

Beanachtaí na Nollag agus athbhliain fé mhaise dár léitheoirí ar fad, in Eirinn agus thar lear

We wish all our readers, at home and abroad, a happy Christmas and a prosperous New Year

Haughey Yields To British

'Big Brother' in Dublin (p.3)



AS POLITICAL EXTRADITION comes into force in the 26 Counties this month with the British government intervening repeatedly to demand the full price for the Hillsborough sell out, Irish citizens have now become the most easily extraditable in Europe.

As usual the British government has clearly reneged on their part of the sell out i.e. the hollow promises of Hillsborough to improve the 'standard of justice' in the Six Counties.

Mrs Thatcher's 'step backwards' remarks in the British parliament on December 1 have been compared to Churchill inciting the Free Staters to attack Republicans in the Four Courts in June of 1922.

All Out Extradition

The passing of the Extradition Act and the massive so-called 'search operation' in the 26 Counties are part and parcel of what is now all out collaboration with British rule in Ireland.

It is Irish citizens that will suffer, north and south, by this surrender and the nationalist people of the Six Counties will as always be the most 'expendable' in the political calculations of London and Dublin.

Britain will not extradite her own citizens without a prima facie case (this was stoutly defended recently by the British House of Lords) while she demands that Dublin do so in a 'slot-machine' fashion.

The issue of 'international terrorism' is used by the Dublin government and in the "European Convention on Repression" to confuse national liberation struggles in Europe with unrepresentative groups such as the Red Brigades etc.

Peoples such as the Basq-

ues (who are being extradited from France to Spain) the Catalans, the Corsicans and the Bretons are struggling to preserve their own national identity and culture.

Struggle for

Self-Determination

In their situations, as in the Irish struggle for self-determination, there can be no political extradition of citizens to their oppressors.

"Searching for arms shipments in envelopes" see Page 3

Revolt by FF grassroots

Report Eddie Cassidy

A GRASSROOTS revolt in Fianna Fail began in Co. Cork, last night, as preliminary steps were taken to disband several Comhairle Ceantair in a two-tier protest over the extradition issue and the alleged "harassment of traditional Republicans" by the security forces.

The Taoiseach, Mr. Haughey was informed yesterday that the regional offices at the Paddy O'Leary Comhairle Ceantair in the Cork North West constituency have pledged to resign their posts.

The regional committee, which represents ten Comhairle Ceantair in a sprawling area of mid-Cork from the hinterland of Bandon to Enniskeane village, also decided at a special meeting in Newcestown on Saturday night, to boycott a proposed FF national lottery in which party members were being requested to subscribe £100 per year for five years.

"The leadership is completely out of touch with the grassroots, and that was the unanimous feeling at the meeting," said a staunch FF member. About 35 delegates attended the meeting, but there were no public representatives present.

There were also indications last night that the officers at the Lannan de Valera Comhairle Ceantair in Charleville, in North Cork, are also considering similar protest actions.

First signs of unrest in the Paddy

O'Leary Comhairle Ceantair emerged two weeks ago when delegates at a meeting voiced their total opposition to extradition.

A member of the national executive of FF Mr. Con Cahalane, from Dunmarwal, who attended the meeting, was asked to convey the anger of delegates to the Taoiseach.

However, local indignation with the party leadership was intensified after last week's massive security sweep in which FF members' houses in the rural isolated areas were subjected to gaudy raids.

The Paddy O'Leary Comhairle Ceantair, covers a region that embraces traditional FF republican strongholds such as Upton, Crossbarry, Kilpatrick, Knockavilla, Farnivane and Connagh.

And according to a reliable source, who attended the specially convened meeting, "what we bitterly resented was that the gaudy searches followed a similar pattern to the 'Tan raids' of the 1920s in that 60 years on, the same houses were among those being targeted for searches."

"We don't blame the gardai," said the source, "it's obvious that some of them were embarrassed. But that directive must have come from the top and it's obvious that our leadership must be out of touch."

The region is acknowledged as pro-Haughey territory, but according to another delegate at the meeting, "we were just dumbfounded. The raids were something we didn't expect from a native government. There was an error of despondency and frustration at the meeting and it was unanimous that we couldn't continue to support the party under the present leadership unless the leadership is prepared to listen to the people."

The source also claimed: "it's a general feeling that is widespread at present throughout the organisation in County Cork."

Last night, Mr. Cahalane, who also attended the special meeting, and the FF TD in the area, Deputy Donal Moynihan, were both unavailable for comment.

Dromintee Vandals

COUNCILLOR Eamonn Larkin has drawn attention to recent disturbing incidents involving vandalism and annoyance of old-age pensioners in the Dromintee area of South Armagh.

The most serious of several acts of vandalism was the cutting of telephone cables serving the homes of a number of pensioners in Dromintee.

Councillor Larkin, in a statement to SAOIRSE, said:

"I am appalled at this flagrant disrespect and disregard for the safety and peace of mind of the most vulnerable section of our community.

"The cutting of telephone lines is particularly disgusting since it meant the destruction for a time of a vital lifeline to the outside world for people who can often be confined by illness to their homes.

"It is fortunate that this did not endanger innocent old people who could at any time be in urgent need of a doctor, ambulance or vital

assistance of any kind. It is hard to understand why anyone would do such a terrible thing to their own people."

Beama Uladh Republican Sinn Féin has called those involved in this behaviour, and they are known, to leave these old people alone. They are deserving of better treatment than this.

Those involved must realise that they are hurting only those who are innocent and helpless. There can be no excuse for taunting, abusing or endangering any section of the community and least of all those who can be no threat to anyone.

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Cé Mhéad a Labhraíonn í ?

BFHEDIR GO RAIBH torthaí an tsuirbhé a d'fhoilsigh an *Irish Times* i dtaobh na Gaeilge ar fud an stáit le gairid beagáinín ró-dhóchasach sa mhéid is go raibh daoine ag déanamh tástála ar a gcumas féin, gan aon scrúdú seachtarach.

Agus b'fhéidir go raibh an tOllamh Reg Hindley, ó Ollscoil Bhradford ró-dhian nuair a luaigh sé an Spidéal agus na Forbarcha mar áiteanna i gConamara a raibh amhras mór ann i dtaobh a seasaimh mar phobail Ghaeltachta sa suirbhé lom macánta is déanaí a rinne sé.

Ach cár fhag tú an bhreith dhian seo le haís a bhfuil le rá de réir cosúlachta sa suirbhé is déanaí a rinne Anne Byrne, Roinn na Socheolaíochta, Coláiste na hOllscoile i nGaillimh d'Aontas (cagras an oideachais do dhaoine fásta)?

Más fíor an réamhphobliocht a bhain leis an suirbhé socheolaíochta seo, ní labhraíonn ach cúig fán gcéad (sea, cúig fán gcéad) de phobal Ghaeltacht Chonamara an teanga mar chéad teanga anois! Scéal eile é, ar ndóigh cén samhainníú crúinn atá ag muintir Choláiste na hOllscoile thiar ar 'chéad teanga', ach ní chreidfeadh Reg Hindley

féin go bhfuil an scéal chomh dona sin ar fud Chonamara go léir.

Is gaire mar bhreith mheáite í do chaoint na beirte ó Bhaile Atha Cliath a dúirt gur mór an Fhraincis ná an Ghaeilge a chuala siad cois trí ar an gCeathrú Rua le linn an tsamhraidh ná suirbhé eolaíoch. Agus tá nithe eile sa tuarascáil de réir cosúlachta atá níos gaire do ráitis pholaitíochta (le 'p' beag) ná anailís fuarchúis-each.

Ar éigean is gá failli na n-údarás sa Ghaeltacht maidir le cúrsaí oideachais do dhaoine fásta, chomh maith le gach aon rud eile, a lua ag an bpointe seo. Agus

cé gur fíor gur gá airgead chun feabhas a chur ar an scéal, ba cheart go dtuigfeadh aon socheolaí faoin am seo nach fadh airgid amháin a bhíonn i geist riamh.

Is fíor, mar a deir an tuarascáil, go dtugann ranganna do dhaoine fásta deis le teacht le chéile agus rudaí a fhoghlaim trí mheán na Gaeilge sa chás go bhfuil Gaeilge go leor ag an lucht foghlamtha cheana féin.

Seo port a chloistear go minic i gcás daoine ar mhian leo tuilleadh cúrsaí a eagrú in áiteanna cosúil le Aras Uí Cadhain, faoi scéth na hOllscoile. Ach ní shin é an fáth nach mbíonn aon chlár de chúrsaí oíche ar an gCeathrú Rua gach geimhreadh mar a bhíonn i mbeagnach gach aon scoil chuimsithe eile sa tír.

Tá baint ag dearcadh údarás agus foirne na scoile ar oideachas oíche don phobal leis an scéal. Gan trácht ar chuid de na scrúitthe a rinneadh

eadh faoi riaradh na scoile tráthnóna sna huairteanta nuair atá an fhoireann lae ar shíúl ón scoil agus ón bpobal féin in go leor cásanna.

Agus fiú más fíor nach bhfuil cuid den obair a bheadh ar bun ag an gCoiste Gairmoideachais in aon ghnáthcheantar ar síúl i gConamara mar nach bhfuil dóthain Gaeilge ag mínteoír sna hábhair nó mar nach bhfuil Gaeilge ag go leor de na daoine fásta a tháinig isteach sa Ghaeltacht le blianta beaga anuas - cé na dreamanna is mó atá freagrach as sin?

An tUdarás a mheallann oibríthe sainiúla gan Ghaeilge, nó an Ollscoil/Roinn Oideachais nár thug faoi fhadhb mínteoireachta trí Ghaeilge i ndáiríre le fada an lá i gcás na n-ábhair eile féin? Cé mhéad d'obair an tsuirbhé socheolaíochta féin a rinneadh trí Ghaeilge? Níos mó ná cúig fán gcéad?

DANGER: BRIT DEMOCRACY AT WORK

WHEN IT COMES to standards of genuine democracy it can be said, without contradiction, that in the case of Ireland Britannia has always waived the rules. This was achieved originally by the Penal Laws when franchise, land ownership and entry to the professions were denied we native Irish. Even the language and religion of the majority of the natives were subjected to intense repression, and for a long period trampled upon.

In this century Oaths of Allegiance (see SAOIRSE, October 1987), redrawing of boundaries, gerrymandering, and property/householder provisions were linked to the right to vote. Parliamentary obstacles have long been considered 'old tricks' by anti-imperialists. Britain has an inbuilt tendency towards distortion of real or effective democratic processes, be these at home or abroad. Recent verbal lashings from the NIO have showed nothing has changed.

Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s the world was told that the situation in Occupied-Ireland was 'a criminal conspiracy', a fact that led to the Blanket and Dirty protests, and eventually claimed ten young lives in the Hunger Strikes of 1980-81. They used millions in propaganda promotion to pretend that their role was 'a peace-keeping operation' and it was merely a matter of time before the final 'mopping-up operation' would return the province to what they termed 'normality'.

Normality

Anyone who knows even a little Irish history has heard it all before. To assume that things were 'normal' before 1968 is not only to insult the intelligence of the reader, listener or viewer, but in effect is to stand logic on its head.

Britain could never afford to even marginally redress the balance in favour of civil rights because the Orange monopoly has been created and shaped in Britain's imperial interests. The Civil Rights Movement (of which the author was a founder in 1967) could only be given promises and limited reforms as any radical changes would have upset the firm economic, cultural and political stranglehold on this region. Like in previous eras, when crisis loomed, the Brits effectively bought off the Castle Catholics and professional elements, by encouraging them to 'enter politics' in the hope that the working-class majority on the streets would feel so isolated that they would feel leaderless and thus abandon the democratic struggle. While the movement became fragmented and confused for a long period of months it did not abandon street protests. It was such a setting that led to an earlier 'mopping-up operation' in January 1972 - Bloody Sunday.

Behind the scenes things do not happen by accident or default. There is constant dialogue between the British

Tuairim

Fionn O'Boyle

and Irish Establishments and their agencies such as the NIO and usually via the 'Inter-Governmental Conference' with its full-time Secretariat, based at Maryfield.

Laws of Confiscation

It has been decided to carry out two new 'mopping-up operations'. One will focus on the property of political organisations and individuals that oppose the government, and laws of confiscation will be introduced apparently reversing the capitalist 'property rights' conceptions. Closing offices, seizure of publishing equipment and ripping out telephones might be what they have in mind. If so this may well be a means of forcing political dissent underground, but at this stage one can only speculate. Republicans have met this challenge before and managed to survive thankably.

The second 'mopping-up operation' is directed at our Council Chambers. A trap has been stealthfully set. The Brits hope it will be sprung at the outset of the local elections in 1989. Anti-imperialists would be foolish to respond simply by press releases expressing justified anger, and should ponder well before publicly declaring that they would sign oaths or pledges "with tongue in cheek".

This new anti-democratic drive has thrown up many factors that should be seriously considered, debated and finally acted upon. It was absurd always to visualise the local council set-up as a permanent forum for resisting the Brit war-machine, fighting the Tory cuts, homelessness, unemployment and other failings of capitalism. Such a dogma should now be buried forever.

Profit First Society

For radicals it is an elementary truth that the working-class cannot achieve their objectives through the mechanisms of the British State. It is absurd to imagine that a local council, the local arm of that State, could bypass the laws and practices of a profit-first-society and operate as an independent socialist entity, if radicals held the majority. Gains in local councils, no matter how important, must be viewed as marginal factors. Radicals and democrats may well be advised to make a break

with the councils and begin to organise the opposition that really counts - among the unions, the tenants, unemployed and community activists who are also under direct and daily Tory attack.

This major attack on the right of citizen representation without state interference is another golden opportunity to expose to the world the sham that passes for local democracy. To keep this issue at the sole venue of the parish-pump would miss that opportunity to link up with democratic and progressive forces on a regional, national and truly international basis. The avenues are there that need little exploration.

'Remove Activists' Plan

The Brits' strategy is a well designed attempt to pick-off one Republican/Socialist councillor after another, by goading other councillors, i.e. Loyalists, to use the big stick in a vicarious fashion via the no-jury, one-Judge courts of this statelet. To comply with the new rules of the game may result in a check-mate result for radicals. Valuable activists would be removed from a community that needs them day and daily. Loyalism would be placated, which is the Brits main intention anyway.

It seems more logical to argue that alternative forums will have to be created, linked firmly to the oppressed and dispossessed. Wider democratic and progressive forces must be enlisted for this political endeavour, be they at home or abroad, and they realise already that it is the poorer sections in our community who are literally being disenfranchised, not merely individual councillors. Our slogan must surely be 'Organise Independent Resistance', outside the Council Chambers. The Brits will soon see what real 'disruption' can be when the poor and progressives return to their only true parliament - the community halls and the streets.

Undemocratic

Such a popular realisation will result in moves to reveal the reality of oppression behind the Hillsborough Deal. Independent resistance will show that whatever political initiatives the authorities undertake, here in the Occupied Zone, the sectarian Six-county statelet will remain fundamentally undemocratic. The proposed clampdown confirms the Hillsborough Deal as a charade covering up the denial of democracy for the Irish people which is the cause of the conflict in the first place. Their latest skull-duggery must be combatted effectively by avoidance of the traps set.

FREE STATE OR POLICE STATE ?

ALL individuals, groups and organisations who are in any way regarded as anti-establishment, and many others who are not, have been raided in the wave of intelligence gathering.

In a statement to the media following the raiding of Republican Sinn Féin offices and the premises of SAOIRSE on Thursday afternoon, November 26 last, it was stated:

"These raids are not searches for arms. The numbers of Gardaí involved and the carrying of automatic weapons into houses where there are women and children indicate their intimidatory nature.

"Indiscriminate raids on a wide spectrum of the public who are not Republicans shows that advantage is being taken of the present situation to bully people and open files on their private and most personal matters.

"The Dublin government seems to have lost all sense of national dignity in its far-reaching attempts to appease the British".

A large amount of files were seized by the raiding party who spent almost two hours looking for arms shipments in drawers and envelopes.

Trawling Operation

Many organisations and some of the media have reacted to this repression; the Irish Council for Civil Liberties accused the government of a 'trawling operation' and reported that the home of Mr. Matt Larkin, general secretary of the National Association of Tenants' Organisation had been broken into by Gardaí who spent an hour reading

through files going back 20 years. After the raid Mr. Larkin stated:

"I think we're becoming more and more like a police state than any other country I know".

The homes of members of Comhaltas Ceoltoirí Éireann were searched, following which their President Labhrás O Murchú asked: "Is cultural activity now being equated with subversion?"

All of the intelligence gathered will be made available to British Army headquarters' computers in Lisburn, Co. Antrim.

British Army loan Equipment

We are told also that sophisticated search and surveillance equipment used by the Special Branch in their raids were loaned to them by the British Army from Sunday, November 22 until Thursday, December 3.

County Councillor.

Several members of the crowd expressed what many were thinking: "This is where our money is going".

The proceedings were adjourned to Mullingar on December 18.

But then again didn't the Free State army and Gardaí start out in 1922 with British artillery and armoured cars turned on their fellow Irishmen . . .

As the reports mounted of thousands of homes being raided the Sunday Tribune editorial on November 29 mentioned the "abusive and menacing" nature of many of the searches.

Fr. Des Wilson, speaking at Kilmichael, Co. Cork, on November 29, was critical of the raids and said:

"It's time to remind the politicians and the people in power that what we have suffered in the North East of the country started in the same way.

"Unless this reprehensible behaviour is stopped and nipped in the bud, your people will face great suffering".

THE raiders took great delight in telling people in their own houses what the extra cost of this 'trawling' exercise is and that the public would be paying for it out of their taxes.

The Gardaí are receiving £80 per week and 63p per mile for using their own cars. Together with meal allowances and overnight expenses it is reckoned that they will have an extra £1,000 each from the operation for Christmas.

The Free State army are faring less well: they are getting an extra £48 - £50 per week.

ation should not be used as a cover for 'Big Brother' surveillance. What Councillors or other public representatives can be relied on to confront the authorities?

LONGFORD town was the scene for the further appearance in court of Dermot Finucane, who escaped from Long Kesh in 1984, on December 2 last.

The area around the courthouse was completely sealed off from 8.30am and Free State soldiers patrolled the streets all day. Public houses in the vicinity were closed as the extradition proceedings began.

A picket was mounted on a Sinn Féin in Longford, near the court by Republican leader by Seán Lynch, former

Spy Cameras

DUBLIN CORPORATION has footed the bill for a set of Garda cameras fixed on 30-foot poles in eight positions around the city centre.

The cameras, erected earlier this year, are controlled automatically from Harcourt Square Garda Metropolitan HQ and are capable of picking out car registrations, faces and places up to 400 yards away.

The cameras are situated at the top of O'Connell Street, the junctions of

Blessington Street and Dorset Street, Gardiner Street and Dorset Street, Pearse Street, College Green, Stephen's Green, Dawson Street and Grafton Street.

Councillors were told that the £150,000 was paid out of Corporation funds for 'traffic control'. This secret

surveillance has been used in Britain to identify miners' flying pickets during the 1984 strike.

Although a similar system has been installed in Cork for two years, the Labour-controlled County Council in Nottinghamshire, England successfully ordered police to remove zoom lenses and recording equipment from their traffic cameras.

The cry of Civil Liberties should be heard on this issue here and the Corpor-

NGA Statement

THE National Graves Association Dublin wish to state that it is and always has been, a completely autonomous organisation funded by voluntary subscription.

The Association was founded in 1926 with three main objectives:

1. To restore where necessary and to maintain fittingly the graves and Memorials of all those who died for the Irish Republic as proclaimed in Easter Week 1916.
2. To commemorate all those who died for the same cause.
3. To compile a complete record of such graves and Memorials.

The guiding principle of our Association as laid down by our founder members reads "It shall be the guiding principle of the Association that neither of the Partition institutions of Stormont or Leinster House represents the true aspirations of those who died for Irish freedom."

We find it necessary to state publicly that all members of National Graves Association Dublin adhere to this principle.

We have complained on many occasions during the past 15 years of groups using the name of the National Graves Association when announcing Easter Commemoration Ceremonies. We trust that in the future, Commemoration Committees refrain from using the name of the NGA without obtaining permission.

M. NI Cearnaigh, Rúnaí
C. De Faoite, Cathaoirleach

24 November, 1987

Tallaght Dereliction

GARDA RECRUITS and Marist priests are among the ideal tenants Dublin Corporation have in mind for the near derelict Avonbeg Flats in Tallaght.

Despite the strongly expressed wishes of Dublin County Council who own the land on which they stand and demands by local people that they be pulled down, Avonbeg Flats are to be refurbished and privatised by Dublin Corporation.

The flats, which are rated as among the most vandalised of all Dublin Corporation's property, had a disastrous beginning as a damp course had been left out when they were being built. The resulting fungus forced many tenants to leave and the Corporation had to foot the ESB bills of those who remained to keep the dampness at bay.

As soon as a flat became vacant in a block it became the focal point for drinking parties by a small group of vandals in the area who eventually forced out the remaining tenants and started fires in the block, gutting it completely.

A 72-year-old deaf and housebound woman was lucky to be rescued by neighbours and the Fire Brigade when vandals set fire to the vacant flat beneath her on the evening of November 16 last, in the one remaining block that had until then escaped vandalism by the vigilance of neighbours in nearby houses.

Contacted by anxious neighbours who fear that the elderly woman may not escape the next attack by vandals, Dublin Corporation's

Mr. Miley said that plans were well advanced for the refurbishment of the first two blocks of flats which would mean privatising an

Eagarphocal

State Security

WHEN Mr. Charles Haughey asserts (in Leinster House on November 27) that extradition to Britain is justified because "democracy is a recognised principle" in that country the natural reaction of nationally-minded Irish people is to be astounded at such hypocrisy.

But Mr. Haughey and the Fianna Fáil organisation are caught in a web of their own making, as are all other parties serving the 26-county state. Set up by the partition of this country, the Free State depends on continued partition for its own survival.

The historic role of the 26-county state has been to block true democracy on this island which demands an end to partition and British rule. So too with the parties born out of its inception.

All Leinster House parties will justify the repression of Irish self-determination by quoting the security of the state as the supreme law. Republicans answer that the security and safety of the whole people of Ireland must be the supreme law.

SOVEREIGN PEOPLE TRAMPLED ON

'The security of the state' justified the Civil War in Free State eyes, as now it justifies all out collaboration with British rule in Ireland. In both instances, and for the whole 65 years of its existence, the sovereign people were ignored and trampled on in their desire for freedom.

Mr. Haughey's career since 1980 is a perfect, if shameful, example of this.

Addressing his first Fianna Fáil Ard Fheis as leader in February 1980 he categorised the Six Counties as "an unworkable political entity".

In May of the same year, after his first meeting with Mrs. Thatcher, he agreed to the joint communiqué which stated that there could be "no change in the constitutional status of Northern Ireland without the consent of a majority there".

Thus accepting that he had trapped himself in his 'special relationship' with Mrs. Thatcher he could not speak out when Irish Hunger Strikers were dying in Long Kesh one year later.

AFRAID OF NATIONAL FEELING

Fianna Fáil, under his lead, have now agreed to further collaboration in the interests of British rule with wholesale political extradition. Some of their members are fighting against it as they are afraid of the national feeling in the people.

As usual the British have reneged on their part of the Hillsborough Sell Out while demanding the full price for it from Dublin.

Fianna Fáil are caught up, whether they like it or not, in the historic role of the 26-county state as a bulwark against Irish freedom. Allegiance to that state is not compatible with allegiance and loyalty to the Irish people. For Republicans the choice is clear.

area surrounding the blocks and landscaping them.

Mr. Miley would not confirm or deny that a request for Garda accommodation had been received but did say that it would be a great advantage and that they would be ideal tenants.

The uncivic wrangling which has gone on for over ten years about the fate of the Avonbeg Flats between Dublin County Council and Dublin Corporation may be childish territorial antics, but while it goes on the vandals can put the lives of people at risk and the civic-minded citizens of the area have to put up with a landscape resembling West Beirut.

BIRMINGHAM 6

IN ONE recent episode of the 'Coronation Street' soap opera immediately before the beginning of the Birmingham Six appeal the storyline featured characters commenting in glowing terms on the British jury system and boasting of the world acclaim accorded to their flawed judicial system.

This programme was shown when the appeal was in progress and could only have been aimed at influencing British public opinion so that the savage treatment meted out to the Birmingham Six could be looked at in a sympathetic light.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LIBERTA PER CORSICA!

ON SUNDAY, October 25, the Ard Fheis welcomed the delegation from the Corsican Liberation Movement, Unità Naziunalista, during the International Affairs section. Their spokesman, Leo Batesti, received a standing ovation for his powerful fraternal address which placed the national struggle of Corsica in its context:

"I would like to congratulate you for your invitation.

I am very proud to be here as a representative of the Corsican struggle.

We were invited to the Ard Fheis of 1983 and we are very pleased to have new contacts because we have so many things to tell to each other; we have so many similarities . . . and overall because the international solidarity is a weapon for our national liberation struggle.

"My country has been subjected for two centuries after we lost our independence against the French Army. Since then we have had to suffer the tyranny of French colonialism.

Our culture, our language are destroyed: there is no real teaching, the French cultural and educational domination is absolute — our economy is a wreck: we do not produce anything, colonialism organises speculation on our land and our shore.

The tourist and agricultural industries are controlled by big business and colonists. We have no manufacturing industry and our imports are fifteen times higher than our exports!

THE ARD FHEIS carried motions attacking Section 31 as political censorship by a threatened partitionist government and called for an active campaign to abolish it.

Recruitment campaigns and public meetings were urged by three motions from Dublin, Galway and Cork cumainn to get the Republican message across to the Irish people.

SAOIRSE — Irish Freedom is to be issued on a fortnightly basis as soon as possible, on the adoption of a motion from Cumann Liam Uí Mhaoliosá, Baile Atha Cliath.

CORRECTION

IN OUR report on the Social Policy debate at the Ard Fheis some of Councillor Frank McCarry's remarks were misquoted. In referring to Moyle District Council's treatment of Travellers, he said: "The Council refused to abandon the plan to erect barriers at a car park in the town to deny access to Travellers despite local objections from residents."

"The result of this policy is terrible for our people and overall for our youth. Sixty years ago we represented 98 per cent of the population, now our people represent only 50 per cent.

The traditional political circles which we call the 'Clan' — in a different sense than the Irish word — is totally corrupt. I believe that in Ireland you also have a similar problem. I need not insist longer . . . !

EXPLOITATION

This 'Clan' contributes to the economical exploitation of our island, and supports repression, because they make personal gains out of it.

"But, in this confrontation with the French state and the Clan, the Corsican nationalists are active in every aspect of social life. The vast majority of Corsican youth recognise themselves in this struggle.

A new and essential feature of the last three years has been the development within our political strategy of an increasing number of nationalist organisations and trade unions.

"In three years our work-

SEAN KEENAN from Derry was made an honorary life Vice-President of Republican Sinn Féin.

TOM MAGUIRE has agreed to become the Patron of the organisation, and on his behalf, Billy McKee, Belfast, accepted a presentation from the Ard Fheis, as Tom was unable to attend in person.

BEARNA Uladh, South Armagh, succeeded in passing a motion, which was supported unanimously by the delegates, calling for clarification from the National Graves Association, whose representative, Séamus Mac Ciarnáin, addressed the Ard Fheis.

The motion as passed read:

"That Republican Sinn Féin calls on the National Graves Association to state its position regarding parades held under its jurisdiction and auspices, especially those for which notice was given to the forces of occupation."

(For NGA clarification received see statement on Page 3)

ers' union has reached the second rank on the island, in terms of membership.

parents' associations who got 30 per cent of the votes two days ago in school



• Leo Batesti (left) and Olivier Giovannoni of the Corsican delegation.

Our teachers' union, our farmers' organisation, that of tradesmen and craftsmen are leading their respective professional demands and have an increasingly growing membership.

YOUTH

On the youth and student side, our organisation is very influential. The Student Union got 90 per cent of votes at the last university elections. In secondary schools the nationalist students' union is very active and the vast majority of students recognise its leadership. Still in the educational field, we have two

council elections.

On the political field, I am one of the councillors of the Corsican assembly (an institutional gadget). This organisation has undertaken a considerable task of fundamental political clarification.

"Not only at election time because such occasions are not for us a goal in itself, but they are just a mere moment of the struggle. In short, day after day, on the street, in our villages, in our cities, we are there.

FLNC

Still on the political field, 1976 was the year of the

French Solidarity

JEAN-PIERRE Plavinet, on behalf of Association Solidarité Irlande (ASI) the Irish support group organised throughout France, addressed the Ard Fheis during the International Affairs section of the Clár. Their support, he explained, is based on three principles:

1. A demand for British withdrawal from the Six Counties;
2. An Amnesty for all Irish Political Prisoners;
3. The right to self-determination for the Irish people as a whole.

Solidarité Irlande have not an exclusive relationship with any particular organisation in Ireland, but support the Irish struggle and everyone engaged in it, he said.

"Our activity in France is centred around the publication of a regular bulletin called Solidarité Irlande, the organising of various cultural, educational and political initiatives, such as concerts of Irish traditional music, debates on the Irish national question or one of its particular aspects in work-places, student circles, community associations etc. We hold an annual commemoration of the 1981 Hunger-Strikers' sacrifice on

May 5, in front of the British Embassy in Paris", he continued.

In conjunction with the Irish Association in Paris, ASI marched on May Day, behind a lone piper, demanding equal rights for Irish employees in private language schools, the right of political asylum for Irish political exiles, against extradition to British Justice and the continuing use of strip searches.

Jean-Pierre sent special greetings to Republican prisoners throughout Ireland, England and the USA:

"Whenever we feel discouraged or floundering on some task, the mere thought of their ordeal and their

founding of the National Liberation Front of Corsica, the FLNC. Since then this organisation of both military and political nature, is intensely active on the field with an average of six hundred military operations every year.

But the FLNC also shows a major political concern by putting forward a plan for decolonisation. This plan would allow a process of getting the island out of the cycle of violence it has experienced for 15 years. It is also our choice because it is the voice of reason.

REPRESSION

Unfortunately the French state doesn't have the same intentions. It carries out a stronger and stronger repression. French jails are full with political prisoners who are denied political status. These patriots are systematically deported more than 100 miles from their native land and from their relatives. They are judged by a Special Court.

Human rights are not respected. Ill-treatment by police officers will not be stopped or condemned by courts, we have one of our prisoners who has been in remand custody for almost five years.

"There have been several police frame-ups in order to keep some militants away from political life and people who planned the murder of nationalists have remained unworried except by the FLNC which executed many of them.

In short: There are no political rights in Corsica like in Ireland. For instance, in the last three years the French government has dissolved three nationalist or-

ganisations only because they expressed their solidarity to all the Corsican fighters.

SUED

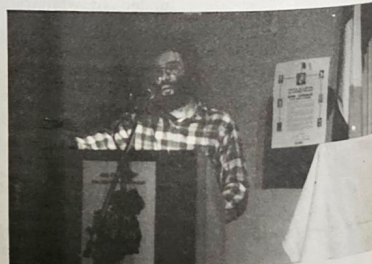
In the same way our newspaper has been 'sued' in court no less than twenty-two times these last two years. Thus any TV broadcast relating an FLNC statement is banned.

"But we are on our way despite this repression. The colonial system is crumbling down. Colonialism is playing its last cards in the deck by organising counter-insurgency networks, reactionary forces and by setting up the crime of expressing nationalist views.

Nevertheless, in spite of the scope of means they are using: They will fail! We have the supreme weapon, just like yourselves, that is legitimacy! and like yourselves, we have a decisive trump card: our ideals. Irish sisters and brothers,

I would like to conclude on behalf of the Corsican militants, to express our solidarity to your prisoners; We would like to express our respect to your martyrs; I assure you that when you are suffering, we suffer; I assure you we are beside you. We are sure you will win because the right is on your side.

"Yesterday, Ruairí, you invited me to tell some words in our Corsican language: Thank you, but I only use one word. A simple word, but a universal word. I'm sure you don't need any translation: The word is LIBERTA: Liberta per Corsica! Liberta per l'Irlanda! Liberta for the Irish Republican Army prisoners. Go raibh maith agaibh."



• Jean-Pierre Plavinet, Solidarité Irlande

fighting spirit brings us back on the right track.

"There will be no lying down on our side, just because there will be no lying down on yours. The support for the Irish Republican struggle in France and, I believe, on the Continent will continue until Ireland is united, Gaelic and free. We will be on your side in times

of difficulties as well as in times of success", he continued.

The Ard Fheis also heard an address on behalf of supporters in the USA from Cathal Malone, San Francisco.

Cathal has been active in a Fianna Éireann support group there for many years.



• Cathleen Knowles, Cisteoir, CABHAIR – Irish Republican Prisoners' Dependants Fund, handing over a cheque for £500 to James Murphy, South Armagh, on behalf of South Armagh Green Cross, who assist Republican Prisoners' Dependants in this area.

FIANNA ÉIREANN

A REPRESENTATIVE of Na Fianna, the Republican Scouts, addressed the Ard Fheis on Sunday, October 25. Tracing the continuity of the organisation since its foundation in 1909 by Bulmer Hobson and Constance Markievicz, the speaker reminded the delegates of the sacrifice of Fianna-trained men such as Con Colbert, Seán Heuston, Ned Daly, Joe McKelvey and Liam Mellows in the 1916 Rising and the War of Liberation that followed.

"We also remember with pride the twenty members of Na Fianna Éireann who have made the supreme sacrifice in the present struggle, and we honour men like Chief Scout Antoine Geoghegan, RIP, Baile Atha Cliath, who stood firm against the reformists in

1969," the spokesperson said. "We congratulate Sinn Féin on this, their 83rd Ard Fheis; we send solidarity greetings to all the Prisoners of War; and we reaffirm our allegiance to the Republican Movement. "No group can give alle-

iance to those who recognise Leinster House, Westminster or Stormont and call itself Na Fianna Éireann.

"In re-organising Na Fianna in the coming months we will welcome boys of 7 years and over who will be instructed in the history of the Republican Movement and taught to have a love of their country and her culture. Like Sinn Féin at the moment we are small in number, but like Sinn Féin we will grow and go on to achieve our common goal: a free 32-County Ireland," the spokesperson concluded.

and all your comrades for a very successful Ard Fheis and I would like to convey my solidarity with all true Republican prisoners incarcerated in US, British and Irish jails.

"I have slowed up in limb and body but the heart and spirit are as young as they were in 1916 and my thoughts and pledge remain unchanged, that is for the 32-County Irish Republic."

VETERAN Republican Jack Moloney (92) from Roscrea, Co. Tipperary sent a letter of support to the 83ú Ard Fheis in which he said:

"My best wishes to you

ÓRÁID CHUMANN na mBAN

A Chairde, Cuireann sé an-áthas orma beanú díbhse inniu ar ócaid an tríú Ard Fheis 'is octó seo.

Fellow Republicans, It gives me great pleasure to address you on behalf of the Volunteers and Executive of Cumann na mBan on this, your 83rd Ard Fheis. We wish you every success on your deliberations over this weekend and look forward to your growing in strength over the coming year.

We would like to take this opportunity to extend our greetings and good will to all Republicans who cannot be here today, both at home and abroad. We send special greetings to all prisoners in jail for the cause of Irish freedom, in Ireland, England, America and France and we look forward to the day of your release.

Since the events of last November there has been a certain ambiguity in some quarters as to where Cumann na mBan stands. But there can be no ambiguity. The Cumann na mBan constitution is very explicit. Our allegiance is to the 1916 Proclamation and the Democratic Programme of the 1919 Dáil. Our constitution states clearly that the sovereignty and unity of Ireland are non-judicable and inalienable. Today as in the past we remain true to that fundamental principle. Cumann na mBan is an

autonomous body, we owe no support to any group or body. Our only allegiance is to the Republic proclaimed in arms in Easter Week and defended in blood in 1923 and every decade since then. We stand alone among military Republican organisations as the inheritors of the basic Republican position of allegiance to the Republic of 1916 and the First Dáil.

We have direct lineal continuity from Easter Week 1916, engaging in struggle and giving service in every generation and every decade since then. Cumann na mBan were the first to reject the Treaty of Surrender in February 1922 and did so by the greatest majority of all the Republican organisations. We were first to stand out against the reformism of what are now the Workers' Party in 1968 just as we did before last year's Ard Fheis when the same parliamentary role was sought for the Republican Movement.

To our former comrades, who have deviated from the Republican path, we would ask what exactly you are fighting for? What do you expect to gain when you have already sold out along the way? We say STOP and think. We remind you of the words of Terence MacSwiney: "In matters of principle there can be no compromise" and we would add: neither 'tactical' nor 'tongue-in-cheek'.

We wish to reassure you and all faithful Republicans, their supporters and sympathisers, that the future of Republicanism and of the unbroken tradition of allegiance to the Republic of 1916 and 1919 remains secure in our hands.

In the coming months we will be mounting a nationwide recruiting campaign for both Cumann na mBan and Cumann na gCailíní. If you feel that you would like to become part of our organisation please contact us.

Remember The Prisoners

CABHAIR – Irish Republican Prisoners' Dependants were invited to address the Ard Fheis and their spokesperson said:

"It has been a long tradition with Republicans to have a Committee to look after the welfare of prisoners' dependants.

The name of the Committee has changed many times through the years but the object remains the same i.e. to help alleviate some of the distress of the prisoners by assuring them that their dependants would be cared for.

"There was one period in the early forties when a few prisoners signed 'Release

forms. These men were prepared to endure the hardship of a prison camp but could not allow their families to suffer for an indefinite period.

These men felt very bitter afterwards. At the time there was very little funds but this demonstrates the importance of a Committee such as CABHAIR.

"We would ask that monies made available would be forwarded to the Central Committee and not paid locally to the dependants.

"This will prevent duplication and allow available finance to be evenly distributed to each family in need.

I would ask the delegates at this Ard Fheis to endeavour to form a CABHAIR committee if one does not already exist in your area. Persons on these committees need not be members of Sinn Féin.

"CABHAIR are holding a one day Aonach in the CIE Hall on Saturday, December 5 (12 noon - 6pm). We would ask for your help either by donating goods for the sale, helping during the sale or even by your attendance."

EDUCATION

DURING the discussion on education at the Ard Fheis, calls were made for education programmes to be set-up dealing with such matters as the National Question, the Proclamation of 1916 and Irish Republicanism. The aim of these programmes is to make new members aware of what Republican Sinn Féin stands for and has always stood for and to further educate existing members.

A motion put forward by the National Executive was passed committing Republican Sinn Féin to educate present and future generations in the history of our country and to emphasise the fact that the men and women who have died for Irish freedom are those who fought against imperialist domination, Free Statism and Orangeism. It is our duty to honour and respect them:

"They are the ones who we must emulate and whose example, sacrifice and heroism will live forever in our national consciousness."

Part of the education course to be implemented

would deal with social and economic matters. This would explain the policies of RSF and incoming members would be asked to undergo such courses.

It was agreed that an Education Officer be appointed by the Ard Chomhairle to put the resolutions passed at the Ard Fheis into practice.

People were also asked to use SAORISE – Irish Freedom as a medium for educational lectures.

Election Strategy

A COMMITMENT to contest local elections on a 32-County basis was given by the delegates in support of a motion from the Denis Spriggs Cumann, Cork.

The motion also stated that Westminster, Leinster House and Six-County Assembly-type elections be fought, in accordance with Republican principles, on an abstentionist basis. Local conventions are to meet to meet to decide on the feasibility of standing and to select candidates.

On the EEC elections to the so-called 'European Parliament' speakers reminded

those present that this assembly is undemocratic because those elected have no real power – the Council of Ministers make the laws.

Sinn Féin candidates should abstain from taking seats in this 'talking-shop' because the EEC "frustrates and limits our national goals and destroys our national resources," as the speaker from Cumann Athar Uí Ghríofa, Gaillimh, put it.

This motion was passed while another which called for non-participation in 26-County or Six-County elections in the future was defeated.

Governmental Structures

MOTION 122 on the Clár from Comhairle Uladh was the only motion for debate in this section, the rest were withdrawn because of their similarity to 122. "That we set up a National Committee to study the Eire Nua policy and examine its relevance to-day," was amended to add "and all other governmental structures for the 32 Counties."

An Cathaoirleach informed delegates at this stage that time was of the essence and were asked to be brief in their arguments and not

repetitious. The debate that followed revealed delegates generally in favour of the motion while one counselled caution.

Ruairí O Brádaigh in favour of the motion, said that he would prefer to see ultimately in Ireland and in the world a completely classless society and the state wither away where self-governing communities could manage their own business and destiny in peace. The motion was passed overwhelmingly.

EAGRAÍOCHT

At the AGM of Comhairle Uladh which was held on Sunday 22nd November in the White Horse Hotel, Coochill, Co. Cavan, the following Officers were elected:

Cathaoirleach:
Eamonn Larkin
Rúnaí:
Mary McDermott
Cisteoir:
Liam Minnagh
OCP/Leas Chathaoirleach:
Michael Donegan
Oideachas:
Eamonn O Mathúna
Ard Chomhairle Delegates:
Seamus Breslin
Micky McManus

Comhairle Cúige Chonnacht held its AGM on Sunday, November 29, in Strokestown, Co. Roscommon. Officers elected were:

Cathaoirleach:
Seán O Loingsigh
Rúnaí:
Deaglán O Cuirrín
Cisteoir:
V. O Dochartaigh
Oideachas:
Seamus O Náiragh
OCP/Leas Chathaoirleach:
Antoine De Bhaláis
Ard Chomhairle Delegates:
S. O Náiragh
V. O Dochartaigh

At the AGM of Comhairle Ceantair Ath Cliath on November 17 last the following Officer Board was elected:

Cathaoirleach:
Andy Connolly
Leas-Chathaoirleach:
Peter Cunningham
Rúnaí:
Seosaimhín Uí h-Eideáin
Cisteoir:
Seán O Sé
OCP:
John Horan
Eagraíocht:
Peter Cunningham
Leasa Shóisialaigh:
Mairéad Langsdorf
Oideachas:
Seamus Leonard
Airgeadas:
Mary Moynihan
Cultúr:
Seán O Sé,
Díog Ní Chonaill

Tom O'Connor A Tribute

THE AUTHOR OF the novels 'Glennanar', 'The Graves of Kilmorna' and others, Canon Shechan of Doneraile wrote of the Fenians:

"They were silent, strong men into whose character some stern and terrible energy seemed to have been imposed. There were no braggarts amongst them. Their passion was too deep for words and that passion was an all-consuming, fierce, unswerving and unselfish love of Ireland."

Such a man was the late Tom O'Connor of Kill, County Kildare. His loss is most keenly felt by those who knew him right through his decades of service to the Republican Movement.

Tom came with his family to Kildare in 1946 from Maharees, County Kerry. He was a boy of 14 just out of school and his background was uncompromisingly Republican. His father Con and his uncle Michael had served right through the Black-and-Tan War with Kerry No. 1 Brigade of the IRA. In the words of Brian O'Higgins "When they heard the call of a cause laid low they sprang to their guns again" in 1922 and fought against the Free State.

Con was one of the last of over 1,000 Republican prisoners from his Brigade area taken by boat from Fenit around the coast to Dublin and interned without trial in one of the Curragh concentration camps. He was kicked into the vessel by one of the more notorious Free State officers operating in Kerry at that time.

Con lived through two more let-downs, two more departures from the Republican path - in 1926 and 1946 - with disastrous consequences which are well known.

His son Tom dedicated himself to service in Ireland's cause in the early 50s. He addressed himself to his work, unobtrusively, quietly and steadily. He avoided the limelight and it goes without saying that he sought no reward.

In the great crisis of the Republican Movement in 1969 Tom's stand was clear - he was with the Republic of 1916. In 1986 when a similar crisis arose again there was no soul-searching by Tom O'Connor. His allegiance was still to the Republic with all that that entailed.

What were the qualities which carried him through a life-time of service to the Movement? Reliability at all times and steadfastness at all costs were those most obvious to his friends and comrades. His loyalty to the All-Ireland Republic of 1916 and to the first Dail Eireann of 1919 was beyond question. He would have no truck whatever with the Free State which he regarded as a barrier on the road to Irish freedom.

His death is a great loss to the Republican Movement during this further period of re-organisation 1986-87.

His family are bereft of a husband, a father and a brother and the people of his district are missing a good neighbour. We all need him now but God's ways are not our ways. Tom bore a long illness with fortitude and was an example to all of us.

A dignified and sincere sympathy is extended to his family in Kildare and in Kerry on behalf of all faithful Republicans.

The young generation have a fitting model in Tom O'Connor of Kill. Those who were associated with him remember in sorrow and in pride - and are inspired.

Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a anam usal.
— Ruairí O Brádaigh

CHRISTMAS APPEAL REMEMBER THE PRISONERS AND THEIR DEPENDANTS

Send your donation to:
CABHAIR, Irish Republican Prisoners' Dependants Fund
21, Shaw Street, Dublin 2

EAGRAÍOCHT

Comhairle Ceantair na Gaillimhe, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, held its AGM during November. Elected officers are as follows:

Cathaoirleach:
Tomás O Curraoin
Leas-Chathaoirleach:
Michael Carey
Rúnaí:
Seamus O Náiragh
Cisteoir:
Johnny Clarke
OCP:
Frank Glynn
Comhairle Chonnacht Delegates:
Paddy Fox
Brendan Madden

The Maire Drumm Cumann, Clondalkin, Dublin, held its AGM, Friday, November 27, 1987.

Cathaoirleach:
Hugh Boyle
Leas-Chathaoirleach:
Martin Crawford
Cisteoir:
Noreen Fitzpatrick
OCP:
Mandy Crawford
Eagraí:
Hugh Boyle
Rúnaí:
John Horan

At the AGM of Cumann Wolfe Tone, Tamlacht, Baile Atha Cliath, the following Officer Board was elected:

Cathaoirleach:
Peter Cunningham
Rúnaí:
Lita Ní Chathmhaoil
Cisteoir:
Seosaimhín Uí h-Eideáin
OCP:
Seamus Leonard
Leasa Shóisialaigh:
Maire Geoghegan

AN STAIR

TERENCE MacSWINEY

TERENCE MAC SWINEY succeeded Tomás Mac Curáin - assassinated by British forces in March 1920 - to the twin offices of Lord-Mayor of Cork city and Officer Commanding the 1st Cork Brigade, Irish Republican Army. He was also TD for Mid-Cork in the First Dail Eireann.

Arrested by British forces in the City Hall, Cork on August 12, 1920 he immediately went on hunger-strike for release. He died on October 25, the 74th day of his fast. He was 41 years old. His sacrifice made international news and had a profound effect on the Irish struggle at that time and since - and particularly on world opinion.

The next Irish elected representative to die on hunger-strike was Deputy Bobby Sands (Fermanagh-South Tyrone) on May 5, 1981 and the last was Deputy Ciaran Doherty (Cavan-Monaghan) on August 2, 1981.

Mac Swiney's book "Principles of Freedom" is an enduring discourse on resistance to tyranny and the ethics of revolt with particular reference to the Irish situation. "In matters of principle there can be no compromise," he wrote. It epitomised his life - and his death for Ireland.

*Shed we no tear for you, Terence MacSwiney!
God set the seal of His love on your brow;
Gave you to Ireland - a saint and a soldier -
Who can be fitter to plead for her now?*

*Joy for the valiant, heroic heart of you!
Joy for the soul of you, whiter than snow!
Joy for the Cause that has claimed your allegiance!
Your death is its challenge to friend and to foe!*

*Raise we no caoine for you, Terence MacSwiney!
High is our pride in your name and your deed;
Humble our prayer to the great God of Battles,
That we, too, be strong in the dark hour of need.*

*Joy for your love and your faith and your courage,
Glowing and glad to the last unguished breath!
Thanks be to God for you, Terence MacSwiney!
Thanks be to God for your life and your death!*

— Brian O'Higgins ("Brian na Banban")

Nóta: A well-attended Terence Mac Swiney commemoration took place on Sunday, October 25, 1987 after 11am Mass at St. George's Cathedral, London. Republican Sinn Féin was well represented and the current SAORISE was on sale.

O'NEILL'S RESTAURANT

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Props: Joe and Mary O'Neill
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36-37 Avenue Rd, SCR, Dublin 8
Telephone: 756106

BEANNACHTAÍ na NOLLAG

CHRISTMAS greetings to Republican prisoners in Portlaoise, Maghaberry, Long Kesh, Magilligan and in jails in England and the United States, from the Executive and Volunteers, Cumann na mBan.

DILLON Charlie (H-Blocks) Happy Christmas Charlie from the Donegan family in Dromintee, South Armagh. Wishing you also a happy New Year.

MCELHINNEY, John (Portlaoise). Christmas Greetings and congratulations from Séamus, Loch Garman.

MCKEARNEY, Tommy (H-Blocks). The Donegan family in Dromintee wishes you and your family a peaceful and holy Christmas and a joyful New Year.

O h-AODHA, Seán POW i bPríosún Albany, Isle of Wight, Sasana.

Nollaig mhaith chugat. Ní fuacht go Nollaig ach nach cumhine an goradh. Nollaig faoi shéan agus faoi shonas duit. O Seoidé, i Ard Mhacha.

STEWART, John (Portlaoise). Merry Christmas son to you and all your comrades. From Mum, Dad and family circle.

TOWNSON, Liam (Portlaoise). Christmas Greetings to you Liam. "Have one in from Lita. Willie's cell". PL.

HORGAN, Wishing Con a very speedy recovery. From all the staff at 21, Shaw Street.

MCELHINNEY, Christmas and New Year Greetings to John McElhinney and comrades, Portlaoise Prison, from Lita.

CHRISTMAS and New Year Greetings to Seán Hayes, Albany, Isle of Wight; John McElhinney, Portlaoise Jail and Tommy McKearney and comrades Long Kesh, and to all Republican prisoners from Comhairle Ceantair Atha Cliath, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

CHRISTMAS greetings to Maxie, Micky, the Cub, Bill, Dan, Leo, Ted, Pete, Kevin, Brian, Martin, Peter, Roon, Pat, Fitzy, Vinny, Angelo, Rab, Peter, Aidan, and Stewart, Portlaoise from Séamus, Loch Garman.

CHRISTMAS Greetings to all Republican Prisoners in Long Kesh, Magilligan, Portlaoise, Maghaberry, Britain and the USA. From the Peter McNulty Cumann, Kilcoo Co. Down.

CUMANN Uí Chruaíoch/Mhic Ghiolla Buí, Béal Feirste (Steele/McKelvey Cumann, Belfast), sends Christmas Greetings to Republican POWs in Long Kesh, Magilligan, Maghaberry and Portlaoise jails and your incarcerated comrades in England and America.

COMHAIRLE Uladh, Republican Sinn Féin, sends Christmas and New Year Greetings to Republican prisoners in jails in Ireland, England and America, and especially to Tommy McKearney and comrades Long Kesh, Seán Hayes, Albany, Isle of Wight and John McElhinney, Portlaoise Jail.

CHRISTMAS Greetings to Republican prisoners in jails at home and abroad from the Liam Mellows Cumann, Dublin Central.

CHRISTMAS Greetings to Republican prisoners in jails at home and abroad, especially Seán Hayes, Albany, Isle of Wight, Tommy McKearney, Long Kesh and John McElhinney, Portlaoise, from the staff at 21, Shaw Street.

CHRISTMAS and New Years greetings from the Carr-oll/O'Donovan Cumann, Ballymetton/Inchicore/Wal-kinstown to all Republican Prisoners at home and abroad, especially to Seán Hayes, Albany, Isle of Wight, Tommy McKearney, Long Kesh and John McElhinney, Portlaoise.

CHRISTMAS Greetings to Republican prisoners in Long Kesh, Maghaberry, Magilligan, Portlaoise and overseas, from the Patrick Cannon Cumann, Dublin.

CHRISTMAS and New Year Greetings to Seán Hayes, Albany, Isle of Wight; John McElhinney, Portlaoise Prison and Tommy McKearney and comrades, Long Kesh and to all Republican prisoners from Cumann Wolfe Tone, Tamhlacht, Baile Atha Cliath.

SEASON'S Greetings and best wishes for the New Year to all Republican Prisoners incarcerated in prisons in Ireland, Britain and the USA. From the Cathal Brughá Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Dun Laoghaire.

SPECIAL Christmas Greetings to Portlaoise lifers: Peter, Liam, Tony, Jimmy, George, Seán, Tommy, Junior, Pat, Brian, Eamonn, Arnie, Séamus and Michael. Also Joe O'Connell, England. From Séamus, Loch Garman.

CUMANN Sheáin Mhic Diarmada Béal Feirste (Seán McDermott Cumann, Belfast) sends Christmas Greetings to Republican POWs in Long Kesh, Magilligan, Maghaberry and Portlaoise prisons; to all the POWs in English jails and Joe Doherty, Republican POW, USA. We'll not forget the felons of our land.

BEARNA Uladh Republican Sinn Féin sends its Christmas Greetings to all Republican POWs imprisoned by Britain and her agents in Ireland, United States and France. We think at this time of all those who have laid down their lives for Ireland during 1986 and those who fell into enemy hands during that momentous year. The members of Bearna Uladh send particular greetings to Kevin Donegan, Tommy McKearney, Charlie Dillon, Anthony McCooey, Gene Burns, James Tierney, Denis Cummings, Pat Mullin, Kevin O'Neill, Oliver Corr, Eoghain Roe O'Neill, Peter Kane, Eamonn McIlroy, Marcus Murray (all H-Blocks), Seán Hayes (Albany) and John McElhinny (Portlaoise). Bearna Uladh also sends its best wishes to the families of all Republican POWs.

NOLLAIG faoi shéan agus faoi mhaise dona Cimir bPort Laoise, Magilligan, Maghaberry, Campa na Ceis-e Fada, agus ins an Bhreathán agus SAM. O Cumann Aine Ní Dhoibhlin, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Ráth Fearnáin, BAC.

WISHING all Republican Prisoners the best and Season's Greetings whether they be in Long Kesh, Maghaberry, Magilligan, Portlaoise, British jails or in the USA. From the South Down Martyrs Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Castlewellan, Co. Down.

SOLIDARITY greetings at this time to all Republican Prisoners of War, especially to all my friends in Portlaoise Prison. Beir Bua. O Sheáin O Sé.

CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican prisoners at home and abroad. From the Maire Drumm Cumann, Clondalkin. "In matters of principle there can be no compromise" - Terence MacSwiney

I gCUIMHNE

DEVLIN, Jim Joe - 7th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Jim Joe Devlin who died on December 21, 1980. Always remembered by his comrades in the Peter McNulty Cumann Sinn Féin, Kilcoo, Co. Down.

DEVLIN, Jim Joe - 7th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Jim Joe Devlin, whose anniversary occurs on December 21. Always remembered by his brothers Pat, Christopher, Vincent, Michael and Peter, sisters Teresa and Sr. Anthony, sisters-in-law Elizabeth, Catherine and Joan and brother-in-law Eamonn.

KEEGAN, Vol. George - 30th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Paddy Parle, Wexford Town and George Keegan, Enniscorthy, who gave their

lives on November 11, 1957 along with their fellow Edentubber Martyrs, Oliver Craven, Newry, Paul Smith, South Armagh and Michael Watters, Edentubber. From Republican Sinn Féin, Loch Garman. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh a n-anamacha uaisle.

KERINS, Charlie - 43rd Anniversary. Republican Sinn Féin remembers with great pride Vol. Charlie Kerins, Chief-of-Staff, Oglagh na hEireann, who was murdered by the Free State Government in Mountjoy Prison on December 1, 1944. "Life springs from death; and from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations". Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a nam uaisle.

McCABE, Vol. Jack - 16th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of my father Vol. Jack McCabe whose 16th Anniv-

COMHBHRON

DOYLE, Comhairle Cúige Chonnacht, at its recent AGM, expressed deepest sympathy with the family of Mrs. Mary Doyle of Drumsna, Co. Leitrim, mother of Eddie, who died recently. Go raibh solas na bhflaitheas dá hanam.

HANNILY, Deepest sympathy with the family of Mrs. Mary Hannily of Ballinagare, Co. Roscommon, mother of Michael, who died recently. A vote of sympathy was passed by the delegates at Comhairle Cúige Chonnacht. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá hanam.

HANNILY, Deepest sympathy with the family of Mrs. Mary Hannily of Ballinagare, Co. Roscommon, mother of Michael, who died recently. A vote of sympathy was passed by the delegates at Comhairle Cúige Chonnacht. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá hanam.

HENNESSY, Sincere sympathy is extended to Kathleen Sheil and family on the death of her mother Kathleen Hennessy, Ballycommont, Tullamore, on November 16 last. On gCoiste Seasta agus Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a hanam.

HENNESSY, Deepest sympathy is extended to our comrade Kathleen Sheil and family on the recent death of her mother, Kathleen Hennessy, Ballycommont, Co. Offaly. From the Anne Devlin Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Rathfarnham, Dublin. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a hanam.

MacNAMA; A vote of sympathy was passed at the AGM of Comhairle Cúige Chonnacht on November 30

with the MacNama family, Arigna, Co. Roscommon, on the death of Michael MacNama, father of Paddy. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a hanam.

MINIHAN, Republican Sinn Féin in Limerick passed a vote of sympathy recently to the family of Patrick Minihan, Boherlode, Ballyneaty, Co. Limerick. Deepest sympathy is expressed with his wife Cathleen and his daughters Bernie and Mary.

O'CONNOR, O'CONNELL, Sincere sympathy is extended to the relatives and friends of Mrs. Cathleen O'Connor and Mrs. Mary O'Connell, who died recently in Canada. From the Seán Sabhat Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Omagh, Co. Tyrone. The deceased were sisters of the late Frank Ward of Breackey, Six-Mile-Cross, Co. Tyrone. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a n-anamacha.

O'DONNELL, Comhairle Uladh RSF passed a vote of sympathy at its recent AGM with the relatives and friends of Nellie O'Donnell, Rann na Feirste, Co. Thír Conaill, who died recently. Deepest sympathy was extended to her son John and family. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá hanam uaisle.

O'DONNELL, A vote of sympathy was passed by the Coiste Seasta, Republican Sinn Féin with the relatives and friends of Nellie O'Donnell, Rann na Feirste, Tír Conaill, who died during November. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá hanam uaisle.

O'REILLY, Republican Sinn Féin extends deepest sympathy to Eamonn O'Reilly on the death of his mother on November 30. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a hanam.

ersary occurs on December 30, and of my mother Maureen whose anniversary occurs on January 18. Ar dheis De go raibh a n-anamacha uaisil - Gerardine.

McCABE, Vol. Jack - 16th Anniversary. In proud memory of Vol. Jack McCabe whose anniversary falls on December 30. From the Coiste Seasta Republican Sinn Féin. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh a nam uaisil.

MAC EOGHAGAIN (GEOGHEGAN), Antón, (3rd Anniversary), Na Fianna Éireann, Oglagh na hEir-ann.

In proud and loving memory of a cherished husband and loving father who died December 3 1984. "His Ireland was the Ireland of Connolly, Pearse and Tone. His Ireland was Sinn Féin, Ourselves alone". Sadly missed by his loving wife Maura, sons Seán, Cathal, Joseph and Pádraig; daughters Veronica, Maura, Aoife and Philomena; brother-in-law Frank; sons-in-law Pat

and Dave; daughter-in-law Jackie and grandchildren Eunan, Bronagh (Derry) and Natalie, Kimberly, Antoinette and Lee.

MCKELVEY, Cumann Uí Chruaíoch/Mhic Giolla Buí Béal Feirste (Steele/McKelvey Cumann, Belfast) salutes the memory of Comdt. Gen. Joe McKelvey and his gallant comrades - Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows and Dick Barrett murdered by Free Staters in Mountjoy Prison yard on December 8, 1922. - Interred in Republican Plot, Milltown Cemetery, Belfast, November 1924.

The oration was given by Seán Lemass. To the speaker at least the lesson of a brave oration was not learned.

"He walked the world as though a king, Homecoming from a triumphant Now let him sleep as fit beseems Wrapped in the glory of his dreams."

In Defence of Republicanism

IN A STATEMENT following the Enniskillen explosion (see panel) Republican Sinn Féin said that the British would "exploit the situation to secure the implementation of the Extradition Act."

Since political extradition already exists the English Establishment seeks to have it systematised and simplified – and in the course of doing so to humiliate the Dublin government internationally and beat it into submission.

They wish to integrate the forces of the 26-County state fully into the British war machine in the Six Counties and – greatly to be desired by them – to bring the Free State forces into direct conflict with Republicans. This is the old formula of the British which dates from 1922: "holding Ireland for England with an economy of English lives."

A veritable tidal wave of hysteria has been launched at the Irish people through the mass media. A hate campaign against Irish Republicans has been worked up day by day over the past two weeks. The people are told they should be ashamed to be Irish and even the singing of national ballads is attacked while the wearing of the Poppy is extolled.

National Abasement Sought

There seems to be no limit to the amount of national abasement sought and certain public persons and media personalities would appear to want to roll back history by hauling down our National Tricolour and substituting for it the Union Jack.

Opposition and government representatives and spokespersons are abject in their submissiveness to British demands on the Extradition Act and as the crisis continues, the British Ambassador is a frequent visitor to Leinster House even while prolonged meetings of the Fianna Fáil parliamentary party debate the purchase price on the Hillsborough Deal.

Who is calling the tune in the corridors of power these days? We know for certain that the taxpayers of the 26 Counties are paying over one million pounds per day to support directly British rule in Ireland.

The Catholic Church Establishment has been called in to prop up a tottering colonialism in the Six Counties. They have certainly over-reached themselves in their efforts to outpace the various Protestant Churches in condemnations of Republicans and in invoking sanctions against them.

This is in keeping with the role of the Catholic Hierarchy "ever since the Penal Laws were relaxed and they came 'off the run' themselves with the withdrawal of the bounty price on the heads of Catholic clergy.

Britain's Moral Policemen

the foundation of the College with British money in the adoption in the democratic

ideal and the principles of the American and French Revolutions, the Bishops – with a few honourable exceptions – have acted as moral policemen of British rule in Ireland.

No generation of Irish Republicans since the foundation of Republicanism in Ireland by Wolfe Tone has been exempt from their strictures: the United Irishmen, the Young Irelanders, the Fenians, the Land League, the men and women of Easter Week 1916, the Irish Republican Army in the Black-and-Tan War, in the war against the Free State, in 1931, in 1956 and in line of unbroken condemnation to the present day.

Excommunication

Denial of the sacraments and of church services for Republican dead, excommunication in 1920 and again in 1922, exiling, silencing and punishment of brave priests e.g. Fathers Albert and Dominic and Father Michael O'Flanagan, who brought religious consolation to active Republicans are all part of this sorry tale. And in spite of it all the Irish people have in the main clung tenaciously to their religious beliefs, wisely "rendering to Caesar and to God the things that are God's."

The altar has many times been made a pro-British political platform down the years. A Papal Rescript against the Fenians was sought by English diplomacy and obtained at the First Vatican Council in 1870 and the Plan of Campaign in the Land War was condemned from Rome in 1886-7.

But it took until 1987 to witness the spectacle of the porch of a Catholic Church being turned into a British Crown Forces barracks through the distribution therein of leaflets calling on Irish people to become informers to the British against their fellow-countrymen and women.

A statement ordered to be read at all Masses in Ireland on Sunday, November 15, condemned not all violence, including British and Loyalist, but only 'Republican violence'. The violence of

the oppressor escaped censure or even mention while the physical resistance of the oppressed was alone declared to be evil.

A call was made for support for the 'police forces' North and South which includes the RUC and by extension the UDR and the British Army. The obvious inference of all this is that the British Occupation Forces in Ireland are morally right while the 'natives' who resist them are morally wrong.

But the natives in this case are Irish people exercising the prerogative – some would say the duty – of resisting foreign aggression in their own land, a right common to all peoples on the face of the earth. However, the Catholic Church never said officially that the 1916 Rising was justified – quite the contrary in fact – or that the partition of Ireland and the continuation of British imperialist rule here in new forms was unjust.

Orchestrated Reactions

Similarly, the orchestrated reaction to what happened in Enniskillen is in sharp contrast to the low-key attitude or total ignoring of other occasions of great loss of life in Ireland since 1969.

One of the first major tragedies was in December 1971 when McGurk's Bar in North Queen Street, Belfast was demolished by a Loyalist bomb and 15 Nationalist people – the youngest aged 8 years and the eldest aged 80 – were killed. It was ignored.

In May 1974 Loyalist bombs killed 33 people in Dublin and Monaghan in a single evening in furtherance of the Loyalist political strike then taking place against the Sunningdale Agreement and in particular the proposed Council of Ireland.

Muted Response

Catholics and Protestants died in Monaghan while in Dublin at rush-hour on a Friday evening – 5pm – office girls, some of them were from country areas, and poorer people from the area east of O'Connell Street were among those

Enniskillen Statement

ON Monday, November 9 the following statement was issued:

"Republican Sinn Féin extends sympathy to the innocent victims of yesterday's explosion in Enniskillen and to their families. In no way can this bombing be considered as the employment of controlled and disciplined force against British rule in Ireland and must therefore be deplored.

"Republican forces have always endeavoured to avoid civilian casualties and the tragic loss of life in Enniskillen was alien to that policy.

"The British will now exploit the situation to secure the implementation of the Extradition Act. Such a development can only lead to further trouble in our country. The root cause of all political evil is still the British presence and until that is removed the Irish people will never know peace."

killed. A child of two years lay dead in Talbot Street.

The funeral Mass for many of them in Dublin's Pro-Cathedral was crowded. Otherwise the response was muted.

On neither of these occasions were books of condolences opened in various cities and towns; the air-waves were not available day after day for the excretion of those responsible and all that they stood for; no 'appeal funds' were set up to gather money and advertise in the daily papers; no Protestant churchman asked his Catholic fellow-Irishmen and women for public forgiveness and there was not even a whimper from the Dublin government to demand the extradition to the South of those responsible.

The British government for its part refused to declare illegal the Loyalist organisation which claimed responsibility and soon afterwards capitulated to the Loyalist demands in scrapping Sunningdale.

The British Royal visitors to the bereaved and injured in Enniskillen ignored the family of Tommy McAuley, killed in a Loyalist sectarian assassination in Belfast. In point of fact between seven and eight hundred Catholics have died in the Six Counties in the same manner in recent years.

Double Standards

The lesson of the reaction to the Enniskillen bombing is that there are two standards being operated with regard to the loss of human life in the present armed conflict in Ireland. On the one hand such deaths are minimised and quickly forgotten and on the other such occasions are used politically to root British rule even deeper in Ireland and to collaborate with it in the most humiliating fashion.

The hypocrisy and lawlessness of the scribes and pharisees are as prevalent and as scandalous today as they were 2,000 years ago.

All of this has not gone unnoticed by the Nationalist people of the Six Counties who now feel that their lives count for little or nothing in the cynical power-

play between London and Dublin.

The one consolation for them in recent years was the massive and spontaneous demonstration of support by the ordinary people of this island following the shooting dead by British paratroopers of 13 unarmed people in Derry on January 30, 1972.

British colonial rule in Ireland is the root-cause of all political turmoil here. It is still "the never-failing source of all our political evils." Loss of uninvolved civilian lives cannot be justified no matter who is responsible.

But this country of ours can never be put to right until Britain withdraws her armed forces and administration from Ireland and recognises the right of the Irish people acting as a unit to determine their own future. Such is the recognised right of all peoples and the Irish have fought for it longer than most.

Address to the Annual General Meeting of Comhairle Uadh in Coothill, Co. Cavan on Sunday, November 22, 1987 by Ruairi O Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Republican Sinn Féin.

CORK PROTEST

CORK PARENTS, teachers and pupils marched in the city on Saturday, November 28, in protest against the education cut-backs and in particular directive 20/87 from the Department, which affects primary schools. Information on the pupil/teacher ratio was given to parents at a series of public meetings during the last week of November at different primary schools around the northside of Cork.

As a result of these meetings the march was decided on. All the schools in the Northside of Cork met at St. Mary's Cathedral and from there set off for the city centre, led by the parents and pupils from the North Monastery.

They proceeded first of all to the Fine Gael office, then to the Progressive Democrats office and then to the Fianna Fáil office on the Grand Parade, Cork, where they held a public meeting.

At the moment, before directive 20/87 becomes effective, the 26 Counties has the highest pupil/teacher ratio (27:1) in Europe, and Denmark the lowest (10:1). This figure is deceiving,

IMEACHTAÍ

Liam Mellows Commemoration

Sunday, December 13

Castletown, Gorey Co. Wexford

Assemble: 11.45am
Castletown Church

Speaker: Ruairi O Brádaigh

Seán Sabhat Commemoration

Sunday, 3rd January 1988

Assemble: Bedford Row, Limerick, at 12.30pm

Speaker: Eamonn Larkin

Refreshments following ceremony

Irish Republicanism has a high and honourable tradition. For close to two centuries it has called forth unstinting and unselfish service for the freedom of Ireland and the complete social, economic and cultural emancipation of the Irish people.

Only Realistic Alternative

It still represents the only realistic alternative to the present colonial and neo-colonial morass which engulfs the Irish people.

It seeks to put the people, individually and collectively, in control of their own affairs in their own country. Republican Sinn Féin is confident that such an ideal will yet triumph.

however, as it is an average for the whole 26 Counties. In the North Monastery and St. Vincent's Schools for example, the pupil/teacher ratios are 35:1 and 37:1 respectively and these will now go up.

If the directive goes ahead some of the classes will go over forty, or in some cases one teacher may have to teach two different grades in the same classroom (e.g. half 2nd class and half 3rd class in same room).

The meetings during the week were very well attended, and the march on Saturday was an impressive opening shot in the Cork campaign against the education cut-backs.