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THATCHER ADMITS STATE OF WAR

'CHANGING THE GOALPOSTS'

RECENT MOVES by Mrs. Thatcher's government, bringing in Section 31-style censorship on the media under her control and altering the rules on the right to silence during interrogation in the Six Counties, are at once a further admission of British failure to rule by the consent of the people in Ireland and another resort to 'changing the goalposts' by ministerial order when the game is no longer going your way.

The plans to bring in political test oaths for candidates in future local elections is the British response to the successful contesting of these elections by Republicans in recent years.

BANNING PRISONER CANDIDATES

In the late 1970s the cry from the British was "Where are your elected representatives? Put them forward and we will speak to them". In 1981 when a Republican Prisoner of War was elected in Fermanagh-South Tyrone the British responded by banning future prisoner candidates.

The continuing successes in Six-county elections in 1982, 1983 and 1985 were met with a refusal to talk and the drawing up of legislation to further restrict participation in elections.

The rejection by Sinn Féin Poblachtach of British institutions in Ireland is once more shown to be the only basis for opposing colonial rule here.

We need only recall the 1918 all-Ireland election which saw the vast majority of the people declare for an Irish Republic for the clearest evidence of the British ignoring the

ballot box when the result is 'inconvenient'.

Their response then was Black-and-Tan terror and the Government of Ireland Act (1920), bringing in partition to change the unit of decision-making. This produced an instant 'majority' in the north-east for British rule. Support for British occupation could therefore be called 'democratic'.

SHAM INQUEST

On November 14 the shoot-to-kill inquest on IRA Volunteers Gervaise McKerr, Eugene Toman and Seán Burns, shot by RUC E4A death squads in 1982, opens in Craigavon after a six year 'delay'.

The British have 'changed the goalposts' on the rules of inquests in the Six Counties many years ago so that the jury cannot bring in an 'unlawful killing' verdict, or indeed any verdict, only 'findings'.

These findings only cover "who the deceased was, how, when and where he came by his death". There can be no 'who' or 'why' - in fact just another sham and cover-up.

THREE YEARS ON

Meanwhile the review of three years of the Hillsborough Deal sees Dublin still

dissatisfied that Nationalist rejection of British rule is as strong as ever. Brian Lenihan is now touting the same shopping list to the British as Peter Barry was then: administration of justice, fair employment legislation, confidence in the RUC etc.

In 1985 SDLP-man Séamas Mallon reached euphoric heights on RTE Radio's *Northview* programme claiming that the UDR were to be dispatched to guard remote installations on mountain-tops - pending their disbandment, of course.

Three years later the SDLP on Newry and Mourne Council supported extradition into the hands of the British Occupation Forces in Ireland. Tom King stated (October 16) that Britain is not 'neutral' on the position of the Six Counties, thus demolishing the SDLP's defence of the British presence in Ireland (the 'benign neutrality' scenario) in one fell swoop.

Brian Lenihan (November 2) called for the ending of the right to silence in the Six Counties to be 'balanced' by the introduction of three-judge Diplock courts. A year ago three-judge courts were refused by the British. Does Mr. Lenihan think the Irish people are complete fools?

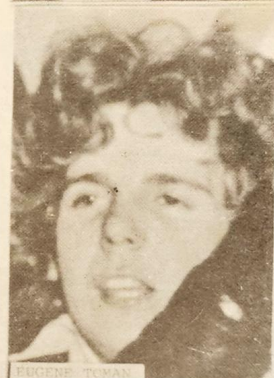
The Hillsborough Deal is only a security pact to copperfasten partition - all the talk from the SDLP and the Dublin Administration to the contrary is vacuous nonsense.

WINCHESTER THREE

The trial, verdict and sentence of Finbarr Cullen, Martina Shanahan and John Mc Cann shows where Irish citizens continue to stand before the corrupt judicial system that also railroaded the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four, the Maguire family and Judith Ward. The leopard has not changed his spots...

• Margaret Thatcher, replying to questions on the media ban and the end of the right to silence, stated in an interview with *The Times* (London, October 26) that "In order to beat off your enemy in a war, you have to suspend some of your civil liberties for a time".

• Dr. Eames, Church of Ireland Archbishop of Armagh, called (October 18) for the Six Counties to be put on a war footing for the defeat of the national liberation struggle.



• Fine Gael's John Kelly (November 1) referred to the casualties of the war in Ireland, who are lucky, finding themselves sitting in jail. All evidence (as if we needed it) of the ruthless colonial war Britain is waging in Ireland.



Airdeall & Euro Alert Conference

"AS RAY MacSHARRY said, let's not worry about it (1992) — after all, a car will be £3,000 cheaper, the pint will be cheaper — however he had the neck to then declare that foodstuffs will cost an extra 9 per cent. What sort of values have these people got? Cheap cars but dearer foodstuffs — what set of values are at work here? This is not the way forward. Dependence on the EEC is not the way forward for us. We must stand on our own feet and pursue our own interests."

— Raymond Crotty speaking at the first conference of the EuroAlert/Airdeall organisation in Dublin's Clarence Hotel on October 15 last. EuroAlert/Airdeall was formed to "combat the creeping erosion of what remains of our (i.e. 26-county) neutrality"

and includes organisations and individuals who, according to its constitution, can disagree on individual policies and remain part of the overall structure.

Around 70 members assembled on October 15 to discuss a resolution on the 'European' elections,

set for June 1989, put forward by the executive of EuroAlert/Airdeall. The resolution called on the organisation to 'support or sponsor candidates' in the 1989 EEC election and to support or urge support for other candidates, providing they are 'critical of the adverse effects of the EC on Ireland.'

The original motion stated that where there were no appropriate candidates, in the view of the EuroAlert/Airdeall organisation, voters should be urged to boycott the elections.

BOYCOTT

After much discussion and on a show of hands it

●Ray Crotty (standing) speaking at the conference.

was agreed to drop the boycott section of the resolution. An attempt to drop the words 'or sponsor' from the motion was lost by a further show of hands. Sinn Féin Poblachtach have since decided at the 84th Ard-Fheis on October 22/23 last to carry out an active boycott of the 1989 EEC elections (see page).

The meeting was addressed by Richard Behal, Kerry who warned that the 26-county government was intent on gaining control of inland rivers and

waterways in order to make Ireland's clean waters available to multinationals, and to price out all but tourist anglers from the Continent in the post-1992 scenario. He mentioned also the designated 'landing points' for offshore fishermen that are dictated by Brussels and the advent of 'suction fishing' by foreign trawlers which threaten our national resource.

A Danish MEP, Hans-Peter Bonde also spoke and remarked: "You could get 99 per cent of your

members in the local parliament and 99 per cent of the electorate to support a certain law but this would not matter as it will be Brussels which will make the final decision."

Mr. Bonde summed up the benefits of 1992 as follows: "Cheap drink but dearer costs for the hospitalisation required to sort out your liver."

The whole institution of the EEC must be exposed and rejected by Irish people now, before the 1992 fiasco completely ruins us.

Back Door Minister

OVER 800 students from Cork and Waterford staged a sit-down protest outside the CBS Secondary School in Cork on Thursday, October 27 last, to coincide with the arrival of the 26-county Minister

for Education, Mary O'Rourke.

Students from Cork RTC, Waterford RTC, Crawford College of Art and UCC took part in this peaceful demonstration which caused the Minister to enter the School through the back door rather than face the demonstrators.

Union of Students in Ireland President, Mr. Tadhg Daly said:

"The Minister will not be able to avoid us forever. We believe that our demands for an adequately funded education system which is accessible to all are just and reasonable and we will continue to pursue our aims until they are realised".

USI represents 110,000 students at 50 third level colleges throughout the 32 counties. At their 1988 Congress USI called on the Dublin administration to "repeal all extradition acts".

NATIONAL DRAW

WEEK 1 — September 24

£100: Louise Canning, Drumsum, Co. Derry; £50: J. Rocks, c/o Bennetts, Newry, Co. Down; £25: Seán Lynn, Dungiven, Co. Derry.

WEEK 2 — October 1

£100: Lesha Dempsey, Newtownhamilton, Co. Armagh; £50: B. Brew, Kileely, Limerick City; £25: Derek O'Brien, Dublin.

WEEK 3 — October 8

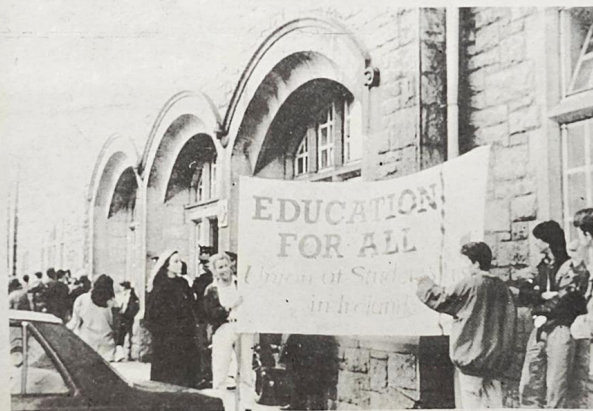
£200: Tom Whelan, Athenry, Co. Galway; £100: Mary McAteer, c/o Pauline McAteer, Co. Tyrone; £75: Mrs. Phil Geaney, Cork City.

WEEK 4 — October 17

£100: Mr. & Mrs. Whelan, Inchicore, Co. Dublin; £50: P. Courtney, Dublin; £25: Michael Donnelly, Omagh, Co. Tyrone.

WEEK 5 — October 24

£1,000: Maitias Ó Dubhda, Kerry; £250: Thomas McNamara, Drom-indoorra, Caher, Co. Clare; £150: Michael Clifford, Emerville Avenue, SCR, Dublin 8.



FREE STATERS — IRISH TRAITORS



IN 1986 a new Free State party was formed by Gerry Adams of Belfast and a number of other former Republicans. Having first of all got the IRA to give support to the

Free State, Adams and his followers put down a resolution, for the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, held in November 1986, that elected Sinn Féin candidates should take their seats in the Free State parliament.

This was of course illegal under the Sinn Féin Constitution which states that any person proposing to take seats in any partition parliament or Westminster parliament, automatically dismisses him or herself from Sinn Féin. Free Staters never did

have any respect for constitutions. Adams and company claimed that acceptance of seats in these parliaments had never been a principle but a matter of tactics.

At a gerrymandered Ard Fheis held in the Mansion House, Dublin, the resolution was passed by a small number of votes.

WALKED OUT

A large number of Delegates walked out of the Ard Fheis and at a meeting held later that night passed a resolution declaring their loyalty to the Government

of the Republic established by the First Dáil in 1919. They also declared their loyalty to the Sinn Féin Constitution as it existed up to the Ard Fheis held earlier that day. Sinn Féin Poblachtach came into being that night and has continued to gather strength at home and abroad ever since.

The new Free Staters contested their first Free State election in 1987 with disastrous results for them. They received a very low poll in every constituency they contested losing 24 deposits and had no one elected!

Of the future only one thing can be certain, that is, that there will always be people who will continue to fight for the freedom of the 32 Counties of Ireland until some generation achieves victory and a Republic of Ireland is established which shall be free from all traitors and slaves.

I have tried to show how anti-Irish, pro-British the Free State establishment has been ever since it was set up in 1922 right to the present day and how brutal their treatment of the

Irish people has been. I have tried to cover all incidents of their brutality but 68 years is a long period to cover and if I have omitted any names or cases of brutality this has been accidental.

Sometimes it is said that we Republicans think too much of the past. To those who say this I quote the last lines of the poem "Who Dares To Say Forget The Past":

"Think of the blood that's on the bayonet borne
Broken-hearted mothers
Lonesome graves and wayside
crosses
O God! forget all
that."

MID-TYRONE TERRORISM

A SUSTAINED campaign of security forces terrorism aimed at the nationalist and Republican people of Mid-Tyrone has been on-going for the past month.

A public meeting held in St. Patrick's GAA club in Greencastle, Co. Tyrone during October heard accounts from local people of beatings, death threats and 'Russian Roulette' tricks at British Crown Forces checkpoints.

The Dublin media took notice of these events only when two members of the RTE Concert Orchestra and a BBC sound engineer were assaulted by British troops in the Silverbirch Hotel on the Gortin Road, Omagh, on Sunday, October 2.

INDISCRIMINATE ASSAULTS

The Brits apparently

were just indiscriminately assaulting anyone they ran into — after leaving the hotel they beat up two men on their way to a football match and then ran away to the Lisanelly British army camp nearby. Other British soldiers beat up a man on the Gortin Road and a youth who was knocked to the ground and kicked near the Omagh

College of Further Education.

In an incident similar to South African or Israeli jackboot tactics, the Brits systematically searched and substantially destroyed the home of Mr. and Mrs. Patrick O'Hagan at Creggan, on the Omagh-Cookstown Road, in a three-day operation. Paddy O'Hagan was immediately arrested and taken to Gough Barracks, Armagh, leaving his wife and three young children isolated.

The carpets and furniture of their new bungalow was destroyed, walls and ceilings were cracked and a jack-hammer was used to dig up the hallway of the house.

ROAD CLOSED

The farmyard and buildings were wrecked using mechanical diggers; the sewage, water and electricity systems were broken while the A505 main road was closed for the three days so that the operation would not be seen by passing motorists and local people.

The RUC and UDR are conducting their own campaign of raids and destroying derelict property,

farmhouses and dwellings under construction in the area. They have left graffiti on these buildings as their calling card.

At the public meeting in Greencastle the following accounts were given by local youths of harassment:

• Terence Brogan said he had received a broken nose and fractured ribs and had

Since the incident he said their lives had been made unbearable by harassment.

• Kevin Bradley, who said he was kicked and punched at a checkpoint where a 'Russian Roulette' trick had been played with a loaded handgun held to his head to terrorise him.

• Davy Hamilton and Mickey Clarke who gave evidence of being stopped,

was very important that people speak out against harassment because it could lead to people being murdered like her brother.

Two priests addressed the meeting to show solidarity and support. Fr. Joe McVeigh of the Community for Justice said of the recent raids: "Where was the national media? Where was the British press? The parallels with the most brutal aspects of the South African administration are there to be seen. And yet the local people of goodwill stood strong in solidarity with the victimised."

Fr. Michael Martin, a native of Carrickmore who is home on leave from the Philippines, said that there was a need to stand up and work together against injustice.

Speaker after speaker advised people who were being harassed to report their complaints to the local media and those public representatives who will speak out. SAOIRSE further advises those subjected to harassment to contact our Dublin office immediately. Publicity is vital if these incidents are to be combatted.



● Damage inside O'Hagan home.



been given death threats when stopped at checkpoints.

• Mickey Ward, whose car was involved in an ambush by RUC men over a year ago in Gortin. Both he and his two passengers had a lucky escape when they were fired on from two unmarked vehicles with false number-plates.

searched and abused regularly at checkpoints.

SPEAK OUT

It was pointed out that many people who were being harassed were afraid to speak out. Mrs. Eilish McCabe, a sister of Aidan McAnespie, who was shot dead at a permanent army checkpoint in Aghnacloy last February, said that it

GARDAI AID SCAB LABOUR

LIMERICK'S COUNCIL CHAMBERS continues to reflect the cosy Leinster House coalition between Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael and the Progressive Democrats. Their council puppets continue to support city manager Jack Higgins in his employment of scab labour to disconnect water supplies to city homes.

Mr. Higgins claims that the water tax must be collected to safeguard council workers' jobs. His claim is clearly not supported by the facts, as the so-called 'National Plan' specifically guarantees that there will be no forced redundancies in the public sector. Furthermore, council employees have consistently refused to cut off water supplies despite having been offered extra money to do so. Obviously the workers do not feel their jobs are in danger.

What is involved here is a concerted campaign by the Right-Wing Coalition to relieve central government of its responsibility for under-funding local authorities. To this end they are attempting to foist this extra tax burden on the hard-pressed PAYE sector taking no account of income or ability to pay. Significantly there are no plans to levy a water tax on the people of Dublin. Why?

Because our capital city contains the largest concentration of voters — emphasising once more the blatant political motivation behind this tax.

BULLY-BOYS

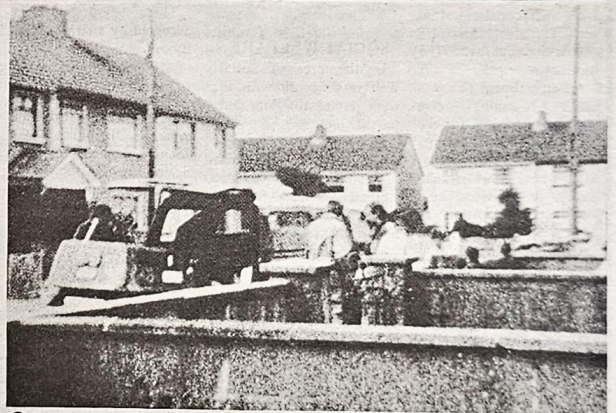
Water disconnections in Limerick are

carried out by individuals connected with a security firm employed by the council to mind the city dump. Their identities and background are well known locally and they are accompanied on their business of disconnecting by a Garda Patrol car. Limerick residents have been subjected to abusive language and threats by these bully-boys. One resident, Mrs. Kay Kennedy of Granville Park received extensive bruising during the course of her water being disconnected.

On another front the right-wing rag the 'Limerick Leader' is spewing forth a steady flow of propaganda in an attempt to both marginalise and criminalise those involved in the water tax protest. In successive weeks it's front page carried:

• A scurrilous unsubstantiated attack on water tax protestors by Councillors Gus O'Driscoll and Kevin Kiely. The 'facts' which appeared were not checked out and the slandered residents given no right to reply.

• A concocted story claiming that those who reconnected water supplies would be brought before the courts



● Water tax scabs in action at Granville Park, Limerick. Photo compliments of Limerick Anti-Water Tax Group.

even though no law is being broken by reconnecting water supplies!

• A play straight from the city manager claiming that most householders had paid their water tax and that only a few were holding back payments.

20 PER CENT PAID

The truth is that less than 20 per cent have paid this odious tax. And of course a string of articles have been appearing by anonymous column writers claiming that "it's only fair to pay water tax". Of course, these holier-than-thou writers have made no comment on how their self-employed friends have managed to owe income tax of over £500 million pounds. So much for fairness!

The current situation now is that all disconnected households in Limerick have been reconnected while payment of the tax has dried up almost entirely.

GALWAY

Meanwhile in Galway the Council of

Trade Unions has slammed the renewed campaign by local authorities to collect water and refuse taxes. In a statement they stated their view of the service charges as another form of taxation and a further attack on the PAYE sector.

● In a further attempt to criminalise opposition to the water tax, Limerick Gardaí arrested a man on October 25 last for allegedly reconnecting water supplies.

He was held at Henry Street barracks for over two hours and charged with, of all things, an alleged breach of the peace!

This incident has caused considerable anger among Limerick residents compare it to Garda statements saying they have not enough to investigate, let alone solve epidemic of burglaries in the city.

Seemingly there are people available to assist in tax.

Sóisialta agus Eacnamaíochta Social and Economic

The first six motions in this session were taken together. These motions ranged from foreign debts, nationalisation of banks and insurance companies, to forced emigration and the economic failure of successive Free State Administration. Motion 31 which dealt with unemployment was also covered in this area.

Speaking on emigration Niall Ó Faogáin (Comhairle Laighean) said that our skilled workers are being forced to go abroad on account of the disgraceful mismanagement of Free State Administrations.

Proposing motion 19 Ruairí Óg Ó Brádaigh (Ard Chomhairle) said that "Republicans must point out to the people that emigration is not an accident. It is caused by failed political policies in Leinster House and Westminster."

RIGHTS

"We must call for basic human demands of: (1) The right of every person to a job; (2) The right to live in one's own area and (3) We should also consider calling for the vote for non-resident Irish passport holders as are available for US citizens living abroad." The motions were passed.

An amendment to resolution 17 calling for a vigorous campaign for the repudiation of the foreign debt, which declared that Sinn Féin Poblachtach should do so when in a "de facto" situation of power, was withdrawn following an intervention from Leas-Uachtarán, Dáithí Ó Conaill. "I read that amendment as doing

nothing," he said and urged delegates to wage a campaign.

He continued: "Foreign borrowing is crippling this country and it is because of that that we have cuts in health, education and Social Welfare. We should pin the responsibility on the people who incurred this debt, namely the politicians of Leinster House who have mismanaged this country for the last 20 years. Internationally, this is a burning issue. For example, Brazil are seeking a moratorium and also other parts of Central America and South America.

Peter Cunningham, Ard Chomhairle, speaking on motion 21 called on the unemployed to organise and also called on trades unions to assist in this matter.

SOCIAL WELFARE

In this area of Social Welfare six motions in all were put to the floor and passed.

Motions 29 and 30 proposed by Ruairí Ó Longáin (Cumann Brughla/Sabliat, Lujmneach) asked for the right of all school-going children whose parents were in receipt of Social Welfare benefit to be supplied with free school uniforms and books.



Cathleen Sheil (BÁC)

Also dealing with motion 30 Ruairí Ó Longáin went on to say that while a deserted wife with 2 children receives £72.60 per week a deserted husband with 2 children received only £58.00 per week. "While it is difficult enough for a mother and 2 children to survive on £72.60 how can we expect a father in the same circumstances to survive with £14.60 less?"

These motions were accepted by a large majority.

PENSIONS

Speaking on motion 23 Kathleen Sheil (Cumann Áine Ní Dhoibhlin, BÁC) focused on discrimination against men in the Social Welfare system, saying, while there was recognition for single parent mothers there was none for fathers, also deserted wives but not deserted husbands. "Are fathers considered

second-rate parents?" she asked.

VIOLENCE OF INJUSTICE

She also mentioned that young people under the age of eighteen received no payment from Social Welfare yet the legal school leaving age is 15. "It is no wonder they go out to rob and joy-ride and glue-sniff. We are constantly reading in the media about the increase in violence. There is more than one kind of violence, there is the violence of injustice, after that we get reactionary violence.

Councillor Joe O'Neill (Ard Chomhairle) then spoke on motion 22 which condemned the Thatcherite Monetarist policies in the Free State. Talking on education he stated that he was a member of the VEC Committee in Donegal and from last year to the present day all you can hear at these meetings is how we can cut back on teacher staff.

Wherever the people are seen to be working with the public i.e. teachers/pupils, doctors/nurses/patients etc., that is where the state wants to hit the hardest. He went on to say "I feel myself that all these consultants who are guiding these administrations should be thrown in jail for the way they are treating the Irish people and the tax-payer's money."

SERVICE CHARGES

Ruairí Ó Longáin proposed motion 28 dealing

with the re-introduction of domestic rates and service charges. He said, "in 1977 domestic rates were abolished and 3 per cent was added to VAT to make up the shortfall. And this 3 per cent was to be given to the local council to run these services."

It has now been decided to withdraw this support from the councils so they are forcing this new taxation on the people." He suggested that Sinn Féin Poblachtach should involve itself in committees at local level to support the people against this unjust double-taxation. The delegates supported this call.

RED TAPE

Maggie Langsdorf spoke on motion 27 stating "all around us we see empty houses smashed up by vandals while people are crying out for accommodation. Because of red tape those people are not eligible for housing. Even young people are roaming the streets homeless because of this. The Dublin corporation points system is very unfair for young people looking for houses.

CO-OPS

Motion 33, that Sinn Féin Poblachtach support the continued ownership of co-operatives by farmers throughout Ireland was met with criticism from some delegates.

Andy Conolly (Carroll/O'Donovan Cumann, BÁC) speaking against the mot-

ion said that most of the co-ops in Ireland had gone out of the farmers' control and into the hands of foreign investors. A good example was the Kerry Co. op.



Emmett Walsh (Offaly)

He went on to say "my definition of a Republican co-op would be Crannacs of Navan or Winstanley Shoes.

Emmett Walsh, (Ard Chomhairle) supported the motion but warned that the rot set in with Denis Brosnan when he changed co-op policy introducing a 50 per cent investment outside agriculture areas.

"Most of the big co-ops are losing control to foreign investors. Ireland is losing control of its food industry which is big business. Irish Supermarkets are importing £1 billion worth of food every year including £25 million worth of potatoes." The motion was carried.

DHÁ RÚN DEAG a bhí sa roinn seo agus cuid acu bríomhar go leor. Cháin rún 79 Rialtas an tSaor Stáit, an Roinn Oideachais, an Eaglais Chaitliceach, Ceadchumainn na Múinteoirí agus Comhdháil na gCeardchumann mar gheall ar an mbaghadh do-chosanta ar Bhírd Ní Dhomhnaill ina scoil féin i gConamara atá ar siúl le trí bliain anuas anois.

DEFHIÚS

Ag caint ar son an rúin d'impigh Caoimhín Mac Cathmhaoil, Cumann Athair Ó Griofa, Gaillimh ar na Múinteoirí scoile ar fud na tíre gan a bheith dé-fhúisach faoin gcás seo agus chun níos mó brú a chur ar an INTO chun deireadh a chur ar an éigear úafásach seo.

Labhair Liam Mínnagh (an Cabhán) ar son an rúin agus dúirt sé de reir mar a ordaíodh san Fhorógra 1916 go raibh cearta saoránaigh a dhíúltú uirthi agus gurb é airgead an íocóir chánach a bhí á gceaitheamh amú i ndeireadh an lae de dheasca maorlathachta sa

chás seo.

D'iarr sé freisin ar baill Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann chun rún a chur os comhair a gruinnithe craobhaacha áitiúla ag tabhairt tacaíochta do Bhírd Ní Dhomhnaill.

Mhol Niall Ó Faogáin, (Co. na Mí), do dhaoine a mbeadh i gConamara bualadh isteach chuici agus tacaíocht mórtha a thabhairt do Bhírd agus go gcuirfeadh sí fíor-fháilte riompu.

AIBÉIR AN BHEARLA

I rún 81 cháineadh Rialtas an tSaor Stáit toisc gur úsáid siad aibéir bearla ar uimhreacha cláraithe gluastaean agus feithicilí. Ag caint ar son an rúin

dúirt Séamas Ó Náirigh, Ard Chomhairle gur caill-eadh deis íontach mar bhí seans mór againn mar Éireannaigh a theaspáint don Eoraip go raibh ár n-oidhreacht féin againn.

Maidir le Raidió na Gaeltachta bhí rún ar an gelár ag moladh go gceolfadh é ar an meán ionn chun go mbeadh teacht níos éasca ag an bpobal ar. Ghlac na teachtaí leis seo.

I rún ó Chumann Ó Cruaaoch/Mac Giolla Búf, Béal Feirste moladh go dtabharfadh gach Comhairle Cúige iarracht ar Bhanna Poblachtach amháin a bhunú ina limistéar. Ag caint ar son an rúin dúirt Geraldine Taylor, Béal Feirste, go raib sé deacair go leor Banna a

fháil in an comóradh náisiúnta agus go mba chóir dúinn teagmháil a deanamh lena chéile a fháil amach an mbeadh sé ar ár gcumas Banna a bhunú, ar a laghad ceann amháin i ngach cúige.

OIFIGEACH CULTÚR

Ritheadh rún freisin ó Chumann Áine Ní Dhoibhlin, BÁC, go molfadh an Ard-Fheis go gceapfar Oifigeach Cultúr ag Ard Chomhairle nua.

Mhol an Ard-Fheis go gcuirfí bealach teilifíse lán-Ghaelach agus stáisiún raidió reigiúnach don Ghaeilge ar fáil gan mhoill, ar chomhairle teachtar ó chumhainn ins an Ídir agus Dún Laoghaire.

Teanga agus Cultúr Language and Culture



Seosamh Ó Maoileoin (Co. na h-Iar Mhí)

84ú Ard-Fheis 1988

SINN FÉIN
Poblachtach

Polasaí Polaitiúil - Political Policy

Roscommon Comhairle Ceantair introduced a resolution that the proposed governmental structures of the All-Ireland Republic consist of "a federation of at least four to five units made up of the four provinces plus Dublin." An Ard Chomhairle amendment proposed that the resolution read "a federation of the Four Provinces of Ireland." A wide-ranging, important and often heated debate followed.

The motion called for the provinces to be underpinned by regional (administrative) and strong district councils, co-ordinated in a 32-county National Assembly located preferably outside Dublin, in Athlone for example.

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, proposer, said that in general terms it was vital that the public have a clear, distinct and separate image of our Movement.

Firstly we stand for a rejection of parliamentarianism and reformism of enemy parliaments. We are not part of an organisation that wants to dismantle the neo-colonial Capitalist Free State by taking part in it! The same applies to the so-called EEC parliament.

DEFINITE PROGRAMME

Secondly Sinn Féin Poblachtach stands for true non-alignment in International relations. Thirdly that we do not ask the

THIS SECTION which had 14 motions in all brought the liveliest debate from delegates, Extradition being foremost in their minds. Deploring extradition Antoine de Bhaillís, Cumann Athair Ó Griofa, Gaillimh, said that "the extradition of Irish citizens on the word of a British police officer over to a regime that gave us the Birmingham Six, Guildford Four, the Maguire and Winchester Three, the Shoot-to-Kill policy, Gibraltar and the Prevention of Terrorism Act, which is a similar law against Irish people as the Nuremberg Decrees were against the Jews, and to such an anti-Irish regime was a disgrace."

Máire Geoghegan, Cumann Wolfe Tone, Tamhlacht, said that we should take action in the form of public protest and not be afraid of the policeman's baton.

Councillor Éamon Larkin, (Bearna Uladh) said that thanks to the SDLP Newry and Mourne Council has come out in favour of extradition and it was a shame and disgrace for an area such as this, that had a proud record for the principles of freedom and for the Irish Republic.

STORMONT

Reminding delegates of the history of this area he said "in 1922 the Councils in Newry and Mourne were stood down by Stormont because they would not accept that regime, they would accept nothing less

people for a "blank cheque i.e. that you give us all power and we decide what is good for you. Instead we go to the people with a definite programme of what we are about and we ask them to endorse that and we show to the people that such a programme is good for them. It is not enough to say we stand for 'Brits Out'.

"The ones who are organised and have a plan will always beat the ones who are disorganised.

"This resolution is put forward on three bases. Number one is 'power to the people' i.e. that people have control over their lives and do for themselves at the lowest possible level through community action as much as is possible.

"Number two in order to correct the economic imbalance in Ireland along East-West lines. Thirdly we have the Ulster situation. The national question won't go away, cannot be ignored and must be

condemned to be unjust. Mr. Haughey he said was "the greatest traitor Ireland had seen since Diarmuid McMurrugh".

Tom Concannon (Liam Mellows Cumann, BAC, referred to the hypocrites and traitors who are now handing over young Irish people especially those who have escaped from concentrations camps in the Six Counties.

He said "they have fully recognised England's claim to the Six Counties as part of Britain and that the Free State can no longer claim any jurisdiction over it".

CO-OPT

"We must recognise that the situation of the ex-loyalists in a New Ireland has to be faced. This resolution aims to co-opt the former loyalist working class into the federal structures of 32 Counties. We will give them their place on the basis of equality with everyone else."

Andy Connolly (Carroll/O'Donovan Cumann, BAC) opposed the motion on the grounds that there were too many tiers of government in it that would mean extra civil servants. He said that he was a member of a policy sub-committee at national level that had not prepared a policy document in time this year to present to the membership and that they were proposing a central government structure of 100 TDs. Within this there could be regional assemblies within provincial boundaries.

Emmett Walsh (Ard Chomhairle) supported the motion as it favoured self-governing communities at the lowest level with the most power decentralised to the people. "This is real democracy, this is Republicanism".

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SPY-POSTS

Two motions from South Armagh highlighted the "Hillsborough Wall" of spy-posts and fortifications that have effectively turned that part of Occupied Ireland into the most harassed and watched population in Western Europe. The recent erection of an addition to the existing British army post overlooking Cloughogue primary school was particularly condemned and the collaboration of Séamus Mallon of the SDLP pointed out. Both motions were passed.

Dáithí Ó Conaill, (Ard Chomhairle) proposing the amended wording of "a federation of the four provinces of Ireland" said that the resolution pre-supposed a British withdrawal from Ireland, the undoing of partition and a decision by the Irish people as to what they mean by self-determination.

The campaign to get rid of Federalism several years ago in the Republican Movement was not done to get rid of the policy itself but in order to oust the architects of Federalism, he said.

The province of Ulster has an emotional appeal to its people, as have other provinces. On the question of multiplying civil servants he said that in the computer age, administration was increasingly being done by machines and public services are being reduced in manpower terms. He urged that the sub-committee's work be incorporated into the parameters of a federal structure of four provinces.

TRAVESTY

Seán Ó Brádaigh (Dún Laoghaire) said that any newly independent nation could be judged on whether it was capable of hand-

A Tallaght delegate successfully proposed that the Ard-Fheis reject the contention that a "so-called Pan-Nationalist Alliance is any substitute for Irish revolutionary Republicanism."

The delegates also supp-

orted calls for Sinn Féin Poblachtach to become more involved in the local community from the Peter McNulty Cumann, South Down and for the proclamation of Rockall and surrounding waters as part of Ireland.

On a motion reaffirming the Republican position of replacing full membership of the EEC with association status or the negotiation of a trading agreement, Tomás Ó Maoileoin, (Ard Chomhairle) said that it gives Republicans no great pleasure to report that what we predicted in 1972 had happened.

"There are 200,000 fewer people living on the land now. Our textile, clothing, car assembly, furniture, steel, shipbuilding, sugar and food processing industries have been devastated. 1992 will accelerate this process - the economic fact that it is cheaper to take people to industry than to bring industry to people will rule.

"Our youth face a bleak future of travelling to Germany and other countries for work as happened when Newfoundland joined the Canadian federation some years ago.

'EC'

"The changing of the EEC to 'EC' shows that



Seán Ó Brádaigh

ling the question of the new minority within the nation on a fair and just basis. The present centralised system of patronage and doling out of funds and grants to buy votes and allegiance to maintain them in power was "a travesty of democracy."

"The federal system provides for a diffusion of power to the fishermen of Conemara, the small farmers of Cavan or the industrial workers, most of them unemployed, of Ballymun or Tallaght."

APPEAL

"We want a system of government where the people will identify with the state and not consider the state as something opposed to them and outside of them. A new approach which will appeal to the youth so that they can direct their energies to developing the resources of this country. I believe the federal structure provides such an approach."

PASSIONATE

A passionate discussion followed with speakers for and against. Tomás Ó Maoileoin (Tipperary) and Bob Murray (Belfast) both opposed the motion on the basis that, as it was worded, it contradicted the 1916 Proclamation which guaranteed equality of citizenship and to "cherish all of our children equally." The motion was defeated.

was passed stating the Sinn Féin Poblachtach aim for an independent democratic socialist Republic aligned to no major military or political bloc. Neutrality would be vigorously promoted.



Tomás Ó Maoileoin

ected and be active as was that of Sweden.

HISTORIC RIGHT

Unanimous support was given to a motion from Belfast and Dublin Cumann "reaffirming the right of the Irish people to engage the British Occupation Forces and their native collaborators in armed struggle to re-establish the democratic socialist Republic, proclaimed in arms in 1916 and endorsed by the people of all-Ireland in 1918, effectively established in 1919-21, gallantly defended in 1922-23 for which so many died and sacrificed."

ACTIVE NEUTRALITY

A policy motion from a South Armagh cumann

AITHEASC AN UACHTARÁIN

'CHALLENGE IN

A CHATHAOIRLIGH, a theachtaí agus a chairde ar fad — muintir dhílis na Poblachta trá chéile — fearaim fíor-chaoin fáilte romhaibh ag an gceomhthionól náisiúnta seo, an 84ú Ard-Fheis de chuid Shinn Féin. Tá bliain eile atógála agus gníomhaíochta curtha dhinn againn. Bliain chinniúnach a bhí inti, go deimhin.

Once more, céad míle fáilte to this the 84th Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin. You have worked hard since we last assembled in convention twelve months ago. You have also withstood a further round of threats, harassment and attempted intimidation — by the British Occupation Forces on the one hand and by the 26-county police and military on the other.

Our Head Office at Shaw Street, Dublin was an early target for a two-hour raid last November and files relating to our organisation and to our monthly journal "SAOIRSE — Irish Freedom" were taken away. Our dedicated office and newspaper staff were undeterred and continue their valuable national work — as do An Ard Chomhairle and local officers, members and supporters.

The past year was eventful and was remarkable for the determined joint-effort of the British and the 26-county Establishments to stabilise the political situation in the Occupied Six Counties in the interests of British Colonial rule.

HAND-IN-GLOVE

They quickly seized their opportunity following the Enniskillen explosion in November last. A veritable tidal wave of anti-national hysteria was launched at the Irish people through the mass media. The Catholic Hierarchy entered the lists on cue — as they did in 1916, 1920, 1922, 1931, 1940 and 1956. Without going back to earlier condemnations of the Fenians and the Land War, it is indeed true that "Christ and Caesar work hand-in-glove" in Ireland — but always with some very honourable exceptions.

"Republican violence" only was condemned while the original violence of the oppressor was not even mentioned. In point of fact the people were urged to support and give information to the British Forces of Occupation in Ireland.

The following month prominent individual churchmen called publicly for the removal of the GAA ban on British soldiers and policemen becoming members of that

body, saying that the prohibition was "a fossil of history". Sinn Féin Poblachtach pointed out that the British SAS and RUC E4A death squads were no mere "fossils of history" as Irish people knew to their cost, but that the popular struggle would in time reduce British rule in Ireland to such a condition — and the sooner the better!

During the state-wide sweep which followed when 50,000 Irish homes were raided — over 40,000 without a warrant — the attitude of the raiding parties was one of confrontation and intimidation of families on their own floors. Private correspondence and the assessment of the financial and economic standing of the households were clearly the targets while automatic weapons were flaunted even in the presence of young children.

LOANS OF EQUIPMENT

The December issue of SAOIRSE broke the story, which was given front-page headlines in the Irish Press three weeks later, that massive amounts of search and surveillance equipment had been given to the Free State by the British occupying forces, and that while some of it was returned much was retained on "semi-permanent loan". Shades of the British artillery loaned to the Free State to attack Republican Headquarters in Dublin's Four Courts in 1922!

As British bomb-disposal teams were revealed to have been coming south of the Border secretly for over a year and British aircraft were overflying the 26 Counties at will, it was clear that the Hillsborough Agreement and the so-called Anglo-Irish Conference based on it were mainly concerned

with carrying England's war of aggression against the Irish people south of the Border using any and every means in the process.

But the Irish people were required to pay the bill for their own humiliation and Thatcher's aggrandisement while the cut-backs bit into health, education and social welfare services. Well and truly did "Thatcher's men" do England's work from end to end of the 26 Counties when they got their chance.

It should be recommended to them that "Tragedies of Kerry" — now republished by this organisation — be made com-

Taking advantage of the political atmosphere which they and the other 26-county parties had sedulously built-up, the Fianna Fáil Administration made permanent in so far as they could political extradition, albeit with much-vaunted safeguards which have since proved to be worthless.

BARGAIN PRICE

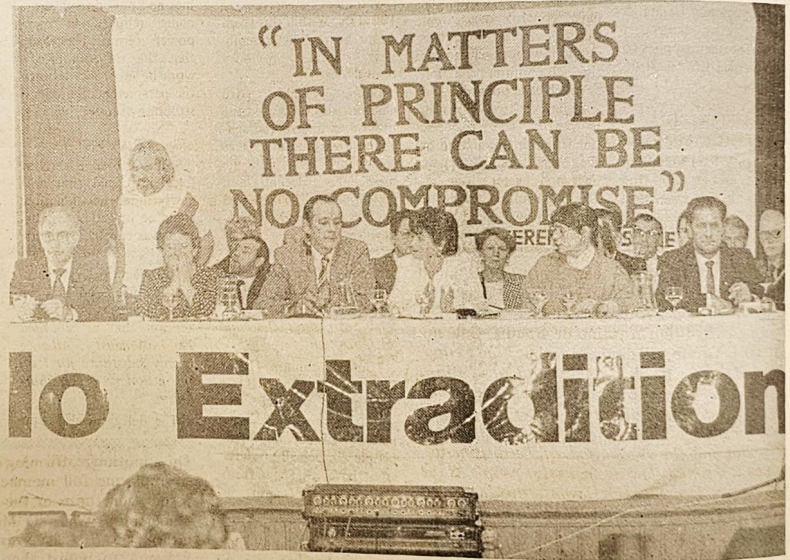
Thus did Mr. Haughey pay the bargain price for the location of an office at Maryfield in Belfast by his predecessor Dr. Fitzgerald. The arrangement was that British repression would then ease up on the beleaguered Six-county national-

ists. his way to a GAA match, the release and reinstatement of Private Thain in the British Army having served just over two years for murder of an Irish citizen, culminating in the cold-blooded killing without challenge or warning of the Gibraltar Three before the eyes of the world on March 6, the Iron Lady showed in six short weeks just what she thought of Free State appeasement of her imperial policies in Ireland. Thanks, but no thanks to slaves and crawlers.

And when Haughey sent his policeman, Assistant Commissioner Crowley to Monaghan to inquire into

ogue. Far from removing their hilltop spy-post, by October the British were constructing an addition to it.

In April, British Foreign Secretary Howe moved to prevent the showing by Thames Television of their "Death on the Rock" programme on the Gibraltar killings. The following month in spite of all that happened from January to March, Mr. Haughey appeased the British even further when he accepted a "basic outline" of evidence with a British warrant for extradition instead of the "detailed background" demanded by him up to then.



pulsory reading for them as THE example of the excesses and atrocities of the 26-county forces when used as instruments of British policy in Ireland by unscrupulous and time-serving politicians, concerned with maintaining their own positions while "dressed in a little brief authority".

Suffice it to say that Sinn Féin Poblachtach was to the fore in stepping out before the people at such a time and distributing throughout the 32 Counties 50,000 copies of our four-page leaflet "In Answer to Church and State and in Defence of Irish Republicanism" when others were found to wilt before the blast of repression.

But Thatcher did not deliver. Having got in her own words "the great security prize" of extradition and increased collaboration along the Border, she then proceeded to treat not alone Haughey, Dukes, Spring and O'Malley but also the whole Irish people with utter and absolute contempt.

From the suppression of the Stalker-Sampson report, after five years in the making, on January 25, through the rejection of the Birmingham Six appeal, the announcement of the making permanent of the racist and anti-Irish PTA, the refusal of the British Attorney-General to operate Haughey's extradition "safeguards", the murder of Aidan McAnespie on

the death of Aidan McAnespie (whose body was dismembered before being handed back to his family) Thatcher directed in her most steepest fashion that the 26-county administration "could not inquire into matters north of the Border". The message was still the same — despite the much-vaunted Hillsborough Deal, Dublin's jurisdiction still stopped short of the Border imposed in 1922.

A similar public relations exercise was engaged in when 26-county Minister John Wilson was sent to South Armagh to inspect a British Army fortification erected as part of the "Hillsborough Wall" near a primary school at Clough-

LICENCE FROM HAUGHEY

Later during August when the Fianna Fáil Administration handed Gerry Harte and Robert Russell across the Border to the British, Thatcher responded with the SAS gunning down Gerard and Martin Harte and Brian Mullin in Co. Tyrone. With the Dublin government deeply and formally involved with them in their terror regime in the Six Counties, the British feel shielded from criticism on the international scene — and act with a licence from Mr. Haughey.

During September came the disclosures in the Gibraltar inquest on Mainfáid Farrell, Seán Savage and the Danny McCann and the

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

FRONT OF US'

majority verdict — there were two honourable exceptions to this — all of which highlighted the basic facts: Britain is committing acts of war against Irish people at home and abroad, yet she will not admit a state of armed conflict in Ireland where she is conducting a ruthless colonial war.

With regard to the Gibraltar murders of unarmed Irish people, Sinn Féin Poblachtach wrote twice to the Spanish Embassy in Dublin asking for an explanation of their Government's apparent delivery of our people into the hands of the English assassins and their failure to send representation to the inquest to account for their action. No explanation has been received to date. Of course Thatcher was in Madrid shortly before the inquest and we are forced to certain conclusions.

But this is 1988, the 400th anniversary of the Armada when countless Spanish lives were saved off our coasts by the oppressed Irish, who in turn often paid the supreme sacrifice for so doing, like Brian O'Rourke of Breffni on the scaffold at Tyburn, London. Was the conducting of our people to the slaughter-house in 1988 not a gruesome commemoration of the rescue of so many Spaniards by the Irish four centuries before?

Britain followed up quickly during September by releasing Private Holden from a charge arising from the death of Aiden McAnespie without ever proceeding with the court case. The lives of ordinary Irish people are viewed with contempt by the British and their lackeys in and out of power in Dublin are regarded as beneath contempt.

During June the British announced new genetic fingerprinting tests on people arrested in the Six Counties. While the consent of those to be tested must first be obtained in Britain, in this further refinement of the conveyor-belt injustice system no such consent is required in the Six Counties.

GUINEA-PIGS

Once again the British are admitting that they cannot maintain their un-

just rule in Ireland without resorting to repressive legislation — which must in due course pollute their own legal system at home. But they are also continuing to treat the Irish as guinea pigs — an unhappy reminder of what happened in the concentration camps in Europe more than 40 years ago.

On the other hand we welcome the report during June by Amnesty International, whose head office is in London, into the cases of 49 killings by British official death squads in Ireland since 1982. Their recognition that the various police investigations, criminal proceedings and inquests ordered by the British do not establish the truth is particularly significant. The reality is, of course, that they are all cover-ups.

Well did British counter-insurgency expert Brigadier Frank Kitson state the British attitude to justice in such cases: "The law should be used as just another weapon in the government's arsenal and in that case becomes little more than a propaganda cover for the disposal of unwanted members of the public."

And who listening to Thatcher leading the chorus of bloodlust into the Gibraltar killings at the recent Conservative Party conference in Brighton could doubt the accuracy of Kitson's words.

But to return to Amnesty International, we appreciate their move, announced in April to investigate the brutal assaults on the Birmingham Six while in custody. This is a matter which is admitted on all sides to have taken place — but of course no one has been made amenable for it.

BIRMINGHAM SIX

Perhaps some of the well-meaning and humanitarian supporters of government and opposition in the 26 Counties would consider this scenario? If, for instance, one of the Birmingham Six escaped from prison and made his way to the 26 Counties what would happen to him then?

We know already from the Gerry Tuite and other cases. The unfortunate man would get seven years for escaping from alleged lawful custody, and on ex-

piration of sentence would be promptly extradited back to the English dungeon from which he came.

That is the reality of the matter, the contradiction of a partition state that serves English colonial and not Irish interests, and the hypocrisy of the politicians who operate the system here.

And what of these same politicians who had the gall to grant themselves and the "top 1,000" in the public service a 15 per cent pay rise during June while health, education and community care are relentlessly attacked by them? What of their cosy constituency, the 26 Counties?

JUST ONE WEEK

The news in just one week, from September 26 to October 2 last, shows how the quality of life is deteriorating all the time. The divisions between rich and poor are getting sharper and the rich feel the inevitable backlash from the poor on whom many of them have turned their backs.

Consider these news stories as they unfolded in that one week:

- One million are caught in the poverty trap. Samples given include farmers, one in ten of whom have less than £32 per week; one-third of all households are in severe poverty; and women are worst off.

- We also read that half of alcoholics are in their early teens and that young girls of 14 and 16 years are in Mountjoy Jail. Hospitals are overcrowded and the VHI has lost £17 million mostly by paying for luxury private clinics.

- Meanwhile 50,000 public patients have been waiting up to four years for dentures. Almost 10,000 students seek places in British third level colleges.

- The alienation produces the backlash. Whilst the police, courts and prisons cost £400 million per annum or over £1 million per day, the crime rate in Dublin is reported to be four times greater than the official figures. Busworkers, subject to vicious assaults, refuse to work on late night buses.

- Teenage suicides are a problem and Francis MacDonagh, aged 26 of Finglas, Dublin was the fifth



prisoner to die by suicide in the state this year, in overcrowded and understaffed prisons. The week ends with Mr. Lenihan announcing 10,000 more visas for emigrants to the US! What a condition to have been reduced to.

While many people in the 26 Counties are complacent about the failed political entity of the Six Counties, society in their own state is disintegrating. The second failed entity has major problems too.

In the same week we read that Private Holden was discharged in the McAnespie case: James Pius Clarke was arraigned for extradition, without a solicitor too; a secret pact with the British on overflights was revealed; Thatcher visited the Six Counties; the Gibraltar inquest result was announced. All this was accompanied by the usual pathetic statements from the Fianna Fáil Administration, Peter Barry and Dick Spring.

ABSENTEE JOB-LORDS

The two crises are parallel. Some of the clergy see and understand what is happening. For instance, Dr. Finnegan, Bishop of Killala, spoke out recently about the people who had got rid of absentee landlords a century ago now being at the mercy of absentee job-lords. He was referring to the British owners who closed down the "Babygro" factory in Belmullet with the loss of about 100 jobs. Sinn Féin have been warning for 30 years now about the dangers of an economy based on foreign branch factories but most of the clergy did

not appear to be interested until it was too late.

Dr. Finnegan went on to call for imaginative, enlightened state support for local industrial co-operatives: "We urgently need a new departure which would give us possession of our own jobs," he said and then referred to the massive emigration which is costing the country the best educated generation it has ever produced.

The Irish Post (London) commented that Bishop Finnegan was, no doubt, correct, but that he was speaking out "rather late in the day". While that is so, the basic idea put forward by him is close to the kernel of Eire Nua, our Social and Economic Programme.

During the last few months also we have seen a mounting and pernicious attempt by the leadership of Fianna Fáil in particular to try to paint the genuine concern of their own grass-roots about the behaviour of the British Government towards Irish citizens as a dangerous flirtation with Irish Republicanism that is unworthy of them.

Just think about it! The party which for so long has laid claim to being a "Republican Party", and which always insisted since the day it took the Oath to the British Crown and entered Leinster House, that it had the same aims and aspirations as the Sinn Féin Republican Movement which it abandoned, is now hauling its non-elected Secretary-General Frank Wall before the television cameras to justify Special Branch raids on its own members. This is be-

cause the concern of these members about extradition has led to association with members of Sinn Féin Poblachtach and other Republican-minded people.

Guilt by association is a long-established phenomenon in Irish history and politics about which old-time Fianna Fáilers in any case could tell you a lot. "Being Irish means you're guilty" — the punchline in the ballad about the 1971 internment fiasco says it all.

REGIME OF COLLABORATION

But it would seem that we have had to wait until 1987 and the blatant political mobilisation of the 26-county police to search out political documents and information about even those in Fianna Fáil itself who are opposed to the new regime of collaboration with the British in this country, for the Mount Street front-of-the-house people to justify such anti-democratic mobilisation of state forces against those of the Administration's supporters who dare question current developments.

Fianna Fáil, no more than any other political party has had a long history of association with members of Sinn Féin and other Republican groupings. The simple historical reality that, as they say in Ulster, "we were all in the same lorry one time" must be wiped from our consciousness according to Mr. Gerry Collins and media friends in Dublin.

It would be hard to recall what

(from page 7)

Collins's own father operated from in the days before his son succeeded him in public life and into a role in cabinet more distinguished for banning ballads of his father's achievements from our airwaves, and sacking broadcasting authorities so that Jack Lynch could impress Ted Heath, than any ongoing concern for Irish prisoners in Britain, in the Six Counties or indeed in Portlaoise.

As one who was elected to an All-Ireland Parliament a decade before Mr. Collins cut his teeth in the techniques of political patronage in UCD — where he had no hesitation in being associated with the name of the Kevin Barry Cumann when this suited him — I know all too well that even a democratic mandate at the polls never prevented the allegedly constitutional Republicans from intermingling without trial or otherwise depriving of their liberty their political opponents, if they felt they could get away with it.

Mr. Collins and his friends have never been reluctant to turn on those Republican people with whom his party's founders at least used to claim they shared the same views and aspirations, especially if by so doing they could eliminate discussion on the more embarrassing contradictions between what Fianna Fáil practise and what they preach.

But it would seem that it has been left to this generation, to see the spectacle of Brian Lenihan lecture his grass roots in Bodens-town about the value of patient negotiations about basic issues of principle, about right and wrong in court-trials, with the British while at the same time play-acting at the very grave of Wolfe Tone.

Need we remind Mr. Lenihan that 20 years ago last summer, even before Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien came back from his anti-Vietnam War campaigning in America to highjack the Irish Labour Party and turn it into an anti-Republican, anti-Irish reactionary rump, that he himself had begun the Redmondite revisionism of the post-1966 commemoration period by telling the Daily Telegraph that the Welsh and Scottish Nationalists should have better sense than the Irish and remain loyal subjects of the so-called United Kingdom.

1979 OVERFLY DEAL

Will those people in Fianna Fáil whose memory may not stretch back as far as 1968 recall

the fierce row which blew up as recently as 1979 when Jack Lynch made the first secret deal with the British to allow Crown Forces to overfly the 26 Counties — the most symbolic act of national retreat since the Free State itself was founded. What have Mr. Lenihan, Síle de Valera and all the other Haugheyites of that particular era got to say now at Bodens-town? Or were all those harsh words that pushed Mr. Lynch into early retirement aimed only at achieving that?

In what way has Fianna Fáil improved the lot of the nationalist people, the Irish people in general or the safety of the Irish in Britain since then? Indeed, does anybody in any party seriously suggest that the plight of Irish citizens, at home or abroad, has advanced since the Anglo-Irish Agreement was signed?

All thinking people — including many ordinary intelligent people in all parties — can only recall the various episodes of the past twelve months to realise that the Dublin government has shamefully failed to preserve, never mind enhance, the basic rights and privileges which ordinary citizens, in normal countries throughout Europe expect — even in the case of EEC members who actually believe that closer integration with their neighbours is a good thing.

And those who are daily hauled before the Diplock system ARE Irish citizens. Those who are sent down for life for administrative convenience in British courts are Irish too. Their Irishness is what gets them rough justice in the first instance in many cases. Any sensible person recognises the farcical suggestion, that even where there are juries still in operation in such cases, that these Irish citizens are being tried "by their peers".

The reason for the doubt about impartiality is obvious. It is cultural, historical, relating directly to the *de facto* differences between the different peoples. In a word it is political, the very reason why political exception was always a feature of extradition law until a former Blue Shirt Minister, elevated to the position of Chief Justice of the 26-county State, decided to turn law and order on its head, before scuttling off to a well-paid job in the EEC courts which conduct their business in French — a language with which the gentleman in question was as familiar when he got the job as he was with our national language when he joined the Irish judiciary.

One has heard remarks by Free State politicians of late, in belated concern for the role played by certain gentlemen in the appeals of the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four, etc., about the way some of the British legal establishment climb the ladder over there. Certainly, if a former South African Cabinet Minister became Chief Justice there would be some eyebrows raised even in circles in Ireland which remained silent when former Stormont politicians went on to the bench.

don dá ócáid mhóra staire úd a raibh an oiread sin tionchair acu ar stair na hEireann.

Is geall linn i gcónaí ómós a thabhairt do na himeachtaí a bhain le forbairt an Phoblachtachais na hFrainc, an rud is mó a chuaigh i bhfeidhm ar Wolfe Tone — athair na hiarrachta chun Poblacht shaor dhaonlathach a chur ar bun sa tír seo freisin.

Ní beag an chabhair a fuair Eire ón Frainc, in aimsir Tone agus go deimhin ó shin i leith. For



But the really ironic thing about the current extradition business in Ireland is that it was the Fianna Fáil Administration, the Haughey cabinet, Mr. Collins, Mr. Lenihan, Mr. Burke and all others who have been discussing Crown Forces flyovers with Tom King at the on-going British-Free State meetings, who have also been making those restrained expressions of concern about Diplock, Stalker, McAnespie, Gibralter, Birmingham Six etc., etc. over the past few years of "Shoot-to-Kill".

MOST EASILY EXTRADITABLE

Do they think that their own supporters can now go along with the situation which makes Irish citizens the most easily extraditable in Europe? Cúis ghéara chugainn! Grass roots workers of all parties must surely know that something has to give if only because the current "eur i gcéill" does not square with what people have been saying and doing in parallel lines of action that have got seriously crossed because they fail to ask basic questions, they ignore simple realities and do not seek to address the real problems of the Anglo-Irish conflict.

Mí Eanáir seo chugainn ar an 21ú lá, beidh 70 bliain ann ó tionóladh an chéad Dáil Eireann. Mí Iúil seo chugainn beidh tús á chur le comóradh 200 bliain Réabhlóid na Fraince. Beidh fonn ar Shínn Féin agus Gluais-eacht na Poblachta trí chéile ómós a thabhairt

one thing even today the French authorities are not prepared to hand over Irish citizens to the corrupt British authorities with the relish of our Free State authorities.

We hope to join in the world-wide celebrations of the French Revolution in 1989, and as independent-thinking Irish people, we recognise the necessity of re-evaluating each and every aspect of that legacy to Europe, to France, to all mankind. Yet, in the light of subsequent events, and the factual realities of what happened at the time, we wish to place on record the on-going debt of gratitude which all democrats owe to that people who first proclaimed and tried to implement the noble ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity in that year.

STRASBOURG TALKING-SHOP

By the same token, Sinn Féin and Irish Republicans in general totally reject the subtle attempt that will be made, especially by those who want to brush up the image of the so-called European Parliament by suggesting that the Strasbourg talking-shop is in some way the legitimate heir of the French Republican legacy. National sovereignty, direct democratic control over the national affairs of an independent state, were the hall-marks of the French revolutionary legacy of the late 18th century as indeed, they were, in the case of the American Independence.

These two examples, cherished by generations of Irish democrats, varied

greatly within that consensus — from the centralist French tendencies to the pluralist and federal arrangements in the US. And that contrast in itself should be sufficient to remind us that each effort at national self-determination and independence has to take into account the social, cultural and even the historic context in which it finds itself.

In short each and every nation must not only seek to develop its own sovereignty and independence but must draw from its

ratified the Republic proclaimed three years earlier and which as they stressed at the time, can only be destroyed by the destruction of the Irish nation itself.

It is as simple and as wonderful as that, and all the twisting and turning, the lies and denial of the factual record, the brutality, persecution and naked oppression by armed forces, foreign or domestic cannot get around that bedrock. That is the bedrock on which we in Sinn Féin Poblachtach and we alone, stand. There can be no compromise, no going back, no half-measures because none are possible.

That does not mean of course that we can withdraw to our ivory towers, our Bodens-town commemorations, or even our historical archives. Anybody who knows the factual record must have the courage to persist and continue to struggle to restore the full 32-county Irish sovereign nation to its full freedom — or, if they wish to be logical, bring back John Redmond, accept that Pearse and Connolly and Brugha, Stack and Liam Lynch, McKelvey and Mellows were wrong, and utter the type of nonsense that Brian Lenihan seems to specialise in whether speaking to the Daily Telegraph about the Welsh nation or at the grave of Wolfe Tone, which the British can now fly over again and photograph any dissenters even within Fianna Fáil itself.

GAEILGE AR FAD

Cé gur cosúil go mbeidh dreamanna go leor ag iarraidh Réabhlóid na Fraince agus tábhacht na hócáide a chur as a riocht sa tír seo, ní sé cinnte ar chor ar bith cad é an comóradh a dhéanfaidh páirtithe Theach Laighean ar bhunú na Chéad Dála. Gaeilge ar fad a labhair muintir na Dála ar an gcéad lá úd — éacht ann féin nuair a chuireann tú san áireamh liom na dTeachtaí a bhí faoi ghlas ag Gallaibh, gan trácht ar an easpa deiseanna a bhí ann ag an am chun eolas a chur ar an teanga náisiúnta sa chóras oideachais.

Sinn Féin and the Republican Movement have never betrayed that dream, that reality factually established by democratic mandate and defended by the Irish Republican Army against the illegal, immoral and totally unjustified terrorism of the Black and Tans and all that British imperialism could throw into the field in its dictatorial efforts to beat down the risen people.

Not even the more subtle and more savage counter-revolutionary might of the Free State forces, nor all the cosmetic "settlements" that have been tried since then to try to suppress Ireland's right to self-determination and independence can roll back the historical realities.

Inspired by the sacrifice of the 1916 Rising, the Irish nation, in open ballot, established and gave to themselves an all-Ireland sovereign parliament, Dáil Eireann, which formally

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SINN FÉIN Poblachtach

(from page 8)
"Parliament of Southern Ireland".

Scéal eile é áfach cén fáth nach bhfuil an Ghaeilge in uachtar go bhíomáil ag an Ard-Fheis seo ach an oiread, más fíor go n-éilimid gur muid an t-ion dream amháin atá dílis d'aistean na Chéad Dála úd i gcónaí?
Tá a fhios againn ar fad na deacrachtaí atá ann, agus ní i laghad atá ad ag dul nuair a chuireann tú san áireamh an iarracht atá ar bun ag muintir Theach Laighean muid a shníomh isteach sa "Chomhphobal Eorpach" - nach bhfuil ann arís más ea ach "single market" mar a bheidh an lí ag lucht an airgid agus gan an aird chéanna ar ríochtánais dhaonna agus náisiúnta.

JOINING EUROPE

Sinn Féin does not and never had any difficulty with "joining Europe". We always accepted and stressed that we were and are part of Europe. But we reject the idea that the "single market" of 1992 is the totality of Europe, in geographic, cultural or economic terms. We reject the bureaucratic and marginally democratic structures that Brussels has sought to impose in order to benefit the rich while allowing the smaller nations, the unfree peoples and the peripheral areas to bleed to death.

We have a wide network of like-minded contacts and movements all over Europe, and we know that these underdogs too see the aim of a capitalist super-state for the sham that it is.

Nor are we opposed to wider knowledge and use of French, German or any other language in our cultural and educational programmes. Our concern is that we give primacy of support to our own language and cultural systems because if we do not use, cultivate and develop these, then, academics apart, there is nobody else we can reasonably turn to for protection. French and English were used in Dáil Éireann on the first day, as required and in order to communicate with the wider circle of friends abroad.

That should be our attitude and our policy today also. Dúshlán dúinn go léir é féachaint chuige amach anseo go mbeidh ár dtéarmaí féin in uachtar i ngeothaí praiticiúla ár soill, nuair a bhéarfad bua agus nuair a thiofadh ár lí.

SDLP SELL-OUT
Activity by our councillors north of the border during the year included

exposing the SDLP's proposed sell-out of neutrality in a future political settlement as well as their secret collaboration with the British Crown Forces through so-called "police committees" attached to local councils.

In the 26 Counties Sinn Féin Poblachtach councillors were staunch in their opposition to health, education and other cut-backs. The brunt of these capitalist "corrective measures" is borne by the poor who did not cause the problem in the first place and will, according to Leinster House politicians, have to suffer their misery until the international financiers who call the tune cry "enough".

The indebtedness of the 26-county state has increased from £24 billion to £26 billion in the last 18 months while our young people work as stateless persons in the USA or join the near half-million unemployed north and south. In any recovery in this regard the necessary confrontation with the foreign bankers must be made. Working the system through Leinster House has not and will not produce this revolutionary corrective.

Maidir le Gaeilge de, Bríd Ní Dhomhnaill, boycotted in her school in Conemara because of her fervent espousal of the Irish language, continued to receive our support while the Mawhinney proposals by the British to demote the language in schools in the Six Counties was opposed vehemently. The recent action of Ciarán Ó Feinneadha as Baile Atha Cliath in putting Irish language number-plates on his car instead of the old English firearms markings of a century ago is surely worthy of applause by this Ard-Fheis.

Our members were also active in the rod licences campaign. Some of them as fishermen have seen the seafishing salmon licence fee go up from a mere £3 to £154. Do we wait until our rivers, lakes and estuaries are privatised in the interests of the EEC making an expensive international playground of our country? Remember the proposal to privatise a marina in Dún Laoghaire which included a charge of £1,000 per year, to begin with, to locals to tie up a boat.

Considerable efforts were made in many cases during the year in furthering the campaign of opposition to political extradition from the 26-county state. The organisation in Kerry, Dublin and Donegal produced their own leaflets while Head Office

brought out 30,000 for general distribution.

Apart from the usual slogan-writing, picketing, poster parade and adoption of the anti-extradition theme at the annual Bundoran hunger-striker commemoration march, the issue was raised abroad in Paris on St. Patrick's Day, during a tour of Brittany in March and at the International Weekend of Unita Nazionalista in Corsica during August.

On the latter occasion the President put the case to ten national liberation movements from the Mediterranean to the Caribbean and from the Pacific to the Atlantic, as well as to representatives of several left-wing parties from Italy and France.

On all of these occasions press interviews were given and the plight of the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four, the Maguire family and Judith Ward were highlighted as well as Ireland's struggle for national freedom.

Here we take the opportunity to send greetings to and express solidarity with all Irish political prisoners whether in England, the United States, France, Long Kesh, Maghaberry, Magilligan, Crumlin Road or Portlaoise. We are proud of you and we stand by you. We also extend good wishes to all Basque, Corsican and Breton prisoners and to all who suffer imprisonment for the dignity and welfare of humankind.

On the extradition question Mr. Lenihan and Opposition spokespersons have talked about "our international obligations". Does he mean that the people of north Co. Louth and South Armagh belong to different nations? That is the logic of the Free State position and is the situation of ALL who accept Leinster House and the Six-county State.

In this connection it is necessary to quote again the facts that are NOT being put before the Irish people:

"Political extradition makes the Irish the most easily extraditable people in Europe. None of the restrictions used by other signatories to the 'European Convention' are included in the 26-county Extradition Act. None of these other signatories has an occupying force on its soil yet they will not freely extradite to each other:

1. Eight countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Switzerland, Greece, Cyprus, Austria and the Netherlands) will not extradite their own citizens.
2. Twelve countries (Denmark, Iceland, Swit-

zerland, Norway, Portugal, Germany, Sweden, France, Belgium, Cyprus, the Netherlands and Italy) reserve the right to determine what is a political offence.

3. Seven countries will not extradite persons to appear before a Special Court.

4. Britain, Denmark and Norway demand prima facie evidence against an accused person while Britain, among others, also has a Ministerial veto over the decision of their own courts.

What the British will not allow to happen to its own citizens is the "slot-machine extradition" which it is getting from the Fianna Fáil government in relation to Irish citizens!"

What is needed from our own members is greater and immediate activity on this issue, especially when it is topical and in the public mind.

In this connection it is interesting to note the findings on October 18 of the opinion poll on extradition. 44 per cent of people south of the border were opposed while those in favour fell by 9 per cent to 31 per cent with 25 per cent undecided.

MAJORITIES FOR WITHDRAWAL

Similar surveys in Britain on March 26 and in the 26 Counties on April 17 showed a clear majority for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland within five years. Massive disenchantment was shown with the Hillsborough Deal which was seen merely as a security pact to help the British.

Approval for the insubstantial Hume-Adams talks showed a widespread desire for an alternative to Hillsborough but there was no clear view as to the new structures of government to be put in place here with a British withdrawal.

There is obviously a vacuum to be filled and Sinn Féin Poblachtach at this Ard-Fheis had better take up the challenge in this regard - or slip back to a much less advantageous position in a years time.

The Hume-Adams talks referred to continued for eight months, from January to September, and they now stand suspended. Mr. Haughey, with or without British support, was obviously the sponsor of this exercise which aimed at getting Mr. Adams and his party - or as much of it as possible - to accept a constitutional role in the Six Counties, since he has already done so in the 26 Counties.

The follow-up envisaged is a Pan-Nationalist Front

composed of Free State Sinn Féin, the SDLP and Fianna Fáil. All of this is not as fantastic as some may imagine. After all the latest reformist breakaway from the Republican Movement have already sought the protection of the 26-county police in selling Easter Lilies while Sinn Féin Poblachtach members in Kerry and Roscommon have gone to prison for the same activity.

The same semi-constitutional leadership has ordered its followers to apply to the British crown forces for permission to honour Ireland's dead who were killed by the self-same British forces.

BRITISH NOT 'NEUTRAL'

Two points have emerged from the talks - and it must be said that Sinn Féin Poblachtach welcomes dialogue at all times: British Secretary King quickly demolished the SDLP claim that the British were "neutral"; it was "quite wrong" to say so, he stated; secondly the talks in question have been halted not terminated, it should be borne in mind. Sinn Féin Poblachtach remains on the alert for any further "new departures".

This past week has shown the British Government's re-assessment of their objective of physically holding on to the Six Counties and maintaining a compliant administration south of the Border. Progress has been reviewed to date and failure to defeat the people's resistance to British rule has, in effect, been admitted.

Therefore a whole range of new measures has been introduced with the promise of even more to come. A Section 31-style censorship of radio and television has been announced, the right to silence under interrogation has been removed and restrictions are to be placed on the electoral process.

In all of this the British Establishment is ruling by decree. The civil liberties of almost 1,000 years are being denied and in these matters the British have

learned very well from their Dublin collaborators who have pioneered many of the measures now being brought in.

The British are corrupting their own legal system and this will have repercussions in England, Scotland and Wales. The poor, the deprived and trade unionists generally had better watch out. If it is the turn of the people of the Six Counties today, it may well be your turn tomorrow!

Further, even more will be demanded from the Dublin administration. From this Ard-Fheis we say to Mr. Haughey:

"If you think you have delivered all to Thatcher with extradition, then you are a very naive, foolish and gullible man. The appetite of imperialism is insatiable. Further humiliating demands are already being formulated by the British.

"THERE IS NO END TO APEASEMENT. You will be integrated more and more into the British war machine until you are finally swallowed up in it and you become indistinguishable from the British. You will be their principal agent in Ireland along with Tom King.

"As this happens the foundation of support on which you stand, Mr. Haughey, would be steadily eroded. Already there are rumblings within your own party. The policy of appeasing the British has consequences you do not appear to have even considered."

A chomráidithe agus a chairde: Two years ago we refused yet again to be co-opted into the system. Since then the agents of that system, both old and new, have failed to crush us.

Now the challenge is there in front of us. As the political vacuum widens it is possible for Sinn Féin Poblachtach to seize the initiative and provide national leadership to a nation which is rudderless. Can we make ourselves equal to the occasion?

It is a question no-one can answer but ourselves.

BORD NA n-OIFIGEACH AGUS ARD CHOMHAIRLE

Officers elected for 1988-89 were: Uachtarán, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh; Leas-Uachtarán, Dáithí Ó Conaill agus Eamon Ó Loreáin; Rúnaíthe, Caitlín Knowles agus Lita Ní Chathmhaoil; Cisteoirí, Seán Ó Conchúir agus Peig níe an Rí; OCP, Ruairí Óg Ó Brádaigh.

The following members were elected at the Ard-Fheis to the new Ard Chomhairle: Seosamh Ó Néill (Dún na nGall), Roibeard Ó Muiri (Bea Feirste), Deasún Ó Longáin (Luimneach), Mánic a Bháird (Dún na nGall), Proimias Fhearraigh (Aontroma), Tomás Ó Murchú (Tiobrad Árann), Deaglán Ó Cuirnín (Dún Dealgan), Emmett Breathnach (Uíbh Fhailí).



Fishermen's Lives at Risk

THE WEST COAST Search, Rescue and Action Committee are highly critical of the 26-county sea/air rescue (SAR) service in their recent report. They conclude that:

"Our search and rescue organisation is flawed because far too great a proportion of our resources are located in areas of lesser need. There is no SAR helicopter located on the west coast where the need is by far the greatest and none of the Air Corps machines has sufficient radius of action to reach 15 degrees west longitude".

The 26-county Air Corps' newly-acquired Dauphine helicopters have a maximum cruise speed of 150 knots and a range of only 432 miles with standard fuel tanks. By the time they have arrived on the west coast from the Casement aerodrome in Baldonnell, Co. Dublin, where they are stationed, they have little fuel left over to cover anything more than the return journey!

PUBLIC RELATIONS

At times it seems that the most important work these helicopters are engaged in is ferrying Dublin ministers around the country and in staging high profile public relations exercises at various festivals.

The Action Committee

proposes *"the acquisition of a heavy SAR helicopter to be located on the west coast which could operate unrestricted out to 15 degrees west longitude."*

The present totally inadequate situation was highlighted on the night of October 15 last when a 15-year-old Aran islander who needed hospitalisation was airlifted to Limerick hospital by a British RAF helicopter, called in from the Brawley base in Wales.

DEPENDENCE

This base faces closure in the near future so the 26 Counties' dependence on foreign assistance (1,069 such calls were made in 1986 and 1987) will have to end.

Sinn Féin Poblachtach Councillor Joe O'Neill, Bundoran, in a statement said: *"The north and west coasts have the biggest fishing fleets and the most dangerous seas to fish in. As a result there have been several tragic accidents in recent years that might have been avoided had there been a SAR helicopter stationed between the west and north-west of Ireland."*

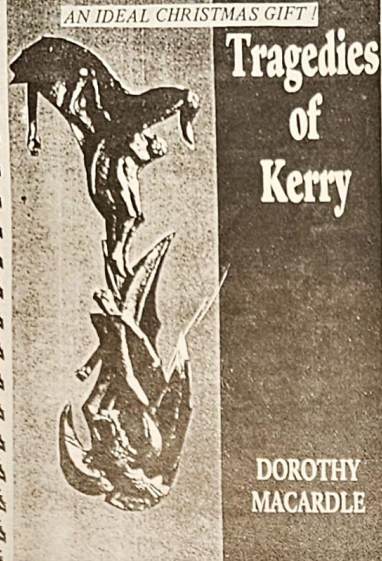
"The Dublin administration will use helicopters very quickly to take Republicans and hand them over to Britain - let them show their concern about saving the lives of fishermen off our coasts by providing an effective rescue service," he said.

An Unfinished Canvas, points out that what the US administration fears from this small Central American state is the *"threat of a good example"*. In 112 pages of text, printed and published in Ireland by the Nicaraguan Book Collective, the continuing struggle of the revolution since 1979 is described in 15 articles by different politicians, poets and commentators.

At the launch of the book in Dublin on October 26, Narcissa Rojas from Nicaragua described the human and material losses of the continuing war against US-backed Contras.

The recent hurricane has added to the devastation and it was pointed out that the Dublin Administration has refused to sanction disaster aid for the 300,000 people made homeless . . . the *"threat of a good example"* perhaps is worrying Leinster House politicians as well.

Nicaragua, An Unfinished Canvas is available from Siopa na Poblachta, 21 Sráid Seá, BAC 2, PRICE £2.95 (paperback).



AN IDEAL CHRISTMAS GIFT!

Tragedies of Kerry

DOROTHY MACARDLE

TRAGEDIES OF KERRY, 1922 - 1923
by Dorothy McArdle

First published 1924. Fourteenth and latest edition 1988 with two-colour glazed cover.

"A debt of gratitude is due to Dorothy Macardle for giving to the Irish people the full story of the 'Tragedies of Kerry'. Her book is an invaluable testimony to the courage and forbearance of the people of Kerry who endured some of the most savage events in the struggle to bring about the Irish Republic."

Joe Clarke, veteran of the Battle of Mount Street Bridge in 1916, realised its value and believed it was a book which should be in every home. He published successive editions up to his death in 1976. His widow, Eilis Clarke, is delighted to be associated with this latest edition which will bring to a new generation the story of Kerry's struggle.

"I am delighted that it has just been reissued."
Frank Dolan, The Irish Post (London)

Available from Irish Freedom Press, 21 Shaw Street, Dublin 2 (guthán : 718224). Price £1.95 plus postage. Bulk orders welcome at reduced rates.



ONE OF the contributors to this book, NICARAGUA.

DOMHNALL O LUBHLAI outlines the four steps which every child goes through when learning his/her first language. Many learners of Irish insist on taking Steps 3 and 4 i.e. reading and writing the language before they are ready for it, he explains.

HOW?

Some friends wrote to me and commented on my last article. They pointed out that it never struck them that speaking a language had only three functions i.e. asking questions, answering questions and making statements. For the first time they said they understood what fluency meant.

They also pointed out that they had never realised that one of the main weaknesses with their command of Irish was their inability to ask questions in it. However, most of their letters ended with a question *"How do you go about achieving this fluency?"* *"What are the initial baby steps to be taken?"* *"What are the stages to be gone through?"*

Well, a chairde, it will be difficult to answer these questions in one article. But for the next few articles I shall try and outline the steps without becoming too technical.

NA CEITHRE CHEIM

There are four stages (or steps) which every child goes through when learning his/her first language. These are:-

STEP 1. Hearing the language being spoken. Gradually associating sounds with objects and actions and thus obtaining a passive understanding.

To explain briefly what I mean by passive understanding, I will give the following example. If somebody gave you the following instructions *"Seas suas"* *"Dún an doras"* *"Suirg síos"* you would react to the instructions and do the actions required.

You might not even have heard the sentences before but the speaking would gesture and possibly do the actions him-

REPUBLICANS AND IRISH

self and point to the open door and you would passively understand him. Several repetitions of these sentences and the consequent carrying out of the directions by you would finally lead to your active understanding of the sentences.

This reminds me of the story I heard about a teacher who took charge of a new class one day. He had no proper lesson prepared. He decided to start with the instructions *"Seas suas"* *"Suirg síos"*. He repeated them several times and the students duly stood and sat as requested until one student finally shouted at the teacher *"make up your mind - do you want us to sit or stand?"* But I am digressing!

STEP 2. Imitating the speech heard. This entails that the student must be able to hear clearly what was said. The student's difficulty here will be a matter of being able to twist his/her tongue in order to make the sound correctly or as near as possible to what was heard.

I should like to emphasise at this point that *ability to imitate sounds has nothing to do with intelligence*. Parrots can do it! But it does have to do with a physical ability to hear and it also has to do with the clearness of the voice of the person to whom the learner is listening.

Quite often if the sound is difficult - entailing usage of teeth and lips as well as the tongue it will be necessary that the learner both hears it distinctly and sees the mouth of the speaker moving. (This is the weakness of learning from tapes as distinct from a teacher). To study what sounds are simple one should listen to young children learning to speak. They make a natural selection!

STEP 3. Understanding symbols i.e. learning to read.

STEP 4. Making symbols i.e. learning to write. These last two steps do entail intelligence. But they are not necessary for the person who only wishes to speak the language. Unfortunately quite a lot of adult learners insist on taking steps 3 and 4 long before they are ready for them. I can confidently state that most of those who gave up studying Irish did so because of this with the consequent frustration I have already described.

STOP EISEACHADH

THIONÓIL SUAS LE seachtó daoine san Óstán Royal Marine, Dún Laoghaire ag cruinniú poiblí árna eagra ag "Gaeilgeoirí in aghaidh Eiseachadha" ar an Satharn, 29ú Meán Fómhair. D'oscail an Chathaoirleach, Pádraig Ó Snodaigh, an cruinniú agus chuir se na cainteoirí eile i láthair.

B'iad na cainteoirí sin ná Séamas Mac Mathúna, Prionnsias Mac Aonghusa agus Kevin Boland, agus thug siad go léir léacht anmhaith don dream.

NAPPER TANDY

B'é Prionnsias Mac Aonghusa an chéad fhear ar a chosa agus d'inis sé stair an Eiseachadha ó am Napper Tandy go dtí an lá inniu agus an tionchar a bhain leis.

Ansin labhair Kevin Boland agus chlain sé Rialtas Charlie Haughey agus an síf agus an chaoi a chur sé an t-Acht Eiseachadha i bhfeidhm. Ní raibh ach cúis amháin a thug Charlie Haughey don phobal: *"It was the prudent practical course to be taken"* agus níor tugadh cúis ar bith eile leis an Eiseachadhadh a chuir i bhfeidhm.

Duir Séamas Mac Mathúna go ba choir feachtas cosúil le feachtas H-Blocanna a chur ar síúil chun brú a chur an Rialtas Charlie Haughey. Ar eagla go raibh sé dearmadtha chuir sé in iúl do na éisteoirí gur chaill Fianna Fáil an Ollthoghchain i 1981 de bharr Feachtas H-Blocanna agus *"b'fhéidir go mbeadh sé ar ár gcumas rud mar sin adhéanamh arís."*

I gCUIMHNE

BARRY, Kevin Gerard. In proud and loving memory of Kevin Gerard Barry, of Dublin, who gave his life on November 1, 1920 in Mountjoy Jail that Ireland might be free. O Clann Mhíe Eoghagáin, Tamlacht, Co. BAC. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a nam usal.

BARRY, Kevin Gerard. The Leadership and scouts of Na Fianna Eireann remember with pride Kevin Barry who gave his life in the cause of Irish Freedom on November 1, 1920. I measc laochra na h-Eireann go raibh an nam usal.

CROSSEY, Vol. Michael - 17th Anniversary. In

proud and loving memory of Vol. Michael Crossey, (Lurgan) 1st Battalion, North Armagh Brigade, Oglagh na h-Eireann, who died on active service on November 22, 1971. *'The fools, the fools, they have left us our Fenian dead and while Ireland holds these graves Ireland unfree shall never be at peace.'*

Pádraig Mac Piarais Never forgotten by his friends Rosaleen and Franice Lavery and family, Dundak.

CROSSEY, Vol. Michael - 17th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Vol. Michael Crossey, (Lurgan) 1st Battalion,

North Armagh Brigade, Oglagh na h-Eireann, who died on active service on November 22, 1971.

'It is not those who can inflict the most, but those who can endure the most who will conquer.'

Terence MacSwiney Always remembered by Nuala and Seán Moore and family, Dundak. Leaba i measc na bhFínní go raibh aige.

CROSSEY, Vol. Michael - 17th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Vol. Michael Crossey, (Lurgan) 1st Battalion, North Armagh Brigade, Oglagh na h-Eireann, who died on active service on November 22, 1971.

'Life springs from death; and from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations.'

Pádraig Mac Piarais From all the McKerr family, Lurgan. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh a nam.

MCLELLAND, Vol. Tony - 9th Anniversary. Pray for the soul of Tony McClelland, died on active service 16 October, 1979. Always remembered by the Trainor family, Armagh city. Sleep, Irish Soldiers, sleep.

PARLE, Paddy; KEEGAN, George; SMITH, Paul; CRAVEN, Oliver; WATTERS, Michael - 31st Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of the Edentubber Martyrs who died for Ireland on November 11, 1957. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh siad. Always remembered by friends and comrades in Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Loch Garman.

COMHBHRÓN

CARRIE, Deepest sympathy is extended to the wife and family of Paddy Carrie, Old Court, Tallaght, Co. Dublin who died on 20 October. Deeply regretted and always remembered by Cumann Wolfe Tone, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Tamlacht, Baile Atha Cliath. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh sé.

CARRIE, Deepest sympathy is extended to the wife and family of Paddy Carrie, Tallaght, Co. Dublin who died on 20 October. From Peter Cunningham and family, Tallaght.

DUNNE, Jack - 4th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Jack Dunne who died on October 18, 1984, faithful to the end. Always remembered by friends and comrades in Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Loch Garman.

GLANCY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the Glancy family, Ballinamore and Cavan, on the death of their mother. From the Kieran Doherty Cumann, Swanlinbar and Curlough. The Kieran Doherty Cumann placed a Tricolour on the coffin and laid a wreath on behalf of Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

LYNCH, The Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach extends deepest sympathy to Aine Lynch, The Spa, Co. Kerry, on the death of her brother, Paudie. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a nam.

LYNCH, Deepest sympathy to Aine Lynch, Co. Kerry on the tragic death of her brother, Paudie. From Cumann na mBan. Go raibh suaimhneas siar dá nam.

LYNCH, Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin Poblachtach extends deepest sympathy to Aine Lynch, The Spa, Co. Kerry on the death of her brother, Paudie. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a nam uaí.

LYNCH, Sincere sympathy is extended to Aine Lynch, The Spa, Co. Kerry on the tragic death of her brother, Paudie. From the Michael Lynch Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, The Spa, Co. Kerry.

LYNCH, Deepest sympathy is extended to Aine Lynch, The Spa, Co. Kerry on the death of her brother, Paudie. From the Sheehy/Rice Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Tralee, Co. Kerry.

McCARRY, Deepest sympathy is extended to Frank McCarry and family, Ballyccastle, Co. Antrim on the recent death of his mother, Mary. O Chumann Patrick Parle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Loch Garman. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a hanam.

McCARRY, Sincere sympathy is offered to Frank McCarry and family on the recent death of his mother, Mary. From all the staff at 21, Sráid Seá, BAC. Solas na bhFínnítheas dá hanam.

McCARRY, Deepest sympathy is extended to Frank McCarry and family on the death of his mother, Mary, on October 19 last. From the Ard Chomhairle Sinn Féin Poblachtach. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a hanam.

McKERR, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of the late Thomas McKerr, 28, Cherrytree Walk, Lurgan who died recently. From Comhairle Uladh, Republican Sinn Féin which passed a vote of sympathy at its meeting on Sunday October 15, 1988. Suaimhneas siar dá nam usal.

MARRY The Ard Chomhairle Republican Sinn Féin extends deepest sympathy to Tom MARRY and family, Co. Meath on the death of their mother Elizabeth on October 18 last. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a hanam.

READERS PLEASE NOTE that Beannachtaí na Nollag/Christmas Greetings to prisoners should reach SAIRSE at 21, Sráid Seá, BAC 2 (guthán 718224) no later than Monday, November 28 for inclusion in the December edition.

TOMMY KEANEY

REPUBLICANS were grieved to learn of the death of Tommy Keaney of Keshcarrigan, Co. Leitrim on October 27. He was in his early eighties.

Tommy was one of the young men who enrolled in the Irish Republican Army in the mid-1920s following the 'Ceasefire and Dump Arms' order of May 1923. He served under Sean O'Farrell and also Jimmy Joe Reynolds, later killed with two comrades at Castlefin, Co. Donegal in 1938.

Tommy Keaney gave service right throughout his life and was known and respected by succeeding generations of Republicans. He often recounted stirring events, such as the clashes at Newtownmore and Cotehill in 1931 and the victorious Sinn Féin election campaign in 1977.

To hold conversation with him even briefly was in itself an inspiration. His support for the struggle in the Six Occupied Counties was unflinching right up to his last illness.

At the removal from Carrick-on-Shannon Hospital to Drumcong Church the coffin was draped in the National Flag and a guard of honour under the command of Sylvester Fitzsimons, Drumsna, escorted the remains.

Sympathy is extended to his wife Tess, his sons John and Tom Joe and his daughters, Marie, Ann and Margaret. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a nam.

Billy Dowling RIP

The death took place on October 21 of life-long Republican Billy Dowling, St. Ciaran's Terrace, Athlone.

Billy had been active for almost 60 years and was one of the many hundreds of Republicans interned without trial in the Curragh Concentration Camp in the early 1940s.

At his funeral from St. Mary's Church to Coosan Cemetery on October 24, the coffin was draped with the Tricolour and his comrades of the local Sean Costello-Martin Hurson Cumann of Sinn Féin Poblachtach provided a Guard of Honour.

Ruairí O Brádaigh, Uachtarán, spoke at the graveside.

In the course of his address, he said that "as a boy of 13 years in 1924 Billy Dowling had stood among the crowd on the Market Square in Athlone and watched 20 coffins,

containing the bodies of executed Republican soldiers, being handed over from the military barracks to relatives and comrades.

FIRING SQUADS

"These men had fallen before Free State firing squads throughout the Western Command area of the Free State army in 1922 - 23. Rather than being frightened by this extraordinary spectacle, the young boy was inspired by it and later gave his allegiance to the All-Ireland Republic.

"Billy Dowling joined the Athlone Battalion of the Irish Republican Army and served throughout the late 1920s and the 1930s. With 640 other Republicans he was taken from his home by 26-county forces on June 3, 1940

and interned for years without trial in atrocious conditions in the Curragh Concentration Camp.

"During that terrible time his fellow prisoners were killed and wounded by the camp guards. Men died on hunger strike, were shot down while unarmed in the streets, were executed by firing squads and even the British hangman was brought over to execute the Chief-of-Staff of the IRA, a young Kerry footballer from Tralee, named Cláire Kerins.

UNDAUNTED

"Billy was not daunted by all of this. Rather was he made more determined. He came out of the concentration camp and resumed his Republican activities right through the 1950s, 60s, 70s and until the day of his death.

"He was a loyal man -

had seen the overthrow of the 32-County Republic proclaimed in 1916. He had witnessed the coming into power of different regimes that had produced millionaires but had failed miserably to care for all of the children of the nation equally.

In his early years he had the conviction that the cause of Ireland's problems was partition and British rule and those in the 26 Counties who supported the British. He became involved in the Republican Movement and remained a true Republican through

Split of 1969. The Lynch home was always open to Republicans from all over Ireland and they never wavered from traditional Republican principles.

Paudie was closely associated with the Republican Movement throughout his life and he will be deeply missed. Deepest sympathy is extended to his sister, Aine and family circle. A vote of sympathy was



loyal to his comrades and to the Republic of 1916 and of the First Dáil Eireann. He never accepted the Free State or the Six-county state, rejecting in turn every compromise down the years towards parliamentarianism and constitutionalism.

"He was also humble, serving quietly and seeking nothing for himself but everything for others - for the Irish people, and indeed the whole human race. Leaba i measc na bhFínní go raibh aige."

Sympathy is extended to his wife, Máire, née Malynn, a staunch Republican in her own right, and to his sons Liam and Seán.

Through the various splits in the Republican Movement Paddy remained faithful to the Republican ideal and indeed in 1986 when other people decided to participate in Leinster House, Paddy had no problem in deciding what his position should be and came out in favour of Sinn Féin Poblachtach. He will be sorely missed in Tallaght. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh sé.

passed to the family at the last meeting of Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

BEANNACTAI

HARNEY, Good wishes to Paddy Harney, Drum, Athlone for a speedy recovery from his illness in Beaumont Hospital, Dublin. Go raibh tu mbárd do shláinte go luath, a Phaidí.

Paddy Carrie

THE DEATH took place on 20 October of Paddy Carrie, Old Court, Tallaght, Co. Dublin, a lifelong Republican. The local Wolfe Tone Cumann of Sinn Féin Poblachtach provided a Guard of Honour at his graveside and laid a wreath on behalf of Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

Speaking at the graveside, Peter Cunningham, Cathaoirleach of Cumann Wolfe Tone, spoke of Paddy's lifelong commitment to the Republican

cause and extended the sympathy of the Republican Movement to Paddy's wife and family.

He said that Paddy had been born into a time that

Paudie Lynch

THE Republican Movement in Kerry was deeply saddened to learn of the death on 3 October, following an accident in New York, of Paudie Lynch, The Spa, Co. Kerry.

Paudie, aged 29 years, was the son of the late Michael and Ellen Lynch. The Lynch family was one of the foremost Republican

families in County Kerry and Mick Lynch was instrumental in the re-organisation of the Republican Movement following the

AIRSPACE HANDOVER

SO-CALLED security experts in the establishment media are well aware that there is nothing new in the revelations of British spy-planes having been given full permission by the Haughey administration to operate south of the border.

Surely they have read SAOIRSE's in depth ex-

posure of this collaboration in last February's edition in the article 'Spy-Plane II'. Readers may also recall details of the radio conversations and flight-plans being given for one of the British Army Air Corps 'Beaver' aircraft along with its time and place of border crossing.

While we are on the subject it is worth noting that the northern half of

Donegal is handled by the Scottish FIR air traffic controllers. These controllers are unlikely to be concerned with the sovereignty of the southern Free State.

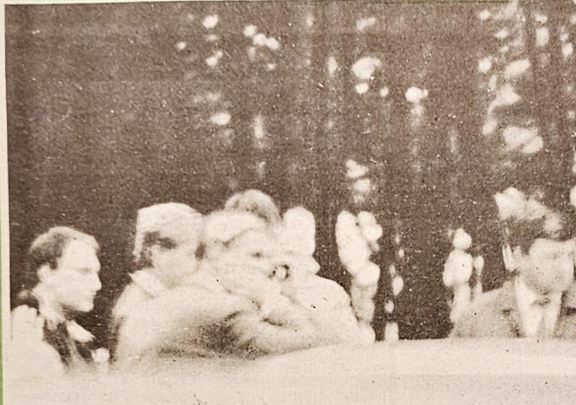
In effect it is highly unlikely that the Haughey administration has any idea as to what incursions are taking place over Donegal as effective control of that particular airspace has



been handed over to the British government.

So readers, be prepared to have the above revealed

to you as a so-called exclusive in the establishment media in the not too distant future.



● Pictured above are members of the 26-county Special Branch outside the 84th Ard-Fheis in Lucan on 22-23 October last. Six car-loads of the political police were present throughout the weekend.

Three members of this force assaulted a Dublin member of Sinn Féin Poblachtach near his home at the beginning of October. Colm O Domhnaill believes he got this treatment because of a letter published in a Sunday newspaper criticising extradition and Fianna Fáil's hypocrisy on the issue.

Colm had his glasses deliberately broken by the branchmen and suffered minor bruising. It seems the political police would like to implement their own censorship, UDR-style.

STRIKE-BREAKERS AT WARRENPOINT DOCKS

32 MEN are on strike in the Engaly Engineering Works in Warrenpoint docks, Co. Down for almost two months — four men have continued work loading trailers on to ferries, thus enabling the factory to trade as normal.

The workers have received no payrise for the last four years and asked for a rise commensurate with the 1988 cost of living for this year.

They were promised early on this year that they would be given a rise and backmoney to compensate for the stagnant wage levels of the past four years. Reasonable behaviour, says you.

MANAGEMENT REFUSAL

Not so the management — Mrs. Dougan refuses to speak to the workers, even during the 21-day strike notice period. She transports the strikebreakers in

opposition to the ATGWU-backed official strike. Most lorries delivering to the factory are also passing the official pickets.

Unemployment is a social disease in the Occupied Six Counties and examples have occurred where employers have sacked the whole workforce and taken on 16-year-olds on low pay. Larry Goodman did it two years ago in Newry when he took over Anglo-Irish Meats.

Too many of the unions in the Occupied Six are 'sticky'-oriented and controlled and corrupt. They acquiesce in corrupt employer practices.

IMEACHTAÍ

EDENTUBBER MARTYRS COMMEMORATIONS LOUTH

Sunday, November 6

at 3pm

Assemble:

Border Inn

Carrickcarnon

Co. Louth

Speaker:

Seán Lynch

WEXFORD

In honour of Paddy Parle

George Keegan and their

comrades-in-arms Paul

Smith, Oliver Craven and

Michael Watters who died

for Ireland, November 11,

1957 at Edentubber, Co.

Louth.

Venue:

Republican Garden

of Remembrance

Hill Street, Wexford

Sunday, November 13

at 3pm

Oration:

Cltr. Frank McCarry

Glens of Antrim

Comóradh Bliantúil

an Athar Uí Ghríofa

Assemble:

Bearna National School

after 12 noon Mass

Sunday November 27

SOCIAL

Twelve Pins Hotel

Saturday Night

November 26

CHARLIE KERINS

COMMEMORATION

executed by the Free State

December 1, 1944

Friday, December 2

at 8.30pm

Parade starts in

Denny Street

Tralee, Co. Kerry

March to the monument

in Strand Road

Organised by:

Comhairle Ceantair

Chiarráí

Sinn Féin Poblachtach

AGMS

COMHAIRLE CÚIGE

CHONNACHT:

NOVEMBER 20

COMHAIRLE CÚIGE

ULADH:

NOVEMBER 27

COMHAIRLE NA

MUMHAN:

DECEMBER 4

COMHAIRLE CÚIGE

LAIGHEAN:

DECEMBER 11

The results of the

CABHAIR — Irish Repu-

blican Prisoners' Depend-

ants Fund October Draw,

Baile Átha Cliath are as

follows:

First Prize, £100: No.12

Second Prize, £50: No. 186

Third Prize, £25: No. 26

5 Prizes of £5: Nos. 110,

74, 16, 277 and 120.

Next Draw 11 December.

Trial by Media

FR. PADDY RYAN of Tipperary was the subject of a 'set-up job' on the Spotlight BBC1 television programme on October 27 last while his case is supposedly to be *sub judice*.

Fr. Ryan's photo was shown on the programme and the presenters named him as "the IRA's quartermaster in Europe" at a time when the British government is seeking to have him extradited from

Belgium.

He was held there during British Queen Elizabeth's visit to Holland last July on technical charges of having a false passport and driving licence.

Over 300 people attended a public meeting organised by a solidarity committee in Dundrum, Thurles, Co. Tipperary, during October and a bus-load of supporters travelled to picket the Belgian Embassy in Dublin on Wednesday, October 26, calling on that country to refuse his extradition to the British.

The hearing in Brussels has been attended by the priest's brother Joseph and by Fr. Des Wilson of Belfast.

ADMHAIL

BA MHAITH le Sinn Féin Poblachtach a mbufochas a thabhairt do Maitias O Dúbhda, Co. Chiarraí, as ucht an bronntanas £1,000 a thug sé don eagrafocht, Nar laga Dia tú!

Interesting Answers

GREENPEACE in co-operation with CND and Earthwatch got some very interesting answers in a recent opinion poll.

1. 89 per cent favoured making Ireland a nuclear-free zone.

2. 88 per cent favoured a ban on ships which are nuclear driven or carrying nuclear weapons from en-

tering Irish ports.

3. 84 per cent wanted international action to ban nuclear weapons worldwide.

Greenpeace posters in Dublin say: "Since 1983, ships carrying nuclear weapons capable of destruction 20 times greater than the Hiroshima bomb have visited Irish ports."

Costly Exercise

ARRESTED at his home at Corlara, Carrick-on-Shannon during October was Sylvester Fitzsimons, veteran Republican, now in his 80th year. He was taken to Mountjoy Prison, Dublin to serve a sentence

of five days for selling Easter Lilies in 1987.

On the fourth day he was removed to Loughan House prison, Blacklion, Co. Cavan and the next day he was driven home. Estimated cost of the round trip?

SAOIRSE IRISH FREEDOM

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