refuse to face the logic of the downfall of Stormont, the downfall of Sunningdale and even the personal tragedy of Lord Fitt and the political somersaults of the SDLP.

We hand over the great Sinn Féin organisation to a new generation, more vigorous and more successful at the polls than at any time since 1918. We are gratified that in the 1980s they have at last accepted what many of us on the ard comhairle were saying right through the 1970s, that we should be involved electorally in the six counties first of all and in the twenty-six counties when opportune.

We have built and continue to build on the blood, sweat, toil and tears of the past 15 years, and we have now reached a position where the 'threat' of Sinn Féin is seen as the most revolutionary factor for all time-servers in London, Stormont and Leinster House.

There is no split in the Movement this time, for the simple reason that the republican political activists of this phase of the struggle have kept faith and are confident that the rising tide of young Irish people steered by the terror of the British, the duplicity of the Free Staters and the SDLP, and the harsh lessons of internment, prison, active service, and lying propaganda by lay and clerical people in high places, have learned enough from the lessons of the 1920-69 period to ensure that there is no going back, no deviation, no departure from basic principles in the final phase of this long hard struggle to full freedom. And this means rejection of the EEC and Comecon, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, Westminster, Stormont and Leinster House.

The logic of the Sinn Féin position is as clear as the reply which Gerry Adams gave the BBC reporter in the course of

his recent visit to England when he was asked why he did not attend Westminster:

"If you do not ask French elected representatives why they do not sit in the British House of Commons, then why do you expect Irish elected representatives to sit there?" came the logical and clear-cut rebuke.

YOU did not hear the exchange or any other single word from the duly elected member for West Belfast on RTE, of course. They, like Conor Cruise O'Brien who could not retain his seat in Dublin suburbia let alone in Belfast, were too busy providing platforms for Gerry Fitt, appointed to the undemocratic British House of Lords after he was beaten into third place in West Belfast by Mr Adams, to attack and misrepresent Sinn Féin and its policies with a venom that can only be the product of a guilty conscience.

Like Dr FitzGerald, Mr Spring, Mr Barry and Mrs Thatcher at the recent Chequers non-event, whenever a vote goes against them it is due to "personalities" leading to "a serious problem for real democrats". What do they mean by "real democrats"?

Lord Fitt and John Hume, who have deliberately slandered and misrepresented Sinn Féin and its policies since the knowledge that the continuing Section 31 censorship of Td Neilson, and of which that other redundant politician, Dr O'Brien, is proud to boast when he has no better way of filling his column in the Irish Times, mean that the Irish people will continue to get the same slanted, one-sided picture of what the nationalist people think and say and vote for, regardless of the ballot box.

This is indeed doubly ironic when these same hypocrites continue to state that they would welcome and indeed take notice of what Sinn Féin has to say, if only they would stand for election.

Democrats everywhere realise that regular, free and fair access to the media is a basic prerequisite for political development, never mind a party's willingness to stand for elections.

But even when we fight elections and win, against many odds, including a blanket radio and television ban, the entire process is turned on its head in a Free State solution to an Irish problem, and RTE journalists are packed off to

interview each and every candidate that lost, while at the same time ordered to totally ignore the winner.

No professional reporting body in the world, outside of totalitarian countries, would put up with such a demoralising farce. They should not do so any longer in the Irish case.

The RTE coverage of the Dublin Central by-election, where our candidate Christy Burke is standing, will be interesting in this regard. This is especially so since he had to be cut out of a recent repeat of a *Today Tonight* film on the fight against drugs, as soon as the Donnybrook mind-benders in 'The Workers' Party programme' found out that Christy was a member of Sinn Féin. So much for the concern of Donnybrook for the social problems of Central Dublin!

CONTRARY to the impression given by the propagandists and political apologists of those who 'regret' the rise of Sinn Féin, while challenging us to the polls and saying they are interested in the views of the people, Sinn Féin was, and always will be about elections.

We have won local elections North and South within the past five years. We have had TDs, MPs and Assembly representatives elected North and South within the same period, some of whom, like Bobby Sands and Kieran Doherty, have died on hunger-strike or are still *faoi ghlas ag Gallaibh* today.

To us in Sinn Féin they are all deputies elected to the future Third All-Ireland Dail.

But such matters make little difference outwardly to the position of those in Britain whose reaction to the Sinn Féin all-Ireland victory of 1918 was the terror of the Black and Tans, the partition of the country and the arming of the forces of reaction North and South to defeat the Irish republican revolution.

The pattern was repeated in every generation since then by those determined to maintain the neo-colonial partition settlement as I can personally attest in the case of the 1957 general election. At that time I happened to be elected a Sinn Féin TD but the reaction of the new Fianna Fail government returned in the spring of 1957 was to intern the Sinn Féin public representatives without charge or trial in the Curragh Concentration Camp.

The rules of democracy, then as now,

for those who sought and gained democratic support for policies that might upset the Leinster House apple-cart, was the same as that which the Thatcher 'democrats' employed after they had murdered Bobby Sands, MP for Fermanagh/South Tyrone. When the rules no longer suit, they simply change the rules.

Given the established pattern in Irish history, it is, perhaps, remarkable that the republican political activists of Sinn Féin are still in politics at all. But they are and will continue to be and, as is obvious from the degree of concern being expressed in some quarters about recent advances, we positively aim to be in the future.

FINALLY, a word of warning. We will not change the forces which oppress us by attempting to conciliate them or bend them to our will. We must marshal the people behind us, confront these forces and overcome them. If we are driven back, then we re-group and advance again.

With regard to the EEC, Sinn Féin rejected it as a new form of imperialism as far back as 1962. We campaigned against full immersion in it in the referenda of 1972 and 1975.

We still reject it and believe that the new liberated Ireland, our democratic socialist republic, with maximum decentralisation of power and decision-making, neutral and non-aligned, can have no place in it. Of course, while it is there, we would make a trade agreement with it as have Yugoslavia, Austria, Norway and the neutral countries of Europe. Our friends and trading partners in the future will be found among peoples of a similar experience to our own in the Third World.

In rejecting the EEC, Sinn Féin has rejected the Treaty of Rome and its institutions. We cannot reject them by accepting and participating in them. We cannot 'work in a broader context' because our country is too weak and too small and our economy will be destroyed by the EEC in time. We must stand apart and give clear leadership in this vital anti-imperialist struggle.

Meanwhile, Sinn Féin continues under new leadership. On your behalf I welcome them to their positions and wish them well. I wish all of you a progressive and successful future.



Ability or bank balances

Dear Editor,

At present it is widely recognised that our education system in the North is in crisis. Primary and secondary schools are starved of cash; this means lack of books, equipment and facilities. In addition the size of classes continually increases (despite the fact that there are many qualified teachers on the dole). The result is that there has been a dramatic fall in education standards. Ordinary children are receiving only a second-class education because their parents cannot afford private tuition.

When these children try to gain access to third level institutions they are faced with even more difficulties. Most students at colleges of further education receive no money at all from the government — not even dole money. Therefore only students whose parents have the money to pay for their up-keep and expenses, such as books and equipment, can afford to pursue a course at these institutions.

Students in higher education — those at university or polytechnic — also have to rely on their parents for financial support. Because of the 'means test' the children of PAYE workers are financially penalised, while the children of rich businessmen receive full grants. The effect of this is that 75% of these students end up in debt, through no fault of their own.

Many other intelligent students are refused entry to higher education because the institutions concerned have not got the money to teach them.

There are two main effects of these cuts:

1) The ability and talent which might take us out of these out-backs of the economic recession remains under-developed.

2) A section of the community is now under-educated, and stand little chance of finding employment even if the economic climate does improve.

Students are not campaigning against this trend in education. We feel that it is we who are the education of children to be based on their parents' bank balances, rather than their own academic ability. We therefore call on everyone — political parties, trade union groups, and the general public — to support our campaign.

Angela Hegarty,
Queen's University Belfast
Students' Union.

Irish street-names

A Chara,
Within the past 10 days, craobh Liam Uí Mhaoiliosa of Conrath na Gaeilge (Poleglass/Glengolad/Cloona area) distributed leaflets round the houses in Poleglass saying that, if the people of the area supported the idea, they proposed to erect Irish translations of the English names

mála poist ESCAPEES' SALUTE

A Chara,

May we, through AP/RN's letters page, thank those who each, individually and collectively, contributed to the operational success of our H-Block escape.

Naturally, we cannot name names, but everyone who gave any assistance knows the part they played and they can be assured of our heart-felt gratitude.

To those of our comrades who were recaptured and those others still in the hell-holes of the H-Blocks of Long Kesh (with a special note to those we left in H7), we salute your dedication and courage. We remain with you in spirit; and you in turn, we know, with us.

We need not remind all those



who contributed and/or rejoiced in our success, that the full impact of our victory has not been felt yet.

we will need physical help at the time of the actual erection of the signs. We have every confidence that both will be forthcoming.

Padraig O Maoilchraoibhe,
OCP
Craobh Liam
Uí Mhaoiliosa,
Conrath na Gaeilge.

NATO replies

A Chara,
With reference to the article by Jack Madden (Dublin rent-strike), AP/RN, November 10th, I would be grateful for some space to comment on same.

Initially I would like to stress that the National Association of Tenants' Organisations did not introduce the new rent increases. NATO entered into negotiations with the government to prevent them from launching a new rent structure that would have meant increases of some £20 per week on every tenant living in a local authority dwelling. That we held them to a limit of £3 increase on maximum rents is a tribute to those entrusted to negotiate on behalf of our members.

Secondly, the article stated that a protest committee was formed on September 21st following the announcement of the increases. This is rather surprising, as the first release of the negotiations was issued on Monday, September 26th, and the actual implementation was not until October 24th.

Thirdly, it was inferred that NATO did not cater for people living in flats complexes. This will come as another surprise to the thousands of flat-dwellers we represent throughout the state and, in fact, to the undersigned, who also lives in a flats complex.

In point of fact, we represented the areas mentioned at one time, but they decided to leave NATO in the midst of our national rent-strike for reasons best known to those involved in the tenants' associations there at that time.

It may be relevant to state that in the course of our recent negotiations we underlined the plight of those living in sub-standard accommodation and pleaded for both rent-increase exemptions and immediate remedial work on their behalf.

We are preparing for a scheduled three months of talks with the government on all aspects of local authority accommodation and our dossier on sub-standard dwellings will be included in those talks.

Matt Larkin,
NATO,
35 Meath Place,
Dublin 8.

ALL letters should be addressed to The Editor, An Phoblacht / Republican News, 51/53 Falls Road, Dublin. Letters should be written as clearly as possible, preferably on one side of paper only. Names and addresses should always be included, even when not for publication.

Together we can, and shall, soldier on to the goal for which we strive and have dedicated ourselves to.

We are ever conscious of the fact that comrades languish in British, Free State and American jails. You are in our thoughts now, as ever.

Beir bua.

Thank you again, one and all.

Yours in struggle,
Garold Mac Domhnaill, Kevin Barry Artt, Paul Brennan, Seamus Campbell, James Clarke, Seamus Clarke, Gerard Fryer, Dermot Finucane, Kieran Fleming, Anthony Kelly, Gerry Kelly, Anthony McAllister, Seamus McElwaine, Brendan McFarlane, Padraig McKearney, Dermot McNally, Robert Russell, Terence Kirby and James Smith.

Giro holders

A Chara,

On August 19th you carried a letter from Sinn Féin attacking the exploitation of the unemployed by certain Falls Road and city centre traders.

In the letter we outlined the abuse of 'Giro holders' and how they often found themselves in receipt of lower priced and lower quality goods.

Since August we have had many queries as to the identities of the traders who, in our experience, have been responsible for these practices. For reasons of libel, the media will not carry the names of the firms — Devines, Falls Road, and also MD Stores, Smithfield.

However, anyone who requires further advice regarding the procedure of estimates with the DHSS or the activities of these traders should call at any of the Sinn Féin advice centres.

There have been a number of queries regarding Broadway Furnishings, Falls Road, and all we can say is that, to date, we have heard nothing which suggests that this firm has been part of this practice.

Despite our original letter and our complaints these abuses have continued. There must be a change in this whole procedure to ensure that this exploitation and corruption ceases.

We would like to hear from anyone who finds themselves a victim of this type of exploitation. The first step towards getting something done is to document the abuses and details of those responsible.

Padraig Wilson,
Sinn Féin Advice Centre,
5 Beechmount Avenue,
Belfast.
Telephone 230390.



Shannon bus

A Chara,

On Saturday, May 31st, Shannon Sinn Féin launched a community bus service which operates every Saturday between Shannon and Limerick.

The basis for the idea was the

local cumann's campaign for the establishment of a local social welfare office and the cumann was searching for ways to help the less well-off within the community.

At present the bus leaves Shannon at 1pm and returns at approximately 6.15pm. An estimated 1,300 passengers have used the service over its six-month existence.

Some of the major differences between Sinn Féin's service and CIE's over the 14-mile journey are that:

1. The community bus cuts the CIE fare by a massive £2.

2. All of Shannon's outlying areas are covered, which means that people don't have to make a 20-minute walk to the main thoroughfare.

Shannon Sinn Féin also extended the service to include a day excursion to Killybeg during the summer and a trip to Newry.

During the month of December we are planning to extend the service by operating two buses on a Saturday and will also organise a free raffle for Christmas cakes.

PRO,
Shannon Sinn Féin.

Boundary changes

A Chara,

With practically no other nationalist representation, it was left to Sinn Féin to challenge the gerrymandering tactics of the Official Unionist Party at the local government boundary public hearing in Limavady on Thursday, November 3rd.

The importance of the Limavady Council area is reflected in the fact that the growing nationalist population will, over the next ten years, threaten to alter the present balance of seven nationalist and eight unionist councillors to give a nationalist majority.

However, apart from a brief appearance from SDLP Councillor Arthur Doherty (the party's candidate for East Derry in the June Westminster election), who expressed broad agreement with the commissioner's recommendations, the only representatives of the nationalist community were two unionists, Sinn Féin.

On the other hand, three members of the DUP and over 20 members and supporters of the Official Unionist Party virtually took over the public hearing and set out an elaborate and contrived scheme for changes in ward boundaries throughout the entire local government area.

Obviously not impressed with

Frank Harrison's boundary report in the local government reform of 1972, the loyalists set to with gusto; the unionist chairperson of Limavady Council, Mark Gault, voicing his 'abhorrence' at the provisional recommendations.

The DUP proposals to change electoral districts were described by Harrison as 'purely party political' and rejected on the grounds that it was the commissioner's statutory brief to re-draw wards and not electoral districts.

The East Derry Official Unionist MP, William Ross, called for the transfer of the 85% nationalist Greysteel ward into the Derry City Council area and informed the commissioner that when the report came before the Westminster parliament he would put forward a vigorous argument for his case.

In the evening session, in a two-hour-long submission, William Ross reiterated the unionist proposals for boundary changes in Limavady town, whose overall population has only a small unionist majority, and then went on to propose major changes in the boundaries of the Dungiven wards.

PRO,
Derry Sinn Féin.



Manchester Martyrs

Dear Friends,

Christine Maron (November 3rd) expresses her disquiet at the decision of the Troops Out Movement's national executive committee not to support the Manchester Martyrs demonstration this year.

As a delegate (who voted in favour of supporting the march) to this NEC, please let me point out that the decision was a hard one. It was based on the fact that the democratic organising committee which has organised the march in recent years was this year dissolved because one organisation insists on retaining control and excluding another organisation from having speaking rights etc.

Those favouring not supporting the march did so solely on the basis that if we went along with it then there would be no encouragement for the organisers to stop excluding one group of republicans.

TOM's NEC consists of delegates from branches plus the elected officers, and it controls TOM's national policy. TOM branches are not controlled by it, however, and have freedom to carry out their work in their own way based on local conditions and experiences.

Leeds TOM, although fully endorsing criticism of the undemocratic practices around this year's march, will be supporting the demonstration. But surely it cannot be right for some republicans to be excluded, like Finbar O'Doherty was earlier this year, when he was prevented from speaking at the Bloody Sunday demonstration in England because he was a member of the IRSP.

Tony Harris,
TOM member
(local capacity),
Leeds,
England.

REPORTS from Dungannon suggest that the RUC there have recruited as their latest 'supergrass' none other than Austin 'Chicken' Currie, the local SDLP Assembly member.

Francie Kelly, a building contractor from Ballygawley, was charged on Tuesday this week with intimidating the said member and preventing him from putting up posters during last June's Westminster elections, and possession of an offensive weapon, viz and to wit, a lump hammer.

Kelly had been taken to Dungannon RUC Barracks early on Tuesday morning, where Currie — who, in any case, knows him personally — picked him out on an identity parade.

Kelly is not a Sinn Féin member nor election worker and the affair would seem to arise out of some kind of personal vendetta. But will Currie 'finger' any more non-SDLP voters or is there a chance that he will 'retract' before the hearing at the Belfast Magistrates' Court?

★ ★ ★

Former SDLP Stormont minister Ivan Cooper appeared in court in Donegal last week charged with being drunk and disorderly, dangerous driving and the malicious damage of two doors at a pub in Burtonport.

And later in the week he was charged in a court in Strabane with the assault of a local youth.

But it was one quote from the Donegal case which really intrigued me. When charged with dangerous driving, Cooper is alleged to have replied:

"I was not driving the vehicle and I deeply regret that this charge smacks of intimidation with regard to the shooting of my dogs. I am deeply sorry that the gardai should stoop to this level."

No doubt, as the fellow said, thereby hangs a tail.

★ ★ ★

One expert who has put his knowledge into book-form for the edification of others is a person who hides behind the meaningful pseudonym of 'T. Law'.

His real name is Sergeant-Major Gamble and his literary work is entitled *The Text Book of Close Combat* which is available from a Liverpool mail-order enterprise at £4 a copy.

The book explains how to kill and maim people without 'conventional weapons' and contains 320 detailed illustrations describing how to murder and injure using knives, bricks and sharpened knitting needles.

The kind of thing that any UDR man gets to know in the course of his duties.

★ ★ ★

The 'Dowra Case', in which the RUC obligingly arrested Fermanagh man James McGovern to prevent him giving evidence against the then Fianna Fáil Minister for Justice Sean Doherty's brother-in-law, Garda Thomas Nangle, appears to be well and truly buried.

There is no question that the inquiry promised by RUC boss Sir John Hermon to Fine Gael appointee Garda Commissioner Laurence Wren will now take place, according to James Prior.

And emphasising the point is the recent disclosure that the file on the affair is unaccountably missing from its normal place at RUC headquarters.

★ ★ ★

John Robb, a token Northern member of the Leinster House senate, was explaining to his fellow senators, on Wednesday last week, how an RUC man at Ballymoney Barracks, next-door to Robb's home, had been killed.

"He left at 8.30," said Robb, "and was dead before he returned."

★ ★ ★

On Saturday it was revealed (after four months) that £80,000 given to a Garda as part of a ransom deal for the missing racehorse *Shergar* went missing without trace.

The money was taken out of a boot of a car in Clare in July and the gardai are said to have been 'looking into it'.

If they've been looking into the car boot for that long surely they are satisfied by now that the money is definitely not there.

★ ★ ★

Anyone who has been held in Birmingham under the PTA will be pleased to hear that Detective Sergeant Brian Morton of the self-styled 'anti-terrorist squad' has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Two other detect-

BURKE'S AT THE BACK By Kevin Burke

New supergrass?



● Austin 'Chicken' Currie — the RUC's latest stool pigeon?

ives were also imprisoned.

The three were found guilty of beating up a British Leyland car worker whom they were questioning about a theft.

Morton broke down in tears in the dock on Tuesday, November 1st, as sentence was passed.

★ ★ ★

Last month I recorded in this column how one Lance-Corporal Bryan Meek of the Royal Green Jackets had been charged with the manslaughter of one of his colleagues in Belleek Barracks and had been released on £750 bail.

"The official value put on a dead Brit," I commented at the time.

Wrong, I am afraid.

Meek appeared in court this week and pleaded guilty to the manslaughter of his fellow Brit, who was phoning home to his wife when shot dead.

Meek, whose counsel claimed that he had been "checking his Browning pistol to make sure that there were no rounds in the chamber", was fined £250.

★ ★ ★

In his address to the Sinn Féin and theis on

Sunday, Gerry Adams, commenting on Section 31, spoke of "media self-censorship even more drastic than the legislation hoped for".

The following day, he got a clear reminder of what that means in practice.

As he was in Dublin all day, the BBC and ITV — being anxious to do interviews with the new Sinn Féin president for that evening's programmes — requested RTE to provide a studio at Donnybrook for the interview to be recorded, an everyday courtesy in the world of television and radio.

But RTE refused to allow this, not because Section 31 forbids it — it obviously does not — but because of the fear that someone in high places might be cross if they were found out.

★ ★ ★

There is no truth in the rumour that following James Prior's hysterical claim that Ireland could become "a Cuba off Britain's western coast" all Sinn Féin leaders have been advised to shave off their beards and stop smoking cigars.

Notes
by CORMAC

UH-OH! IT'S
TIPPY AND
BRAD!

AP/RN? OH, YEAH.
I'LL TAKE A COPY,
CERTAINLY.

YOU KNOW I REALLY ADMIRE
YOU GUYS -- GOING OUT EVERY
WEEKEND -- SELLING THE PAPER --
GETTING HASSLED BY BRITZ...

SOMETIMES I WONDER
HOW YOU KEEP IT UP!

WHAT
DEDICATION!

WHAT
ZEAL!!

WHAT?

...WHAT A GREAT
EXCUSE FOR VISITING
EVERY CLUB IN THE
DISTRICT EVERY
WEEKEND!!

REVIEW PAGE

TV

Attempting to escape

BY SIÓBHAN O'MALLEY

JANIE, the young wife of an older farmer in the remote north-east of Scotland, in 1944, battles three Italian prisoners-of-war. This is the setting for *Another Time, Another Place*, on Channel 4 on Thursday last week.

Like every other decision in their lives, money is the motivation. Scraping together enough money to survive means Janie working at every job available. Gathering turnips in the freezing wind, working in the churning dust of the grain mill, cooking and cleaning in the house, Janie starts to identify with the Italians, seeing herself as much a prisoner as them.

The few women in the tiring community are either older or are resigned to their life of drudgery and loneliness. A cell in the village is the social event of the year, and is a reflection of the lives of the women. They

sit along the wall while the men gather in groups to drink and talk. The women wait to dance or sing until the men ask them, and are shocked that Janie goes to talk to the Italian prisoners when they come in.

Janie, more and more drawn to the Italians, sees them as from another world. Her world in contrast seems restrictive and harsh and her longing for some alleviation from it leads to her relationship with Luigi, the most extrovert of the prisoners, deepening.

A village woman is raped, and Luigi is blamed. Janie knows he could not have been

responsible because he was with her at the time, and is torn between the fear of the affair being found out and saving Luigi who has been charged with the rape. She goes to the commanding officer and tells him her story, only to find that Luigi will still be charged with consorting with a female civilian and sent to war.

Janie can only go back to her prison of back-breaking farm work and an unsympathetic husband, her one rebellion against the restrictions of her life crushed.

KNOCKERS

Desperately seeking a way out from life on the dole, Seamus and his friends become knockers - selling household goods from door to door.

Knockers was the first of eight documentary/drama programmes in a new series on Channel 4 on Thursday, *Our Lives*.

A group of unemployed youths from London's East End buy up a load of brushes, dusters, rubber gloves etc. They travel to the suburbs in an old van, and sell the stuff from door to door, pretending that the profits are for charity.

This true story shows the knockers making a fair bit of money, as their youth and disarming patter make sales easy. However, rival gangs react violently to this encroachment on their territory and running battles become part of their daily experience as salesmen.

A few of their prospective customers are suspicious of the charity claim, and inform the police and they are warned about making false claims in order to sell their goods.

The temptation to resort to this type of work could easily lead to more serious dishonesty with tragic results, and shows the urgent need for something to be done about youth unemployment. The suggestions by glib politicians that young people should show initiative and get up and make their own work are empty and meaningless solutions.



Seamus, one of the 'knockers', tries to earn a few bob to supplement his dole money

A load of clack

BY EDDIE STACK

IN THE LIMITS of outer space, in the most dangerous sector of the Forbidden Zone, the English language will finally have bitten the dust.

"There's nothing left between we two," says *Spacehunter* Wolff to his pest of a companion, Niki. Us were in luck.

Wolff is no ordinary mortal out to save the world from the forces of evil. No, Wolff is in it for the clack - an interstellar currency which is worth its weight in Milky Bars. In his single-minded determination to earn a lot of clack, Wolff is a shining example to all of us.

Of course, the appearance on our screens of *Spacehunter - Adventures in the Forbidden Zone* is a testament to the powerful influence of *AP/RN*.

Only three months ago this column suggested that a *Star Wars* picture shot in 3-D would not only be an exciting development, but would clean up at the box office for whoever bothered to try it. Enter *Spacehunter*, as 3-D as a movie can be. What hasn't arrived in the office is the paltry sum of £500 million which I demand for my suggestion. Hell, they didn't even send me one clack!

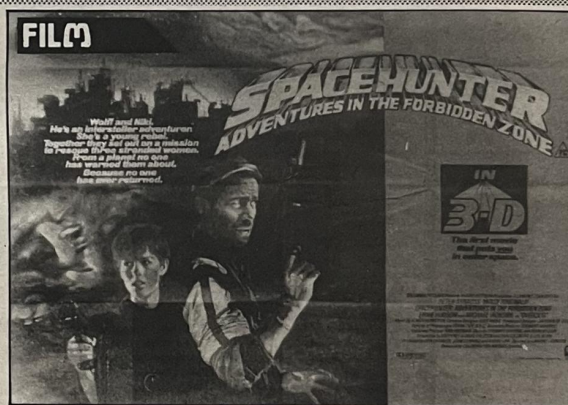
Actually, 3-D is a bit of a pain until you get used to it. The paper spectacles which you are asked to put on in order to enjoy the process are invariably the correct size for the Mogadon man (who lived on earth between 10,000 and 5,000 BC), but not for you.

If you wear glasses yourself you are in real trouble, you never know if you should put the paper specs inside or outside your own. The only real solution is to get a nail and hammer, the 3-D specs into your skull. This will keep the glasses firmly on and the pain will help you take your mind off the film.

TRANSMITTER

The movie? Oh yes, I nearly forgot, what were we talking about.

Yes, well Wolff is a *Spacehunter* who roams the inside of



a film studio, excuse me, roams outer-space looking for bounty which he can bring back and earn himself some clack. He hears on his transmitter particle converter (his radio) that three girls have landed in the Forbidden Zone. But as Wolff arrives the three girls, who resemble nothing better than

three Playmates of the Year, are captured by the forces of the dreaded Overdog. These three girls put up a spirited defence which is best summed up by the dialogue:

"Eek! Unhand me, you beastie!"

They are quickly overcome.

Wearily Wolff gets into his car (well a Dinky truck filmed really close up), but does not

know how to follow the missing girls. Well, who does he meet but someone who can show him the way. How fortunate for us, we were thinking the film was ending.

Niki can show Wolff how to find the girls. Like Wolff she is an Earther. But unlike him she does not think, she brainworks. It looks painful. Scanning the horizon, she points the way for Wolff to follow.

In 3-D it looks like she's sticking her finger up your nose.

Meanwhile, back in the Castle of the Overdog (a man who could cow you in absolute terror if you could get over laughing at his name), the Playmates are up to their skimpy garments in trouble. The Overdog wants them for their life force. But you've got to hand it to these girls, they never stop fighting. "Eek!" they cry.

RESCUE

But where is Wolff? Can he rescue the girls before they are ravaged by Overdog?

Niki is a pest. She keeps wanting to stay with Wolff. Despite himself, Wolff falls in love with her. This is understandable - outside the Playmates she is the only woman in the universe. But will he make love to her or will he sex construct? You'll have a hard time brainstorming it all out.

"Heaven help us," he tells her. And you know what he means.

Imagine the dangers they must now face when they take on Overdog. But Wolff has a secret weapon. He can kill Overdog with his acting. Then he can rescue the Playmates and even earn a lot of clack. And then they can live happily ever after, taking *nerishment* when they want to eat. Pardon me, when they want to foodtake.

The bucket and brush union

BY DERMOT WHELAN

THE PUBLICATION last year of Desmond Greaves' book. *The ITGWU - the formative years*, saw an invaluable addition to the literature of Irish labour history, a literature which has never been very extensive. Now, with the appearance of Sean Redmond's excellent *The Irish Municipal Employees Trade Union 1883 - 1983*, a further gap in this field has been plugged.

Redmond, who is the general secretary of the 'Municipal', has drawn most of the material for his book from Dublin Trades Council minutes, Irish TUC and Labour Party reports, the William O'Brien papers and the minutes of Dublin Corporation City Council.

Unfortunately, the IMETU itself has little by way of early records, and nothing prior to 1922.

HALF-STARVED

The union, originally formed as the United Corporation Workmen of Dublin in 1883 in the Corp's cleansing department by a group of half-starved, semi-literate workers, holds a unique place in Irish trade union history.

Out of the various attempts

BOOK

to organise general workers in the final two decades of the last century, the IMETU (as it was re-named in 1918) was the one major body to survive and grow. Much of the credit for this must go to the remarkable figure of Michael Carty, a Corkman who had been at the heart of many of the early attempts and who had to be considered as a seminal figure in the formative years of the trade union movement.

Ironically, that did not prevent him incurring the bitter enmity of 'Big Jim' Larkin despite his and the Municipal's key role in securing the ITGWU's recognition by Congress and their unstinted support for it

during the 1913 lock-out.

To Larkin, the IMETU, who depended on a favourable council vote to secure their claims for improvement of pay and conditions and so were on good terms with as many councillors as possible, were 'collaborationist'.

Larkin's attitude was coloured by his understandable hatred for the majority of the councillors, who regarded him as a dangerous threat to their class interests. Still, it was another unhappy example of Larkin's inability to see anything valid in a view-point other than his own.

ESTABLISHED

By 1920, the IMETU had succeeded in substantially raising the real pay of its members, as well as securing a pension scheme, an eight-hour day, paid leave and annual leave.

Solidly established, it was to act for many years afterwards as an industrial pace-setter for others.

One of the book's great strengths is its unflinching ability to sketch out the political background to the union's develop-

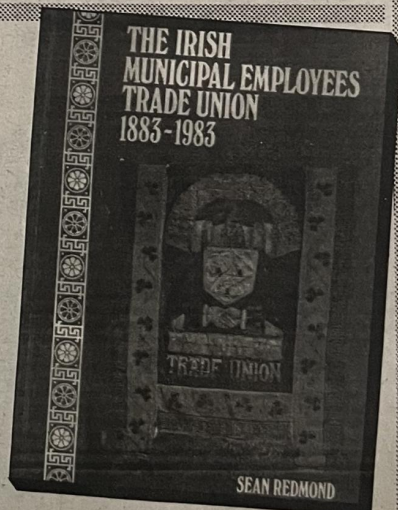
ment while still satisfying, in its pains-taking detail, those mainly interested in the 'bread and butter' side of things. This is best seen in the chapters dealing with the new Free State government's anti-union offensive in the '20s, and the battle against wage-freezing during the 'Emergency'.

The episodes of the '50-shilling men' in 1925 and the disastrous strike of 1940 are of special interest, as is the union's role in the ITUC/CIU split of the '40s and '50s. The leading role of individuals like Tommy Lawlor and Robert Tynan, both at union and wider Dublin labour movement level, is very well brought out.

TAN WAR

For republicans, particular interest will attach to the union's contribution in the Black and Tan War.

They had two members, Peter Cassidy and John Gaffney, also executed by 'Staters' in the Civil War, as well as having the assistant general-secretary interned and their union hall badly damaged in the fighting



around the Four Courts.

This book is a fascinating slice not only of trade union history but also of social history and is highly recommended.

● The Irish Municipal Employees Trade Union 1883 - 1983, by Sean Redmond, is published by the union. Price 1r £3.75.

REMEMBERING THE PAST

An act of heroism

BY PETER O'ROURKE

FOLLOWING the failure of the 1798 rising, Michael Dwyer returned to the Wicklow mountains where, with other United Irishmen, he continued the fight against the enemy.

On several occasions he had many narrow escapes from death, but none so close as on the night in 1799 when Samuel McAllister gave his life to save him. McAllister, a Protestant and a native of County Antrim, had fought with the Northern United Irishmen, but came South after the defeat in the North and joined Dwyer's guerrilla army in Wicklow.

On the night of November 17th, 1799, Dwyer and McAllister, with a number of comrades, were asleep in a cottage at Derrynamuck in the Glen of Imaal. Word was brought to them that a large company of English soldiers and yeoman were approaching.

The cottage was surrounded and Dwyer was called upon to surrender. The demand was refused and in a fierce fight, which lasted several hours, McAllister was badly wounded. With the roof of the cottage on fire, there seemed to be no chance for any of the occupants to escape.

McAllister, armed with a musket and standing upright at the entrance of the cottage illuminated by the flames, opened fire on the besiegers. The military returned the fire and closed in upon the cottage which was burning fiercely. Dwyer and his two comrades availing of McAllister's heroism, broke through the ranks of the attackers to



MICHAEL DWYER

reach the safety of the Imaal mountains. Samuel McAllister was killed in action against the English forces in the early hours of November 18th, 1799.

Cé bhfuil an pingin? - Where is the penny?

Tá sé thíos at an urlar - It is below on the floor.

Rith sé síos. Tá sé thíos - He ran down. He is below.

Shídl síos. Tá sí thuas - She ran up. She is above.

PHRASES

Thuas seál, thíos seál (hoos-shal, hee-shal) - above for a while, below for a while (lie's ups and downs).

An té a bhfuil tuas (an t-ay u-ue-un hoos-shal) - He who is above thriving, (improved).

Cuir séos sí (kuir-sheo-us-ay) - put it down.

Ní féidir liom cur suas leis (nee faydir lyum kur so-us-leh) - I can't stand him, it (put up with him, it).

Irish Lesson

54

THE pronunciation given in brackets is as near as possible to the sound. CH is sounded as in LOCHERNE. Q and T before A, O and U are thick, spoken with the tongue pressed against the upper front teeth. QH and QH are like a G far back in the throat almost a gargle.

Suas (soo-us) - up
Síos (shee-us) - down
Thuas (thoo-us) - above
Thíos (hee-us) - below

An luchóg (un lucheog) - the mouse
An naomh (an nayv) - the saint
Uífar (orlwar) - floor
Ar neamh (err nayv) - in Heaven
An cnoc (un knuk) - the hill
An bun (un bun) - the bottom

D'imigh sé suas an cnoc - He went up the hill.

Tá an t-éan thuas ar an gcarrán - The bird is above on the tree.

Thit Séán síos an cnoc - John fell down the hill.

Tá sé thíos ag an mbun (mun) - He is down at the bottom.

Rith an luchóg suas go dtí an barr - The mouse ran up to the top.

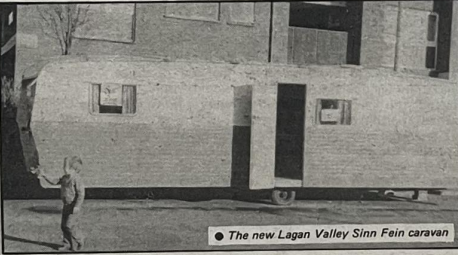
Tá an naomh thuas ar neamh - The saint him in Heaven.

LAGAN VALLEY advice centre

LAGAN VALLEY Sinn Féin have recently acquired another caravan which they have opened as a second advice centre in the area. Richard McAuley, Sinn Féin's constituency representative, said:

"Sinn Féin gave a commitment during last June's Westminster elections that we would improve our organisation and constituency service. Our acquisition of a second, larger, caravan is proof of our seeking to fulfil this commitment.

"We now have an advice centre in Twinbrook and Poleglass and by the early part of the new year I am confident we shall be extending our service to the rural areas of Glenavy."



The new Lagan Valley Sinn Féin caravan

Glasgow call for withdrawal

"THE NEXT Labour government should profoundly apologise to the Irish people for the past 800 years of British misrule and then get out," said Strathclyde Labour Councillor Jim McKeechie at a public meeting in Castlemilk, in Glasgow, on Friday, November 11th, organised by the Labour Committee on Ireland.

Joe Leatham, from Lagan Valley Sinn Féin, spoke about Sinn Féin's recent electoral successes, and affirmed Sinn Féin's support for the armed struggle. Jackie Fitzpatrick from the Stop the Show Trials Committee, in Belfast, told the crowd how fabricated and uncorroborated 'evidence' was being used to convict innocent men and

women. On Saturday, November 12th, a banner commemorating the Twinbrook Martyrs was presented by Joe Leatham, on behalf of Sinn Féin, to the Glasgow band of that name, and the two Irish visitors later attended a large demonstration at Linwood attended by eight republican bands.

JACKIE FITZPATRICK

Republican diary

THE 1984 Republican Diary (reviewed in last week's AP/RN), sure to be a popular Christmas present for republicans to receive or to give, is now available at Sinn Féin at 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

The pocket-sized diary contains vital items such as articles on the North or the South; a media list with telephone numbers of TV and radio stations, newspapers and magazines; telephone numbers of airports, seaports, bus and train stations; and all the usual diary facilities.

Also included are articles entitled *Freedom struggle in Ireland*, *International Women's Day*, *The Irish language*, *The anti-nuclear movement*, and a number of historical pieces, together with names and addresses of Irish language

organisations and women's organisations. The Republican Diary costs £1.75 from the usual outlets or £2 by post from Sinn Féin.



Draw results

Dundalk An Clúmhann Cabhrach Leather handbag: Maureen Cudwell, c/o Louth County Hospital; crafted tea tray: P. McDonagh, St Helen's Crescent, Dundalk; leather wallet: R. King, The Crescent, Dundalk.

Dundalk Sinn Féin Black & white portable TV: Loretta Arrowsmith, Cedarwood Park, Coxes Demesne, Dundalk.

Fermanagh Sinn Féin £100: Frank Brown, Newtownbutler; £50: Paul O'Reilly, c/o CPV, Clones; £25: Nicky McDavid, Strabane.

Release James Kelly Committee Harp: Anne Ross, Glasgow; leather bag: 'Dublin activist'; leather purse: J. Bergin, Waterford; leather wallet: Joseph Wall, TCD.

Shannon Sinn Féin Draw No. 10: £25: 34; £10: 85; £5: 17. Draw No. 11: £25: 34; £10: 61; £5: 15

SYMPATHY

DARRAGH. The POWs in Armagh, Long Kesh, Magilligan, Crumlin Road and in jails in England learn with deep regret of the death of A. Darragh, father of our friend and comrade Síle. Most heartfelt condolences are extended to all the Darragh family.

DARRAGH. The Sinn Féin POW Department extends deepest sympathy to our comrade Síle and all the Darragh family on the death of their father.

DUFFY. The Terence McSwiney Sinn Féin cumann, Hammersmith, London, extends deepest sympathy to the family of Anna Duffy.

NOLAN. The Frank Dwyer Sinn Féin cumann, Blessington, extends sincere sympathy to the family and friends of the late Catherine Nolan, Rockfoll, Blessington. May she rest in peace.

SOLIDARITY GREETINGS

BEATTIE. Christine. (Armagh). Keep the heart up, Bap. Tíoclaidh ár lá. Best wishes from a friend. UTP.

MC CONVEY. Eamonn. (Magilligan). Happy birthday, Eamonn. It won't be long now. Meanwhile, keep up the studies and your chin. Love from mother, father, Sam, Nora, Liam, Maria, Bernard, Vivien, Gavin and Lesley.

MC CONVEY. Eamonn. (Magilligan). Ls breithe sona do Eamonn. Tá síl agam go mbéidh cluiste eile agam roimh 1 bhfad, Gráinne.

MCGETTIGAN. Sean. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday and all of the best wishes. Tá síl agam go mbéidh tóid talneamh as. Le gach deagh-buidé Eamonn, Dóirín agus clann. Mhóil shuinn sa Rón 1. Dóirín.

MC GINLEY. Marty. (Magilligan). Happy birthday, Bow. Many happy returns from Anna and Patrick. xxx

MC GINLEY. Marty. (Magilligan). Happy birthday, Bow. Hurry home so you can get that wee bottle open. Lots of love and best wishes from mum and dad. xxx

MC GINLEY. Marty. (Magilligan). Happy birthday, Bow. Hope your next one is spent in freedom. All our love from Marie and John. xxx

MC GINLEY. Marty. (Magilligan). Happy birthday, Bow. Don't be getting tui (half). Love and best wishes from Johnny Bow and Anne. xxx

MC GINLEY. Marty. (Magilligan). Happy birthday, Bow. Good luck and God bless. From James and Ursula; Tina and Anne; and Jacqueline, Melissa, Claire Sonny and Charmaine. xxx

MC GURK. Aidan. (Portlaoise). Come on, Tyrone! Birthday greetings from Eamon and Marie.

MC GURK. Aidan. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday from Joe, Aggie and John.

MC GURK. Aidan. (Portlaoise). Best wishes from the Corrigan family, Rush, County Dublin.

MURTAGH. George; **NORNEY.** Paul. (Long Kesh & Durham). Happy birthday to 'Foxy's' friend in England. This year we celebrate not

CROSSEY. Michael. (12th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Michael Crossey, North Armagh Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who was killed in action on November 22nd 1971. Mary, Queen of the South, pray for him. Always remembered by Eileen, Gerry and family.

CROSSEY. Michael. (12th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Michael Crossey, North Armagh Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who died on active service on November 22nd 1971. Remembered always by members of the North Armagh Sinn Féin cumann and by all the Sinn Féin cumann in South Armagh.

MC DADE. James. (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol James Mc Dade who was killed in active service in England on November 14th 1974. Always remembered by Danny McGettigan, wife and family.

MCCVERRY. Michael. (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Michael McCverry who was killed on active service on November 15th 1973. Always remembered by the McCverry and Thompson families, Skerris, Cullyhanna.

MCCVERRY. Michael. (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Michael McCverry who was killed on active service on November 15th 1973. Always remembered with pride by the Michael McCverry Sinn Féin cumann, Cullyhanna.

MCCVERRY. Michael. (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Michael McCverry who was killed on active service on November 15th 1973. Always remembered by the South Armagh Sinn Féin cumann, Cullyhanna.

MCCVERRY. Michael. (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Michael McCverry who was killed on active service on November 15th 1973. Always remembered by the Barney Morris Sinn Féin cumann, Cullyhanna.

MC GINLEY. Marty. (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol John McGinley who was killed on active service on November 15th 1973. Always remembered by the McGinley family, Blessington.

ROONEY. John. (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol John Rooney, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who died on active service on November 15th 1974. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

ROONEY. John. (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol John Rooney, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who was killed on active service on November 15th 1974. Always remembered and sadly missed by his brother Eugene and sister Anne, Dundalk.

Media at a loss to explain republican unity

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

THIS YEAR'S Sinn Féin ard fheis evoked far more media interest than usual, mainly because of the perspective of Gerry Adams' election as the new president of Sinn Féin. Dramatic headlines and lurid stories about 'crunches', 'splits' and 'take-over bids', left but little room for a serious analysis of the party's evolution.

On October 19th the *Irish News* had printed an ard fheis preview entitled *The crunch that could force the split*, peddling the worn-out clichés of the "radical left-orientated members of the party" versus the "traditional republicans" who see participation in the EEC election as a prelude to taking seats in Leinster House.

The RUC chief, John Hermon, in a typical black propaganda statement, blamed the recent losses inflicted on the RUC by IRA Volunteers as "internal power struggles within the Provos" — alleging that "hardliners" were trying to establish the primacy of the Armalite over the ballot box.

This interesting analysis found a buyer in the *Daily Express*, which on Friday, November 11th, published an article, which read like an episode of *Harry's Game*, entitled *Godfather versus Godson*. This forgettable piece of 'investigative journalism' revealed the "Mafia-style" war opposing "smooth-talking" Adams who "says he believes in ballots not bullets", and an alleged "new godfather recently appointed to run the IRA's Northern Command" who was fighting for the "political control of Europe's largest and most desperate private army — the IRA..."

In sharp contrast to this trash, on Friday night, the BBC's current affairs programme *Spotlight* was devoted to an assessment of Sinn Féin's rank-and-file activities, both North and South. The programme even included a reluctant admission by Official Unionist deputy-leader Harold McCusker of Sinn Féin's dedication and hard work on the ground.

In the days prior to the ard fheis the clar was reviewed in the *Irish Times* and *Irish News*, both pointing to the motions on election tactics: *Sinn Féin may discuss abstentionism* (*Irish Times*), and *EEC poll tops agenda* (*Irish News*). Meanwhile the *Irish Press* correctly speculated that a split was hardly likely as the party's composition had been slowly changing.

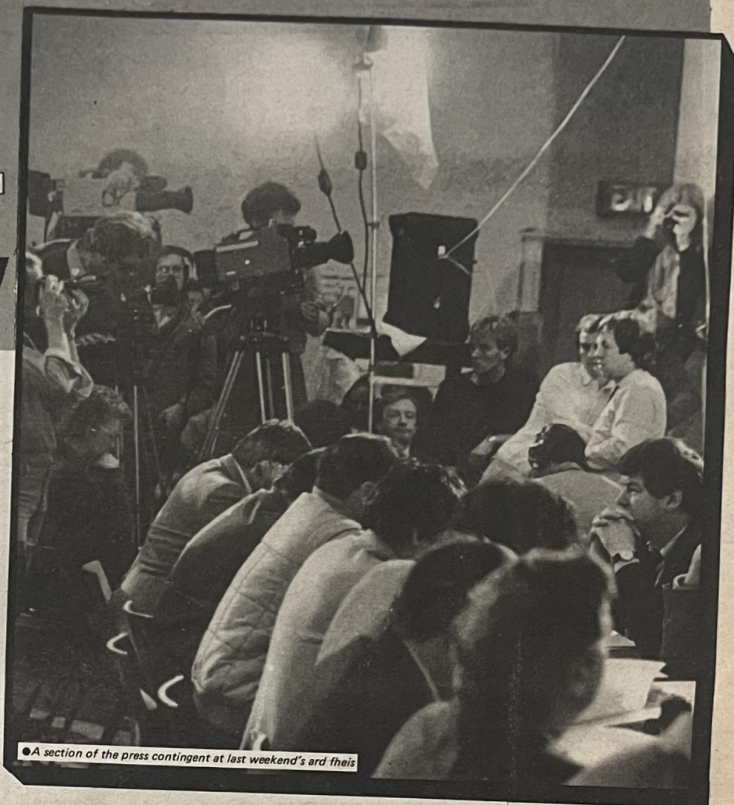
A condescending profile of Sinn Féin's newly-elected president, Gerry Adams, in the British Sunday paper *The Observer*, on November 13th, patronisingly — and erroneously — described Adams' politics as "a socialist-populist mish-mash". The article for the most part was an ill-disguised rehash of November 1982's BBC *Panorama* programme.

It conceded, however, that Sinn Féin's "early enthusiasm for tackling blocked drains and rising damp has been maintained" and that Sinn Féin was now "genuinely popular on the housing estates". And in an attempt to frighten British Tory readers out of their Sunday slippers, it concluded:

"Success is a marvellous catalyst in the process by which terrorists are transformed into statesmen."

COLOURFUL

On Monday and Tuesday, ard



● A section of the press contingent at last weekend's ard fheis

fheis reports were extensive but generally rather bland, given that after all there had been no split. The only opportunity for colourful headlines was Sinn Féin's continued support for the armed struggle, which confused all the proponents of the Hermon school of thought. For the first time in years the press had been allowed to remain throughout the whole ard fheis, and this inevitably led to more positive reporting overall.

The *Irish News*, however, talked of the "forced retirement of the Southern-based old guard", and the *Belfast Telegraph* wrote of a "Northern take-over", explaining that there were, there must be, "rumblings of discontent". The unionist *Belfast Newsletter* alleged that "Marxists have gained total control of the party machine", while Tuesday's *Irish Press* describ-

ed the ard fheis as "a more peaceful Irish equivalent of Yasser Arafat's eclipse".

The *Irish Times* leader noted that "some of the chimerical thinking about the legitimacy of the Leinster House establishment seems to be dying down", and concluded with a Hume-like argument against the use of force which, it said, would only harden US/NATO opposition to Irish unity.

The *Irish Independent*, barely concealing its fear under the guise of contempt, declared that the ard fheis was "not to be taken seriously", that Sinn Féin was "out of tune with Southern attitudes towards the North" and even "anathema to many". It bitterly criticised Northern nationalists for voting for Sinn Féin — as indeed it had done after the Assembly elections of October 1982.

The wide coverage of Adams' election, both in Ireland and in Britain, was echoed to a lesser extent in the foreign press. The most significant example is perhaps that of the Paris-based daily *Le Monde*, one of Europe's leading papers with a circulation of over 600,000.

Le Monde wrote of a "renewal within the Republican Movement" which had the "potential of breaking the deadlock which has lasted for so many years".

It quoted Adams' appeal to Northern Protestants, and his condemnation of indiscriminate bombings, as "heralding the death of the sectarian vision which for so long inspired the Republican Movement", and described Adams as "capable of channelling a strong current of opinion, thus bringing the Irish question to the centre of the stage".

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

AFTER Margaret Thatcher's dismissive comments following her meeting with Free State premier Garret FitzGerald last week, it took British direct-ruler James Prior to call a press conference in Stormont on Wednesday, November 9th, in order to 'explain' what his boss really meant when she said that nationalists were not alienated:

"I think she was thinking that the increase in the Provisional Sinn Féin vote was more one of frustration than alienation," he ventured, rather pathetically.

Prior went on to criticise the SDLP for not attending Stormont, and the unionists for not trying to get the SDLP to attend Stormont. On the New Ireland Forum, he was rather more non-committal, simply saying that no new initiative would take place before the Forum's final report. This mere nod obviously felt like the kiss of life to a desperate John Hume who the next day pathetically claimed that the Forum was now "centre-stage in relations between Ireland and Britain".

On Thursday, November 10th, however, Prior was more explicit. Addressing a gathering of British Tory MPs, he launched into the old 'red scare' diatribe, warning that Ireland could become a "Cuba off

SDLP cries for help heard by Prior



● John Hume and SDLP chairperson Sean Farren, desperately seeking help

Britain's west coast". According to an MP present, Prior used "very hard language" to criticise the SDLP's inability to halt

And for the third time in five days, Prior reiterated his concern at the prospective demise of the SDLP, in a radio interview on BBC's *The World This Weekend* programme on Sunday. He talked of the attraction of Sinn Féin's revolutionary image for young voters, and said he feared it might give Sinn Féin a lead over the SDLP in the 1985 local elections, 18 months from now.

"We must do all we can to strengthen constitutional nationalism in the meanwhile," he announced.

Prior's 'Cuba' claim, and his attack on Irish politicians, was described by Gerry Adams as typifying the "colonial nature of British rule in Ireland", and, he hoped, would show the nationalists in the SDLP that their leader's compromising attitude had little effect on the Brits.

Prior's comments on *The World This Weekend*, however, point to the contrast between Thatcher's lack of interest in Ireland, and Prior's concern at the SDLP's electoral decline — to the extent of planning an attempted rescue of the SDLP before they go back to the polls.

This could take the form, Danny Morrison suggested, of "another London-Dublin summit with a communique written in a language favourable to the SDLP on the eve of a Sinn Féin-SDLP confrontation in the EEC elections, and perhaps some carefully timed British criticism of loyalist intransigence, designed to give the impression of an SDLP breakthrough".