IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING POLITICAL WEEKLY

AN PHOBLACHT Republican News

Sraith Nua Imi 6 Uimhir 44 Deardaoin Samhain 8 Thursday 8th November 1984 (Britain 30p) Price 25p

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(2nd anniversary of introduction of strip-searching)

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ARMAGH

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Edentubber
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Monaghan (1pm Church Square visiting other centres in County Monaghan)

Sinn Féin ARD FHEIS '84

Gerry Adams receives a standing ovation from the Ard-Fheis. For the text of his presidential address — see pages 8-10. Full Ard-Fheis report inside.

Presenting the alternative

OPINION

Wild west chauvinism

PERHAPS the most alarming feature of the campaign which this week culminated in the re-election of Ronald Reagan as US president was the frightening imperialistic chauvinism generated by the Reagan camp in recent months.

What can only be described as a rightward lurch has gripped the United States since the turn of the decade — a reaction, no doubt, to the Vietnam/Watergate/Iran debacles.

Whereas the younger generation of a decade ago was tearing up the last few draft cards and exposing the murky secrets of the CIA, many young Americans today — white, educated, middle-class Americans — are likely to vote for people like Reagan.

Playing on people's genuine need to have their pride in country restored, Reagan launched a campaign to persuade the American public that they are the best people in the world and that their country is the greatest in the world.

Unfortunately for the rest of humankind, enough Americans fell for this line to re-elect a man who has shown a willingness to plunge the United States and, whether we like it or not, the rest of the world, into a war of unprecedented proportions.

There is nothing wrong with national pride and Americans have achievements to be proud of. Nor is there any real harm in myths of traditional Americanism — blueberry pie, log cabins and pioneers — but when the 'American dream' is believed as reality, then it is time to start worrying.

The chauvinism which Reagan and his backers are engendering is reminiscent of Nuremburg and is only a few short steps from branding other peoples as inferior, with all that that implies for their human rights.

'Freedom' in Central America relates directly to US security interests, just as the freedom of Czechoslovakia, Poland and a host of other countries was tolerated by Germany only so long as security dictated.

Most Americans would probably be shocked at such an analogy. So would many Irish people, but the danger of a nuclear war begun by the new Reagan administration is much greater than four years ago simply because American public opinion is much more likely to accept war now than it would have been when Reagan first came to power.

Cloch chora

NUAIR a bhí an díospóireacht ar siúl i 1922 mar gheall ar an gconradh a chuir stat na sé chontae fichead ar bun, dúradh gur cloch chora a bheadh ann chun na Poblachta. Ar ndóigh tá sé soiléir anois nach raibh bonn ar bith leis an argóint sin.

Is maith is eol do phoblachtaigh an dóigh inar oibrigh an stát sin leis an status quo a choimeád. Ní raibh leisce orthu riamh poblachtaigh a chur i bpríosún, a imtheorannú nó a chur chun báis. Ag an am céanna bhídís ag fógairt a neamhspleáchas ón mBreatain.

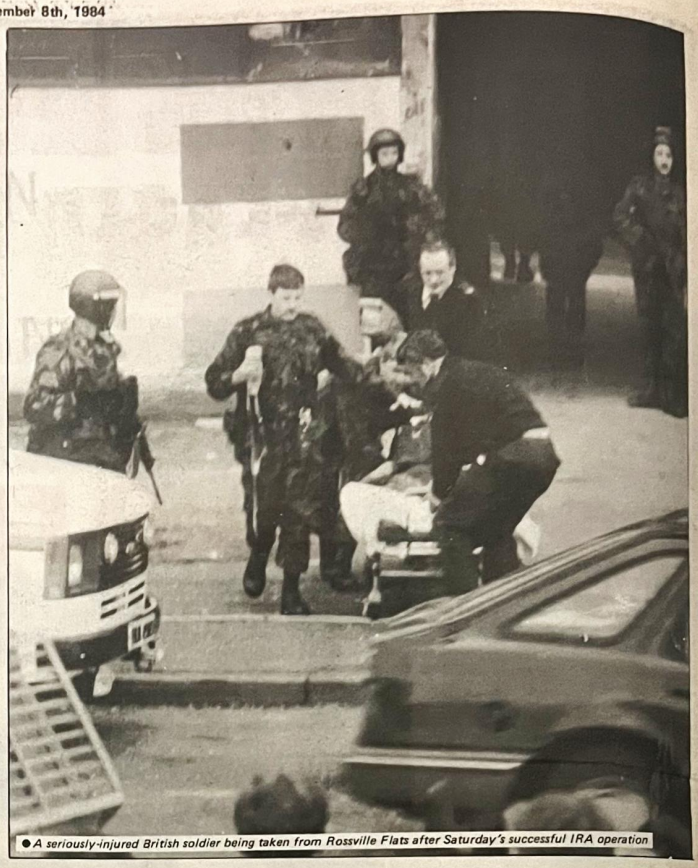
Ach le gach bliain a imíonn thart tá sé níos deacra acu seasamh leis an maíomh sin. Tá cúig chéad milliún punt á chaitheamh in aghaidh na bliana sna sé chontae fichead chun an teorainn a chosaint. Mar is gnáth tá poblachtaigh faoi ghlas acu. Tá an 'Taoiseach' ina maidrín lathaigh acu. Bhí sin soiléir sa dóigh inar rith Garret isteach san eitleán le déanaí le Thatcher.

Níl sa chóras dlí anois ach fo chóras de chuid na Breataine. Taispeánadh sin nuair a thosaigh siad ar phoblachtaigh a eiseachadadh. Tugadh fianaise breise dúinn an tseachtain seo nuair a reoigh siad ciste an NUM i mbanc sna sé chontae fichead.

Tá mianadóirí ghuail na Breataine gafa le stailc anois le míonna fada. Coimhlint ghéar is ea é idir Rialtas na Breataine agus na mianadóirí. Tá mórchuid tacaíochta tugtha ag oibrithe na hÉireann dá gcomhoibrithe.

Go dtí seo tá an tArd Chúirt i mBaile Átha Cliath ag seasamh le hArd Chúirt na Breataine atá ag feidhmiú thar cheann Rialtas na Breataine. Tá gach dealramh go seasfaidh siad leo go deireadh an bhóthair.

Cloch cora is ea stát na sé chontae fichead ceart go leor. Ach cloch chora is ea é chun Éire ar fad a thabhairt thar n-ais faoi riail na Breataine.



● A seriously-injured British soldier being taken from Rossville Flats after Saturday's successful IRA operation

War News.. War News.. War News

Derry ambush

THREE BRITISH SOLDIERS were seriously injured when they were caught in an IRA ambush on Sunday, November 3rd, in Derry.

British troops acting as a back-up for the RUC were involved in sealing off the area around Sackville Street and Little James Street, following the discovery of a suspect van.

An IRA engineering unit had earlier placed 3lbs of explosives — a small explosives charge minimising any risk to civilians — in an empty flat in Rossville Flats, knowing from IRA intelligence monitoring of Brit routines that, under the circumstances, they would inevitably send troops there.

When the Brits entered the flat the bomb was detonated. In a statement the Derry Brigade said:

"During the course of the operation IRA Volunteers were present in the area to ensure that civilians were not at risk. The flat in which the bomb was detonated was flanked on both sides by vacant properties and was above another empty flat. The bomb was inaccessible to passers-by and at no stage were civilian lives endangered.

"In recent months the British army and RUC have, through brutal harassment and continuous raiding, made the lives of the Rossville tenants intolerable. The British army's behaviour ensured the success of the operation."

The IRA also warned civilians to stay well clear of any derelict buildings which might be used by the Brits.

Following the operation, a number of youths attacked ambulance men. Mitchell McLaughlin of Derry Sinn Fein condemned the assault saying:

"Assaults on ambulance crews can never be condoned and Sinn Fein deplores such actions. The ambulance service, like the fire service, provides an essential public function and its members should under no circumstances be subjected to such attacks."

NEWRY

About 10.30pm on Friday, November 2nd, several IRA Volunteers commandeered a house at Glenhill Park in Newry.

A small explosive device, carefully placed to direct the blast outwards, was planted in the doorway of the evacuated house. The RUC were then lured to the house but when they arrived the bomb failed to detonate.

The RUC, in order to create maximum inconvenience for the local residents, unnecessarily evacuated 32 families for over 24 hours, and made much of the alleged danger to civilians. The IRA, however, in a statement said:

"The bomb was very small and located so that, had it detonated, it would have caused little damage to the house or surrounding property, while inflicting serious casualties to the RUC.

"IRA Volunteers were in the immediate area to ensure that no civilians were caught in the blast."

STRABANE

On Sunday, November 4th, IRA Volunteers fired on an RUC checkpoint on the border crossing between Strabane, County Tyrone and Lifford, County Donegal.

The Volunteers had commandeered a car in the Ballycolman estate in Strabane before the ambush. Then, using a high-velocity rifle they fired about a dozen shots at the RUC but no hits were claimed. Withdrawing back into the town, the Volunteers successfully eluded a massive follow-up search by the crown forces.

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

ACADEMIC BLUEPRINT FOR INCREASED REPRESSION

A BLUEPRINT for increased cross-border repression has been published this week in *Fortnight* magazine, by two academics, Professor Kevin Boyle, originally from the North, now at University College Galway, and Tom Hadden, of Queen's University Belfast.

Boyle was formerly active in the civil rights campaign of the late 'Sixties, and helped to bring the British government to the European Court of Human Rights for torturing internees; Hadden was Boyle's associate in research work for the British human rights body, the NCCL.

Never were two academics better qualified to help with counter-insurgency. Didn't they, after all, make careful study of the crude errors of previous governments in this field?

The Boyle-Hadden paper, which was circulated to the Free State and British governments, comes only a few weeks before the London-Dublin summit where it is known increased collaboration and repression will be discussed.

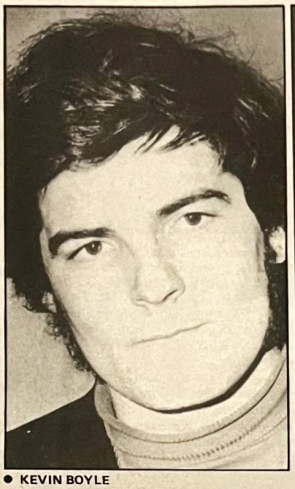
The paper addresses itself to the old problem: given that the British are not about to leave, or to curtail the unionist veto, how can they best defeat the IRA and Sinn Fein?

METHODS

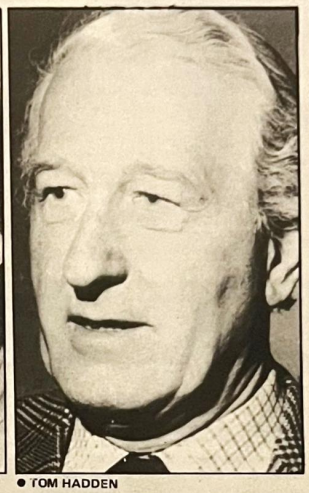
Boyle and Hadden have come up with the old methods: closer links between RUC and gardai, exchanges of judges between special courts North and South. The usual concessions are dangled in front of nationalists: the repeal of the Flags and Emblems Act for instance.

Undoubtedly taking Northern nationalists for imbeciles, Hadden and Boyle also suggested that the hated UDR be run down... and that its full-time members be incorporated into the British army, or the RUC. A change of uniform as it were. Those ex-'B' Specials now in the UDR would be used to it by now.

A more controversial suggestion was the provision of a *"right of hot pursuit on either side of the border"* and authorised cross-border surveillance. The mini-furore this suggestion seems to have raised will make many Northern nationalists wonder if they did not dream it all up: Jack Lynch authorising British army helicopters to fly over the border in 1979, the many incursions, arrests and murders committed south of the border by SAS and assorted Brits throughout the years.



● KEVIN BOYLE



● TOM HADDEN

The Boyle-Hadden *"hot pursuit"*, however, caused righteous indignation in Dublin. Free State premier Garret FitzGerald called it *"potentially dangerous"* and *"confusing"* — it would *"create two extra borders for people not to cross"*.

He meant *"two extra borders for Brits to cross"*. Much better, in FitzGerald's view, to leave the situation fluid and undefined, as at present. That way, the Free State government not only allows the Brits to cross the border, but can also score propaganda points by issuing public statements of protest afterwards.

KILBRANDON

Another report, published on Wednesday, October 31st, by a committee of British academics and politicians chaired by Lord Kilbrandon, takes up many of the suggestions made by Boyle and Hadden, who reported to the Kilbrandon committee some time ago.

The Kilbrandon report also proposes the setting up of a five-member executive to run the six counties, including the British direct-ruler, the Free State Minister for Foreign Affairs and three members elected by six-county voters, for example, the three MEPs.

The suggestions provoked swift and predictable unionist reactions. The DUP described the presence of a Free State minister on an executive as *"totally unacceptable"*. As for the running down of the UDR, it would *"leave us defenceless"*, the DUP man candidly declared.

However, some British official on a visit to the North reassured the DUP that there was *"no plan to change the role of the UDR"*.

OPTIONS

It was revealed at the weekend that one of the options considered by Thatcher for discussion at the summit was repartition of Ireland, a last-ditch option suggested by unionists like Harold McCusker in the event of an eventual swing to a nationalist majority in the six counties.

The approaching London-Dublin summit has been the cause of much speculation, issuing of statements, reports, leaking of rumours. The moderate unionists of the Alliance Party have also, yet again, put their suggestions on record: 'Anglo-Irish' parliamentary tiers, in which they would volunteer to take part, joint 'security', repeal of articles two and three of the Free State constitution.

However, it seems that the Thatcher-FitzGerald talks will be confined to increased collaboration by the Free State in the British war effort against Irish republicans.

In an interview in the *Birmingham Post* on Tuesday, October 30th, Thatcher, having admitted that Brighton would be *"the new backdrop to everything we discuss"*, reiterated that the British government had nothing to offer by way of a solution, and that the Forum options were *"just not acceptable"*.

How Irish establishment politicians will cover up for British intransigence will be worth watching.

Gas decision causes flare-up

BY ROBERT CARLIN

BELFAST Sinn Fein Councillors Alex Maskey and Sean McKnight were refused the right to represent their constituents on Monday evening when they were ejected from Netherleigh House, Stormont, where they had gone to attend a meeting of the City Council Gas Committee.

Acting on British government policy, which forbids ministers from meeting Sinn Fein, Industry Minister Rhodes Boyson, who was also due to attend the meeting, ensured that the two were refused security passes, effectively barring them from attending the meeting.

When the Sinn Fein councillors attempted to proceed past reception they were confronted by two Special Branchmen and ten uniformed RUC men. Two RUC men went to either side of Maskey and McKnight and escorted them from the building.

A short time later, PD Councillor John McAnulty and SDLP Councillors Paschal O'Hare and Owen Allen left the meeting in protest after the minister refused to discuss the ejection of the Sinn Fein councillors. The meeting continued with only Boyson, Sammy Wilson of the DUP and Official Unionists Billy Bell and Dorothy Dunlop in attendance.

IRATE

An irate Paschal O'Hare later vowed never again to meet any British minister, throwing another spanner into the already groaning works of the SDLP. SDLP leader John Hume, when asked his party's policy on British ministers meeting with Sinn Fein, replied simply that it didn't have one.

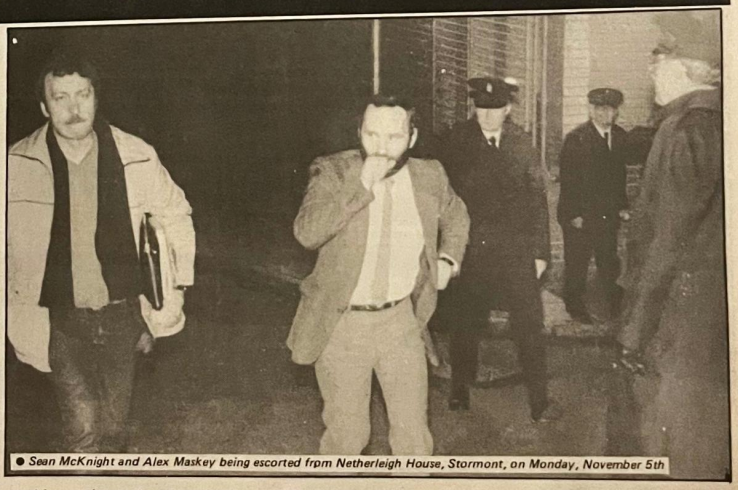
Smarting from his peremptory dismissal by the arrogant Boyson, O'Hare went on to say that the councillors had been elected and therefore had a right to be at the meeting. Sean McKnight pointed out, however, the attitude of the SDLP at the last council meeting.

"At the last meeting in the City Hall, the SDLP turned the debate on Divis into a Sinn Fein-bashing session and were applauded by the DUP for doing so."

Alex Maskey called on the SDLP to clarify its position:

"We are now asking the SDLP, especially in the light of next May's local government elections, what their attitude will be.

"Are they now going to accept British ministers dictating to the electorate who will represent them?"



● Sean McKnight and Alex Maskey being escorted from Netherleigh House, Stormont, on Monday, November 5th

Gilmour rehearsed by RUC

THE cross-examination of Derry man Raymond Gilmour began in Belfast Crown Court on Monday, November 5th, and already the RUC paid-perjurer has been caught out in a series of lies and clumsy subterfuges to cover up his perjury.

BY JANE PLUNKETT

During one particularly significant period of questioning on Tuesday morning, Gilmour at first repeatedly denied that, prior to his court appearances, he received from the RUC a 'book of evidence', containing the statements he had signed incriminating the 35 men and women currently on trial facing over 180 charges on his uncorroborated word.

When told by defence lawyer Desmond Boal that Gilmour's wife, Lorraine, had seen the book during their stay in Ipswich under RUC 'protective custody', Gilmour again denied the accusation, alleging ludicrously that Lorraine's statement was the result of IRA threats.

Finally, though, Gilmour admitted that he had indeed *"refreshed"* his memory by reading documents supplied to him by the RUC. Then, in an obviously clumsy attempt to gloss over his altered testimony, Gilmour claimed that the document (which, confirming Lorraine Gilmour's descriptions, he described as a book) contained not his signed statements to the RUC but a narrative version of their contents — an irrelevant side-issue in the light of his admission of what amounts to RUC-aided 'schooling'.

Equally foolishly, Gilmour claimed that he received the book from the RUC only after his wife left him and returned to Derry.

Part of Gilmour's cross-examination, which is expected to last for several weeks, was observed by two delegates from Birmingham Trades Council, who visited Belfast this week expressly to attend the trial.

The visit was arranged after a defendant in the case, Seamus Friel, wrote to Birmingham Trades Council asking that observers be sent to witness the cross-examination of Gilmour.

ASTMS member Dave Brooks, who is representing the Trades Council, commenting on the delegation in a statement said:

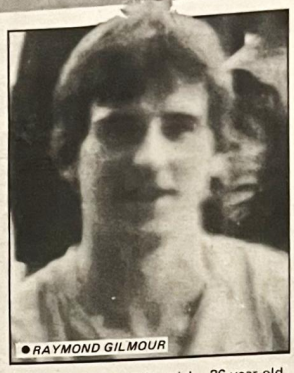
"I believe that trade unionists like myself should visit a part of the UK where you can be arrested without charge, detained without trial, tried without a jury, and condemned on the evidence of a 'supergrass' whose testimony is tainted by motives of fear or greed."

LLEWELLYN VERDICT

Manchester-born Barry Llewellyn was sentenced on Wednesday to two terms of life imprisonment, the harsh punishment meted out to him by the British colonial authorities for resisting the RUC's efforts to pressurise him into procuring the conviction of other innocent men.

Llewellyn was convicted on charges relating to his alleged involvement in the killing of two RUC men in Downpatrick, an action claimed by the IRA.

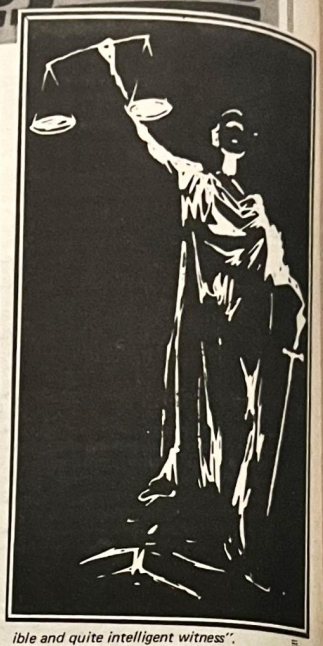
Giving evidence in his own defence during last month's trial, 26-year-old Llewellyn, who prior to his arrest lived in Downpatrick with his locally-born wife, testified that under RUC pressure he had signed statements incriminating himself and seven South Down men, statements which, he insisted, the RUC had written themselves. Subsequently, Llewellyn told the court, he decided to withdraw these *"perjured"* statements.



● RAYMOND GILMOUR

Thus, the RUC were obliged to release the other men but, evidently determined to secure one conviction at least, they continued to hold Llewellyn on the sole basis of his statement.

Their policy bore fruit on Wednesday, when trial judge Kelly delivered his reserved verdict against Llewellyn. In a one-hour judgement, Kelly described the senior RUC detectives' evidence as *"unconvincing"*, and the whole case as *"disturbing"*. He admitted that the defendant was *"an extremely alert, plausible and quite intelligent witness"*.



Predictably, despite these remarks, and in marked contrast to the readiness of Kelly and his fellow Diplock judges to convict scores of individuals on the tainted word of RUC paid-perjurers, Kelly accepted as valid the statement of admission Llewellyn had been pressurised into signing and handed the RUC the revenge they had sought.

● Local people go to the aid of Pauline Ward after she was struck by a plastic bullet

Plastic bullet injury

FOLLOWING the ambush by the IRA on the Brits, in Derry's Rossville Flats in Derry, on Saturday, November 3rd, Pauline Ward, a 30-year-old mother, went in search of her father, who suffers from multiple sclerosis.

As she walked down Rossville Street past the Rossville Flats, towards a pub where she thought her father might be, an RUC man in a nearby jeep deliberately opened fire, striking her in the leg with a plastic bullet.

Some local people, fearing the RUC might fire more plastic bullets, rushed to Pauline Ward's aid and helped carry her out of the immediate area. She was rushed to Altnagelvin Hospital for treatment for her injuries.

The RUC, in a pattern now familiar to the nationalist population, charged Pauline Ward with riotous behaviour, in spite of the fact that no rioting had been going on at the time or at that spot.

Pauline Ward is still in hospital while doctors attempt to ascertain the extent of the injuries to her leg.

UDR murder bid

A YOUNG Galbally man was the victim of a murder bid by the UDR on Monday of this week.

Michael Bannon had just driven down the lane from his home at Cranlome, Galbally, County Tyrone, when his car was stopped by a UDR patrol. He was asked to identify himself and his car was searched. A short time later, he was told to go.

As he drove off, a member of the patrol fired two shots, one of which struck the car. The RUC were then called by the UDR. When they arrived, they arrested Bannon under Section 12 of the Emergency Provisions Act.

Sinn Fein's Francie Molloy likened the shooting to the murder of Seamus Grew and Roddy Carroll two years ago. He said RUC claims that Bannon had broken through a checkpoint were totally untrue.

This is the second such incident to take place within the space of a week. Two Roslea men had a lucky escape when the UDR fired four shots at them near a checkpoint at the weekend. These incidents show clearly that the British government has no intention of abandoning its shoot-to-kill policy.

Sinn Fein elected representative for Fermanagh/South Tyrone, Owen Carron, has called for the arrest of the UDR men involved and for charges to be pressed.

Sinn Féin ARD FHEIS '84

NEW ARD CHOMHAIRLE

THE new Sinn Fein Ard Chomhairle, elected at last weekend's Ard-Fheis, is as follows:

President: **Gerry Adams**; vice-president: **John Joe McGirl**; general secretaries: **Denise Cregan** and **Tom Hartley**; treasurers: **Joe Cahill** and **Seamus McGarrigle**; PRO: **Danny Morrison.**

Also elected were:

Martin McGuinness (Derry), **Owen Carron** (Fermanagh), **Jim McAllister** (Armagh), **Pat Doherty** (Donegal), **Aine Nic Mhurchadha** (Dublin), **Martha McClelland** (Derry), **Caoimhghin O Caolain** (Monaghan), **Alex Maskey** (Belfast).

Following a resolution at the Ard-Fheis only one vice-president was elected this year and a party chairperson for the coming year will be elected from the Ard Chomhairle by the members of the new Ard Chomhairle; at subsequent ard-fheisheanna the chairperson will be elected from the floor.

Twelve further members are to be elected as regional representatives from the comhairli limisteir.

The Ard Chomhairle also has the power to co-opt five members for specific posts, one of which must be national organiser and, should there be less than eight women members at that stage, it is obliged, following a 1983 resolution in favour of positive discrimination, to co-opt women to make up that number.

Building on progress

BY KEVIN BURKE AND MAEVE ARMSTRONG

THE MOST striking feature of this year's Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis, for many delegates, was the crowded and attentive audience for all debates and, almost without exception, the well-informed contributions made by delegates.

The political progress made by Sinn Fein during the year was, once again, reflected in the very obvious increased politicisation of its membership.

Many resolutions on organisational matters also reflected a desire to concentrate on overcoming practical problems limiting further development, rather than the more abstract aspirations of former years.

In a comprehensive and incisive general secretaries' report, Denise Cregan detailed the failures and achievements of the organisation in the previous 12 months, emphasising the need to concentrate on building an experienced leadership at all levels and reinforcing party discipline in regard to work done or neglected. She stressed that the twenty-six counties is the key area for development on all fronts.

MODIFIED

The system of comhairli limisteir, covering 12 regions, has been slightly modified in North and South Munster, South Leinster and West Ulster to overcome operational difficulties experienced in their first year. Richard McAuley, on behalf of the outgoing regional representatives, moved several resolutions which will tighten up the accountability, discipline and organisation of the comhairli.

An important Derry motion was passed allowing the Ard Chomhairle to conduct limited experimentation in comhairle ceantair areas where the cumann structure is not working effectively. And a major campaign of recruitment was agreed.

● *MARY McGING, who was sentenced to one years imprisonment by Dublin's Special Court, on Wednesday this week, for 'harbouring three persons, not yet arrested, knowing they had been involved in kidnapping' and 'knowing they were in possession of firearms', pictured here with MARTHA McCLELLAND and FRANCIE MOLLOY*

The most controversial debate in regard to organisational changes came, as expected, on an Ard Chomhairle resolution *"that the organisation styled 'Sinn Fein (Britain)' be disbanded"*.

HISTORY

Introducing the resolution, Caoimhghin O Caolain traced the history of Sinn Fein as an organisation in Britain, outlining its strength in the early 'Seventies as a fund-raising and publicity machine, to its decline and limited effectiveness in more recent years. Sinn Fein as a party presenting an alternative in Ireland was a contradiction in the same role in Britain.

The work of present Sinn Fein members there in relation to prisoners, paper-selling, publicity, foreign affairs and fund-raising would be more effectively done under direction from Dublin rather than in an artificial copy organisation of cumainn, he said.

Understandably, there were highly emotional arguments against the move by some, but not all, delegates from Britain as well as some based in Ireland. Deceased and imprisoned members of Sinn Fein (Britain) were invoked as a reason not to disband.

But the Ard-Fheis was brought back to reality by two very sober contributions from former POWs in Britain, John McCloskey and Ray McLaughlin, who, supporting the resolution to disband, pointed out the need for a totally new attitude to what Sinn Fein wanted to achieve in the context of Britain.

Gerry Adams, winding up the debate, gave an honest assessment of Sinn Fein in Britain and the need for members to make considered realistic decisions. The motion was passed.

LANDLORDS

Another resolution affecting membership of Sinn Fein concerned a less-respected class than the members in Britain. This called for the barring of *"landlords, speculators and their respective agents"* from membership of Sinn Fein and was amended to read *"landlords, who exploit their tenants, speculators and their respective agents"*, before being passed by delegates.

There were many ideas expressed on how Sinn Fein should take the practical steps of increasing the effectiveness of its organisation and educating its members in the political work required of them.

Among resolutions passed were calls for working committees on social affairs, housing, trade unions and so on; a motion adopted from the H-Blocks requires the development of a comprehensive statement of Sinn Fein's policies in all areas to be publicised and acted upon as a radical alternative. The importance of head office being adequately staffed by full-time personnel was reflected in another motion passed by delegates.

Delegates also voted for updated policy documents to be produced, reflecting Ard-Fheis decisions, within six months; educational seminars on operating advice centres to be organised and a full educational programme, if possible at a permanent centre, to be introduced, along with libraries in local areas.

PUBLICITY

Danny Morrison, National Director of Publicity, gave a brief opening address to the Ard-Fheis before the section on publicity by outlining the various publications the department had been involved in producing over the year.

These included updating several Sinn Fein leaflets, the launching of a new pamphlet *The Slaying of John Downes*, the republishing of the *Republican Diary* and the production and scripting of a film about Bodenstown Sunday. The department was currently involved in producing a concise book on IRA operations from 1919-21 to counter and debunk the current revisionism of Free State media analysis about the nature of IRA attacks at the time.

Through the Republican Press Centre in Belfast and the Republican Information Centre in Derry approximately 700 statements, 379 interviews with journalists and delegations were dealt with and information was disseminated throughout the year to many parts of the world.

BANNING

A motion which called for the banning of ITV for three successive Ard-Fheiseanna because they taped last year's closed session was withdrawn.

Several other motions, calling for Sinn Fein to make a stronger push on exposing the censorship of Section 31 and to expand Sinn Fein's publicity personnel, were passed by delegates. However, a motion which called on any publicity material which used the term 'British' to be replaced by 'English' in order, as the proposer put it, to *"isolate the English and to create an awareness in Wales and Scotland that their regiments are fighting to uphold English colonialism not only in their own countries but in the counties as well"* was, not surprisingly, rejected with delegates saying *"It is the system we are fighting, not the people."*

ARD FHEIS '84

Electoral strategy reaffirmed

BY KEVIN BURKE AND MAEVE ARMSTRONG

IN KEEPING with the development of Sinn Fein's electoral strategy, there was detailed debate on the question of attitudes towards future elections.

On the issue of next year's local elections in the North, a motion was adopted that Sinn Fein should contest *"as many seats as the six-county election directorate think are feasible"*, leaving a good degree of necessary flexibility in this regard.

Martin McGuinness appraised delegates of the problems raised by the British ban, following the election of Bobby Sands, on putting forward candidates who had served terms of imprisonment.

Showing a growing political maturity, resolutions which rather hysterically called for *"unequivocal support for the armed struggle"* to be stated on *"all election literature and in all speeches by candidates"* were withdrawn by the cumainn involved.

If anyone had been missing from Ireland in the last 15 years and was unclear about Sinn Fein's attitude on the issue, then they were put in the picture by a resolution, passed unanimously, which stated:

"This Ard-Fheis reaffirms our support for the armed struggle being waged against the British forces of occupation in the six counties and expresses our solidarity and appreciation to the men and women engaged in the war."

ABSTENTION

Sinn Fein's traditional policy of abstention from the Westminster, Stormont and Leinster House parliaments was overwhelmingly reaffirmed by the delegates.

Lita Campbell, of Dublin, called for it to be clearly spelled out to young people joining Sinn Fein that *"our aim is to re-establish the republic proclaimed in Easter Week and confirmed by the First Dail in 1919"*. She also called for an education document giving Sinn Fein's constitutional reasons for abstentionism to be available and mandatory reading for all members.

● FRANCIE MOLLOY & PAT DOHERTY

A motion proposing that Sinn Fein should not participate in any elections related to Leinster House, on an abstentionist policy or otherwise, was rejected by the delegates.

Ard Chomhairle member Sean Crowe, speaking against the motion, pointed out that a vote in favour was a rejection of Sinn Fein's electoral involvement and would effectively *"tie the hands of the organisation which is supposed to represent the people"*.

Also in opposition were vice-president John Joe McGirl and Tom Hartley, Ard Chomhairle member, who said that the strategy is *"making Sinn Fein relevant to people in their everyday needs"* as it had broken down the isolation which was imposed on Sinn Fein.

REGISTERING

A motion calling for Sinn Fein to register as a political party in the twenty-six counties received enthusiastic opposition from the majority of speakers and delegates.

Moving the motion, Frank Connolly, Dublin, said that registering as a political party would have financial and other advantages and was a *"viable option and a practical step forward"*.

He said that registration was a minor formality, that it was easier than having to change candidates' names by deed poll to include Sinn Fein (as occurred during the EEC elections in the twenty-six counties) and that it would probably reduce the level of harassment of Sinn Fein members by the Special Branch. Sinn Fein members, he said, would be able to make collections in public places.

He strongly emphasised, however, that registration, if not seen to be advantageous, could lapse after 12 months and that it would have nothing to do with recognising the legitimacy of Leinster House or the Free State government.

Speakers opposed to the motion did so on the basis that registration would indeed be a recognition of Leinster House, to which application had to be made, would be a sell-out of republican principles and a reflection of *"creeping Free Statism and reformism"* in the party and the motion was heavily defeated.

YOUTH STATE THEIR CASE

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

INTRODUCING the section on 'youth' on Saturday morning, Chris McKenna of West Belfast Sinn Fein and a member of the recently-formed Youth Committee, levelled constructive criticism at Sinn Fein's past attitude to youth which, he said, had *"singularly failed to come to terms with youth"*.

This was, he continued, an attitude also taken by governments, North and South, who consciously downgraded the importance and role of youth in society. This was reflected in their use of continual harassment. Cultural oppression, the present education systems, unemployment and the lack of youth facilities are also some of the tactics employed *"to force young people to toe the line"*.

He went on to trace the historic role, past and present, of Ireland's youth in the national liberation struggle, saying that they had *"always played a significant part in the struggle for freedom and revolutionary force"*. Their contribution, he added, must be acknowledged as such and reflected in Sinn Fein. He urged delegates to let the motions in the youth section serve as a basis for formulating a constructive and revolutionary youth policy. The debate began with a motion calling for the establishment of a Youth Committee — representative of youth and not a department — as being the best structure in serving the interests of youth in Sinn Fein.

REALISTIC

Sean Crowe, of the Ard Chomhairle, explained that a youth department had already been tried and it had failed because *"a department is a more formal structure"*. A committee, he said, was *"more realistic in this stage of our development"*.

He also called for support for motions which called for young Sinn Fein members to be fully integrated and represented at all levels of Sinn Fein; that youth retain the right to meet separately and report back to cumainn; and that a separate education programme, specifically relating to youth joining Sinn Fein, be made available.

A delegate from Dublin North East said that a national youth committee was *"long overdue"* and that, as youth made up a considerable number in Sinn Fein's membership, they deserved appropriate representation.

Youth, he continued, needed greater flexibility as many felt isolated in cumainn where, very often, older members tended to dominate.

The motions, which all had Ard Chomhairle support, were passed overwhelmingly.

Also given overwhelming support by delegates was Motion 31 which dealt with the role of youth in the promotion of the Irish language, games and culture and how youth can help to encourage others to become involved in organising such activities.

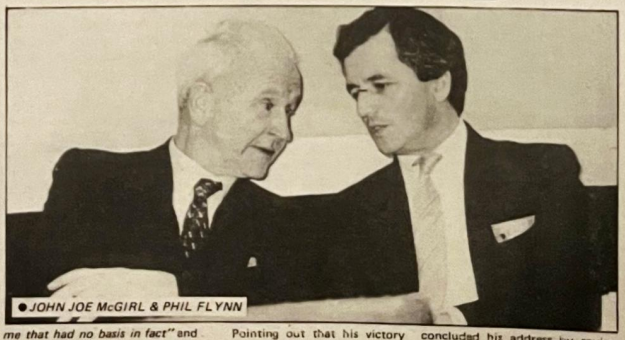
● A spokesperson for Fianna Eireann read a statement from the organisation

Ovation for Phil Flynn

DELEGATES gave a standing ovation to outgoing Sinn Fein vice-president, Phil Flynn, when he addressed the Ard-Fheis on Sunday afternoon.

Outlining the events which surrounded his nomination and election to the position of General Secretary of the Local Government and Public Service Union (LGPSU), the largest public service trade union in the twenty-six counties, Flynn castigated the role played against him by the Free State government.

Describing the present Coalition government as the *"most right-wing, anti-worker government in our history"*, Flynn said that, had it not been for their antics following his nomination, he *"would have stepped down"* from his Sinn Fein position at that time, because of the workload.



● JOHN JOE McGIRL & PHIL FLYNN

But with the activities of a 'dirty-tricks department', which was used *"to spread stories about me that had no basis in fact"* and the attempt by one Coalition minister to bribe some members of the LGPSU into opposing him, Flynn said that he could not have stepped down in those circumstances.

Pointing out that his victory against such pressure was due to his record as a trade unionist and the refusal of *"people of good faith across the political spectrum"* to allow outside interference in union business, Flynn concluded his address by saying that, although he was not going forward for office within Sinn Fein, his experience would always be available to the party of which he was determined to remain a member.

ARD FHEIS '84

● DANNY MORRISON, DENISE CREGAN, PHIL FLYNN & TOM HARTLEY

Radical social and economic policies

BY JANE PLUNKETT

THE LARGEST section on this year's clár dealt with 'social and economic' policy, reflecting Sinn Fein's deeper involvement and experience in these fields, particularly through its advice centre work, which has resulted in a growing awareness among members of the need for Sinn Fein to take an active campaigning stance alongside those fighting their everyday oppression.

The numerous motions, dealing with the economy, agriculture, housing, health and social welfare, education, drugs and travellers, were, for practical reasons, discussed over two sessions of the Ard-Fheis.

Regrettably, as in other debates over the weekend, lack of time, a problem made worse by some repetitiveness in motions, meant that several important issues could not be dealt with, and that discussion on others was inadequate. Nevertheless, a number of important motions were passed strengthening and clarifying Sinn Fein's radical policies.

ECONOMY

On economic matters, several detailed Ard Chomhairle motions were passed by delegates. The first argued centrally that *"Sinn Fein members must fight within and alongside trade unions and other groups"* to resist state attacks on their living standards.

Another put forward the party's strategy for job-creation, based on the setting up of a state construction company and of other state-run companies to make maximum use of natural resources, plus state takeover of key productive enterprises threatened with closure. The motion also commits Sinn Fein to resist privatisation and cuts in the state and semi-state sector.

A successful Ballymun amendment affirmed the importance of workers co-operatives to job-creation.

Another successful Ard Chomhairle motion condemned successive twenty-six-county governments' *"slavish adherence to monetarist economic policies"* which, the motion said, have destroyed home-based industries, increased social deprivation and inequality and intensified economic dependence upon foreign capitalist and financial interests.

Delegates also passed motions condemning the Dublin government's 3% norm on wage increases as a thinly-disguised method of forcing wage cuts, and condemning also their recent cuts in food subsidies. Another successful motion condemned the inequitable burden of tax levied from the PAYE sector.

INFLATION

Referring to price rises, Ard Chomhairle member Sean Crowe told delegates:

"Inflation, we are told, affects everyone, but it is the less well-off who tend to bear the burden of price rises."

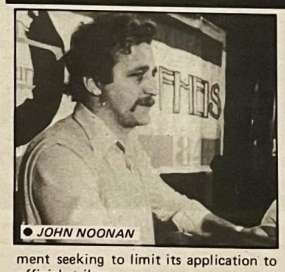
Without debate, delegates also passed a motion from Lagan Valley comhairle ceantair amending Sinn Fein's social and economic programme to support the bringing of all industries under public control and to state Sinn Fein's opposition to the personal ownership of productive property *"where such ownership involves the exploitation of workers"*.

The Ard-Fheis also endorsed the Irish trade union movement's demand for a 35-hour week with no cut in pay.

Considerable debate was generated by a Clones motion which proposed that members *"never pass a trade union picket on pain of expulsion from Sinn Fein"*.

While speakers stressed their support for the spirit of the motion, trade unionist delegates criticised its loose wording which, a Limerick shop-steward pointed out, did not relate to the complexities of industrial disputes, for example, pickets which apply only to members of the union in dispute.

Subsequently, delegates narrowly rejected both the motion and an amendment seeking to limit its application to official strikes.



● JOHN NOONAN

LEVY

A motion which proposed that the present 1% levy on workers in the twenty-six counties for youth employment be accounted for and made public, was also defeated by delegates who passed an amendment instead which read:

"That Sinn Fein oppose the 1% youth levy and calls for its abolition as it is an unfair and further burden on the PAYE sector."

Speakers felt that it was not enough to call on the Free State government to account for how the 1% is spent because it implies that the Free State government has a genuine interest in youth, while the disastrous economic policies of successive Free State governments, implemented over the years, have clearly shown this to be to the contrary, with youth being opportunistically exploited as a vote-catching device in times of elections.

AGRICULTURE

Agricultural policy was the subject of keen discussion this year — mainly, but not exclusively, involving rural delegates.

Joe Gallogly, speaking on behalf of Leitrim comhairle ceantair, successfully proposed a motion which condemned present strategies for economic growth based on foreign investment and the EEC. The motion stressed *"the prime importance"* of agriculture and fisheries in Ireland's economic development.

Delegates also passed an important motion, from South-East Ulster comhairle limistear, which called for a committee to be set up to remedy Sinn Fein's lack of analysis of the current problems facing the agricultural community and to work out an effective role for Sinn Fein.

Supporting the motion in no-nonsense fashion, Jim McAllister pointed out that small farmers rarely seek Sinn Fein's help on specifically farming problems, proving, he said, that *"farmers don't believe we fully understand their problems"*. He continued:

"The baseline must surely be to take up agricultural issues when they arise and to back up the small farmers in their fight with bureaucracy."

McAllister, in common with other speakers, urged Sinn Fein cumainn to work more consistently on such issues and to send representatives to the new committee.

Pressure of time prevented discussion on a number of motions, including those on housing.

SOCIAL WELFARE

On the topic of health and social welfare, a successful Ard Chomhairle motion condemned the prevalence of discretionary payments in the social welfare system, adding that this aspect of the system should be fought vigorously by advice centre workers.

Proposing the motion on behalf of the Ard Chomhairle, Rita O'Hare stressed that the only way Sinn Fein can avoid the clientelism relied on by establishment political parties is by discussing and clarifying the role of its advice centres.

A Dublin motion supported by delegates pledged Sinn Fein's active support to the campaign against the withdrawal of clothing grants and the reduction of other benefits. A successful Armagh motion called for more information to be made available to the public on grants and social welfare benefits.

EDUCATION

Speaking on education, Martha McClelland, Ard Chomhairle member and head of Sinn Fein's Education Department, told delegates:

"Education is power. The reason the ruling class denies education to us is that they don't want us to be capable of ruling ourselves."

Delegates endorsed an Ard Chomhairle motion which condemned the continued cutbacks in public spending on education, adding that the deeply embedded class bias in the education system can only be overcome by a redirection in the curriculum along with a major increase in education spending.

Other successful motions directed Sinn Fein's Research Department to develop policy on all levels of education, and condemned the distorted version of Irish history taught in schools.

DRUGS

On Ireland's drug problem, delegates unanimously passed a Dublin motion expressing Sinn Fein's full support for the aims and objectives of the Concerned Parents Against Drugs Movement, following a well-received speech from John Noonan of Dublin.

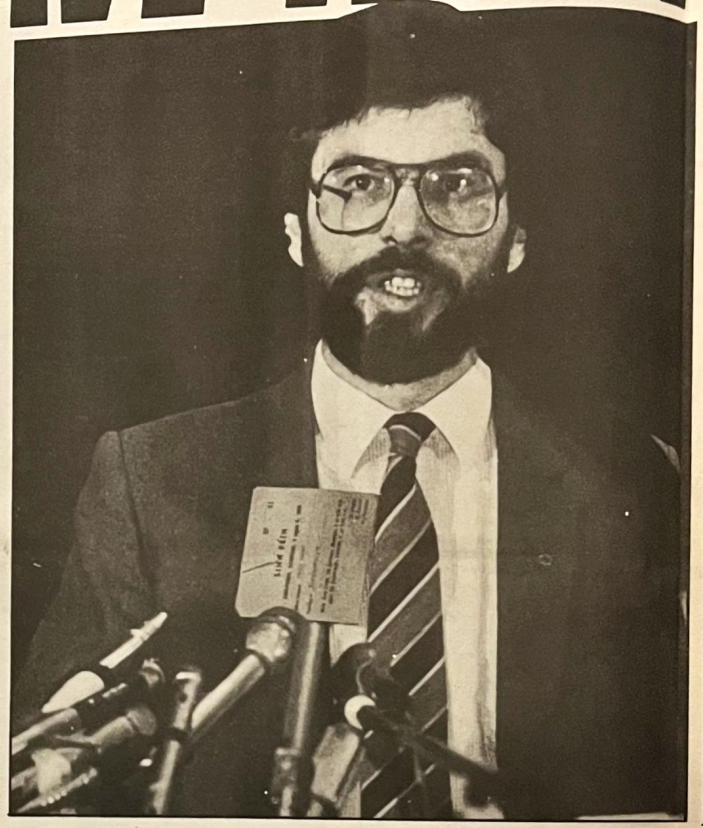
On the topic of travellers, the Ard-Fheis endorsed two Belfast comhairle limistear motions, which pledged Sinn Fein to support the rights of travellers to live in hygenic conditions and in the settled accommodation of their choice.

The motions also promised Sinn Fein's positive support for local travellers to set up committees to defend their rights.

Sinn Féin ÁRD FHEIS '84

Presidential address

'WE HAVE THE RI



AR dtús, ba mhaith liom ón Ard-Fheis seo, a chur in iúl do chimí pholaitiúla ar fud an domhain go bhfuil muid ag seasamh leo. Ba mhaith liom, go mór mhór, ár dtacaíocht a chur in iúl do phríosúnaigh pnolaitiúla na hÉireann atá i mbraighdeanas i Meiriceá agus ar fud na Breataine, a bhfuil ualach ar leith curtha ar a muintir sa bhaile.

Tacaíonn muid leofa siúd i bPortlaoise atá ag fulgaint griosála agus na socraithe speisialta do chuairteanna: leofa siúd i bPríosún Luimní, i bPríosún Bhéal Feirste, i Magilligan agus i Blocanna agus cásanna na Ceise Fada, bá chóir dúinn cuimhniú ar mhná Ard Mhacha thar dream ar bith eile.

Sé an rud atá coitianta i dtír ina bhfuil an ísmh in uachtar ag na fir, go mbíonn na mná sa chúlra, faoi scáth na bhfear. Agus sin mar a thárla ins na príosúin.

Le blianta beaga anuas tugadh níos mó poiblíochta do dhrochbhail na bhfear ins na príosúin ná do dhrochbhail na mban. Thárla seo in amanna de thairbhe gur iarr mná iad féin seo. Ós rud é gur fhulaing na mná an oiread seo leis na blianta, go háirid ó chleachtadh brúidiúil seo na "Nocht-Chuardaithe", is cóir dúinn, chan amháin a chur in iúl go bhfuil muid ag seasamh leo, ach is cóir dúinn fosta, arís an t-ainchleachtadh seo a nochtadh don phobal agus é a scrios nó is é rud atá ann ná cleachtadh rialtais lenár ndeirfiúracha in Ard Mhacha a dhídhaonnú agus lena spiorad a bhriseadh.

Ar bhúr son geallaim go seasóidh muid leo ar fad agus go dtabharfaidh muid ár dtacaíocht dóibh. Tá sé de dhualgas orainn uilig inár gceanntracha féin, tréan-iarracht a dhéanamh arís, na nocht-chuartaithe a stopadh.

In a male-dominated society like ours and even in a movement like ours the women are usually eclipsed by the men. So too in the prisons. In recent years, the plight of male prisoners has ecliosed the plight of women prisoners. At times this has been at the request and with the consent of the women prisoners themselves.

However, the suffering endured by these women over the years, especially as a result of the brutal and degrading practice of strip-searching, warrants more than mere expressions of solidarity from us. It demands a renewed effort to expose and bring to an end an administrative practice which is geared to dehumanising and breaking the spirits of our sisters in Armagh.

Strip-searching of the Armagh women is now almost two years old. During this time nothing of a security nature has been found and yet women, young and old, regardless of their physical condition, are probed and examined after being stripped naked by prison warders.

I listened recently to a former remand prisoner recount how she was strip-searched over two hundred and fifty-nine times, how sanitary towels were removed as she was stripped naked while having her period, how another prisoner was stripped naked and probed while pregnant, and how, after she had given birth to a baby daughter, she and her child suffered the same humiliating treatment.

These are the methods to which the British government stoops in order to subdue those it has imprisoned. The women in Armagh are our sisters in struggle and in pledging them our continued solidarity and support I remind you all of the onus upon us, to make a renewed effort to have the process of strip-searching brought to an end.

IN expressing solidarity to those suffering in prisons we recall, in the fifteenth year of this last phase of our historic struggle for independence, those throughout the world who are engaged in similar struggles.

To our black brothers and sisters in Africa, and especially those who struggle under apartheid in South Africa, we express solidarity. To those in Central America, oppressed by totalitarian regimes, to the Palestinians, deprived of a homeland, to the Basques and to all men and women denied freedom and to people committed to gaining freedom, we pledge our solidarity, mindful that the successful conclusion of our struggle is a victory for you, just as a victory for you is a victory for us.

We make no apologies for condemning the American government's foreign policy, the apartheid policy of the South African regime, the Zionist policy of the Israeli government or the imperialistic and colonial attitude of the British government.

Recent television coverage of the famine in Ethiopia has illustrated, starkly and tragically, how capitalist governments govern in the interests of the 'haves' against the interests of the 'have-nots'.

The plight of the starving Ethiopian people was well known to those in power, yet they refused to tackle the problem. Indignant public opinion, now aware of the depth of the Ethiopian problem, has forced Western governments to do a little. They are not doing enough.

The surplus of food in the West, stored at a great cost, and the miserable refusal of the EEC countries to give this surplus food to the starving millions, is an indictment of capitalism and those who claim to represent us at local and international level. Famine in Ireland was used to depopulate our country. Famine in Ethiopia is being used to undermine the government there.

In the West and in the EEC the food surplus is massive, enough to feed and provide a basis for the development of countries whose under-development is a result of the retarding colonial rule or neo-colonial rule which many of them suffered or suffer yet.

Garret FitzGerald, he of the great bleeding-heart liberalism and Peter Barry, the tea baron, have failed on this issue, as on so many others, to give the moral leadership which a country like Ireland should be giving in world affairs. They have the opportunity to use the presidency of the EEC and the EEC food surplus for the benefits of humanity.

Instead, in a world capable of feeding all its people, millions die of starvation, not because those of us lucky enough to have food wish it that way but because those who control the food have decided to use it as a weapon of war.

FitzGerald and Barry would, of course, deny this. If they were to attempt to have the food surplus distributed, as the people they represent would like it distributed, and failed in those attempts, then they should resign the presidency of the EEC.

All of this, of course, is asking too much. When they refuse to act in a just and moral manner in regard to the question of British colonialism in the North, or even within the parameters of their own state, we can hardly expect Dublin politicians to do the right thing in international matters.

If Dublin's submissiveness and willingness to assist in Reagan's controversial electoral visit to Ireland is any indication, then we can be sure that Dublin, despite lip-service to the principle of Irish neutrality, is content to make us pawns in Reagan's NATO chessboard, a chessboard upon which that geriatric whizz-kid seems intent on starting World War III.

Irish republicans need to be active in campaigning for world peace, against nuclear weapons and for Irish neutrality. And before our opponents point to our position on the legitimacy of armed struggle in pursuance of national independence and freedom, let me point out that there is no contradiction.

The suppression of small nations throughout the world and the arms race being pursued by the superpowers are but opposite sides of the one coin. To support national liberation is to be opposed to imperialism and Dublin's position on international issues is based on its position on the national question as surely as London government foreign policy is reflected in its attitude to Ireland.

RECENTLY we suffered London's media response to the IRA's attempted execution of the British cabinet in Brighton. The London government's response to that Irish action was, dare I say it, much quicker and probably much more considered than its long-awaited response to the Dublin Forum is likely to be.

Regardless of what one thinks of that operation, and we can be assured that Margaret Thatcher got little sympathy from nationalist Ireland, or indeed from an increasingly disaffected working class in her own country, it is obviously totally hypocritical for British apologists to describe the Brighton bombing as an attack on democracy.

The quality of democracy in Britain is, of course, a matter for the British people. It is their business, not ours. But the British connection, the partition of this country, and the resultant suffering and grief is far from democratic. On the contrary, it is un-democratic, unwanted, illegal and immoral.

All casualties and fatalities in Ireland or Britain as a result of the war are sad symptoms of our British problem and the Brighton bombing was an inevitable result of the British presence in this country. Far from being a blow against democracy it was a blow for democracy. Having said that, I am mindful of the consequences of this action.

I have no doubt that the British government will attempt reprisal action in vengeance for the Brighton operation. As always, we in Sinn Fein, in the public leadership of the republican struggle, are the most likely victims of British assassination plans.

Aware as always of the dangers of our position, but committed nonetheless to the struggle in which we are engaged, we will continue to campaign for the restoration of Irish democracy and to articulate the desire of our people for freedom and independence, regardless of Dublin smears or British violence.

Ireland geographically, historically and culturally is one nation. We as one people have the right to be free, and in that freedom the divided sections of our people will find the will to unite, regardless of religious affiliations, in establishing

GHT TO BE FREE'

a society which meets the needs of all our people.

THE Dublin Forum report does not provide the basis on which such a society can be built. On the contrary, after all the pomp and ballyhoo at the formal launching of an 'agreed' Forum report and the subsequent less-dignified but telling disagreement over the options outlined, the participants are still waiting for a British response. They are also, as emerged at the individual party press conferences, waiting for different answers.

The Forum met only because the establishment parties realised, mostly through the promptings of John Hume, that by their failure to do anything about the national question they had surrendered the high ground of Irish nationalism to Sinn Fein.

What emerged was not a blueprint for a united, independent and peaceful Irish society but an Irish establishment alternative to the policies of Sinn Fein. Nowhere in the Forum report is the reality of Britain's claims to Irish sovereignty contested. Nowhere in the report is the right of the Irish nation to national self-determination asserted.

It should be noted that Sinn Fein's exclusion from the Forum effectively disenfranchised at least 102,000 nationalist and republican voters, the very people whose 'alienation' the Forum report stressed. Sinn Fein's view is that the British government needs to be met with a firm, united and unambiguous demand from all Irish 'nationalist' parties, for an end to the unionist veto and for a declaration of a date for British withdrawal.

Within the new situation created by these measures, it is then a matter of business-like negotiations between representatives of all the Irish parties, and this includes those who represent today's loyalist voters, to set the constitutional, economic, social and political arrangements for a new Irish state.

We assert that the loyalist people must be given, in common with all other citizens, firm guarantees of their religious and civil liberties and we believe that, faced with British withdrawal and the removal of partition, a considerable body of loyalist opinion would accept the wisdom of negotiating for the type of society which would reflect their needs as well as the needs of all the other people in Ireland.

The establishment of a society free from British interference, with the union at an end, will see sectarianism shrivel and will see the emergence of class politics proper with a re-alignment of forces along left and right lines.

All of this arises because the Forum was not convened to deal with the real problem of British interference or its social, economic, political, sectarian and cultural side-effects, but because those participating felt threatened by the rise of Sinn Fein.

Protests about Diplock courts or the odious hired-perjurer system on the one hand and the extradition of Irish people into the very same system on the other hand; protests over RUC behaviour, plastic bullets, shoot-to-kill actions on the one hand, and inviting James Prior to a farewell lunch a week after the slaying of John Downes on the other hand.

And in the last few months we have seen the re-emergence of a pattern of beatings in the RUC's interrogation centres to elicit incriminating statements, whilst the recent scandalous revelations in the Kerry babies case, in the murder of Peter Matthews in Shercock garda barracks and the frame-up of Nicky Kelly, are but a few examples of how this potato republic mimics its British imperialist masters.

Over sixty years of partition, of neo-colonial status, has so conditioned the Dublin establishment that it is not within their grasp to tackle the British government in the way that government understands.

The Thatcher government has no respect for Dublin. Mrs Thatcher accepts silver tea-pots from Haughey and heaps praise on FitzGerald. For our part we are not surprised by any of this. Nothing has really changed – things are merely becoming clearer and the contradictions inherent in our two partitioned statelets are becoming more starkly exposed.

CONSTITUTIONAL nationalism in the Irish context is a contradiction when the constitutionality involved is British constitutionality. And British constitutionality in Ireland means the maintenance of a six-county colony which is not, never has been and never will be a viable social, political or economic unit.

Its existence represents, in a very real way, the denial to the Irish people of our right to national self-determination and places a national minority in a position where they must adopt a most reactionary stance in order to defend their own vested interest. Loyalism can only be tackled by removing the system of privilege which sustains sectarian divisions and by undermining its quasi-religious base by the creation of a just and pluralist society.

Sinn Fein offers to those presently tied to loyalism nothing but the equality denied to them for so long under the British connection. Irish independence means for loyalists the opportunity to play, for the first time, a meaningful role, with the rest of us, in shaping a new Irish democracy.

Dublin has failed these people and left them to the mercy of the Paisleys of this world in much the same way as successive Dublin governments have failed Irish nationalists. Indeed, it is becoming increasingly clear that Dublin has failed to deal even with the problems experienced by citizens of its own statelet.

A lot of attention is drawn by Dublin's politicians to the 'threat to democracy' in the twenty-six counties. Most of these 'dangers to democracy' are self-inflicted.

Democracy within this statelet is diluted by Section 31, by extradition, by disenfranchising voters, by the denial of the true origins of this statelet and the facts of Irish history – particularly that part of our history dealing with physical force resistance to Britain's claims on Ireland – and by an impressive armoury of repressive legislation.

The smokescreen of nationalist rhetoric raised by Dublin fools no-one, no more than the verbal and intellectual gymnastic displays by establishment speakers at monuments through this statelet. We at least are consistent. We not only salute Roger Casement. We salute also the brave men aboard the *Marita Anne*.

SINCE last year's Ard-Fheis, Sinn Fein has been involved in a number of elections – the Dublin Central by-election, by-elections to Belfast city and Dungannon councils, the EEC elections on a

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Sinn Féin ARD FHEIS '84

(continued from previous page)

thirty-two-county basis and the Údarás na Gaeltachta election.

The general secretary, in her report, has dealt with some aspects of these campaigns and there are many reorganisational lessons to be drawn from them all, especially the Udaras one.

For my part, I wish to concentrate on another election in the North this year — an election that we all missed. It was, however, based on that central principle of democracy, the secret ballot. So secret was this ballot that the names of the candidates were kept a secret, their election manifesto was kept a secret and even the date of the election itself was not disclosed. Even the voters were unaware, until afterwards, that it had taken place.

The results, however, have been well publicised. Apparently, Northern nationalists voted in a secret landslide for Garret FitzGerald, Peter Barry and Dick Spring to be their representatives. Not surprisingly the British government has accepted this election result. They were obviously in on the secret as well.

If Dublin wishes to represent nationalist opinion in the North then they are quite welcome to contest as many seats as they like.

In the meantime, on behalf of those we represent in Derry, Tyrone, Armagh, Fermanagh, Antrim and County Down, Sinn Fein denies Dublin any right to speak or act on our behalf. We are quite capable of doing that ourselves.

While on this theme — it's called democracy — have you noticed the effects of just 2,304 votes cast for us in Dublin Central? As soon as the upholders of democracy discovered that over two thousand people voted for Sinn Fein, they decided that all Sinn Fein councillors elected in the twenty-six counties several years before should suddenly stop representing those who elected them.

And so we have seen the ministerial campaign of refusing to meet Sinn Fein councillors making representations on behalf of their constituents. We have even seen attempts to interfere in the internal elections of a trade union.

Yet according to the EEC election results, Sinn Fein represents just about the same number of voters as the Official Unionist Party; 52,500 more voters than the Labour Party; 90,000 more voters than the Workers Party — with or without their fundraising wing — and 112,000 more than the Alliance Party. And yet those in high places continue to pontificate about the threat to democracy.

IN another equally important and related dimension of life in Ireland there is an absolutely hypocritical attitude on the right to family planning and contraception, the question of divorce and marital breakdown, the invidious social distinctions which surround the question of illegitimacy, one-parent families and so on.

These are questions which we as a people are mature enough to decide and settle for ourselves without fear of croziers or duplicity by salaried politicians and without the tragedy of an Anne Lovett to remind us that such problems exist in Ireland.

This is the quality of life in Ireland. Or what passes for the quality of life, because as well as all this, living standards here are being eroded by the application of Thatcherite monetarist policies which deprive an increasing number of people of their right to a meaningful existence.

ACCORDING to official statistics, unemployment in Ireland, North and South, is now very close to 350,000. That is one in five of the workforce without a job. The real jobless figures, however, must be well over half a million when we include all those artificially trimmed from the official figures — whether married women who want to work, older workers, school leavers, short-term job trainees, and so on.

In the most deprived working-class areas of our major cities the jobless figures are much more staggering, with four out of five workers having no job, no prospect of a job and, in many cases, no experience even of a job.

The economic and social hardship which accompanies this is evident in sub-standard overcrowded housing, insufficient health services, inferior educational opportunities, a total absence of recreational or cultural facilities; deprivation piled upon deprivation.

And what has been the response of those who follow the monetarist economic gospel, North and South?

Where there are few jobs, more factories are allowed to close. Where workers have jobs, their wages, in real terms, are reduced.

Where there is sub-standard housing or a total lack of housing, the house-building programmes are cut back. Where social welfare is already insufficient, it is restricted further and discretionary grants are withdrawn.

Where classrooms are over-crowded and special educational needs exist, teachers are left on the dole and pupils are made to pay to travel to school. Where health services are needed more than ever, less medicine is available free, hospitals and health centres are closed, health workers are made redundant.

Where young people are left, through no fault of their own, with time on their hands, there are no facilities to occupy that time — and joy-riding, drugs, vandalism and petty crime become aimless attractions, further adding to the spiralling misery.

In response to this, the Coalition government offers the Irish people a plan; they call it a 'National' Plan and entitle it 'Building on Reality'!

It quite obviously is not a national plan because — for all the time spent in the Forum — it ignores the economic and social cost of partition and deliberately fails to recognise that Irish unity is a prerequisite of the economic independence required for progress. It refuses to acknowledge the economic possibilties opened by the removal of partition.

But does it even address itself to the reality it claims to be building upon? Does it offer any hope to the people of the twenty-six counties to which it is addressed? On the contrary, it actually promises an increase in unemployment, cuts in public spending, redundancies in the public service, the recruitment embargo extended to local authorities and health boards, wages kept below inflation rates, taxation of social welfare payments, the removal of the remaining food subsidies and increased educational costs.

Those least able to afford it are going to be made to pay. Those with no responsibility for the recession in the capitalist economy are going to be forced to make all the sacrifices.

Yet there will be no extra taxes on that tiny minority who own the vast majority of wealth. There will be no embargo on the profits which the multinationals are allowed to export. There will be no cuts when it comes to the millions spent on maintaining British borders. Like the pantomime dame in a sad, but ironic, parody of Marie Antoinette, FitzGerald declares, *"Let them drink whiskey!"*

A sobering reminder that the economic and social misery that these policies bring is as nothing to those in power.

Double-jobbers, with their perks and their pensions, living in comfort, transported by limousine, eating subsidised meals, taking long holidays abroad, increasing their own salaries, only paying tax on half those salaries, placing their relatives and friends in well-paid positions....

Their response to the misery they have created is to make the victims pay, to jail workers who have resisted redundancy, to imprison students who have objected to spending cuts and to denounce and insult those desperately concerned parents who have tried to free their communities from some of their policies' worst side-effects.

Their response to the problems they have created is typified by the Criminal Justice Bill which is now almost law: the extension of the methods of legalised political repression across the whole of society. This law does not address the problems of urban crime, as it pretends, but rather, quite coldly, deprives every person in the state of most basic civil liberties.

A government concerned with the growing disillusionment of those it governs has deliberately set out to give the forces of the state extended powers of unrestricted repression.

SINN FEIN has consistently presented an alternative to this. First of all we state that the Irish people themselves must have the power to take the decisions themselves and that this can only be done in a united, independent Irish Republic which is not fettered by the interests of other states.

We advocate a planned economy which is not concerned with the maximising of profits for multinationals and private enterprise, but is concerned with maximising the benefits to the Irish people themselves.

Sinn Fein urges that job creation should concentrate in the areas of the most obvious potential development: natural resources; processing food for the neglected home market and for export; expanding the fishing fleet and processing industry to the level of other similar-sized countries; diversifying from the current secure industries to manufacturing industry with export potential; developing agriculture through selective subsidies and land restructuring, particularly in its labour-intensive areas such as market-gardening, and providing the necessary social services through planned public spending programmes particularly in the construction industry, with its spin-off potential.

We reject the negative, misery-inducing policies of the establishment parties, directed, as they are, at the protection of the interests of capital.

We declare our concern to be people, not profits. We state our confidence in the ability of the Irish people, through the implementation of a radical socialist economic programme in a united Ireland, to solve their own problems and to end the years of joblessness and social misery.

BUT Sinn Fein, in presenting the alternative, has a responsibility to be in a position to deliver the attainment of those objectives.

This means the development and expansion of our organisation through detailed and arduous work Our policies must be well-researched and kept up to date. They must be presented at every opportunity through an efficient publicity machine and we must win more and more people to work in support of them by recruitment throughout Ireland.

The relevance of an anti-imperialist political and economic programme to the jobs question and the worries of parents and young people, North and South, need to be spelt out. We need to expound not only the patriotic reason for unity and independence but the logical, social and economic reasons as well.

THE EEC elections were the major focus of Sinn Fein activity in the past year. In our manifesto we put forward a well-researched and detailed analysis of the failure of the EEC miracle which was promised on entry.

We advocated withdrawal from the EEC, the negotiation of trading agreements with it and an alternative based on a radical socialist programme. We were the only party to do that.

In the election we won a total of 146,148 votes in the thirty-two counties. In the twenty-six counties we estimated that a vote of 5% of the poll would be a considerable achievement, given lack of electoral experience, organisational weakness and the effects of Section 31. We achieved that target.

The vote in the North was 91,476 and although we maintained our percentage, our actual vote was down in the number of votes cast.

We have already publicly analysed this result in all aspects; the campaign of the churches, the tactical voting of Alliance supporters, the strength of the Hume campaign, the effects of some aspects of the armed struggle, and so on.

We have also acknowledged our mistake in publicly allowing a confident campaign aimed at enthusing election workers, supporters and voters to run away from our private predictions.

However, we have shown that there is a solid vote for Sinn Fein putting forward a definite political ideology and not attempting to follow the 'all-things-to-all-men' policies of the SDLP or, indeed, the other establishment parties.

The organisation benefited a lot from the EEC campaign but, unfortunately, in the twenty-six counties we have neglected in many areas to expand on those benefits and the work done in the election campaign.

This is a task to which we must apply ourselves between now and the local government elections. Republican public representatives should be tribunes of the people, not just in council chambers but outside these bodies as well, taking up issues which affect people and linking together representational and propaganda work with agitational and organisational work.

WE are 80 years old, as a political organisation, this year. Another great organisation, the GAA, is one hundred years old.

We congratulate all Gaels, but especially those enthusiasts who give freely of their time to teach our youth the skills of hurling, camogie, handball and football and we wish them well and hope that in the future the GAA, as a national organisation, succeed once again in raising national pride and national consciousness.

LAST year we set ourselves a number of internal targets for the development of Sinn Fein. Our success in achieving these targets has been mixed but nonetheless, against all the odds, we have made progress.

Next year we must build and expand on the gains made. Last year we made no promises except the promise of hard work.

Last year I outlined the practical measures needed, at a working level, if our party's aims are to become the tough practical policies by which we can give leadership now and provide results, even in the present partitionist set-up. Sinn Fein has succeeded in the six counties in doing just this. There is absolutely no reason why the same thing cannot happen in the twenty-six counties.

Where we have done the work we have had success and in all areas of that work our success has been directly related to our input.

Sinn Fein members throughout the twenty-six counties must get stuck in, whether through separate political campaigning, advice centre services or full involvement in existing trade unions, tenants groups, cultural bodies and social agitational associations, always promoting the republican viewpoint in the context of the particular aims.

We must be in there with the people, making it clear where the present system is wrong and what our alternative would mean in practice.

There are no shortcuts in the task of making revolution. There are no easy options or magic formulae. Only by painstakingly perfecting, educating and structuring our organisation so that it becomes relevant to our people and their needs will we be ready and capable of giving the leadership which will be demanded of us in the years ahead.

TNNIU is páirtí sinn atá níos laidre, níos beomhaire ná mar a bhí muid anuraidh ná an bhliain roimhe sin. An bhliain seo chugainn beidh muid níos laidre arís.

Is cuma caide chomh minic a castar Gearóid Mac Gearailt agus Margaret Thatcher ar a chéile agus is cuma cá mhéad ollchruinnithe idir Bhaile Átha Cliath agus Londain a bheas ann tá muidinne dóchasach — nó níl fuascladh na faidhbe ann amach ó neamhspleáchas iomlán.

Agus de thairbhe go bhfuil rún daingean againn gan tabhairt isteach do bhrú ar bith dá mhéad, tá muid cinnte go mairfidh ár bpáirtí ag fás le go mbeidh sé rannpháirteach mar ghníomhaí nach beag ar son saoirse iomlan, daonlathas agus cearta sóisialta dár muintir. Ní fhásfaidh sé uaidh féin, áfach, tá obair le déanamh. Déanaimís an obair sin.

Today we are a stronger and more vibrant party than we were last year or the year before. Next year we will be stronger again. Regardless of how often Garret FitzGerald meets Margaret Thatcher or how many Dublin/London summits are held, we are confident, because there is no solution short of full independence, and because we have the determination to withstand all pressures, we are confident that our party will continue to grow so that it can act in a major way as the catalyst for full freedom, democracy and social justice for our people.

It will not grow on its own, however. There is work to be done. Let us do it.

ARD FHEIS '84

Focus on women's oppression

BY JANE PLUNKETT

AN UPDATED REDRAFT of Sinn Fein's 1979 policy document on women was the focus of discussion on women's oppression at the 1984 Ard-Fheis. This year's debate occupied a 'prime time' slot on Saturday afternoon, reflecting (as did the large number of motions on the clár) the fact that the Women's Department is the largest department within Sinn Fein.

The session was introduced by department head Rita O'Hare, who told delegates in the crowded hall that the department had achieved a great deal during its four years' existence. She said:

"There is a consciousness now in Sinn Fein that the liberation of women is not just desirable but vitally necessary if true freedom is to be realised."

The redrafted policy document, she continued, reflected the work done by Sinn Fein women, their involvement in campaign committees and women's groups and, above all, the experience gained by working in advice centres in Belfast and elsewhere.

Without controversy, delegates approved a strengthened section of the redraft dealing with sexism and stereotyping which proposed educational methods, from primary-school level, to combat the sexist roles played by girls and boys.

The section on equal pay and equal work, Rita O'Hare told delegates, had been substantially updated to take into account women's recent gains in employment legislation and *"the fact that despite equal rights, equal opportunities being enshrined in law, they are not implemented and, in fact, are undermined by employers and some unions"*.

In this section, delegates passed an important new policy statement that:

"Sinn Fein will fight to defend the rights that women have won so far in the field of equal pay and opportunities. We will fight to stop employers from using loopholes in the present legislation to eliminate these gains."

INCEST

Many women spoke strongly and openly about domestic violence, including the 'taboo' subjects of rape and incest. The need for Sinn Fein to educate its members, and those working with children, about incest was urged by Belfast delegate Marie Moore, who told delegates:

"Sometimes the children abused go into school and they stand quietly and they don't play and the teachers don't even know what is happening."

Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams, speaking *"to encourage other men to speak on these issues"*, said that until his election as West Belfast MP he had been unaware of the extent to which incest occurred, but since then had had to deal with such cases.

Delegates passed a detailed policy statement and several motions, all reflecting the experience gained from advice centre work. The Ard-Fheis endorsed the view that rape is *"an act of violence, hatred and domination"*, rejected its narrow legal definition and called on Sinn Fein to educate its members and supporters to ensure that violence against women is seen as the responsibility of the whole community.

• DAISY MULES

An important related motion on the clár, which was not debated due to lack of time, remains an issue to be faced in future. The motion submitted by North-South-East Belfast comhairle ceantair, proposed that any members of Sinn Fein who *"indulge in physically abusing their partners, within marriage or personal relationships, should be dismissed from and ostracised by"* the party.

On contraception, delegates clarified Sinn Fein's position that contraception should be a right by law, as distinct from issues of personal morality, by passing a Belfast comhairle limistear motion stating that *"contraception should be free, safe and readily available to all through GPs and family planning clinics"*. The Ard-Fheis reaffirmed Sinn Fein's existing policy on the need for research and education on contraception and women's health.

ABORTION

This year once again, abortion was discussed. However, the issues involved were not presented clearly, either by motions and amendments on the clár or by speakers. After a confused and confusing debate (in the course of which a challenge to Phil Flynn's chairing was overwhelmingly rejected), delegates rejected a motion supporting women's right to abortion *"under certain medical circumstances"*.

Then, amending somewhat Sinn Fein's previous policy which stated that *"We are opposed to abortion,"* delegates endorsed the policy redraft which stated:

"We are opposed to abortion as a means of birth control."

The revised policy document also contained an updated and more detailed statement on divorce and separation. For this reason, several related motions filling in the 'social and economic policy' section of the clár were discussed at this session, even though not referring primarily to women.

Sinn Fein's support for the right to divorce was reaffirmed in several motions. The Ard-Fheis also committed the party to support actively the campaign for a 'yes' vote in any future Free State referendum on divorce, a decision expressing an increasingly politicised membership's recognition of the need for Sinn Fein to take an active stance towards vital social issues.

A successful amendment called for Sinn Fein to campaign in the short term against the discrimination suffered by couples in the twenty-six counties who have formed new relationships in the aftermath of marital breakdown.

Delegates also approved sections of the redraft dealing with discrimination, illegitimacy and childcare, before approving, as amended, Sinn Fein's much-strengthened new policy document, *Women In Ireland*.

Rún conspóideach

LE TOMÁS Ó SÉ

BHI brú mór ama i mbliana agus d'fhág sin nach raibh mórán ama fágtha nuair a tháinig an tam chun an roinn ar an gclár maidir le cultúr a phlé. Cháin na cainteoiri an easpa ama sin agus d'iarr siad go mbeadh a thuilleadh ama ar fáil amach anseo.

Thogh coiste stiúrtha an hArd Fheise rún conspóideach le díospóireacht a spreagadh. Mhol an rún sin do Shinn Féin an t-ainm Sinn Féin a chaithearnh uathu agus "Ourselves Alone" a úsáid in ionad sin, de bhrí go bhfuil fimínteachas ag baint le seasamh Shinn Féin i leith na Gaeilge.

Moladh an rún don Ard Fheis agus dúradh nach raibh Sinn Féin dáiríre maidir leis an nGaeilge. Iarradh ar na teachtaí machnamh a dhéanamh sula gcaithfidís vóta a gcoinne an rúin. Iarradh orthu cén loighic a bhí ag baint lena seasamh i leith na Gaeilge nuair nach raibh siad sásta an Ghaeilge a úsáid.

• Denise Cregan agus Áine Nic Mhurchadha ag an Ard Fheis

Spreag an chaint sin go leor dá raibh i láthair chun labhairt amach i gcoinne an rúin. Labhair Áine Nic Mhurchadha agus dúirt sí gur thuig sí don rún ach nár aontaigh sí leis. D'aithin sí gur chun na teachtaí a spreagadh a bhí an rún sin ann ach go raibh dul chun cinn déanta ag Sinn Féin i gcur chun cinn na Gaeilge. Thagair sí ach go háirithe don dul chun chinn sa Tuaisceart.

Labhair triúr teachta ó Bhéal Feirste, Bairbre de Brún, Máirtín Ó Muilleoir agus Padraig Ó Maolchraoibhe mar gheall ar a bhfuil ag tarlúint sa chathair sin. Thagair Pádraig do Roibeard Ó Seachnasaigh agus fir eile na Blocanna H agus an dóigh inar fhoghlaim siad an Ghaeilge. Ní hamháin sin ach spreag siad go leor den bpobal leasmuigh des na príosúin chun an Ghaeilge a fhoghlaim.

Tá líon na gcainteoirí, foghlaimeoirí agus daoine atá gníomhach ar son na teanga ag méadú at tam ar fad i mBéal Feirste. D'iarr Máirtín ar na teachtaí *Saoirse* a cheannach agus an paimpléad nua ata foillsithe ag Roinn an Chultúir de Shinn Féin i mBéal Feirste *Ag foghlaim na Gaeilge/Learning Irish* a cheannach agus a léamh.

Mhol Seán Ó Cearbhaill dos na teachtaí an Ghaeilge a fhoghlaim agus a úsáid agus gan a bheith díreach i bhfábhar na Gaeilge amháin.

Caitheadh an rún amach d'aon ghuth.

Sinn Féin ARD FHEIS '84

More interest needed in foreign affairs

BY JACK MADDEN

THE MOST notable feature of the debate on foreign affairs at this year's Ard-Fheis was the lack of debate. Of the 16 motions introduced in this section of the Clár, 13 were passed without any comment whatsoever, late on Saturday evening.

Amongst these motions, three were in opposition to NATO, one specifically condemning the role played by the Western powers in placing *"obstacles... against the war of national liberation in Ireland"* because of the strategic importance of Ireland to NATO.

Active support for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) was also agreed to by delegates but again there was no discussion (or suggestions) as to what form that support should take, nor was there any reference to anti-republican articles which occasionally appear in *Disarm*, the CND newspaper.

Again, there was no debate on a section dealing with racism and, in particular, the apartheid system in South Africa, while motions in support of the liberation struggles in Southern Africa were passed unanimously.

A Basque visitor spoke against the French government's recent extradition of Basque activists from France to Spain and the deportation of four others to Togo in Africa.

In response to these extraditions, workers in the Basque region went on strike on October 20th. And according to the visitor who represented Herri Batasuna, the militant wing of ETA, the struggle 'towards liberation and socialism' would continue, despite extradition.

US IMPERIALISM

Speaking to a motion which condemned US imperialism throughout the world, Richard Behal pointed out that *"oppression should be condemned wherever it comes from, North, South, East or West"*.

A special motion was introduced to the Clár by East Tyrone Comhairle Ceantair in relation to the famine in Ethiopia. The failure of Western powers to deal adequately with the crisis and the failure of the Ethiopian government to intervene, simply because people in the worst-hit areas of Eritrea and Tigre had been fighting against Ethiopian rule, were raised by Danny Morrison, Brid Keenan and Richard Behal.

On Sunday afternoon, the report of the Foreign Affairs Bureau (FAB) was given by Síle Darragh who pointed out that *"the FAB cannot and should not be the responsibility of one or two individuals"*.

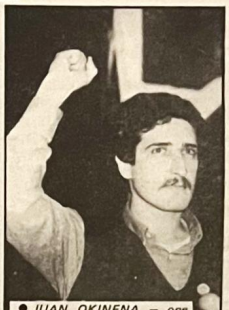
Referring to the importance of the work being done by the FAB in creating international links for Sinn Fein, she added that efforts to form a committee to deal with foreign affairs had so far failed. She said:

"It may be argued that the failed attempts to set up a committee reflect a lack of interest within Sinn Fein towards foreign affairs and, if this is the case, the incoming head of the Bureau will have to make serious attempts to rectify this situation."

Despite such difficulties the work of the FAB continues, with Sinn Fein representatives attending an international conference on Nicaragua, held in Portugal in March last. Both in Portugal and at another international conference held in Italy in September, Sinn Fein was recognised as a liberation movement.

REPRESSION

Sinn Fein was represented at an anti-EEC conference in Denmark last June and at a conference which discussed the repression of struggling peoples held in Corsica in August.



● JUAN OKINENA – one of the Basque delegation

And besides playing an active role in the protest against 'Operation Lionheart', the British army manoeuvres in West Germany last September, Sinn Fein sent a delegate – Mitchell McLaughlin – to Italy in September. There he joined delegates from El Salvador, Nicaragua, Chile, Guatemala, Eritrea, and Kurdistan for a three-day conference on the arguments for violent and non-violent struggle.

Concluding her report, Síle Darragh again emphasised the need to generate a broad interest in foreign affairs within Sinn Fein, as well as the need for the party to produce information bulletins in foreign languages.

Solidarity greetings were sent to the Ard-Fheis by international organisations including SWAPO of Namibia. Their representative in Western Europe, Shapna Kankungua, said:

"The Namibian people, led by SWAPO, are inspired by your commitments to free your people from the yoke of reactionary forces and British imperialism in your country."

Greetings were also sent by FMLN-FDR in El Salvador and a host of European and British support groups, including the Troops Out Movement (Britain), Irlande Libre (France), VS (Denmark) and Democrazia Proletaria (Italy).

Delegates were introduced from the Labour Committee on Ireland and Labour Women on Ireland, as well as delegates from Irlande Libre, the Welsh Republican Socialist Movement, the International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency, the Green Party of West Germany, Democrazia Proletaria and ETA.

Prisoners must be supported

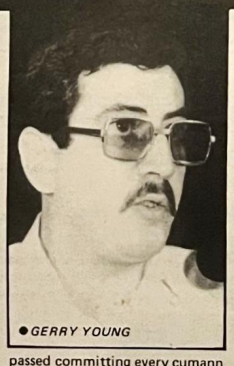
BY JANE PLUNKETT

SUNDAY afternoon's debate on republican prisoners was opened by Marie Moore, head of Sinn Fein's POW Department, who was the first of several speakers to stress the need for Sinn Fein members to more actively support the campaigns launched within the past year in support of the prisoners in Armagh, Portlaoise and English jails.

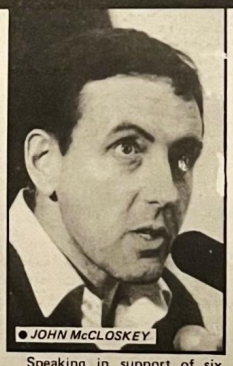
Horrific examples of the English prison authorities' use of beatings, control units and years-long periods of solitary confinement against republican prisoners were given by three men recently released from English jails, Gerry Young, John McCloskey and Ray McLaughlin, who described the republican prisoners in England as *"the most neglected and forgotten this movement has ever had"*.

Subsequently, the Ard-Fheis endorsed a Dublin motion pledging Sinn Fein to intensify its work in the campaign for repatriation and proposing that one cumann in each comhairle ceantair area should take special responsibility for this task.

A Buncrana motion was also passed committing every cumann to donate £25 each year, by December 1st, to a central fund to provide clothes, books, etc. for republican prisoners in English jails.



● GERRY YOUNG



● JOHN McCLOSKEY

● RAY McLAUGHLIN

On Portlaoise, delegates passed two Dublin motions which pledged Sinn Fein members to highlight more determinedly the strip-searches, beatings and no-physical-contact visiting arrangements at the jail, and called on all cumann members to actively support their local Portlaoise Relatives Action Group, and to help form action groups in areas where none so far exist.

Speaking in support of six motions on Armagh, Belfast delegate Chris McAuley reminded delegates:

"The women republican prisoners in Armagh are first and foremost republican prisoners."

She also criticised the apathy of many male Sinn Fein members who, she pointed out, had a responsibility equal with that of women republicans to participate in the campaign against strip-searching.

A Derry motion was passed denouncing the strip-searching of women prisoners in Armagh Jail.

Other successful motions on Armagh recognised the need to extend the anti-strip-searching campaign and for Sinn Fein members through their local POW department or, where none exists, their comhairle ceantair, to actively participate in initiating local activities.

Delegates also endorsed a Limerick motion that the week prior to Christmas be designated as 'Republican Prisoners Week' during which cumainn should publicly highlight the POWs' plight.

Throughout the debate, speakers made strong and open criticism of the inadequate help given by Sinn Fein members both to the various campaigns and, more particularly, to Green Cross and An Cumann Cabhrach. On this latter topic, a successful Strabane motion reaffirmed the principle of equal rates of welfare payments, in every part of the country, to the dependants of republican prisoners. Delegates also agreed that cumainn should contribute levies of £3 per week to Green Cross or An Cumann Cabhrach.

Closing the session, Joe Cahill gave an address on behalf of An Cumann Cabhrach and Green Cross in which he frankly pointed out that similar resolutions on donations had been passed in previous years, but with disappointing results.

Expressing *"scepticism"* as to whether this year Sinn Fein members would act on their decisions, Cahill pointed out that prisoners' welfare could not continue without the essential contributions of exiles overseas, in particular Irish Northern Aid and Australian Aid for Ireland. Cahill reminded the hundreds of republicans present in the hall:

"There are 1,200 POWs, tomorrow that number may increase. The POWs are our prisoners, above all they are our responsibility."

Lack of care

● The strike at Palm Grove Ice Cream, Santry, Dublin enters its fifth week

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

THERE ARE more than 2,600 qualified nurses now registered as unemployed, many with little prospect of getting a job.

With thousands of nurses on the dole, and more being made redundant, registered nurses and student nurses are struggling to maintain the same standards of care with reduced numbers.

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Six women telephonists employed by Telecom Eireann are asking the Labour Court to compel Telecom Eireann to abide by a 1980 ruling that they had been discriminated against by being forced to resign because they had married. They are also asking that they be compensated for loss of earnings because of Telecom's failure to implement the recommendation.

The women had won their case in 1980 when they argued that service, completed with the Department of Posts and Telegraphs before they had to resign their jobs when they married, should be counted for promotion. The women are being represented by the Employment Equality Agency.

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The strike by over 1,000 workers at the Dublin Gas Company is now in its fourth week. The dispute is about the company's use of outside contractors. The FWUI and AGEMOU are demanding that the company chairperson, Michael McStay, is directly involved with all future agreements.

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As the Dunnes Stores strike against the sale of South African goods in the Henry Street, Dublin, branch enters its 17th week, Kader Asmal, chairperson of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, has called on importers to reconsider their role in effectively bolstering the racist Pretoria regime.

The Dunnes Stores strike fund received a much-needed boost last weekend when, despite the financial pressures on people attending the Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis, delegates and visitors raised £98.38 in a collection for the strikers.

At a recent meeting of Comhairle Atha Cliath, a motion instructing members of Dublin Sinn Fein to boycott *all* branches of Dunnes Stores until the settlement of the dispute was passed unanimously. It is hoped that Sinn Fein members and supporters throughout Ireland will take similar action.

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Workers at Palm Grove Ice Cream are still out on strike after four weeks. Pickets are continuing at the factory in protest at selective redundancies.

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A dispute over pay increases by members of the National Graphical Association has disrupted publication of several provincial newspapers and magazines. Talks between the NGA and the Irish Master Printers Association on the 24th pay-round broke down last week.

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Strike action has been threatened by workers at the *Irish Press* and the *Irish Independent* groups of newspapers after the rejection of a pay offer of an 8% rise over 17 months.

•••

Ten redundancies are being sought by management of the *Belfast Telegraph* group of newspapers. The NUJ has rejected the proposals and are considering industrial action.

•••

The 25 redundancies sought by Navan Carpets at their Kells, County Meath, factory has now increased to over 40. The 25 redundancies announced by the company last month were deferred, after objections by the union, to allow for talks between management and the unions but protective notice had been issued to the 200 workers before the agreement to talks.

•••

The sit-in at Dunnes Stores in Wexford is continuing, with 50 workers, members of IDATU, occupying the premises for the second week. The dispute is over the refusal by the company to pay a previously-agreed Christmas bonus.

•••

Kenmare Products, County Kerry, which manufactures plastic bags and netting, is expected to announce redundancies soon among its 55 workers. The factory, which is owned by a German company, has received nearly £200,000 in IDA grants since it was set up. Local anger has been aroused as the parent German company has moved machinery out of the Kerry factory back to Germany before announcing the pending redundancies.

•••

The 437 workers at the Molins plant in Derry are continuing their occupation of the factory to prevent its closure.

Imeachtaí

OÍCHE AN PHIARSAIGH
8pm Dé Sathairn 10 Samhain
Amharclann Ceantraí
Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann
Monkstown
ÁTH CLIATH
Taille £2
Mic Léinn £1

NATIONAL GRAVES ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MASS
(For all those who died for Ireland)
11.15am Sunday 11th November
St Joseph's Church
Berkeley Road
DUBLIN
Ceremony after Mass at grave of Roger Casement in Glasnevin Cemetery
Speaker: Eamonn Mac Thomais
All welcome

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILL MUSIC EVENING
8pm Wednesday 14th November
The Hunting Lodge
Ballyfermot
DUBLIN
Music by Maura O'Connell
Keith Donald and friends
Taille £2
Unwaged £1.50

MEETING ON PAID-PERJURY
8pm Wednesday 14th November
University College
GALWAY
Speakers: Hugh Brady & Martin McGuinness
Everybody welcome
Organised by Galway Sinn Fein

BALLAD SESSION
Music by Briar
9pm Saturday 17th November
Russell Hotel
NAVAN
Organised by Sinn Fein

SPECIAL SOCIAL
8pm Monday 19th November
Hillgrove Hotel
MONAGHAN
Taille £2
Organised by Sinn Fein

MANCHESTER MARTYRS COMMEMORATION
Sunday 25th November
Assemble 1pm at
Strangeways Prison
MANCHESTER
March to Moston Cemetrey

EVICTION RESISTED

BY JACK MADDEN

A LANDLORD who is trying to evict tenants from their legally-held flat in the Rathmines district of Dublin, has refused point-blank to acknowledge that tenants have any rights.

Gerard Patrick O'Sullivan, who owns at least two houses in Dublin and another in Carlow, recently gave two of his tenants, sisters Geraldine and Patricia Garvey, notice to quit the Grosvenor Square flat.

This notice to quit was on the back of a filthy envelope which the sisters brought to the attention of Sinn Fein community worker, Christy Burke.

Pointing out that they should ignore the notice, Burke wrote to O'Sullivan informing him that he could not simply throw tenants out.

THREAT

Disregarding this letter, O'Sullivan persisted in his eviction threat, even refusing to take rent for the flat and saying that he had already re-let it to other people.

Describing O'Sullivan as *"hungry for money"*, Christy Burke says that he confronted the landlord on Tuesday this week, November 6th, to point out that legal action could be taken by the sisters if they were evicted.

By Wednesday, no further attempt had been made to evict the sisters who have now been forced to maintain a presence in the flat 24 hours each day.

● GERARD PATRICK O'SULLIVAN

Calendar

THE 1985 Republican Resistance Calendar is now available from Republican Publications.

This excellently produced and colourful calendar is available from 2a Monagh Crescent, Turf Lodge, Belfast (telephone 620768), price Stg £1; or 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1 (telephone 726932), price Ir£1.20. Please add postage when ordering.

Also just available from Republican Publications is a set of three Christmas cards, beautifully illustrated by Portlaoise POW, Belfastman Pronsias O Coigligh and depicting crown force harassment in Christmas settings.

Price 15p for each card, with special rates for bulk orders.

BEANNACHTAÍ

BRYSON, Anthony. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, son. God bless and protect you always. Lots of love. From Mum and Dad. xxx

BRYSON, Anthony. (Portlaoise). Birthday greetings, Anthony. From John, Phyllis and family.

BRYSON, Anthony. (Portlaoise). Best wishes on your birthday, Anthony. From John, Alacoque and family.

BRYSON, Anthony. (Portlaoise). Birthday greetings, Anthony. From the John James Kelly Sinn Fein cumann, Castlefinn.

BRYSON, Anthony. (Portlaoise). Birthday greetings for November. From all your friends in Grahamsland and Hillhead. We'll drink one for you.

BRYSON, Anthony. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Anthony. They have you in their keeping but we have you in our hearts. All our love and best wishes. From your sister Jacinta, nieces Shirley, Deborah and Aisling and nephew Stephen. xxx

GALLAGHER, Tom. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Tom. Although we are miles apart, you are always with us in our hearts. From Mum, Dad and all at home, in Dublin, Drogheda and the USA.

GALLAGHER, Tom. (Portlaoise). Best wishes on your birthday, Tom. From Eileen; also from Esther and Danny, UTP.

GALLAGHER, Tom. (Portlaoise). Wishing you happiness on your birthday, Tom. From Kieran, Sarah and Ciaran; and Dorothy and Colm.

GALLAGHER, Tom. (Portlaoise). Best wishes and love on your birthday. From Mary, Mickey, Martin and Shane; and Anna, Francie and Sean.

GALLAGHER, Tom. (Portlaoise). Thinking of you always, especially on your birthday. From Jimmy, Chrissie and Charlene.

GALLAGHER, Tom. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Tom. Keep your chin up. From Cathleen, Mickey, Michelle and Michael.

McGINLEY, Marty. (Magilligan). Birthday greetings, Bow. Love from Annette and wee Mickey.

MORGAN, James. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, my love. From your ever-loving wife Antoinette. UTP

MORTIMER, Gavin. (Portlaoise). Happy 23rd birthday. Love from Martin, Ina and Hazel; and Michael G.; and all your drinking partners in Godleys.

MORTIMER, Gavin. (Portlaoise). Best wishes on your 23rd birthday. We will all have a pint for you and put it on your slate. From the Michael Lynch Sinn Fein cumann and all the boys.

MORTIMER, Gavin. (Portlaoise). All the best on your 23rd birthday, Gavin. Love to you and all the boys. Hope to see you soon. Lots of love from John, Catherine and John Jnr; and Monica, Eileen and G.T. also from Beau Jeau and family; and Mickey Mac.

MORTIMER, Gavin. (Portlaoise). Birthday greetings, dear son. It does not take a special day to bring you to our minds, for a day without a thought of you is very hard to find. Thinking of you always. See you soon. All our love. From Mam, Dad, Roger and Adam.

MORTIMER, Gavin. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday on November 9th, Gavin. No-one could be fonder than I am of you today and this message comes to tell you I am behind you all the way. All my love. From Catherine and Marie, E.J., Oonagh, Toireasa, Deirdre and Ciánan; also from John, Louise, Fergal and small Louise.

MORTIMER, Gavin. (Portlaoise). Birthday greetings, dear Gavin. You are always on my mind. Keep up the good spirit. Love from your grandmother.

NORNEY, Paul. (England). Happy birthday, Paul. From An Cumann Cabhrach, Walkinstown.

Memorial committee

FOLLOWING the recent death of Johanna (Jo) Foran, Mooncoin, a committee has been formed to erect a fitting memorial in her memory. Anyone wishing to contribute can do so by contacting the Chairman, Kevin Dunphy, Ballincur, Mooncoin, County Kilkenny, or through Allied Irish Banks, Lisdúggan, Waterford, a/c Jo Foran Memorial Fund.

Petition forms

THE Portlaoise Relatives Action Committee requests anyone with completed petition forms to return them immediately to Deirdre Whelan or Joe McDonagh, c/o 5 Blessington Street, Dublin 1.

The committee will be handing them into the Free State Department of Justice on Stephen's Green on Wednesday, November 21st, and holding a protest march from there to Leinster House. All relatives are urgently requested to support this protest.

TV Reviews

Media event

BY JOHN JOE KING

EVEN a tragedy of the appalling magnitude of the famine in Ethiopia soon becomes just another subject for the old familiar media treatment.

So the past week has seen television cameras, at great expense, vying to see who can bring back the most 'shock horror' pictures, thus undoing the good they did by first arousing public awareness.

Robert Maxwell decides the famine is just one more way to sell more copies of the *Daily Mirror*, so he flies out — after delaying the 'mercy flight' long enough for him to catch Oxford United, which he also owns, playing in a cup match.

Cardinal Basil Hume decides it might be a way to sell religion, so he flies out.

Fred O'Donovan decides it might be a way to sell RTE and the Dublin City Marathon, so he flies out.

And who knows? Garret FitzGerald and Margaret Thatcher may have spared it a thought as they flew overhead, eating their RAF lunch.

Television has brought us the symptoms, but, as ever, has ignored the causes. The wealth of the media, the church and of the western states will not be diminished one bit to stop such famines, for all the easy words and pictures on our screens.

Meanwhile, the same power groups patronisingly congratulate the rest of us daily for the few pounds we attempt to get together.

* * *

The first programme in a new series on RTE, *Exhibit 'A' — Arts Show*, hit the screens on Thursday. Eamonn McCann does have the kind of no-nonsense approach necessary to do an arts show which is not a load of pretentious nonsense.

The look at three Irish films, *Pigs*, *Cal* and *Company of Wolves* was interesting enough, but the look at some 'sculpture' up in Donegal and at an obscure, but not bad, singer in Galway smacked a bit of desperation to 'be totally different' and 'make discoveries'.

Take it a bit easier or it will become over-strained.

* * *

Out of Court on Channel 4 on Wednesday last week took a look at the way the British courts are dealing with the miners. As ever, the law can be bent for political reasons and magistrates are handing out bail restrictions on movement, which, because of thousands charged under ancient legislation about 'watching and besetting', nicely keeps down the numbers of picketers.

If it was happening in Poland, this type of thing wouldn't be tucked away on Channel 4.

* * *

I obviously missed something on Saturday night whilst I was slumped in front of the *Late Late Show* on RTE, half-watching an American psychologist — Dr Dan Kiely — going through his paces. The only thing I noticed was his white hair carefully coiffured, with beard to match, along the lines of a Mount Olympus resident in a Hollywood B-movie.

The guy had written some book about men's behaviour at home, claiming some never grew up and dubbing it the 'Peter Pan Syndrome'. Fairly harmless stuff; a lot of nonsense, but entertaining to see which bits applied *chez Xing*, you know the kind of thing, like those silly quizzes in the newspapers such as 'How do you rate as the neighbourhood werewolf?'

But suddenly, from the audience came this incredible burst of insults and hostility as a bunch of specially-invited guests lit on the unfortunate author as though, at last, they had caught the guy who had been beating up their grannie.

Men and women alike spluttered incomprehensible objections to a theory which the rest of watching Ireland had thought was just a bit of crack.

The whole thing left me totally unnerved for the rest of the evening, expecting these unbalanced minds to crack completely if Sigmund Freud turned up on the mystery jigsaw.

Certainly a study of *Late Late* audience behavioural patterns is long overdue.

● *Victims of the Ethiopian famine — and media exploitation*

Strip-searches Pamphlet

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

"DURING the 14 months from November 1982, when the NIO and prison authorities introduced the strip-searching policy, to December 31st 1982, a total of 1,615 strip-searches were carried out on women in Armagh Jail."

This shocking information is contained in statistics published in a new pamphlet issued by the Sinn Fein POW Department, which exposes the latest weapon used to try to break the spirit of the women prisoners.

The pamphlet spells out its aims: to place strip-searching into its political context; to explain the circumstances surrounding the introduction of the strip-search policy; to expose as a complete lie that strip-searching is a 'security' measure; to explain the effects, psychological and physical, on the women concerned; and to outline the growing support generated by the Stop the Armagh Strip-Searches Campaign.

The aims of the pamphlet are ably met, with detailed lists of the instances of strip-searching, of how and why the procedure was introduced, and the feelings of the victims of this degrading practice.

Jacqueline Moore, a remand prisoner, gave birth to a baby daughter in September 1984. She was regularly strip-searched while pregnant and is still being subjected to the practice. Her baby is body-searched.

The cover of the pamphlet carries a photograph of Jacqueline Moore's baby, with the stark words *"This baby is being body-searched in Armagh — her mother and other POWs are being strip-searched."*

Armagh Strip-Search pamphlet available from Republican Publications, 2a Monagh Crescent, Belfast Tel. 620768; and POW Department, 51-53 Falls Rd, Belfast Tel. 223214, price 80p, bulk orders of ten or more, 65p each; or Book Bureau, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin Tel. 726932, price £1, bulk orders 75p each.

● *JACQUELINE MOORE*

REMEMBERING THE PAST
The White Cross

BY PETER O'ROURKE

THE WHITE CROSS, an organisation similar to the Red Cross, was founded in Ireland by Maude Gonne MacBride to aid the victims of atrocities by the British during the Tan War.

It was started because, within the week following the sacking of Balbriggan, destruction of the same kind was carried out by the RIC in the South, the Midlands and the West.

In Trim, a small market-town in County Meath, auxiliaries did damage estimated at £50,000. In Mallow, County Cork, as a reprisal for a successful attack on the barracks, military wrecked the town hall, did damage to the value of £200,000 and shot and wounded two men.

In towns and villages in almost every county in Ireland, people whose homes had been deliberately wrecked by the crown forces were living in stables and barns.

Poverty and hunger might have proved successful weapons against the Irish people but for the relief which was organised during these months at home and abroad.

● *MAUD GONNE MacBRIDE*

ORGANISATION

In Dublin, Maude Gonne Mac Bride formed a national organisation to aid victims of the campaign. At about the same time, an organisation for the same purpose was formed in the United States.

These Irish and American efforts developed into the great undertaking which became known as the White Cross.

Throughout the winter of 1920, the Irish and American branches of the organisation supplied relief in the form of money, clothing and food. The funds were applied to the relief of all victims of the struggle not otherwise entitled to compensation.

Those who benefited included thousands of nationalist families from North-East Ulster who were burnt out of their homes during the pogroms of 1920 and 1921.

This organisation did much to frustrate the English attempts at reducing the Irish people to submission by terror and hunger.

The White Cross was founded on November 9th, 1920.

Irish Lesson 102

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

1 — Beidh mé ann Dé hAoine — I'll be there on Friday.
2 — Beimid san Astráil sa bhfómhar — We'll be in Australia in the Autumn.
3 — Ní bheidh sé ag an rince amárach — He won't be at the dance tomorrow.
4 — Ní bheidh sí ann in am — She won't be there in time.
5 — Ní bheidh mé ag imirt sa chluiche anocht — I won't be playing in the game tonight.
6 — Nach mbeidh sé ag cur prátaí go luath — Won't he be planting potatoes soon?
7 — An mbeidh siad ag obair gach lá san earrach? — Will they be working every day in the spring?
8 — Cén lá a bhí ann? — What day is it?
9 — Cén sliabh atá thall? — What mountain is over there?
10 — Cén tír a chonaic tú? — What country did you see?

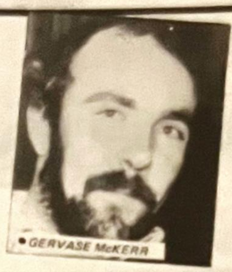
1 — He will be going to school tomorrow — Beidh sé ag dul ar scoil amárach.
2 — She'll be here presently — Beidh sí anseo ar ball.
3 — You'll be in Belfast on Thursday — Beidh tú i mBéal Feirste Déardaoin.
4 — You won't be going to Spain this year — Ní bheidh tú ag dul go dtí an Spáinn i mbliana.
5 — We won't be here on Saturday — Ní bheimid anseo Dé Sathairn.
6 — Will you be ploughing this year? — An mbeidh tú ag treabhadh i mbliana.
7 — Won't we be planting cabbage in that field? — Nach mbeimid ag cur cabáiste sa phairc sin?
8 — Won't ye be coming in summer? — Nach mbeidh sibh ag teacht sa samhradh?
9 — What doctor is today? — Cen dochtúir atá ann inniu?
10 — What week did he come? — Cén seachtain a thśinig sé?

1 — Beidh tú linn — You'll be with us.
2 — Cluiche cártaí — A game of cards.
3 — Brúitín — Mashed potatoes.
4 — Cén díobháil? — What harm?

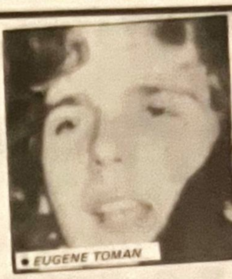
1 — We'll be here till morning — Beimid anseo go maidin.
2 — I won't be going — Ní bheidh mé ag dul.
3 — Seed potatoes — Prátaí síl.
4 — Who are you? — Cé tusa?

I nDIL CHUIMHNE

• SEAN BURNS



• GERVASE McKERR



• EUGENE TOMAN

BURNS, Sean; **McKERR**, Gervase; **TOMAN**, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Sean Burns, Gervase McKerr and Eugene Toman, North Armagh Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who were murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the 1st Battalion, North Armagh Brigade.

BURNS, Sean. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear son Vol Sean Burns, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on him. So many things have happened since you were called away, things you could have shared with us, if God had let you stay, so please forgive the silent tears, the constant wish that you were here, for the hardest thing in life to bear is to want you and you aren't there. Always remembered and loved by his mother and father.

BURNS, Sean. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Sean Burns, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. You left us suddenly, your thoughts unknown. Always remembered by his sister Angela, [illegible] and family.

BURNS, Sean. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Sean Burns, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Never more than a thought away, quietly remembered you are today, no need for words except to say, still missed and loved each day. Always remembered by his brother Gregory, sister-in-law Susan and family.

BURNS, Sean. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Sean Burns, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Soft be the soil that covers his grave, proud be the country that bore him, ever green be the memory of his soul, that has gone to join the soldiers before him. Always remembered by his loving brother Jim.

BURNS, Sean. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear nephew Vol Sean Burns, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. To have you for a nephew was cause enough for pride, no-one could equal you, no matter how they tried, you were gone before I reached you and only God knows why, but the hardest part of all, Sean, you never got to say goodbye. Always remembered by Uncle Owen, Aunt Patricia and family.

BURNS, Sean. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear friend Sean Burns who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Sadly missed and always remembered by Irene, Teddy and family.

BURNS, Sean; **McKERR**, Gervase. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Sean Burns and Gervase McKerr who were murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Your names are often mentioned, our thoughts are with you still, you have not been forgotten, and by us you never will. Always remembered by Malachy and Dorothy Toman.

BURNS, Sean; **McKERR**, Gervase. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Sean Burns and Gervase McKerr who were murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. No words of warning, no last farewell, but in my heart you'll always dwell. Always remembered by Colette.

BURNS, Sean; **McKERR**, Gervase. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear friends Vols Sean Burns and Gervase McKerr who were murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. RIP. Sadly missed and always remembered by the Toman family.

BURNS, Sean; **McKERR**, Gervase; **TOMAN**, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of three fallen comrades Vols Sean Burns, Gervase McKerr and Eugene Toman, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who were brutally murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Always remembered by the North Armagh POWs in Portlaoise, Long Kesh, Magilligan and Crumlin Road.

BURNS, Sean; **McKERR**, Gervase; **TOMAN**, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Sean Burns, Gervase McKerr and Eugene Toman, North Armagh Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who were murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Always remembered by Upper Bann Sinn Féin.

BURNS, Sean; **McKERR**, Gervase; **TOMAN**, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Sean Burns, Gervase McKerr and Eugene Toman, North Armagh Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who were brutally murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. This day is remembered, and silently, no words are needed, we will never forget. Always remembered by Lurgan National Graves.

BURNS, Sean; **McKERR**, Gervase; **TOMAN**, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Sean Burns, Gervase McKerr and Eugene Toman who were murdered by pro-British elements on November 11th 1982. Always remembered by Cill Dara and Droichead Nua Sinn Féin.

BURNS, Sean; **McKERR**, Gervase; **TOMAN**, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Sean Burns, Gervase McKerr and Eugene Toman who were brutally murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Always remembered by Noel, Pauline and family, Dundalk.

BURNS, Sean; **McKERR**, Gervase; **TOMAN**, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear friend Vol Gervase McKerr and his comrades Sean Burns and Eugene Toman who were murdered by the hated RUC on November 11th 1982. "Lay them away on the hillside, along with the brave and the bold, inscribe their names on the roll of fame, in letters of purest gold." Always remembered by Liam [illegible].

BURNS, Sean; **McKERR**, Gervase; **TOMAN**, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our friends and comrades Vols Sean Burns, Gervase McKerr and Eugene Toman who were killed by RUC assassins on November 11th 1982. "They may kill the revolutionary, but never the revolution." [illegible]. Always remembered by [illegible] Ó Lonnaigh [illegible].

BURNS, Sean; **McKERR**, Gervase; **TOMAN**, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Sean Burns, Gervase McKerr and Eugene Toman, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who were murdered by the hated RUC on November 11th 1982. They will not grow old, as we who are left grow old, age will not wither them, nor years condemn, at the going down of the sun and in the morning, we will remember. Always remembered by Tomas Mulholland and family, Lurgan. [illegible]

BURNS, Sean; **McKERR**, Gervase; **TOMAN**, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Sean Burns, Gervase McKerr and Eugene Toman who were murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Always remembered by Eileen McNally and family, Lurgan.

BURNS, Sean; **McKERR**, Gervase; **TOMAN**, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear friend Gervase McKerr and his comrades Sean Burns and Eugene Toman who were murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Always remembered by [illegible].

BURNS, Sean; **McKERR**, Gervase; **TOMAN**, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Sean Burns, Gervase McKerr and Eugene Toman who were murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. From Joe and Bernadette O'Hagan and family.

BURNS, Sean; **TOMAN**, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Sean Burns and Eugene Toman who were murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Your names we often mention, our thoughts are with you still, you have not been forgotten, and by us you never will. Always remembered by Eleanor, Jonathan and David McKerr.

BURNS, Sean; **TOMAN**, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Sean Burns and Eugene Toman who were murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Always remembered by Mr and Mrs McKerr.

CARROLL, Adrian. (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of my dear son Adrian who was murdered by the UDR on November 8th 1983. RIP. Always remembered by his mother, brothers and sister Brenda.

CARROLL, Adrian. (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of my brother Adrian who was murdered by the UDR on November 8th 1983. Always remembered by his sister Anne and family.

CARROLL, Adrian. (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of my brother Adrian who was murdered by UDR gunmen on November 8th 1983. Always remembered by Gregory (Portlaoise).

CARROLL, Adrian. (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of Adrian Carroll who was murdered by the UDR on November 8th 1983. Always remembered by Oliver, Teresa and family.

CARROLL, Adrian. (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Adrian who was murdered by the UDR on November 8th 1983. Always remembered by Irene and Malachy.

CARROLL, Adrian. (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of our uncle Adrian who was murdered by the UDR on November 8th 1983. Always remembered by Paul and Patricia.

CARROLL, Adrian. (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of my brother Adrian who was murdered by the sectarian thugs of the UDR on November 8th 1983. Always remembered by Tommy and Marion.

CONEY, Hugh. (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Hugh Coney who was shot dead while trying to escape from Long Kesh concentration camp on November 6th 1974. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam dílis. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

[illegible], [illegible]. ([illegible] Anniversary). In loving memory of my beloved brother [illegible], 'E' Coy, 1st Cork Brigade, IRA, who died in Switzerland on October 17th 1930. Always remembered by his loving sister [illegible].

FENNELL, Gerard. (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Gerard Fennell, 1st Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who died on active service on November 8th 1974. Fuair sé bás ar son saoirse [illegible]. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

[illegible], Kevin. (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Fian Kevin [illegible] who died on active service on November 8th 1975. Fuair sé bás ar son saoirse mhuintir na hÉireann. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in Fianna Éireann.

McKENNA, Jeff. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Jeff McKenna, Dublin Sinn Féin, who was killed in a road accident on November 8th 1982 while working on behalf of the Republican Movement. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

McKENNA, Jeff. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our friend and comrade Jeff McKenna, Dublin Sinn Féin, who died on November 8th 1982. Men and women such as this are the real strength of our Movement. Always proudly remembered by the staff of AP/RN, Dublin and Belfast.

McKENNA, Jeff. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of a dedicated worker, Jeff McKenna, Dublin Sinn Féin, who died on November 8th 1982. Always remembered by the John Greene Sinn Féin Cumann, [illegible].

McKENNA, Jeff. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of an unstinting, selfless worker, Jeff McKenna, Dublin Sinn Féin, who died on November 8th 1982. Always remembered by the Jeff McKenna Sinn Féin cumann, Marino/Ballybough, Dublin.

McKERR, Gervase. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear husband Vol Gervase McKerr who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. We do not forget you nor do we intend, we think of you often and will till the end, gone and forgotten by some you may be, but dear to our memory you ever will be. Always remembered and sadly missed by his loving wife Eleanor.

McKERR, Gervase. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our daddy who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982." Lay him away on the hillside, along with the brave and the bold, inscribe his name on the roll of fame, in letters of purest gold." Always remembered by his loving sons, Jonathan and David.

McKERR, Gervase. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Gervase McKerr who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. "Lay him away on the hillside, along with the brave and the bold, inscribe his name on the roll of fame, in letters of purest gold." Always remembered by his mother, father, brothers, sisters and family circle.

McKERR, Gervase. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear brother-in-law Gervase McKerr who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. RIP. Quietly remembered, with thoughts sincere. Always remembered by Teddy, Irene and family.

McKERR, Gervase. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Gervase McKerr who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. A rose is nature's loveliest flower, each bloom perfumed so sweetly, that even when the flower fades, the memory stays completely. Always remembered by Eileen, Joe and Michael Shanks.

McKERR, Gervase. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Gervase McKerr who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. "While Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." Always remembered by Mary and Lisa.

McKERR, Gervase. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Gervase McKerr who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Your sacrifice and death will not be in vain, it will strengthen our commitment and resolve, inspiring us on to victory. Always remembered by Rosaleen and John Lawless.

McKERR, Gervase. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Gervase McKerr who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. They may kill the revolutionary, but never the revolution. Always remembered by Helen Flynn, USA, and Jimmy and friends, USA.

McKERR, Gervase. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Gervase McKerr who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. The sole duty of the revolutionary is to make the revolution. Always remembered by the Magill family, Tom and Jennifer and family, Anna, Brendan and Joylene, the Mackle family, and Michael and Bronwyn.

McKERR, Gervase. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our friend Vol Gervase McKerr, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Always remembered by Jim, Bernadette and family.

McPARLAND, Liam. (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Liam McParland, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who died on active service on November 6th 1969. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a anam dílis. Always remembered by his comrades and friends in the Belfast Brigade.

McPARLAND, Liam. (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Liam McParland, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who died on active service on November 6th 1969. Fuair sé bás go troid ar son saoirse mhuintir na hÉireann. Always remembered by his comrades and friends in Belfast Sinn Féin.

MAIRTÍRÍ EADAN TOBAIR. (27ú Cuimhneachán). In proud and loving memory of Vols Padraig Ó Pearaill, George Keegan, Paul Smith, Oliver Craven and Michael Watters, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who died on November 11th 1957 at Edentubber. Fuair siad bás ar son saoirse na hÉireann. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a n-anamnacha. Ó Antóin Mac Uaid agus a clann, Baile Loch Garman.

TOMAN, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear son Vol Eugene Toman, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. RIP. Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on him. So many things have happened since you were called away, things you could have shared with us, if God had let you stay, so please forgive the silent tears, the constant wish that you were here, for the hardest thing in life to bear, is to want you and you're not there. Always remembered by Mammy and Daddy.

TOMAN, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear brother Vol Eugene Toman who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. RIP. Our hearts still ache with sadness, and secret tears still flow, what it means to lose you, Eugene, no-one will ever know. Always remembered by his sisters Donna and Kathy.

TOMAN, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Eugene Toman who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Your name is often mentioned, our thoughts are with you still, you have never been forgotten, by us you never will. Always remembered by his sister Eilish, Christy and family.

TOMAN, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear brother Vol Eugene Toman who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. RIP. No words of warning, no last farewell, but in our hearts you will always dwell. Always remembered by his brother Hugh, Mena and family.

TOMAN, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Eugene Toman who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. RIP. We shall never forget that day when our brother was called away, the aching heart is left behind, to express that grief, no words we find. Always remembered by his sister Irene, Teddy and family.

TOMAN, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear brother Vol Eugene Toman who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. RIP. We shall never forget you, you are always in our hearts and our thoughts. Always remembered by his brothers Fergal and Stephen.

TOMAN, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Eugene Toman who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. It was a sudden parting, too bitter to forget, only those who really knew you, are the ones who will never forget. Always remembered by his brother Malachy and sister-in-law Dorothy.

TOMAN, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our uncle Eugene who was murdered by the UDR on November 11th 1982. RIP. Gone but never forgotten. Always remembered by his nephews Gregory, Neill, Ruairí and Eugene.

TOMAN, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Eugene Toman who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Mary, Queen of the Gael, keep him in your care. Always remembered by Gerry, Doreen and family.

TOMAN, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Eugene Toman who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. I think of you with love and tears, happy thoughts of bygone years, keepsakes, heartaches to cherish and hold, of someone I loved, more precious than gold. Always loved and sadly missed by Colette.

TOMAN, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear friend Vol Eugene Toman, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Always remembered by Jim, Bernadette and family.

TOMAN, Eugene. (2nd Anniversary).

COMHBHRÓN

CUNNINGHAM. The Republican Movement in County Monaghan extends sincere sympathy to the Cunningham family of Keady on the death of Mrs Cunningham. To Jim and family in Castleblayney and Brian, (H2), Long Kesh, and all members of her family, we offer our condolences. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam dílis.

CUNNINGHAM. The John Francis Green cumann, Castleblayney, County Monaghan, offers heartfelt sympathy to Jim and family on the death of his mother. To Brian, (H2), Long Kesh, we express our deep sorrow. May she rest in peace.

KELLY. Cumann Wolfe Tone, Tamhlacht, Contae Bhaile Átha Cliath wish to extend deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Christine Kelly, who died recently.

KELLY. Cumann Cathal Brugha, Rathcoole, Contae Bhaile Átha Cliath extend their deepest sympathy to the family circle and friends of Christine Kelly, who died recently.

PEARSON. The Republican Movement in North County Monaghan extends sincere sympathy to Brian Pearson, Long Kesh, on the death of his father Johnny, and to all the family circle in Clogher, County Tyrone. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam dílis.

REGAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Jack Regan, known as 'The General', a life-long republican who died on October 23rd 1984. From Anthony and Mary O'Keeffe and family, County Waterford.

ROBERTS. The republican prisoners in the Cages and H-Blocks of Long Kesh extend deepest sympathy to their comrade Tommy Roberts on the death of his sister. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam dílis.

Admháil

THE sister, brother and relatives of the late Jack Dunne, RIP, wish to thank all those who sympathised with them in their sad bereavement, all those who sent Mass cards, messages of sympathy and floral tributes, and all those who attended the removal of the remains, Mass and funeral.

A special word of thanks to his comrades, National Graves, Sinn Féin and An Cumann Cabhrach. The holy sacrifice of the Mass will be offered for their intentions.

Buíochas

THE republican POWs in Portlaoise wish to express their gratitude to all of those who are taking part in the campaign against visiting conditions and the strip-searches and beatings in the jail.

We would also thank all Sinn Féin cumainn who, at the Ard-Fheis, proposed motions of solidarity with us and appeal to them to keep up their marvellous efforts.

TORTHAÍ CRANNCHUR

Joe McDonnell Sinn Fein Cumann Draw Results

£100: Linda Lonegan, c/o Mosteh; £50: L. Kelly, c/o Batchelors; £25: Brian Cullen, c/o Phibsborough Garage; £5: Willie Hyland, Cabra; Gerry Brownie, c/o Frank Burke; M. Dunne, c/o Meeting Place.

Dublin Super Draw

£100: Gerard Kearns, c/o Carroll/Ashe Sinn Fein cumann; £100: Mick Darcy, Ballymun; £50: Sean McSiomaig, c/o Jack Crowe; £50: Martin Kearns, c/o Carroll/Ashe Sinn Fein cumann.

Importing perjury?

●Take it down from the mast: the recently-purchased dredger for Dublin's River Liffey continued to fly the Red Ensign, until a couple of unflagging Dubliners *(below)* decided to take matters into their own hands on Tuesday this week

BURKE'S AT THE BACK

By Kevin Burke

SINN FEIN Publicity Director Danny Morrison and Louth Sinn Fein Councillor Fra Browne have revealed an attempt to import the paid-perjury system across the border into the twenty-six counties.

In a joint statement, they say:

"It has come to Sinn Fein's attention that Fine Gael deputy Brendan McGahon, has, in the course of visits to Portlaoise Jail, been attempting to recruit a remand prisoner to act as a perjurer in return for some sort of immunity from prosecution or a reduction in any sentence he may receive.

"Noel McCabe has been charged in connection with the raid on Drumree Post Office in which a garda detective was fatally wounded. He has been visited by the Fine Gael deputy who has encouraged him to go into a protective wing and to turn state's witness against a number of other men who have made no incriminating statements.

"We challenge Brendan McGahon to state whether he is acting on behalf of the governing party, Fine Gael, or on behalf of the Special Branch and to reveal details of the offers or bribes which he is making to Noel McCabe. It is hypocritical of Peter Barry to condemn the show-trials in the North when a member of his own party appears to be encouraging a similar development in Southern courts."

★★★

The November bulletin of the NUJ's Belfast branch, *Nudge*, brings news of a course for journalists on new technology in communications to be held at *"PIRA headquarters, Leatherhead, Surrey, on November 14-16th"*.

What this means I am at a total loss to explain. The notice is headed *"Short Course"*, but I am reluctant to attach any added military significance to that wording.

As I have been known to ask before: *"What is going on?"*

We should be told.

★★★

Whilst all eyes were, no doubt, following Garret FitzGerald to foreign parts last week, for the funeral of the Indian prime minister, strange goings-on were going on back at the Free State Department of Foreign Affairs in Dublin's palatial Iveagh House.

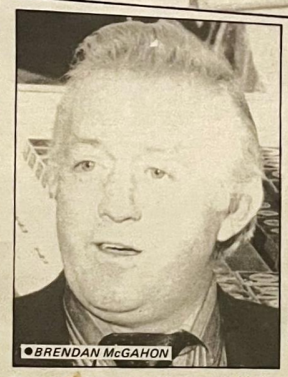
Several Free State ambassadors gathered there on Friday night to meet with Foreign Affairs officials and four Whitehall mandarins (as my informant described them) who had flown in specially from London for the occasion.

The secret talks finally broke up at 2am on Saturday morning.

★★★

Another RUC man left the force abruptly last weekend, due to an accident on the Garvagh to Coleraine Road.

RUC Constable Samuel McFaul, aged 21, was killed when his car was hit by a freezer which fell from the back of a lorry carrying scrap metal.



●BRENDAN McGAHON

★★★

Sitting in Monaghan District Court on Wednesday this week, November 7th, Justice Donal McArdle expressed his pride in being able to present a certificate of merit and a bronze medal, on behalf of the Irish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, to Garda Eamonn Flynn of the local barracks.

The citation stated that the award was being made in recognition of Flynn's *"work against the maltreatment of animals"*.

"He has brought distinction to the force," said Justice McArdle, who went on to comment on the recent 'unfortunate' publicity the gardai are receiving, adding:

"Garda Flynn is a credit to the force. He epitomises its finest qualities."

Readers of *AP/RN* will recall that a Garda Eamonn Flynn, and Detective Sergeant John McCoy, both of Monaghan Barracks, were in the Dublin High Court in November 1983 when a jury decided that they had assaulted a peaceful H-Block protestor in Monaghan in May 1978, and awarded damages totalling £52,000 against them.

★★★

It is understood that leading SDLP members in the North have made strong objections to RTE that *"the spirit, if not the letter"* of Section 31 was breached on last Monday night's *Feach* television programme.

The *Feach* team visited Belfast where they recorded several interviews with Irish-speakers, of course, including an SDLP representative.

All those questioned despaired of any progress from either the Forum report or the forthcoming London/Dublin talks. The presenter is accused of referring to the fact that not only is the British army unacceptable, but that it is actually an occupation force. Even worse, he referred to the death of John Downes as 'murder'.

All this, of course, would have come as a shock to many viewers, normally protected from the reality of life in the North, thanks to the *Today Tonight* team. But RTE officials are understood to be consoling themselves that the programme, being in Irish, would have a limited audience, and that the damage is thus much reduced.

DÚIRT SIAD

"The British connection, the partition of this country and the resultant suffering and grief is far from democratic. It is undemocratic, unwanted, illegal and immoral. The Brighton bombing was an inevitable result of the British presence in this country. Far from being a blow against democracy, it was a blow for democracy." — **Gerry Adams.**

"Garret FitzGerald knows rightly that his father came to power with a Thompson gun in one hand and a ballot paper in the other." — **Danny Morrison.**

"We are a long way from the position where we would have a power-sharing government in Northern Ireland with control of security." — **Garret FitzGerald, adding a fourth option to the Forum report?**

"It would be nice if we could make Northern Ireland the Hong Kong of the British isles." — **Northern Industry Minister Rhodes Boyson, unintentionally causing unionist heart-failure.**

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