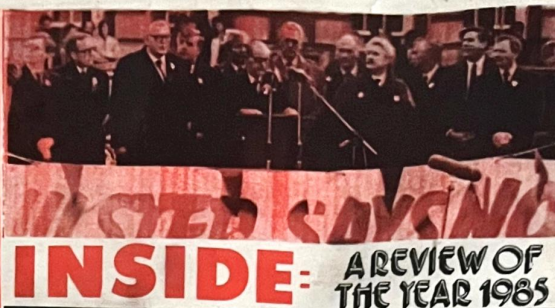


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POLITICAL WEEKLY



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INSIDE: A REVIEW OF
THE YEAR 1985

ARMAGH AMBUSH *Message is clear*

THE NEW YEAR opened with a loud and clear message from the IRA that there will be no peace in Ireland in 1986, nor indeed can there be peace so long as the British government and its military wing deny freedom to the Irish people.

That message was forcibly delivered just one minute into the New Year when IRA Volunteers in Armagh city detonated a bomb which killed two members of the RUC and seriously injured a third.

Claiming responsibility for the attack, the North Armagh Brigade of the IRA said that their ambush "in the heart of the sealed security zone" was deliberately designed "to

demonstrate our capacity to strike wherever and whenever we so decide". The IRA statement continued:

"Those who maintain British rule in Ireland should take note of this and be aware that throughout 1986 we shall endeavour to strike with increasing effectiveness. Extra British troops, more RUC and increased UDR activity won't stop us. There is only one way

to bring peace to Ireland and that is for Thatcher to declare that she is taking her troops, her government and her bases out. She should do it now and let us all live in peace because as long as we have to live with her and her like, we are forced to live with war.

"It is the British who have chosen to subvert and wage war against the democratic rights of the Irish nation. We, like the black people in South Africa, are in a position not of our making or choice. We must fight for our rights."

DETAILS

In a later statement which gave details of the actual

• Scene of the IRA's New Year's Day attack in Armagh city

EXCLUSIVE
Interview with
spokesperson
of Oglai na
hEireann
SEE PAGES 2&3

ambush the IRA said that a seven-pound gelignite bomb was planted in a litter-bin in Thomas Street.

"On New Year's Eve, some hours before the attack, an active service unit took over a house in Ogle Street from which an Ogle engineer with a remote-control detonating device could watch the area around the bomb. Other Volunteers moved into position in the immediate area.

"As expected, just before midnight a four-man RUC foot patrol moved down Thomas Street from the direction of Scotch Street and Market Street. Having checked to ensure that no civilians were in any danger, a Volunteer detonated the bomb as two RUC men drew level with it. Both were killed instantly and a third seriously injured. The fourth RUC man ran to the barracks about half a mile away."



Breaking Britain

IN THIS interview with *AP/RN* the IRA pinpoint their primary objectives for 1986 and unequivocally state the IRA's position on issues from the London-Dublin agreement to dealing with hoods. An IRA spokesperson points out the harshness of life for Volunteers and republican activists and praises the continuing support of the nationalist people without which victory would be impossible.

RUC CASUALTIES

Q. Should we attach any significance to the fact that RUC casualties for 1985 are the highest since 1976?

A. There is a significance, but not in a boastful way. The real reason why RUC casualties were so high this year was because the British are pushing them into the front line to a greater degree. Under their 'Ulsterisation' policy they are determined to minimise casualties from the ranks of their own army while maintaining control through local surrogate forces. The principle behind the tactic is simple: if the war, *their war*, is fought outside their own country by forces fighting for them, then there is little or no interest among their own people. In fact, the British public won't ever see them as being a direct cause of the war. Therefore they can continue to maintain their interests with little or no opposition from any significant section of their people. This avoids the type of anti-Vietnam, or anti-Algerian war demonstrations that both the US and France had to deal with before their withdrawal from those colonies.

However, the effect of this policy of 'economising' on British lives is that it serves to 'sectarianise' the war here. It had a similar effect in Cyprus, Kenya and other British colonies. The loyalist people are sold the line that attacks on the RUC are not attacks on British rule but are attacks on their Protestant faith. There is, of course, a large degree of manipulation that ensures this perception is kept alive. It would probably be true to say that the Free State politicians who talk about Irish men fighting Irish men must equally bear a degree of responsibility for the confusion which avoids a search for a real solution here.

Our war is with Britain. RUC personnel are attacked and executed because they uphold British rule in Ireland. The fact that more died in 1985 was because the British government determined that they be pushed into the front line. They themselves would not describe themselves as Irish men or women, otherwise they wouldn't be fighting to remain British, so the propaganda line of the Free State government should be seen for what it is: trying to make reality fit into their solution.

It's a bit like the SDLP claim that the UDR are being disbanded because the British say they are being placed in a 'supportive role' to the RUC. The UDR always did support the RUC and Seamus Mallon, like all nationalists in rural areas around the six counties, can now testify that in reality nothing has changed. The UDR supporting the RUC simply means the RUC supporting the UDR in their harassment of nationalists.

MEDIA HYPE

Q. The media interpretation of the IRA's Christmas message was that you viewed the London-Dublin accord as



significant and would go all-out to destroy it. Can you explain the IRA's view on this?

A. The press and media interpretation of the IRA's message was a classic example of the sympathetic hype that the accord has been getting in those circles. Any problems or contradictions in the agreement are to be blamed on republicans, 'The disrupters of peace and stability', so the line goes. And in support of this approach, IRA operations since November have been portrayed as an attack on the 'accord'. One would almost think that the IRA never fired a shot before this agreement.

Our view of the accord is that it is a highly-sophisticated British attempt to stabilise and maintain British rule in the six counties. The SDLP and the Dublin government have an interest in making the agreement appear to work because without the image of progress towards unity the bankrupt state of their

policies and approach becomes even more obvious. Historically, 'constitutional nationalists' have sold people the line that it is possible to talk the British out of Ireland, but the reality remains that the British only left the twenty-six counties as a result of the then IRA's armed struggle and they will only leave the six counties in the same way.

The accord will fail, not because we set out to wreck it but because it is built on a temporary set of interests which with time will become riddled with contradictions. The problem is that in the meantime our people will suffer increased repression as the British make use of the propaganda hype that surrounds the whole process.

TWENTY-SIX COUNTIES

Q. One of the effects of the 'increased security agreement' between the British

Q. Looking back at republican strategy and activities over the past 12 months, what in your view was significant in 1985?

A. The past year was characteristic of our people's long history of struggle against British imperialism: the ups and the downs, the successes and the failures. But overall we can look back on 1985 with a certain amount of contentment, and we look to the coming year with confidence in our increasing ability to inflict heavier casualties on those who maintain British rule in Ireland.

We have demonstrated throughout the year that we have both the weaponry and the know-how to do this. Despite increased British spending on defences around their barracks after nine RUC members were killed in Newry, IRA mortars still penetrate and leave their mark. In spite of heavier body-armour to protect crown forces personnel, our Volunteers have successfully overcome this by going in closer or using more explosives in landmines. It was significant that in 1985 we were able to use more explosives than at any time in the present campaign (Brit statistics have confirmed this).

This is what makes 1985 significant: that there is still the ingenuity, the tenacity and the initiative amongst our Volunteers to overcome anything that the British may throw at them. This point is usually played down in the British/twenty-six county media and press because it doesn't suit their interests to present the IRA as any sort of competent force. But it is something that republicans should continuously bear in mind, without glamorising any elite image of IRA Volunteers. They should take the example of the determination and will of the Volunteers who, for 15 years, have steadfastly continued the struggle, despite internment, imprisonment, torture and life on the run.

IRA Volunteers have no selfish motives, and gain no material benefit. Compare their lives with the lives of luxury which politicians milk from the people. So much for the British propaganda about an IRA Mafia etc!

The importance of this type of commitment is that it both motivates our people and gives them a sense of confidence in the incorruptibility of their army. It's a type of commitment that John Hume, Peter Barry or Maggie Thatcher will never understand, and it characterises the will and determination which has always been the deciding factor in guerrilla struggles where superior imperialist finance and logistics are overcome by a people's determination to be free.

in's hold

and twenty-six county forces may be that it will place you in a position of greater confrontation with the twenty-six-county 'security forces', what is your position on this?

A. Our position should be clear on this by now.

We want no confrontation between our Volunteers and forces in the twenty-six counties. We have a General Army Order which prohibits such action and that remains in force.

We believe that there are elements in the Free State establishment who would like to see us in open military confrontation with their forces so that they may sell their increased security collaboration with the British and obscure the fact that the Irish people in the twenty-six counties are actually paying to maintain repression in the six counties.

The vast majority of the Irish people are sympathetic to our struggle in the six counties because they understand it in essence as a just liberation struggle. They equally perceive the gardai and the Free State army as their legitimate forces. We have no desire to involve ourselves in a conflict which would only confuse people and make British rule in the six counties easier to maintain. We are struggling against the British occupation of the six counties. Our war is with the British and their forces.

INFORMERS

Q. Over the past year the IRA has executed a number of people in the six counties for informing on Volunteers. How do you justify such action?

A. The informer executed in Strabane in October, Damian McCrory, is a classic example of why we are forced into this type of operation. If we do not execute informers, then we allow them to assist the British forces in the execution of our own Volunteers, as this man did last February when he helped the British kill three young republicans in the town.

CRIMINALS

Q. How does the IRA see its role in the nationalist areas of the six counties in relation to the problem of criminal activity?

A. Our policy on criminals is that we reserve the right to execute, where necessary, a 'hard core' of organised criminals. However, with regards to the young anti-social elements who get involved in petty crime mainly because of the socio-economic deprivation under which they live, our position remains that we would prefer community organisations to counter and control them. At times we are forced into taking action against them, but we are well aware of the limitations under which we must work. Our political opponents consistently attack us on this but, as yet, none of them have either presented any alternatives or even assisted concerned community groups in their attempts to find an alternative way of dealing with this problem.

The SDLP/Workers Party view is that we should allow the RUC back into nationalist areas to deal with this problem. This suggestion has been treated with the contempt it deserves by the very people who live in these areas. They know that the RUC have turned a blind eye to criminality and have even gone so far as to release known criminals as part of a counter-insurgency programme designed to divert the IRA's attention away from fighting the war and into chasing 'hoods'. It is a 'Catch 22' situation. If we allow criminal ele-

ments to grow and develop, it eventually ties down republican personnel; if the IRA doesn't confront criminal elements then people become demoralised. The only realistic way of dealing with this problem and also, incidentally, the most socially-constructive method, is to assist the people of an area in organising themselves against the criminals. When necessary, of course, the IRA does provide whatever back-up is needed. Extreme action is always taken reluctantly.

The recent case of Edward Taggart from Divis Flats fits into this context. He was to be shot in the legs not because he was a joy-rider or petty thief but because he terrorised the people of the area. Immediately the media and certain politicians accused us of 'executing joy-riders'. The truth was that Taggart was fatally wounded only after he attempted to disarm the Volunteers sent to punish him.

SERIOUS CONFLICT

Q. In the coming year, some loyalist politicians have intimated that they would be prepared to go for an 'independent' six counties should the British continue with the London-Dublin accord. What are your views on this and the coming year?

A. The loyalist threat may be little more than the 'Orange card' being played yet again. Though the safest course is that we be prepared for such an eventuality.

In all probability we are talking about a situation of serious conflict. Our role in this type of scenario would be first and foremost to provide an adequate defence for our people and to ensure that there is no repeat of the pogrom they suffered in 1969. We are confident of our ability to do so.

Looking forward to 1986, we intend to continue hitting the British and their forces wherever and whenever an opportunity arises. The one thing that people can be certain about is that the war will continue in 1986. It will go on until we have forced the British to accept that the only way there will be peace in Ireland is by them leaving. They have no moral or democratic right to be here and until they depart Irish men and women will continue to resist their presence. Increasing the level of British troops or the UDR and RUC, 'kangaroo' Diplock courts, or more torture and repression won't bring peace to Ireland. They have tried all these but still the struggle continues and, if anything, grows in intensity.

We have a message for Thatcher and the British ruling class: You have used every weapon in your imperial arsenal but still you haven't broken the will of our people to be free. They will continue to support republicans politically because republicans espouse their legitimate aspirations and will work for their freedom. They will continue to support the IRA, to hide Volunteers, shelter them and supply them with intelligence because the IRA is the instrument through which they will achieve freedom.

There is little doubt that recent IRA operations such as the capturing and demolishing of Ballygawley RUC Barracks evoked memories of Tom Barry's IRA freedom fighters driving the British out of the twenty-six counties and people can be confident that today's IRA freedom fighters will put the British out of the rest of Ireland.

The primary objective for us in 1986 will be to increase our active support and thereby increase our capacity to strike at the British forces. The more frequent and widespread our attacks, the harder it is for them to take the consequences of their occupation and the less they are confident of maintaining their hold.



● Loss then a minute into the New Year and the IRA strikes another blow at the crown forces, killing two RUC men in Armagh city

Mortar attacks continue



WITH the RUC still reeling from early December's devastating and demoralising attacks on barracks in Toomebridge, Ballygawley, Castledawson and Tynan, the IRA followed up with a series of mortar attacks in the County Tyrone area in the pre-Christmas period. And the RUC was further demoralised at the start of the New Year when the IRA in Armagh city ambushed a foot-patrol, killing two RUC men and seriously wounding another.

In a statement, the IRA said:

“The first attack occurred on Thursday night, December 19th. Six mortars had been carefully fitted to a van by IRA Volunteers. It was then driven to Castlefin Road car park and lined up on its nearby target. Shortly before 7.30pm, two of the mortars fired, one of which hit the barracks' new canteen.

Less than 48 hours later, IRA Volunteers launched their second attack in the County Tyrone village of Carrickmore. Their target was the massive RUC/Brit base sited in Carrickmore.

Four IRA Volunteers commandeered a transit van at Loughmacrory, two miles from Carrickmore, at 3.15am on Saturday. The van was driven to a secure location where, for several hours, IRA Engineers carefully fitted and loaded in place four mortars. The van was then taken to Carrickmore where, at approximately 5.35pm, one mortar fired, hitting three portable buildings inside the base. One other mortar misfired, destroying the launch vehicle and regretably damaging a nearby health centre.

The following day, Sunday, December 22nd, the third and final mortar attack of 1985, and the seventh attack on an RUC barracks in December, took place on the Strabane/Lifford border.

Seven mortar bombs were successfully fired at the permanent RUC/British army checkpoint from a van parked at the old customs post. The attack took place around 10pm.

MORE BRITS FOR NORTH

The IRA's combined strategy of destroying enemy barracks while at the same time preventing repairs from being carried out has had a marked effect on crown forces morale and on enemy ability to patrol and control large areas of the countryside.

In a desperate move to overcome this highly successful IRA strategy, on Monday, December 30th, the British government announced that 550 additional British troops were being brought into the occupied six counties to defend British army engineers due to arrive shortly to begin construction work on those bases damaged by IRA actions.

BY DONAL LYONS

1986 OPENS with the Irish working class on both sides of the border facing a concerted attack on our living standards. In the North people were given an unwelcome Christmas present in the form of the Fowler Report, which will force thousands more people to live in poverty.

Supplementary benefit is to be scrapped and replaced by a new system of 'income support' which will hit young single people in particular. Maternity and death grants will, along with other single payments, be replaced by loans from a 'social fund'.

In the twenty-six counties the picture is equally grim, with rapidly escalating unemployment, savage welfare cut-backs, and an unprecedented assault on workers' rights in the public sector.

However, the most likely flashpoints for confrontation between workers and state in the very near future are in CIE and the B+I shipping line. In both cases these state-owned companies have been targeted for privatisation, and both are currently being 'softened-up' by the Dublin regime under the guise of a rationalisation programme.

The front line of the forthcoming struggles will be in the trade unions and it is now that a common strategy must be hammered out within the labour movement to defeat the rise of reaction in Ireland.

The picket on Dunnes Stores' Henry Street branch in Dublin has been suspended. This follows an announcement by the Dublin government that an investigation is to be launched into the use of prison labour to produce South African goods sold in Irish shops. It has pledged that if goods sold here are produced by prison labour it will ban them.

This falls far short of the strikers'

Concerted attack



Arthur Scargill joins the Dunnes Stores picket in April to demonstrate British miners' solidarity with the anti-apartheid strike

demands for a total ban on South African imports and that Dunnes' management recognise the right of employees to refuse to handle South African goods on

grounds of conscience.

The strikers stress that the dispute is not over and that if positive action hasn't been taken by March 31st picketing will

be resumed.

The support group is to stay together and will meet on a regular basis to continue fund-raising for the strikers and to take direct action such as 'shop-ins' (similar to those carried out by Sinn Féin last year), pickets and leafleting against those stores still stocking South African produce.

Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams has also condemned "the needless delay of the Dublin government in banning certain South African imports into the twenty-six counties" and reiterated Sinn Féin's demand for "immediate and total sanctions against South Africa and all imports of produce from the racist state, regardless of whether or not prison labour has been used in its production".

Following a meeting of the three unions representing Dublin's busworkers, a joint statement warned of "widespread industrial action". This is a major escalation of the dispute over the introduction of driver-only buses. The unions make it clear in their statement that they have been left with no alternative to this course of action because the company had made "no serious effort" to enter into negotiations and resolve the situation. The statement also attacks the Free State Minister for Communications, Jim Mitchell, and accuses him of being "unfit to hold public office" because of the "contempt with which he is treating both the public and CIE staff".

To counteract the media manipulation of CIE management, the unions have issued 50,000 leaflets outlining their case. They point out that the Labour Court recommendation which CIE management alleges it is implementing contains the important provision "That one-person operation will be introduced on a voluntary basis." Management is in clear breach of this stipulation by its tactic of ordering employees to undergo training for the one-person operation.

Narrow escape

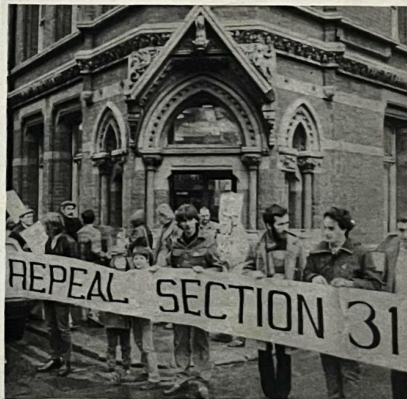
A YOUNG Derrygonnelly man narrowly escaped death or serious injury when a UDR patrol fired four shots at him in the early hours of Sunday morning, December 22nd.

Bernie McGovern (19), from Main Street, Derrygonnelly, County Fermanagh, had just returned to his home after a night out when he was confronted by a UDR patrol. When the patrol prevented him from entering his house, McGovern tried to reason with them but was met with a barrage of sectarian abuse and death threats. He was so frightened by their behaviour that he ran off. It was then that the UDR men opened fire on him.

Sinn Féin's Councillor Patsy McBrien condemned the incident and said:

"This once again illustrates the free hand that these licensed killers are given. Local people who witnessed the incident have said that the UDR men seemed to be drunk. We all know only too well that at the best of times the UDR and RUC are trigger-happy, so this latest incident doesn't come as any surprise to the nationalist people of Derrygonnelly."

RTÉ FAOI IONSAÍ



BHÍ agóid ag Conradh na Gaeilge agus ag an Feachtas in aghaidh Alt 31 ag Áras Dolphin, áit a raibh ochtar ós comhair na Cúirte Áitiúla ar an Aoine, 20ú Nollag.

Cuireadh i leith an oichair nach raibh ceardúnais teilifíse acu. Dhiúltaigh na daoine - bail de Chonradh na Gaeilge agus daoine a bhfuil páistí acu sna Gaelscoil-eanna - na ceardúnais a fóc de bharr na heaspas cláracha Gaeilge ar RTÉ. Ina measc bhí Cíodhna Nic Mhurchadha, ball de Shinn Féin i dTamlacht a bhí ag dísamh agóid chomh maith in aghaidh Alt 31.

Caitheadh amach na tobhairmeacha i gcás cúigeir mar tugtar do na cosantóirí iad sé mhí tar éis na 'cointa'. Mar thoradh ar seo bhí ar an mbreitheamh costais £10 a thabhairt dóibh.



Nova boss Chris Carey posing as 'Mr Nice Guy' earlier this year

The Christmas spirit?

CHRISTMAS saw Chris Carey, the anti-union boss of one of Dublin's pirate radio stations, Radio Nova, plumb new depths in his campaign against Nova's eight National Union of Journalists members who have been in dispute since September.

After destroying NUJ placards outside Nova's Rathfarnham base, Carey sent the strikers a Christmas card bearing the message, "Season's greetings. Looking forward to seeing you on the gate in 1986."

The card was also signed by most of Carey's servile strike-breakers including one of his favoured few, Sybil Fennell, an ex-NUJ member who flew back from England especially to betray

her former union colleagues.

One of the strikers told AP/RN: "This just shows Carey's mentality and strengthens our resolve to return his 'compliments' for the New Year."

FIREFIGHTERS

Sixty Dublin firefighters, members of the Irish Municipal Employees Trade Union (IMETU) have voted to take strike action on behalf of three sacked col-

leagues. The remaining firefighters who belong to the majority union, the FWUI, are to decide by secret ballot later this week as to whether or not to take industrial action.

The three firefighters were dismissed by Dublin Corporation last week after allegedly consuming alcohol whilst on duty. Even if the three workers did have a drink taken, the IMETU argue that the men were surplus staff at the time and that 'custom and practice' within the fire service has established that surplus staff are entitled to take 'permissive leave'.

Hunger-striking against show-trials

REPRESENTATIVES of the 27 nationalists convicted last month on the sole word of self-styled former INLA member Harry Kirkpatrick have begun a hunger-strike in the H-Blocks against the corrupt paid-perjurer system.

The hunger-strikers have said that the fast will continue until they are given an early date for appeal against their sentences and an urgent review of all cases of people convicted on uncorroborated evidence of alleged accomplices.

The hunger-strike began on Thursday, December 19th, hours after the 102-day show-trial ended, when 27-year-old Bobby Tohill refused breakfast. Tohill, who was sentenced to life imprisonment, is married with a four-year-old son and comes from the New Barnsley area of West Belfast.

He was joined a week later, on December 26th, by 28-year-old Gerard Steenson, from the Falls Road area, who is serving life with a recommended 'minimum' 25 years. A third defendant, unnamed as we went to press, is due to join the fast today (Thursday), and others at weekly intervals.

In all, ten of the 27 defendants face life sentences and the other 17 were sentenced to savage terms of up to 20 years, after trial judge Carswell pronounced Kirkpatrick a "credible" witness. Earlier, the unionist judge had admitted that Kirkpatrick was a "man of bad character and low moral standards" who had lied in court.

YEARS ON REMAND

Most of Kirkpatrick's 27 victims have already spent several years on remand. Steenson, detained on the word of a succession of paid perjurers who later withdrew their statements, had been held in jail for almost four years before his trial.

The defendants fear that their appeals could be delayed for several years, even if the courts were eventually to release them for cosmetic reasons.



● Cathy, Michael and Bobby Tohill

Bobby Tohill, who was on remand for two and a half years, had earlier, in 1982, been imprisoned without trial for six months on the word of paid-perjurer Jackie Goodman, but was released when Goodman retracted. During Tohill's detention, his wife Cathy has had to cope with their four-year-old son Michael, who has cystic fibrosis and requires daily medical care and has had numerous spells in hospital.

According to Cathy Tohill: "My husband could not in jail for two and a half years waiting for his appeal the way the Black defendants have. And then he would face the same system and could lose even though in England Kirkpatrick's evidence wouldn't be accepted."

Last Friday, December 27th, several relatives of the Kirkpatrick defendants travelled from Belfast to Cork to see Free State Foreign Minister Peter Barry, but Barry, despite having had advance notice, was conveniently 'not at home'. Following this snub, Barry called on the hunger-strikers to end their fast and leave the issue to the London-Dublin Inter-Governmental Conference of which he is joint chair. However, his verbal expressions of concern have been viewed with cynicism by the relatives and indeed by many nationalists. Cathy Tohill commented:

"Barry asked the relatives to leave it to the politicians, but we've done that in the past and they've just given it lip service.

Barry has condemned the supergrass system in Leinster House but if he had taken some positive action maybe it wouldn't have come to a hunger-strike."

That the hunger-strike poses a challenge to Peter Barry's claims about the benefits to nationalists of the Hillsborough agreement has been noted by at least one of the deal's media supporters, the *Sunday Tribune*:

"Peter Barry himself is on record as opposing supergrass trials. Logically, therefore, he cannot go along with convictions arising from those trials and, equally logically, he must have some sympathy with the men who have now gone on hunger-strike arising from them..."

"If Peter Barry fails to deliver on this, the first thorny issue to confront him in his new role on the Anglo-Irish conference, then the omens for the success of the agreement as a whole are not encouraging. Merely appealing for the men to come off the hunger-strike will not suffice."

But even if Peter Barry does deliver on the "thorny issue" of paid perjurers and show-trials, although it will be welcomed by republicans it will also be recognised for what it is — an essential smoothing of the rough edges of Britain's repressive machine in the six counties.

SUPPORT

Sinn Féin, while opposed generally to hunger-strikes, recognises the frustrations of the prisoners and has pledged full support for the hunger-strikers' demands. Sinn Féin candidates in the forthcoming elections will be pledged to support publicly and unequivocally the campaign to end the paid-perjurer system.

In a statement, Sinn Féin's Jim McAllister, a councillor and chairperson of the party's six-county executive, observed:

"It is noteworthy that here we are at the end of 1985, which has been hyped-up by some as the year when the London-Dublin deal was going to solve all our problems, and still Irish political prisoners find themselves on hunger-strike for justice."

WAVE OF ARRESTS

IN A CONCERTED ATTACK on Sinn Féin's electoral machine, clearly authorised at the highest level of the British government, a total of 18 Sinn Féin members were arrested by the RUC in dawn swoops throughout the North on Saturday, December 28th.

Derry Sinn Féin elected representative Martin McGuinness, the six-county director of elections, plus seven Sinn Féin councillors who hold key responsibilities in the forthcoming by-elections, were arrested under seven-day detention orders and detained in Gough, Strand Road and Castlereagh interrogation centres. Sinn Féin's six-county organiser, Sean Regan from Ballycastle, and Derry Sinn Féin's chairperson, Gerry O'Hara, were also among those arrested.

Apart from the 18 arrests, the homes of other Sinn Féin councillors and members were simultaneously raided and searched by the RUC, who concentrated on scrutinising Sinn Féin booklets, electoral registers and telephone numbers. The RUC also used Section 13 of the Emergency Provisions Act to place a number of people under illegal house arrest.

In Strabane, mother-of-three

Margaret Boyle, a prominent Sinn Féin activist in the area, was taken from her home, leaving her three young sons crying and alone in the house. Fermanagh Sinn Féin activist Ann MacDonald, who has only recently undergone two separate three-day detention periods, was again arrested, this time for seven days.

The following day, amid deliberate media misrepresentation, Dungannon Sinn Féin Councillor Seamus Cassidy was pettily charged with possession of an "explosive substance". This amounted to a harmless UDR flare which Cassidy had acquired as a souvenir several years ago.

PRESS CONFERENCE

At a press conference held in Belfast on Monday, December 30th, the Sinn Féin MP for West Belfast, Gerry Adams, described the raids and arrests as proof that "nothing has really changed" since the London-Dublin agreement. The removal of such a sizeable number of Sinn Féin members, coupled with the possibility of further arrests, would "obviously affect Sinn Féin as it would any other party".



● Francis Molloy, Danny Morrison, Jim McAllister and Gerry Adams at Monday's press conference

Danny Morrison added that the arrests were clearly "politically-motivated". "The decision was taken at the highest level of the British government." Given the political climate at present, he added,

there was no possibility that the RUC would take such a "unilateral decision". The British government, he suggested, had decided it was to its advantage to "use the arrests to appease loyalists and also

hurt us in our electoral efforts".

Prior to the FitzGerald/Thatcher summit, Adams reminded the media, Sinn Féin had predicted such a crackdown on the organisation by the British. The Dublin government, in accepting

responsibility for British rule in the North by signing the Hillsborough agreement, now "also has to accept responsibility for the methods of British rule."

"After all the ballyhoo of Hillsborough, despite the boasting of Dublin and the SDLP, we still have incidents involving the RUC firing plastic bullets in Armagh, we still have the UDR firing live rounds in Fermanagh, we have a hunger-strike in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh, and we have the detention of a sizeable number of Sinn Féin activists. This would confirm for many people, maybe their worst fears, that nothing has really changed."

"1986 will see more repression of republicans. We aren't going to be repressed. We were elected to represent our people and we will represent our people. But we would also ask Dublin to take note of the futility of these methods... We are here and we are here to stay."

The release on Tuesday, December 31st, of one of those arrested, Derry Sinn Féin Councillor Hugh Brady, confirmed the spurious grounds used to justify the political attack on Sinn Féin.

During interrogation in Castlereagh, Brady had been ordered to account for his movements during a two-day period in November. Brady remained silent, waiting until his solicitor arrived on Monday before pointing out that he had in fact been in RUC custody during that period in November.

A case for *habeas corpus* was immediately prepared by Brady's solicitor, but at 10.30am on Tuesday, two hours before the case was due to be heard, the RUC set him free.

Carron charged

FERMANAGH Sinn Féin has accused the RUC of resorting to the "crude strategy of 'planting' fabricated evidence in order to jail republicans" following the arrest of Sinn Féin elected representative Owen Carron near Balcoo, County Fermanagh, on Thursday, December 19th.

And in a further statement, following the refusal of an application for bail on December 31st, the chairperson

of Fermanagh District Council, Paul Corrigan, said that the application had been refused on "political rather than legal" grounds.



A REVIEW OF THE YEAR 1985

Notes from the economic front

BY Z. HAMMETT

ON the economic front, 1985 was a year like any other. It began with the closure of Travenol's Castlebar factory and the loss of 1,500 jobs. It ended with the proposed lay-off of 525 at B+I. In between, we said goodbye to jobs at Mostek in Dublin, IMP in Leixlip, Heritage Crystal in Belfast, Tuf shoes in Killarney, Clarke's shoes in Dundalk, Irish Leathers in Tipperary and Waterford, and so forth and so on. What we in the fast-food trade call a redundancy sandwich — a slice of redundancies at each end, with loads of redundancies stuffed in between. Otherwise known as Ronald MacDonald economics.

The year was greeted with the news that more than 345,000 (18%) were unemployed throughout Ireland, while more than 4,000 spent New Year's Day homeless. By the end of the year, some 360,000 (19%) will have been jobless.

Headlines from around the world in 1985: "Unemployment in West Germany soars to 10.6%"; "US jobless figure high at 7.2%"; Ronnie's nightmare, Garret's dream.

Here are some more high points of the year.

THE BUDGET DEFICIT

We keep hearing about the budget deficit — how the Dublin government owes £1,300 for each working person in the twenty-six counties. You see, it's hard to raise money to pay off those debts when you don't tax corporations. Ireland in 1985 had the lowest profits tax rate in Europe (the multinationals have been paying no taxes at all). This ties poor Garret's hands. I mean, if you can't tax big farmers and you can't tax corporations, who can you tax? (Answers, along with your TV licence number, to Mike Murphy, please).

So, we're sure Garret was pleased at some of the suggestions he got during the year for raising tax revenues. Take that beacon of light, the Reverend Benjamin O'Connell from Church Street in Dublin. Back on January 6th he informed his parishioners that failing to pay one's taxes is a mortal sin. You see, since there weren't enough people coming to confession, obviously there wasn't enough sin. So Benjamin and Garret killed two birds with one stone — either more taxes collected or more mortal sins committed. They can't lose.

Only one thing... Satan's go-



● 'Potato people': The IDA's Padraig White inspects John De Lorean's new car

ing to have one hell of a budget deficit with all those tax evaders down there signing on the dot.

Anyway, Garret the Good and the boys at Dublin Castle (the Revenue Commissioners, that is — the Special Branch aren't there anymore) immediately set out to find these mortal sins. They looked high. They looked low. On January 23rd they swooped in a raid to collect £17,500 in unpaid taxes from... the Dublin Orange Lodge! Won't get many of those boys to confession, Father.

Garret was shaken. His plan had backfired. There was an 'Anglo-Irish' deal in the works, and the Dublin government couldn't be seen to be sectarian. They must appease the Orange Lodge!

It took a month to come up with it, but on February 20th came the grand-daddy of brilliant ideas! Take one pork exporter from New York, a Swiss bank account, an IRA kidnapping, mix in a pinch of special midnight legislation and... *abracadabra*. Instant money for the exchequer! £1.75 million to be precise.

Of course, after this initial success, Garret's fortunes spured.

In May, he went to the US, supposedly to address the United Nations on the 'evils of terrorism'. Actually, he was in Hollywood, selflessly trying to raise money for his budget plan (*Building Unreality*) by auditioning for the voice of the munchkins in the film *Return to Oz*. As all young moviegoers know by now, he failed, and he hasn't been the same since.

THE IDA — KEEPING GOOD COMPANY

The Industrial Development Authority continued to choose their friends well in 1985. And that's hard when you lose so many of your old ones. Like Travenol Laboratories, the pharmaceutical company whose executive manager, Scrooge McDuck, wanted to announce the factory's closure to the workforce at their annual Christmas party. Charles Dickens, what about yer?

So the IDA, and their managing director, Padraig White, are always on the prowl for new friends (it's the world prostitution ring in the world where the customer gets paid). It was October of 1984 when the IDA, with more than the usual ado,

announced that they had 'won' the location of a plastic-packaging factory in Killocoole, County Wicklow. The company was Lampak Industries of Singapore.

When the Irish subsidiary (Irish Jurong) closed, with no ado, in September, it had eaten over five million pounds in IDA grants — oops! So much for the Orange Lodge taxes! And Lampak's president, Francis Siah, was out on bail of three million dollars from a Singapore court for commercial crimes. The IDA hadn't bothered to check out Lampak's marginal profit position, nor that its debts far exceeded its assets. Wonder if the fact that Killocoole is in Gemma (Minister for Education) Hussey's and Liam (Minister for Environment) Kavanagh's constituency had anything to do with it?

And then there was the IDA's venture into the arms publication trade. Not that IDA director 'Rambo' White is to blame — it was his predecessor, Michael Killeen, who set this one up, in June 1983. The magazine concerned was *Strategy & Defence*, a monthly magazine that came out every two-and-a-half months, advertising Vietnam-surplus napalm and the like. It was distributed by Ameri-

can multi-millionaire, sometime presidential candidate and jailbird, and full-time porn-king, Larry Flynt.

By the time *Strategy & Defence* went into liquidation, in May, the IDA had given it £100,000 in grants. Another £800,000 was owed to creditors such as Bord Telecom. And publisher Romolo Chichero had secretly transferred the magazine and its major assets out of Ireland.

In fairness to the IDA, Chichero seemed like the model employer. Oh, he often summarily fired his workers on Friday afternoons. And he did refer to them as "potato people". And, yes, in one case he reinstated some unionised employees only after they signed statements saying that they were "emotionally unstable" and were rehired only because of Chichero's "enormous goodwill". But, sure, you'd get the same out of the country's finest citizens in the Bridewell or Castlereagh.

The high point of *Strategy & Defence* journalism was a favourable review of weapons made by the South African state arms company, Armscor, in return for advertising purchases.

ANOTHER RACQUET

And speaking of South Africa, there is the IDA's ongoing murderous liaison with the giant diamond company De Beers. We've already told you (*AP/RN* December 5th) about the millions of punts given by the IDA to De Beers. How happy both parties must have been in October, when Ivan Lendl won the European Open tennis championship for the fourth time. For this meant that Ivan won a diamond-studded gold tennis racquet valued at half a million pounds. And, of course, a new racquet will have to be made. More profits for De Beers. Maybe they will use some of them for another expansion of Shannon Industrial Estate; or perhaps 'Pik' White and the IDA will oblige. Oh, before you get excited about all the new jobs... last time De Beers expanded at IDA expense, jobs were *lost* because workers were replaced by machines.

Well, I haven't got time to run down the whole list of the IDA's unsavoury gang of international thugs, polluters and thieves, but I'll leave you on a final note of optimism.

Seems like only yesterday that the champion swindler, John Z. De Lorean, left the auto business (that he set up the day before yesterday) in Belfast's Twinbrook for the glamour of the Los Angeles cocaine trade. After the knocking-about old John Z. got in LA, we all thought he was finished. Right?

Wrong! Old comen never die... they just take away. This summer came the news that John Z. will try to open a new auto factory in Columbus, Ohio. He's confident of success this time, because his design is not so "overambitious" or "radical". The new De Lorean prototype can be seen at your local theatre in the film *Back to the Future*. I'm sure a proper package of incentives could lure John Z. into setting up this attractive venture elsewhere. Any takers, Mr White?

Yes, it was a year like any other... and it will be.



● Travenol opens 1985 with job losses...



● B+I closes 1985 with job losses

A REVIEW OF THE YEAR 1985



A PRISON hunger-strike, dawn arrests, more British troops shipped into the North: 1985 ended in much the same way as the last 15 years have led us to expect. According to the FitzGerald and the Humes of this world though, it should have been different. The end of the nightmare, a new dawn (without swoops?).

Though Northern nationalists now know that all they can expect from this so-called process is more repression and more attempts by the Irish establishment to curb their spirit of resistance. Leave it to us who know best, Barry says when he asks the Long Kesh hunger-strikers to desist, leave it to us to argue your case with the British. But the net result is that after Barry met British direct-ruler Tom King in London on Monday, December 30th, their

joint statement did not announce any appeal date for the Kirkpatrick victims, nor any intention to seek redress. No, it simply put Barry's and King's names to another condemnation of the hunger-strike.

In spite of the thousands of words which have flown through the Forum, the talks and the summits, in spite of the SDLP's promises, nothing has changed.

BY-ELECTIONS

Meanwhile, six-county voters are bracing themselves for what the unionists are calling their mini-referendum: the 15 by-elections caused by the resignation of the Official Unionist and Democratic Unionist MPs. All of them, including the reluctant Enoch Powell, had handed in their resignation letters by December 16th, hoping for all the by-elections to take place on January 23rd.

The SDLP announced on December

19th that they would contest all four 'marginal' seats, those four constituencies with nationalist majorities. The SDLP's refusal to form an electoral pact with Sinn Féin will ensure that the nationalist vote will be split, as it leaves Sinn Féin with no other option than that of contesting those seats. The SDLP's decision was a leadership one and, according to Sinn Féin's Jim McAllister, caused some disenchantment within the SDLP rank and file, who were hoping for agreed nationalist candidates in those four constituencies.

The SDLP have nominated Eddie McGrady in South Down, Adrian Colton in Mid-Ulster, Austin Currie in Fermanagh/South Tyrone and Seamus Mallon in Newry/Armagh. But the SDLP leadership's confident noises about winning seats and not needing Sinn Féin's assistance are making way for worried comments about the Long Kesh hunger-strike.

On Monday, December 30th, Sinn Féin announced that Jim McAllister will be contesting Newry/Armagh; Danny Morrison, Mid-Ulster; and Councillor Frank McDowell, South Down. Owen Carron was nominated for Fermanagh/South Tyrone on Wednesday, January 1st.

The announcement last Monday that 550 British troops were going to be shipped to the North, overtly to help with the repair of demolished RUC barracks, covertly to assist with the increased repression of republicans planned by the Brits in the aftermath of the summit, will worry the SDLP even more.

Northern nationalists are, in the words of Jim McAllister, tasting the "first bitter fruits of the London-Dublin accord".

Below AP/IRN reporters Mairtin Mac Diarmada, Donal Lyons, Maeve Armstrong and Hilda MacThomas provide a round-up of events in 1985.

JANUARY

1985 began with controversy over Britain's draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act. The arrest and charging of Irish people, including Dr Maire O'Shea, highlighted the racist and repressive nature of the anti-Irish PTA and the collaboration of the Free State authorities with the Act.

Two of the people arrested, charged and later released over the Christmas and New Year period, James McCormack and Paschal Coyle, had their homes in Dublin raided by the Special Branch who terrified their families while the two men were in custody in England.

On January 7th, the 'Kerry Babies Tribunal' opened in Tralee. As it carried on through the year it was to see Joanne Hayes pilloried by the gardai, judiciary and media as they sought to reveal the details not of what happened in Tralee Garda Barracks but of her private and family life.

LOSS

On January 26th, the Republican Movement suffered the loss of one of its leading figures and most tireless workers. The untimely death

of Mick Timothy (who wrote under the pen-name of Kevin Burke) at the age of 36 was a blow to republicans everywhere as well as a deep personal loss to his family, friends and comrades.

In just over two years as editor of *An Phoblacht/Republican News* he had helped to raise the journalistic standard of the paper while playing a central part in the political development of the Movement. He will be remembered for his humorous and incisive journalism in *Burke's at the Back* and for his contribution to the advancement and ultimate victory of the Republican Movement.

FEBRUARY

FEBRUARY 1st saw the first crown forces fatality of the year when the IRA shot a UDR soldier in Derrylin, County Fermanagh.

The same day a British army foot-patrol was involved in a brief gun-battle with IRA Volunteers in the Andersonstown area of West Belfast.

Attacks also took place that week in Newtownbutler, County Fermanagh; Crossmaglen, County Armagh; Drapersfield, County Tyrone; and Beesbrook, in County Armagh. An attempt by John Hume to side-step Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams' in a radio interview back

fired on him during February. Hume had refused to accept Adams' invitation to a meeting with Sinn Féin to discuss the May local elections. Instead he said that he wanted to meet what he called the "real decision makers" in the Republican Movement — the IRA.

Hume got a shock however when, on February 1st, the IRA leadership accepted the SDLP leader's request for a meeting. Hume turned what was really a blunder on his part into a media-hyped 'peace initiative'. But Free State premier Garret FitzGerald fumed against the meeting in an RTE radio interview, saying that if it was held in the twenty-six counties the gardai would arrest the IRA Volunteers involved.

In the event, Hume, having backed out of two previous arrangements, met three representatives of the IRA on the evening of Saturday, February 23rd. When the IRA asked that he agree to the meeting being video-taped (with a copy supplied to each side), John Hume refused and walked out.

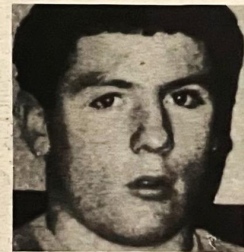
Early that same day, on a quiet hillside in County Tyrone, three young Volunteers of the Irish Republican Army were gunned down in an ambush by crown forces, Charlie Breslin and brothers Michael and David Devine were carrying weapons back to an arms dump when they were surrounded by British soldiers, including members of the SAS. The three were shot dead and their bodies left lying on the hillside for seven hours.



● MICK TIMOTHY



● VOL CHARLIE BRESLIN



● VOL DAVID DEVINE



● VOL MICHAEL DEVINE

At the Volunteers' funerals, the RUC came out in a massive show of force. However, their tactics of intimidation failed to prevent the people of Strabane from honouring their

dead. A reminder of the continuity of the republican struggle and of the bravery of generations of freedom fighters was the death, also in February, of Strabane from honouring their

(Continued on next page)

ruary, of Tom Kelleher, commander of the IRA's 3rd West Cork Brigade during the Tan War.

On February 28th, today's generation of IRA Volunteers showed their ability to inflict major damage on the British war machine. In a daring operation, the IRA mortar-bombed the RUC barracks in Newry. Nine members of the sectarian force were killed — the highest number of RUC fatalities in a single incident since the foundation of the RUC.

Attacks resulting in the deaths of a UDR soldier and an RUC detective sergeant in Pomeroy and Enniskillen ended a month in which the IRA had definitely called the shots.

MARCH

ON MARCH 1st, the Portlaoise Prisoners Relatives Action Committee (PPRAC) achieved success in their campaign for more humane visiting conditions in the prison.

The Department of Justice offered twelve open visits per year to the relatives. There had previously been no physical contact allowed between the prisoners and their families. The concessions followed a long campaign of street protests and lobbying by the PPRAC.

On International Women's Day, March 8th, the anti-strip-searching rally outside Armagh Jail was joined by women from both home and abroad. Sending solidarity greetings to their comrades outside, the Armagh women asked them to "pledge ourselves to strive relentlessly so that we may one day share triumph in our respective struggles. In spirit our support goes with you".

On March 9th, gardai in Dublin, at the instigation of the City Centre Business Association, launched an attack on street traders, arresting 14 of them that morning and seizing their stock. In protest the street traders blocked O'Connell Bridge. Garda harassment of street traders was to continue throughout the year with many being arrested, charged, fined and in some cases jailed.

The IRA ambushed a British army foot-patrol in West Belfast on March 27th in a bomb attack which resulted in the death of a British soldier in the Divis area. Four days later, IRA Volunteers ambushed an RUC patrol in Linskeake, County Fermanagh. In this attack and in an attack three weeks earlier in Dungannon the IRA effectively used grenade launchers developed by their own technicians.

Mass crawling, verbal republicanism and stage-managed euphoria was the order of the day at the Fianna Fail Ard-Fheis in the last weekend of March. Motions on the floor called for a review of border "security", strip-searching, plastic bullets, the PTA and Section 31. They all added to the colour of the proceedings but none made firm proposals for Fianna Fail action against these measures.

Terry Leyden, the Fianna Fail spokesperson on Posts & Telegraphs, struck the leading note when he said, "We cannot at this stage allow any relaxation of Section 31." But the Fianna Fail leadership's deflation of "liberal" resolutions was soon forgotten in the euphoria which greeted Charles Haughey. The man who pulls all the strings was firmly in control with the assertions of "our great leader" and "our great party" eclipsing the reality of Fianna Fail's position.

APRIL

APRIL started with a bang as the IRA mounted the second major attack on the RUC in Newry in five weeks. A radio-detonated car-bomb exploded as seven RUC officers arrived at Newry Courthouse. An RUC man and a security guard died in the attack.

Sunday, April 7th, saw the traditional Easter parades occur throughout the length and breadth of Ireland. The biggest crowds for years heard the

REVIEW OF THE YEAR 1985



● Charles Haughey, leader of Fianna Fail — the verbal republican party



● Derry IRA Volunteers, including the late Charles English (foreground), at the Easter commemoration

● Scene of West

● RUC landrover

leadership of the Republican Movement declare its "absolute confidence in victory". During the course of parades in Derry, South Armagh and Carrickmore, armed Volunteers appeared to the obvious delight of the crowds and chagrin of the crown forces.

Also in April, a group of Nicaraguan musicians visited Ireland to establish cultural, trade union and political links. Tragically, yet another young nationalist, Martin Love, was brutally gunned down in a sectarian murder in Enniskillen. UDR man James Robert Kenny has been charged with, and has admitted his guilt in, the murder.

GROSS INSULT

In a gross insult to Northern nationalists, Coalition Justice Minister Michael Noonan welcomed two representatives of the RUC to the Garda Representative Association's annual conference in Bundoran, County Donegal, on Wednesday, April 17th.

The British miners' leader, Arthur Scargill, visited Dublin in mid-April

to thank Irish workers for their practical and moral support during the course of the year-long miners' struggle. When he addressed a rally in Liberty Hall he described Thatcher's Britain as a "vicious police state."

At the end of the month, Sinn Féin announced its intentions to field 91 candidates in 17 of the 26 district councils in the forthcoming local elections.

MAY

THIS generation of republicans can never forget the month of May and 1985 proved no exception. Thousands of nationalists took to the streets on Sunday, May 5th, (the fourth anniversary of Bobby Sands' death), to commemorate all those who died on hunger-strike in the cause of Irish freedom.

In a daring ambush on Mon-

day, May 20th, IRA Volunteers killed four members of the crown forces in the border area around Newry.

A 1,000lb landmine totally destroyed an armoured car carrying four RUC members as it left the vacant site of the former customs post at Killeen, on the Dublin-Belfast road. An emergency debate in the Stormont Assembly followed the attack, with calls for the banning of Sinn Féin, and resulted in a major row between the gardai and the RUC, who said that the operation had been launched from the Free State.

And in an impressive demonstration of firepower and courage, IRA Volunteers in Crossmaglen, using two .50 Browning heavy machine-guns and an M60, attacked a British army Wessex helicopter on Friday, May 24th, as it flew over open fields near the heavily-fortified Crossmaglen Barracks.

HISTORIC BREAKTHROUGH

An historic breakthrough on May 10th as Sinn Féin received 75,685 votes from the nationalist people of the six counties. This was enough to

elect 59 councillors and provoke a hysterical reaction from the DUP and OUP. Their predictably bigoted reaction included verbal and physical assaults on Sinn Féin councillors and exposed to the world the irreformable nature of the six-county state. Contrary to unionist claims that Sinn Féin councillors would engage in systematic disruption of councils once elected, the numerous instances of disruption have been indisputably the work of the unionists themselves.

May is also, of course, the month when workers throughout the world celebrate and Ireland is no different. In Derry city, a May Day rally organised by Sinn Féin's Trade Union Department heard Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams echo the words of Connolly as he declared that, "The social and national dimensions of our struggle are but different sides of the one coin."

JUNE

THE Sinn Féin election machine got into full swing

in the twenty-six counties in June. Buoyed with election success of the party in the six counties, election workers were in a confident mood as 122 candidates contested 139 local authority seats.

In the North, the demonstrated their ability to acquire large amounts of money and use them to their effect.

On Friday, June 14th, the biggest bomb attack ever in Belfast, the IRA detonated a car-bomb in Seymour Street, several million pounds worth of damage. On Tuesday, June 11, 1,000lb bomb was detonated in Kinawley, County Fermanagh, one RUC man and critically injured a second. The political effect of the explosion was to shatter the carefully-nurtured British myth that the six-county state was retreating to 'normality'.

The June visit to Dublin by Israeli president, Chaim Herzog,



Scene of West Belfast bomb attack on March 27th



RUC landrover blasted by Newry car-bomb on April 3rd

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visit to Dublin of the
ent Chaim Herzog,

provoked a storm of protest and it
was made clear to Herzog that the
plain people of Dublin were extend-
ing no welcome to this representa-
tive of Zionism.

SINN FEIN VOTE

The twenty-six-county election
results of June 20th saw the Sinn
Fein vote increase from 34,000 in
the 1979 local elections to 54,000.
Representation on local bodies went
up from 28 to 39, confirming Sinn
Fein's position (ahead of the Workers
Party) as the fourth largest party in
the twenty-six counties.

June is also the month that the
traditional Bodinstown parade takes
place in Salinas, County Kildare. On
June 20th, thousands of people
gathered to follow the route to Wolfe
Tone's graveside. There the crowd
heard Sinn Fein party chairperson
Sean MacManus, declare:

"We will not be happy until the
main prop of foreign rule in Ireland,
the British crown forces, are sailing
down Belfast Lough destined for
England as the sun finally sets on the
last outpost of the British Empire."



Sinn Fein launches its six-county local election manifesto

JULY

THOUSANDS of Orange-
men, led by a mixture of
prominent loyalist politicians,
converged on Portadown on
July 3rd to march
to demand the 'right' to march
through the nationalist Tunnel
area which has suffered
repeated sectarian attacks
for decades.

The British government's deci-
sion to re-route and ban a num-
ber of controversial Orange
parades in July was a gimmick
to present the sectarian RUC as
'impartial' upholders of law and
order. In reality the charade was
acted out to appease Free State
premier Garret FitzGerald in re-
turn, the Brits hoped, for more
collaboration against republicans.
After such a show of strength
in Portadown, the Brits back-

tracked under pressure and al-
lowed the Orangemen to strut
their triumphalism through the
Tunnel area on July 7th.

The RUC's so-called 'impartiality'
was in scarce supply the morning
before the march when a group of
nationalists from the Tunnel were
savagely batoned for having the
cheek to mount a peaceful sit-down
protest. But while jack-boot tactics
were freely meted out to Portadown
nationalists, the RUC donned their
kid-gloves on July 12th and 13th
when confronted by thousands of Or-
angemen intent on defying a re-
routing decision. Despite sustained
attacks from loyalist mobs, the
RUC's response was in stark contrast
to their many lethal attacks on peace-
ful nationalist demonstrations and marches.

It was business as usual over
the July 12th period at Limavady,
Ballynahinch and Cookstown where,
away from the glare of media atten-
tion in Portadown, the RUC's 'true
blue' colours were to the fore when
they deliberately ignored Orange
men intimidating nationalists. In-



Jubilant supporters chair newly-elected Derry city Sinn Fein's Councillors Hugh Duffy and Mitchel McLaughlin

Four members of an RUC patrol are wiped out in a 1,000lb bomb attack at Killeen, County Armagh, on May 20th



Aerial view of the aftermath of the May 20th bomb attack shows the distance the leading armoured RUC car (which had been in front of the security truck) was blown across the highway

A REVIEW OF THE YEAR 1985

(continued from previous page)

deed, they accommodated the Orangemen by escorting them through Limavady as they terrorised nationalist families. Loyalists also attacked families in Ballymena, Ballynahinch, Maghera, Ballymoney and dozens of other towns and hamlets throughout the North.

The RUC's inaction on these occasions clearly demonstrated that nothing has changed, that no label of 'impartiality' can stick to the RUC whose basic role has been, and remains, to bolster the six-county statelet.

On Friday, July 5th, in an attempt to give an aura of credibility to the North's judiciary, Diplock Judge Higgins dismissed as 'unworthy of belief' the evidence of Belfast loyalist paid perjurer William 'Budgie' Allen whose uncorroborated word had accused 36 men of UVF-related charges. All 36 walked free from Belfast Crown Court, setting back further the RUC's paid-perjurer system.

A team of international lawyers who examined the circumstances of the deaths of 30 victims of the shoot-to-kill policy launched a report at a press conference in Belfast on July 4th which concluded that all 30 had been 'unjustifiably killed'.

There were savage cuts, amounting to £2.8 million, in the North's health service budget announced on July 5th. The estimated job losses involved amounted to 500.

A Northern Ireland Office survey on social and economic discrimination in the six counties revealed that 28% of Catholics were unemployed, more than double the (13%) level among Protestants. More Catholics lived in rented, overcrowded conditions and owned fewer consumer goods. In a nut-shell, no changes here either.

REAGAN PARANOIA

In a paranoid attack on 'international terrorism' following the Beirut hijack drama, US President Ronald Reagan declared that Nicaragua was 'sponsoring' the armed struggle in Ireland. While stating their respect and admiration for the democratically-elected government of Nicaragua, the IRA refuted the claim, saying, 'We note that Reagan shares with Thatcher a total dismissal of their sovereignty and Ireland's.'

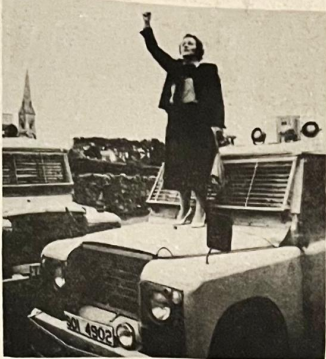
Reagan's neurotic remarks came at a convention of the American Bar Association on Monday, July 8th. Brit premier Thatcher was also there and, in a speech, predicted the banning of a BBC *Real Lives* documentary on July 31st which featured Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness, she called for voluntary self-censorship by journalists to 'deprive terrorists of the oxygen of publicity'. Thatcher also called on the US Senate to speed up its extradition legislation to extradite republicans to Britain from the US for 'offences' which are politically motivated.

While Thatcher preached about 'terrorism', the Anti-Apartheid Movement accused Britain of being a 'major culprit' in assisting the South African regime by supplying them with arms subsequently used to terrorise and kill the majority black population.

Meanwhile on July 9th, seven of the Dunes Stores anti-apartheid strikers were refused entry to South Africa where they were due to mark the first anniversary of their dispute (July 19th) by meeting the Nobel Peace Prize Winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu, and other black leaders. They were held at gunpoint by security police for ten hours before being deported. The Dublin government's honorary consul was denied access to the anti-apartheid group during their detention.

PLEDGE

In the North's councils the latest move by Craigavon's majority-unionist bloc to oust Sinn Féin came on July 18th. The unionists had already lost a high court case trying to do so but then came up with the idea of making all councillors sign a pledge committing them not to use their position to promote organ-



● Paisleyite Councillor Ethel Smyth salutes loyalist marchers from an RUC landrover in Castlewells in June

tions which 'engage in violence' or 'unlawful acts of terrorism' for 'political ends'. All of the anti-unionist councillors refused to sign it, arguing that it was an illegal, one-sided and sectarian document.

The collapse of the North's gas industry appeared certain with a loss of over 1,000 jobs when a Bill to that effect was introduced on July 19th in the British House of Commons. In the twenty-six counties continued redundancies in the leather and footwear industry (1,835 redundancies since 1981) sounded the death-knell for the Irish shoe-manufacturing industry.

In the four weeks up to July 18th, nearly 5,000 people had lost their jobs in the twenty-six counties and it was estimated that by the end of 1985 the true unemployment figures would be 300,000.

Dublin city centre's 'Molly Malone's', the 'illegal' street traders were viciously attacked by 50 baton-wielding gardai during a peaceful sit-down protest against garda harassment. Seven people were arrested, including Sinn Féin Dublin City Councillor Christy Burke, an elected representative for the area.

Portadown Sinn Féin member Frankie Tennyson was shot and seriously wounded by a loyalist assassination squad on July 29th. Earlier that day, the UDA's John McMichael announced a 'campaign of attacks on prominent republicans'.

The myth of the independence of British broadcasting was blown asunder when on July 31st BBC's governors - bowing to direct pressure from Margaret Thatcher earlier in the month - capitulated and banned the *Real Lives* documentary featuring Sinn Féin elected representative Martin McGuinness and the DUP's Gregory Campbell. Such blatant political censorship, however, increased



● May Wilkes, a Dublin street-trader for over 40 years is attacked by a garda in O'Connell Street in July during a peaceful protest



● July sees the sectarian Orange Order strut through Portadown's Obins Street as its nationalist residents are hemmed in by the RUC

rather than decreased attention on the six counties.

July was a month when the IRA launched a series of devastating car and van-bombs throughout the North while in Belfast a single-tubed mortar, capable of firing a 50lb bomb, became the latest addition to the IRA's growing arsenal.

The 50lb mortar exploded in Fort Pegasus on Belfast's Whitecross Road, causing considerable damage and injuring a number of Brits.

CONTRACTORS

The IRA warning to contractors working on the multi-million pound Linagavin RUC Barracks, in Derry's predominantly loyalist Waterside area, resulted in an immediate cessation of work on July 1st. The barracks would have become the main RUC interrogation centre in the north-west.

Volunteers from the IRA's West Tyrone Brigade detonated a massive 1,000lb van-bomb on July 5th outside Stranabeg, blasting an RUC armoured landrover and seriously injuring three RUC men inside.

On Sunday, July 28th, a massive blow to the North's judicial system was struck by the Belfast Brigade when a van-bomb wrecked the Belfast Recorder's Court in Chichester Street and badly damaged the Petty Sessions Court.

Three days later, on July 31st, a 300lb car-bomb exploded outside the Greenan Lodge Hotel, causing serious damage. The same night the commercial centre of Ballynahinch, County Down, was destroyed by a 400lb car-bomb. The IRA carried out other attacks on crown forces in Belfast on July 9th, in Derry on July 17th and 26th, and in Cullyhanna, South Armagh, on July 2nd when a massive 1,800lb van-bomb, the largest ever used by the IRA in the North, was discovered and defused.

AUGUST

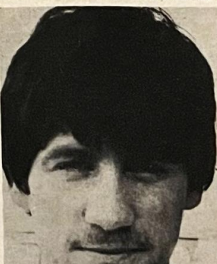
THE tragic death of IRA Volunteer Charles English from Derry on August 6th overshadowed events in the North that week. Volunteer English had been part of an active service unit which had opened fire on a RUC mobile patrol. He was killed by a premature explosion.

Flaunting an RUC order banning him from the North, Noraid publicity director Martin Galvin, a friend of the English family, helped to carry Volunteer English's coffin to the city cemetery despite a massive RUC presence.

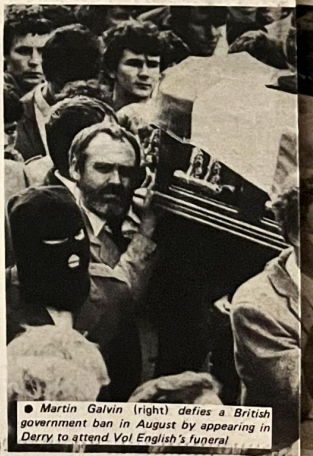
As in previous years, delegations and visitors from Noraid, the Troops Out Movement (Britain) and various

support groups from around the world, converged on Belfast on the 14th anniversary of the introduction of internment. On August 8th, as nationalists from across the North gathered peacefully around bonfires, the RUC and British army maintained a heavy presence. In West Belfast hundreds of lethal plastic bullets were fired into the crowds, injuring scores of people. Sporadic rioting against the crown forces was sparked off by their provocative behaviour in Armagh, Castlewells, Downpatrick, Newry, Derry and elsewhere.

The following day, in Belfast, one



● VOL CHARLES ENGLISH



● Martin Galvin (right) defies a British government ban in August by appearing in Derry to attend Vol English's funeral

IRISH NORTHERN AID COMMITTEE

● The 14th annual commemoration of internment in Belfast



● Derry youth ensure a more than warm 'welcome' for British troops on August 9th

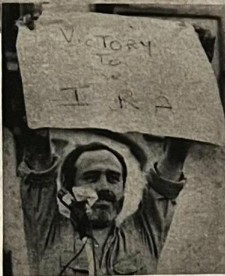
of the largest crowds ever seen at an internment anniversary march defied a massive presence of crown forces and marched to Connolly House, Andersonstown.

Self-censorship at the BBC, meanwhile, was flourishing. Only days after a strike by journalists over the banned *Real Lives* documentary, it was revealed that several other programmes, including a severely critical investigation by Peter Taylor into the RUC's shoot-to-kill policy had been stopped.

And RTE journalists, who until recently have silently complied with censorship under Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act, imposed a news black-out on August 10th and 11th following RTE's axing of an interview with Noraid's Martin Galvin.

BRIXTON

In Brixton Prison, two Derry women on remand had been undergoing ten strip-searches each week since June 22nd and on August 19th a delegation from the Community for Justice group walked out of a meeting with the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace who refused to issue an



● Sinn Féin's Danny Morrison ensures that he gets his message across to an anti-internment rally in Belfast as a British army helicopter tries to drown out his speech

unambiguous statement condemning strip-searching.

In a speech in Cork on August 24th, Peter Barry attempted to lay the blame for a possible failure of the London-Dublin talks on the IRA, who would, he declared "unless a bloodbath" to scuttle any agreement.

Such outbursts provided an insight into the shaky nature of the talks at this stage especially when the Irish establishment was still reeling from Thatcher's "Out! Out! Out!" rejection of the Forum report.

Community action against drug pushers in Dublin escalated on August 29th when over 600 residents from Ballyfermot marched on the home of a well-known drug pusher, John Kelly. Kelly was facing charges in relation to the importation of heroin valued on the street at three-quarters of a million pounds. Kelly and others fled from the house in a van, injuring two children and two adults.

SHOCK-WAVES

The IRA continued to send shock-waves throughout the North in August with the execution of a senior RUC officer, a number of injuries to several others and extensive damage to commercial and military targets.

On August 3rd, a mortar attack on Newry RUC Barracks was thwarted when four mortars in a van were detected and defused by the RUC. On August 20th, an electrical fault caused a set of mortar bombs, targeted on Newcastle Barracks, to

detonate while still on their launch-pads.

But at Plumbridge, on August 21st, IRA Volunteers of the South Tyrone Brigade made a special 500lb delivery at the local barracks. The barracks was completely destroyed.

Other attacks included the execution of Tyrone building contractor Seamus McAvoy in Dublin. The week before his execution the IRA had issued a final and unequivocal warning to builders and contractors engaged in supplying building materials for or carrying out refurbishing work on barracks.

Reinforcing this message further, on August 22nd, Volunteers of the South Derry Brigade planted grille bombs on a builders' and hardware shop which had been supplying materials to RUC barracks.

Earlier in the month, on August 2nd, an ASU from the IRA's East Halfway House Bar, causing serious damage. The bar had been serving members of the crown forces. That same day, a British soldier was seriously injured in a bomb attack in South Armagh. In two operations on August 7th, the Fane Valley Creamery was extensively damaged by a 700lb van-bomb and a UDR man was injured in County Tyrone in a landmine attack. Throughout August the IRA launched attacks on economic targets in Ballycastle, Maghera, Strabane and Cookstown.

On August 22nd and 23rd, two civilians from the Strabane area, Daniel Mallon and Kieran Murphy, were tragically killed by the IRA in cases of mistaken identity for a member of the crown forces and a building contractor who supplied materials to them. In a detailed statement the IRA apologised and extended their sympathy to both men's families.

The IRA also issued a lengthy statement on August 23rd which pinpointed the anti-social actions of a major criminal gang in the Greater Andersonstown area. The IRA gave them 48 hours to leave the country.

On Friday, August 30th, DUP leader Ian Paisley and UUP leader James Molyneux flew to London for a *de facto* meeting with Thatcher, clutching the proposals of their joint OUP/DUP working team's list of

objections to the talks.

In Bundoran, County Donegal, on August 31st, more than 1,500 people marched in memory of republican hunger-strikers.

SEPTEMBER

SUNDAY, September 2nd, saw over 300 people demonstrate outside Armagh Jail to mark the fourth year of Britain's strip-searching policy.

At an Official Unionist press conference on Monday, September 2nd, the Reverend Martin Smyth said that loyalists would "resort to arms if the link with Britain is threatened". Bishop Cahal Daly responded by launching an attack on... republicans.

The IRA gave an especially loud 'welcome' to the newly-appointed Brit direct-ruler, Tom King, when mortars rained down on Enniskillen's RUC training depot on September 4th.

King, whose appointment marked his demotion in the Thatcher cabinet, had been in the North less than 48 hours when 18 mortars, the largest number ever used in such an attack, detonated, with nine hitting the depot. Nineteen RUC personnel and a number of civilians working in the depot were injured.

On September 6th, Limavady Sinn Féin Councillor Micky Hasson was the target of a loyalist death bid but was saved due to the would-be assassin's gun misfiring.

Following the high court decisions that Craigavon unionist councillors' attempts to expel Sinn Féin's two local councillors had been unlawful, the unionists adjourned council meetings pending a meeting with Tom King.

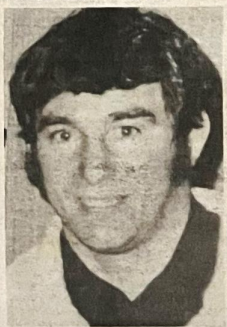
There was a deepening fodder crisis throughout Ireland due to an extremely bad summer. Limited EEC aid in the form of grain came in too little quantities and too late to help the numerous small farmers who were forced to sell their cattle at depressed prices.

On Sunday night, September 8th, the IRA's Belfast Brigade executed Gerard and Catherine Mahon who had been working as informers for the RUC for almost 18 months.

More than two years after the Christopher Black show-trial ended, appeals against conviction by 35 defendants had still not been heard. The issue was highlighted by a protest outside Crumlin Road Court-house on September 9th. The trial of 26 Belfast people facing 150 INLA-related charges on the word of Harry Kirkpatrick also resumed that day.

The first RUC man ever to be convicted for the murder of a nationalist in the North was sentenced to life imprisonment on September 9th for shooting dead 18-year-old Tony Dawson in December 1983.

The tragic death of IRA Volunteer Ray McLaughlin, who had spent ten years in English prisons, occurred in a holiday accident with his family on September 9th. Hundreds of gardai in riot gear swamped the Donegal town of Buncrana for Volunteer McLaughlin's funeral on September 13th in an abortive attempt to prevent the IRA from giving full military honours to their comrade. An IRA unit had fired a volley of shots over his coffin the night before.



● VOL RAY McLAUGHLIN

Four commercial-bomb attacks in Derry city, County Tyrone and County Down on September 12th and 13th resulted in damage costing the British government hundreds of thousands of pounds in compensation claims, destabilising the six counties even further. The target of one of the attacks, the La Cave bar in Derry city, was a distribution centre for hard drugs.

Leinster House was picketed by members of the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets in protest at the Coalition government's muted condemnations of the use of plastic bullets in the North and against stocks of plastic bullets being held by the Free State army.

Demonstrations against cross-border collaboration continued as anti-strip-search campaigners confronted British direct-ruler Tom King when he visited the Department of Foreign Affairs in Dublin on September 17th.

A British soldier was killed in an IRA ambush on September 21st in Derry city's predominantly loyalist Waterside area.

Towards the end of the month, the *Stalker* Report, compiled by a Manchester police chief, concluded that the RUC's Divisional Mobile Support Unit, which had been involved in the majority of shoot-to-kill deaths of nationalists, was "out of control".

OCTOBER

ON OCTOBER 1st, Paisley and Molyneux announced that the interference of Dublin in the running of the six counties would cause mass resignations of unionist MPs. Meanwhile, in Britain the British Labour Party conference rejected a British withdrawal motion.

On October 3rd, the IRA declared that it would not be "distracted" by the London-Dublin talks from its efforts to secure self-determination. Also on the 3rd, the Kerry Babies report by Judge Lynch was published: it exonerated the gardai and accused the Hayes family of lying and covering up.

On the 5th, Haughey came out against the London-Dublin talks with a first warning of a "sell-out". As garda activity was stepped up along the border and media rumours on the talks intensified, George Seawright, interviewed on RTE on October 6th, threatened "retaliatory action" if Dublin got "a say" in Northern affairs.

On October 6th, the IRA blew up a Derry garage which was serving British army and RUC personnel. The next day, Belfast Volunteers launched a mortar attack on the New Barnsley Base in Belfast, damaging the fence and portable buildings inside. Also on the 7th, the IRA in West Tyrone executed Damian McCorry from Strabane whose informing had led to the murder of three young Strabane republicans in February 1985.

Barry and Spring flew to London on October 7th to meet King and Howe on the "final details" of the London-Dublin deal.

McGLINCHEY

On October 9th, a Belfast High Court quashed Dominic McGlinchey's conviction on appeal. McGlinchey had been the first nationalist handed over to the RUC by Dublin. The fingerprint evidence "did not support a conviction", the judges said. On October 10th, Brit direct-ruler King said there were still some "extremely difficult issues" to be resolved.

Meanwhile, reports suggested a noticeable increase in beatings by the RUC in Castlereagh, Gough Barracks and Derry's Strand Road. And on the 15th, 14 people were arrested in Derry on the word of a new paid perjuror Angela Whoriskey. Elected representative Martin McGuinness called it "a deliberate RUC attempt to resurrect the use of paid perjurers in Diplock courts". Twelve of the 14 would later be charged.

On October 11th, McGlinchey (continued on next page)

A REVIEW OF THE YEAR 1985



● The RUC re-extradite Dominic McGlinchey after charges against him in Belfast are dropped



● Tynan Barracks, December

(continued from previous page)

was handed back to the gardai and charged in the South with offences connected with the Ennis shoot-out which had preceded his capture.

On October 12th, Peter Barry assured people there would be "no sell-out" in the imminent agreement. But neither would it deliver Irish unity, he admitted. The next day, Haughey said the agreement would "undermine unity".

More unionist-dominated councils adjourned in October, with Limavady and Ballymena suspending themselves on October 14th. On the 14th, DUP leader James Molyneux claimed the summit would be delayed because of problems like the location of an inter-governmental secretariat in Belfast.

The following day saw 170,000 public employees stage a 24-hour stoppage, renewing their demands for arbitration and a new round of pay negotiations.

On October 16th, the Fianna Fail parliamentary party decided it would oppose any London-Dublin deal which "recognised a separate existence to Northern Ireland".

South African poet Benjamin Molise was hanged by the Pretoria regime on October 18th. Also on the 18th, the IRA launched a bombing attack on Derry's commercial centre in which 300lbs of explosives caused one and a half million pounds of damage. (Two days later, Volunteers of the North Armagh Brigade of the IRA shot and seriously injured an RUC man in Lurgan.)

400 people lost their jobs at Mostek in Blanchardstown, Dublin. The main charge against Dominic McGlinchey was dropped and Tom King reassured unionists yet again that nothing would be agreed "which would resemble joint authority". The same day, George Seawright announced that he would personally lead a bombing attack on Dublin!

'PROCESS'

On October 20th, John Hume said the agreement would be nothing more than "the start of a process". Three days later, Hume said he hoped it would help to "make progress towards a process".

DUP leader Ian Paisley warned that loyalists had "a well-stocked up armoury" and the OUP's Frank Millar asked for Sinn Féin's proscription. The same day, the press reported comments made by RUC chief John Hermon in Texas some days before, when he accused Dublin of showing no interest in fighting the IRA. After a few angry words, the Dublin government soon accepted London's spurious claim that Hermon's words had been "misinterpreted". Haughey

accused FitzGerald of "grovelling to these people".

On October 23rd, a Concerned Parents Against Drugs peaceful protest was savagely attacked by gardai in Dub.in. Arrests, charges and fines were to follow against more than 30 people.

SDLP deputy-leader Seamus Mallon announced on RTE on October 27th that he would support the London-Dublin deal, leaving Fianna Fail as the only Forum participants opposing it. In Derry, the Brits went on one of their usual rampages, injuring a youth with plastic bullets.

On the 28th, an ITV programme documented evidence that the Birmingham Six are innocent. The next day, the Dublin government jumped on the bandwagon to ask (11 years later!) that their cases be re-opened.

Unionist leaders met Thatcher in Downing Street on October 30th. "A fruitful meeting," they said, but their contentment was short-lived. And on the 31st, a motley crew of UDA, UVF and DUP members set up a 'network' of Ulster Clubs to organise physical resistance to the London-Dublin deal.

NOVEMBER

THE first day of November saw the Thatcher government letting it be known that there was "common ground" with Dublin in the ongoing talks. The next day, loyalists had a rally in Belfast to launch their Ulster Clubs.

The Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis took place in Dublin on November 2nd and 3rd. Abstentionism was confirmed as a policy.

On the 4th, unionist-dominated Belfast City Council adjourned; only one unionist councillor, Duggan, was still functioning. And on the same day, unionist leaders warned of impending "double-crossing" by Dublin and London.

On November 7th, a Brit base in Newry was attacked with mortars by the IRA.

As the SDLP annual jamboree—sorry, conference—opened in Belfast, on November 8th, Free State premier Garret FitzGerald said in Brussels that "our nationalist aspirations must take second place". Meanwhile, a nationalist was assassinated by the UDA in Lisburn. On November 8th and 9th, the SDLP delegates heard Hume promote his



● RUC men examine the wrecked Toomebridge Barracks after an IRA bomb attack

stages theory (equality, reconciliation, unity) while his deputy, Seamus Mallon, played to the nationalist gallery but toed the line.

On November 9th, Haughey called the impending agreement "a recipe for disaster".

On the 6th and 7th, teachers went on strike in Dublin and Limerick. On the 11th, it was announced that the London-Dublin summit would take place on the 15th. The next day, the Free State press printed a leak that there would be a Belfast secretariat and unionist rage rose by several degrees.

On November 14th, the IRA shot and seriously injured an RUC man near Aughnacloy and the next day, in South Armagh, an IRA landmine attack left one RUC man dead and one seriously injured.

HILLSBOROUGH

That same day, November 15th, the London-Dublin summit took place in Hillsborough Castle, near Belfast, amid unionist protests. The agreement included a recognition of

the unionist veto on Irish re-unification, the setting up of an 'Inter-Governmental Conference', and some vague promises by London to look at some aspects of the six-county administration. Peter Barry was to be appointed 'Minister for Northern Ireland' by Dublin.

Haughey called the agreement a "major set-back for nationalists". Talk of financial aid from the US or the EEC could not be confirmed.

On November 18th, the unionists announced they would take court action against the agreement.

The next day, Haughey said the agreement was unconstitutional. Hume rejected any idea of an electoral pact with Sinn Féin in by-elections caused by unionist resignations.

Tom King was attacked outside Belfast City Hall by enraged DUP members and George Seawright on the 20th. Unionist leaders announced that British officials would be hounded in all their public appearances. On the same day, a London High Court attempt by unionists to have the London-Dublin agreement

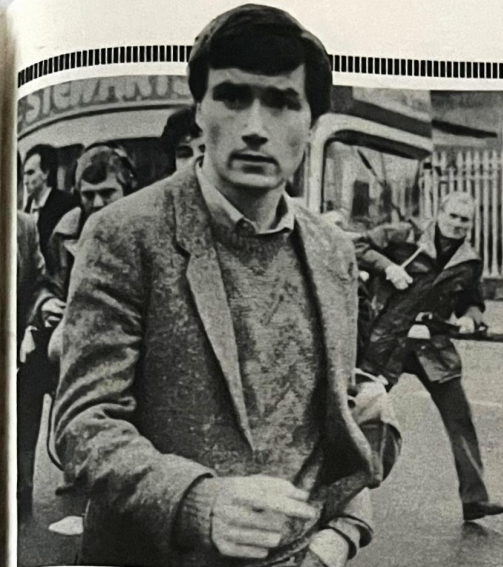
declared illegal failed. Another attempt was to fail five days later.

On November 21st, the IRA shot dead the head of a catering company which serviced RUC barracks in the Derry area.

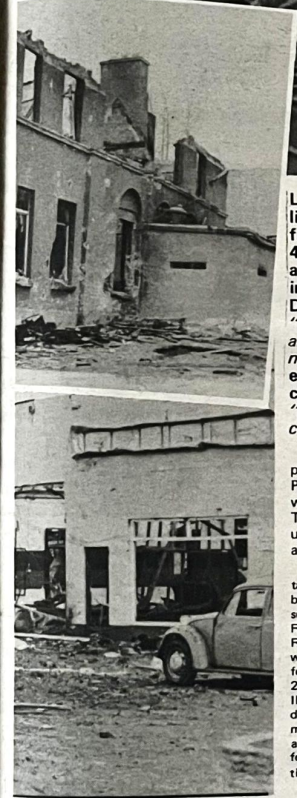
On the 21st, Leinster House backed the agreement by 88 votes to 75 (Fianna Fail, Blaney and Gregory voting against). On November 23rd, 100,000 loyalists marched to Belfast City Hall in protest against the agreement. Amidst UDA and UVF uniforms, Lambeg drums and Ulster says no stickers, Paisley uttered his "Never! Never! Never!" All the unionist MPs, bar Enoch Powell, signed a promise to resign their seats by January 1986.

ESCAPE BID

On November 24th, republicans failed in a daring escape bid from Portlaoise Prison. By November 26th, Enoch Powell had also agreed to resign his Westminster seat. Hume, flushed with the praise heaped upon him by the media after Hillsborough, intimated that the SDLP would



Seamus Shannon walks free from Belfast High Court



win extra seats in the coming by-elections.

On November 27th, Westminster backed the London-Dublin agreement by 473 votes to 47. Only 13 Labour MPs opposed it. On the same day, Mary Harney was expelled from Fianna Fáil for voting with the Dublin Coalition on the agreement the week before. The agreement came into force on November 28th.

On the 29th, the IRA killed a UDR captain in Killeck by booby-trapping his car. The next day ended with the death of 19-year-old Edward Taggart. Meanwhile, following an IRA warning on November 25th to building contractors who carried out work for the British army and the RUC, five building firms announced that they were pulling out from British government contracts.

DECEMBER

RUC chief John Hermon and his garda counterpart,

Laurence Wren, met in Dublin on December 2nd, the first time in a year. On the 4th, King declared to an audience of business people in Brussels that the London-Dublin accord meant that "for all practical purposes and in perpetuity there will not be a united Ireland". An embarrassed FitzGerald described King's assertion as "inappropriate" and "inaccurate".

On the 6th, the Fowler proposals — the British White Paper on the dismantling of the welfare state — were published. They would affect the North's unemployed and poor most of all.

Toome RUC Barracks was devastated by an IRA car-bomb on December 5th. On the 7th, an IRA active service unit attacked Ballygawley RUC Barracks, shooting dead two RUC men and then planting a bomb which wrecked the barracks. The toll for RUC members was brought to 23, as high as 1976. On the 9th, the IRA mounted a gun attack on Castle Dawson Barracks and on the 11th a mortar attack wrecked Tynan Barracks in County Armagh, injuring four RUC men, and giving 1985 its title of 'Year of the Mortar'.

On December 7th, an independent public tribunal assembled in Dublin condemned strip-searching in Armagh Jail.

The first London-Dublin Inter-Governmental Conference took place in Stormont on December 11th, a low-key affair in spite of unionist pickets outside Stormont and Mary-McGuinness and several councillors. The conference concentrated on 'security' (that is increased collaboration by Dublin in the repression of republicans). Some farcical 'code of conduct' for the RUC was proposed.

An FEA report confirmed that Catholic unemployment was more than double that of Protestants.

On December 13th, Seamus Shannon, who had been extradited to the North in July 1984, walked free from Belfast High Court after he was found not guilty of killing former Stormont speaker Sir Norman Stronge and his RUC son James at Tynan Abbey in 1981. Shannon declared:

"You cannot change the Diplock court system by painting it green. What you have to do is change

the whole building. Bulldoze it to the ground."

Seamus Mallon said that the new Inter-Governmental Conference should deal with nationalist complaints. "Not the place for it," retorted Brit minister Nicholas Scott.

On the 16th, 27 people were convicted at the end of the Kirkpatrick show-trial: ten to life and 17 sentences ranging from 8 to 20 years. Lord Gifford called it "a grave miscarriage of justice". Unease and disquiet was expressed by Irish establishment politicians.

In a Belfast Telegraph interview on December 17th, Thatcher declared, "The people of Northern Ireland can get rid of the Inter-Governmental Conference by agreeing to a devolved government".

Hume replied that it is not "helpful" of her to "mislead" the unionists so. On the same day, 13 unionist MPs handed in resignation letters at Westminster (two had already done so in November). On the 18th, Westminster agreed to a writ for by-elections in the New Year. Interest starts focussing on the four 'nationalist' constituencies where SDLP vote-splitting tactics may unfortunately ensure unionist re-election.

The IRA launched a mortar attack on Castlebar RUC Barracks on December 19th. Tom King announced a £70 million increase in the 'security' budget over the next few years — and a cut in the housing budget. On the same day, the SDLP announced their decision to contest the four nationalist constituencies. Their decision is "a sop to loyalism", says Sinn Féin's Jim McAllister. Also on the 19th, Bobby Tohill, one of Kirkpatrick's victims, starts a hunger-strike in Long Kesh. His demands are for an early appeal and a review of all similar cases.

On the 20th, the Shorts aircraft company reveals that Catholics employed there are now less than 2.6%. The Fair Employment Agency warns Shorts to make a greater effort.

On the 21st, former Fianna Fáil deputy Dessie O'Malley launched a new party, the Progressive Democratic Party, on December 21st and started to coach for deputies. Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams described it as "a regrouping of the partitionist forces in the twenty-six counties".

The IRA launched yet another mortar attack and seriously damaged a permanent British army/RUC checkpoint near Strabane on December 22nd, the fifth such attack in the past 12 days. SDLP nominations for the by-elections were announced: Eddie McGrady for South Down, Adrian Colton for Mid-Ulster, and Justin Currie for Fermanagh/South Tyrone.

On December 23rd, a press report said that the Thatcher government were considering setting up a 'grand committee' of MPs to give more to unionist MPs on new legislation for the six counties. Unionists were unmoved: the London-Dublin deal had to be scrapped first. On Stephen's Day, another Kirkpatrick victim, Gerard Stenson, began fasting in Long Kesh. The next day, Barry refused to face hunger-strikers' relatives in Cork but promised to raise the issue at the next conference.

Pickets at Dunes Stores' Henry Street branch in Dublin are suspended by the anti-apartheid workers' union until March 14th 1986, when the Fine Gael/Labour government is to re-examine the issue of allowing imports of South African fruit. The 17-month-old strike continues.

On the 28th, the British army and RUC arrested 18 Sinn Féin members in eleven swoops, including Martin McGuinness and several councillors. "The first bitter fruits of the London-Dublin accord," Jim McAllister called it. The next day Sinn Féin Councillor Seamus Cassidy was charged for possessing a UDR flare, picked up as a souvenir some years before!

And after asking the hunger-strikers to stop their fast on the 28th, Peter Barry flew to London on the 30th for an Inter-Governmental Conference meeting with Tom King, after which both condemned the hunger-strike as the "wrong means" to secure change. Meanwhile, the British government announced its intention to fly 550 more British troops to the six counties in the New Year — an indication of how little things have changed, whatever the Hillsborough accord pretends.

I n d e l C h u i m h n e

BATESON, Johnny. (14th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Johnny Bateson who was killed on active service on December 18th 1971. Always remembered by Claire and Sean Burns, Coalsland, CARROLL, Adrian (2nd Anniversary). CARROLL, Roddy (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Adrian Carroll who was murdered by the UDR and INLA Vol Roddy Carroll who was murdered by the RUC. Always remembered by the O'Connor family, Melbourne, Australia.

DONNELLY, Frankie. (7th Anniversary). In loving memory of my beloved husband Frankie Donnelly, dearest daddy of Frances, who died on January 5th 1979. That January morning when they brought the news to me, that you were gone forever and your face I'd never see, I thought my world had ended, that the sun had ceased to shine, and the months that followed were the darkest of all time. And then our little girl was born and she broke through the sky and never will she forget why her daddy had to die. You gave your life for those you loved and those you loved remember. Never forgotten by his wife Rosemary and little daughter Frances, and his mother and father-in-law Mr and Mrs Foster.

DONNELLY, Frankie; MONTGOMERY, Laurence. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Frankie Donnelly and Laurence Montgomery, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, who died as a result of an accidental explosion while on active service on January 5th 1979. Forever remembered by the O'Connell family, always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

DONNELLY, Frankie; MONTGOMERY, Laurence. (7th Anniversary). In loving memory of Frankie Donnelly who gave his life on active service with his comrade Laurence Montgomery on January 5th 1979. RIP. May the winds of home blow gently on a quiet and peaceful spot where the one we love lies sleeping and will never be forgot. Watch over us all, Frankie, and pray for us until we meet again. Always loved and remembered by his sons, Betty and Margaret, Uncle Paddy and his loving sister Betty and family.

DONNELLY, Frankie; MONTGOMERY, Laurence. (7th Anniversary). In loving memory of my brother Frankie Donnelly who was killed on active service with his comrade Laurence Montgomery on January 5th 1979. Always remembered by Jackie and Alice.

DONNELLY, Frankie; MONTGOMERY, Laurence. (7th Anniversary). In loving memory of Vol Frankie Donnelly and Laurence Montgomery, 3rd Battalion, Belfast

Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, who was killed in action on January 5th 1979. Always remembered by Sean and Kate Montgomery, and Frankie Donnelly, Frankie Donnelly, Laurence. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Frankie Donnelly and Laurence Montgomery, 3rd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, who was killed on active service on January 5th 1979. Always remembered by Frankie Fennell.

McGinn, James. (12th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Antoina Mac Giolla Bhrighde who died on active service on December 2nd, 1984. Always remembered by the Patrick, Carty Sinn Féin cumann, Buncrana.

McCULLOUGH, Terence. (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Terence McCullough who died on December 31st 1982. Always remembered by his family, pray for him. Sadly missed and never forgotten by Frank Flynn and Jack.

McGinn, James. (12th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Jim McGinn, Strabane Battalion, Tyrone Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, who was killed on active service on December 15th 1973. I miss laochra na hEireann go raib a nam dílis. Always remembered by his sister Teresa, Jim and family.

McGinn, James. (12th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Jim McGinn, Tyrone Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, who was killed in action on December 15th 1973. Always remembered by the Gallagher family, Bridge Street, Strabane.

McGinn, James. (12th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Jim McGinn, Tyrone Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, who was killed in action on December 15th 1973. Always remembered by his friend and comrade Sean Callagher.

O'DONNELL, Phil. (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Phil O'Donnell, Oglagh na hEireann, who died on December 24th 1982. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. As long as grass grows and rivers run, men and women will be found ready to dare and give their lives in the cause of Irish freedom. Always remembered by his friend Willie Taylor, Derry.

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COMHBHRÓN

BROSAN, The Mid-Kerry chomhairle ceantair Sinn Féin extends deepest sympathy to the Brosan family. Tralee, on the sudden death of their son in England.

FITZGIBBON. Deepest sympathy is extended to Gerald FitzGibbon on the death of his father, Michael. From Mid-Kerry chomhairle ceantair. EUL LIVAN, The Sean Treacy Sinn Féin cumann, Tipperary, extends

deepest sympathy to Tom Sullivan and family on the death of his sister.

Buiochas

McGlinchey, Mary and Dominic McGlinchey wish to thank all those who sent cards and messages of sympathy to them on the recent death of their baby daughter Maire. A special word of appreciation to those POWs in Magilligan, Long Kesh and Portlaoise who offered to assist in the funeral arrangements.

Irish Lesson

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Ceisteanne — Questions

1. Bhí na páist ag gáire. An raib na páist ag gáire? Nach raib na páist ag gáire? Cé bhé ag gáire?
2. Tá Eoin ag ól sa chistin. An bhfuil Eoin ag ól sa chistin? Nach bhfuil Eoin ag ól sa chistin? Cé atá ag ól sa chistin?
3. Beidh an aimsir níos fearr amárach. An mbéidh an aimsir níos fearr amárach? Nach mbéidh an aimsir níos fearr amárach? Cad a bheidh níos fearr amárach? Conas a bheidh an aimsir amárach?

1. The children were laughing. Were the children laughing? Weren't the children laughing? Who was laughing?
2. Eoin is drinking in the kitchen. Is Eoin drinking in the kitchen? Isn't Eoin drinking in the kitchen? Who is drinking in the kitchen?
3. The weather will be better tomorrow. Will the weather be better tomorrow? Won't the weather be better tomorrow? What will be better tomorrow? How will the weather be tomorrow?

meachtai

SOCIAL NIGHT
Music by Ragamuffin
Friday 3rd January
Sliabh an Iarainn Hotel
BALLINAMORE
County Leitrim

SEAN SABHAT
COMMEMORATION
Speaker: Ruairi O'Bradaigh
2.45pm Sunday 5th January
Assemble Bedford Row
LIMERICK
Organised by Sinn Féin

FRANK CARROLL
COMMEMORATION
3.30pm Sunday 5th January
WALSLEY ISLAND
County Offaly
Dublin bus: Cabra (Oasis) 1pm,
Inchicore (Black Lion) 1.30pm

'UNITY IS STRENGTH'
Trade union banners exhibition
9th to 31st January
Project Arts Centre
East Essex Street
DUBLIN

McDAID, Patricia. (Armagh). Happy New Year. Thinking of you and your comrades, especially at this time. From the exiles and the home.

McDONNELL, Gerry. (Brixton). Belated birthday greetings and best wishes for the New Year, Gerry. The best of luck for the future. From Gerry, Brendan, Mac and Siobhan.

McDONNELL, Gerard. (Brixton). A palated New Year's, Gerard. Thinking of you all the time. From Michael and Greta.

McDONNELL, Gerard. (Brixton). Love and belated best wishes on your birthday, Gerard. Love from the Doherty family.

McDONNELL, Gerard. (Brixton). Happy New Year, Gerard. Lots of love from Agnes, Rob, Brieghe and Aine.

McGOUGH, Peter. (H-Blocks). Best wishes for the New Year and to our love always, Peter. From Mam, Dad and family.

McGOUGH, Peter. (H-Blocks). Thinking of you in the New Year as always. From Marian and family, Dundalk.

McGOUGH, Peter; SEELEY, Peter & Eddie. (Long Kesh & Crumlin Road). Happy New Year to Peter, Sean, Eddie, John, from Sam, Carmel and Gerry.

McGLENAGHAN, Brendan. (H-Blocks). We think of you always, Brendan, not just at this family time of the year. Peace is beautiful and we want peace, but we can't shrink the fight. If it is the only way to get it, we will fight. From Mam, Dad, brothers, sisters, sisters-in-law, brothers-in-law, and the 40-odd nieces and nephews.

McGLENAGHAN, Brendan. (H-Blocks). Best wishes, Brendan. I don't have to advise you to go to the vino. Love from your big sis Margaret.

McGROGAN, Kevin. (Armagh). Best wishes and love from Mam.

McGUIGAN, Ellen. (Armagh). Happy New Year, Ellen. Thinking of you at this special time. God bless you. From your loving father, mother, Sean and Thomas.

THE McBREARY/MAGUIRE SINN FEIN CUMMANN, LETTERKENNY. sends New Year greetings to all republican prisoners at home and abroad but especially to Jim Clarke, Peter Lynch, Tony Haney, Mick Hogan and Gerry McGeehan (Portlaoise); Liam Baker, Hugh Doherty and Noel Gibson (England); and Paddy McIntyre (H-Blocks).

McGUIGAN, Ellen. (Armagh). All the best for 1986, Ellen. We'll have a drink for you in the PD. Thinking of you always. From your loving sister Anne Marie, Jim, Wee Jim and Paul.

McGUIGAN, Ellen. (Armagh). Happy New Year to my sister Ellen and her comrades in Armagh. From Joe, Joanne, Martine, Wee Joanne and Nuala.

McGUIGAN, Ellen. (Armagh). Happy New Year, Ellen. Won't be long now. From Colin, Cathy, Danielle and the Widows.

McGUIGAN, Ellen. (Armagh). New Year greetings to my granddaughter Ellen and her comrades. God bless you all. From Grandpa, Thomas, Oliver and George in Birmingham.

McGUIGAN, Ellen. (Armagh). New Year greetings to you, Ellen. Remember to lay off the hard stuff. Thinking of you all. Love from Tomas Mulholland and the McGeehan family; Liam and the McVeigh family.

McILHON, Seamus. (Long Kesh). New Year greetings, Gerry. From Father, Mother, brother, uncles, aunts and all the family circle.

McINTYRE, Gerard. (Portlaoise). New Year greetings, Gerry. From Maxie, Kevin, Gerard and Stevie.

McINTYRE, Gerard. (Portlaoise). Happy New Year, Gerry. From the McCann and McGoough families, Dundalk.

McKEE, Michael. (Portlaoise). Happy New Year, Beaky. God bless. Love from Hughie and Mary; Bernadette, Dermie and kids; Susan, Eamon and kids; Sean, Marie and kids; Tony, Veronica, and Brendan and Brian in Perth, Australia; Joe and Vi in London; and Tommy Teasy in London.

McKENNA, Brian. (H-Blocks). New Year greetings, Brian, and to all republican friends. From all the family.

McKENNA, Kieran. (Long Kesh). New Year greetings, Kieran. Love from Mummy, Brendan, Mick, Kathleen and Ailie.

McKENNA, Laurence. (Portlaoise). All our love and best wishes for the New Year, Laurence. From Mother and Aunt Cissie.

McKENNA, Laurence. (Portlaoise). Thinking of you and all the Monaghan lads in the New Year. From Pat, Yvonne and family; and Alice, Kevin and family.

McNAMEE, Patrick. (Portlaoise). Wishing you a happy New Year, Patrick. From Mam, Cliona and Cormac.

McPHILLIPS, Pat. (Portlaoise). Happy New Year, Pat. From Mrs. McKenna and Carmel, and Brendan, Mena and family.

Mac ROBIN, Liam. (Portlaoise). Happy New Year, Liam. We'll start getting the drink in now so there

AUSTRALIAN AID FOR IRELAND (NATIONAL EXECUTIVE) sends New Year greetings to all republican POWs. We pledge our continued support for the Australian struggle for a thirty-two county democratic socialist republic.

AUSTRALIAN AID FOR IRELAND, WESTERN AUSTRALIA. sends New Year greetings to all Irish republican POWs everywhere.

might be some left for you. From Dave and Fran.

Mac ROBIN, Liam. (Portlaoise). Best wishes for the New Year, Liam. Not long now. Love from Mam and Dad.

Mac ROBIN, Liam. (Portlaoise). Happy New Year, Liam. Only one more to go, best wishes from Willie, Linda and William.

McVEIGH, John & Peter. (Long Kesh). Belated Christmas greetings and a happy New Year. From the McVeigh family.

McVEIGH, John & Peter. (Long Kesh). New Year greetings. From the Gaynor family.

McVEIGH, Peter. (Long Kesh). Happy New Year, Peter. From Colie, Maire and family.

McVEIGH, Peter. (Long Kesh). Hope you have all you wish for in the New Year, Peter. God bless you. Hope to see you soon. From Charlie and Mary.

McVEIGH, Peter. (Long Kesh). Happy New Year, Peter. Stay off the stuff. God bless you. From John, Thomas and Oliver McGulgan in Short Strand.

MAGEE, Pat. (Brixton). Keep your spirit up. Best wishes for the New Year. From everyone. From the Malra Drummm Sinn Fein cummunn, Clonsilla, Dublin.

MOORE, Gerard. (H-Blocks). Though prison walls divide us and we are apart, they have you in their keeping but I have you in my heart. Happy New Year. I love you. From your loving wife Alison, xxx.

MOORE, Gerard. (H-Blocks). Happy New Year, Uncle. From Peter, John, Brendan Os, Conor, Orlath and Lisa, xxx.

MOORE, Gerard. (H-Blocks). Happy New Year. Don't get too drunk. Love from Mam and Dad-in-law, Brendan, and the family.

MOORE, Gerard. (H-Blocks). Happy New Year. Always thinking of you at this special time and year through. Love from Denis, Lillian, JD, Anne and all the 'Skulls'.

MORGAN, James. (Portlaoise). Wishing you a happy New Year. We had a great time. Love from your comrades in the States.

MULLAN, Seamus. (Magilligan). Happy New Year, Seamus. Love from your comrades in the States.

MURRAY, Harry. (H-Blocks). Happy New Year, Harry. Thinking of you and missing you. From your loving wife Kate.

THE ARMAGH WOMEN'S SUPPORT GROUP, TORONTO. sends solidarity greetings to all Irish republican prisoners, but especially to the women in the States.

THE IRISH FREEDOM ASSOCIATION, CANADA. sends solidarity greetings to all Irish republican prisoners in Free State, British and US jails. Belr bua.

MURRAY, Harry. (H-Blocks). Happy New Year, Daddy. We love you very much. See you soon. Love from James, Kathy and Harry, xxx.

MURRAY, Harry. (H-Blocks). Happy New Year, Daddy. Hope you are keeping well. I will write soon. Love from Steven, USA.

MURRAY, Harry. (H-Blocks). Happy New Year, Harry. Hope you got my card. Love from Dad, Nestle, Ernie and Lynne.

MURRAY, Harry. (H-Blocks). Happy New Year, Harry. You are always in our thoughts. Love from Mary, Frank, Frankie, Ralph and Peter, USA; Lashie and Matthew, USA; Anne, Mick, Emma and Paul; and Anne, Tony and Debbie.

MURRAY, Kieran. (H-Blocks). Happy New Year, Kieran. From Tony, Stabio, Jimmy and Sam.

MURTAGH, George. (Long Kesh). Happy New Year to you and all your comrades, George. Belch bua ag muintir na hEireann. Beldh bua ag muintir na hEireann. Beldh bua ag muintir na hEireann.

NEESON, Brendan. (Crumlin Road). Happy New Year, Sean. From your ever-loving mother.

NEESON, Brendan. (Crumlin Road). New Year greetings, Brendan. From Patrick, Terence; and Dermot and family.

NOELAN, Eamonn. (Portlaoise). Happy New Year, Eamonn. You are always in our hearts and minds. Love from Mam, Dad, Conor, Darren, Seamus, Marian, Emer, Colm, Gerard, Jimmy, Emma, Laura, Brian, Elizabeth and Tracy.

NORDONE, Stephen. (Parkhurst). New Year greetings, Stephen. All our love. From Mam, Dad and Linda, Des, Michelle and Enna.

NORDONE, Stephen. (Parkhurst). Happy New Year, Stephen, and a new dream for every one come true and may they come true soon. All my love, from Jutta.

NORDONE, Stephen. (Parkhurst). New Year greetings, Stephen. From Wee Tommy.

NORDONE, Stephen. (Parkhurst). New Year greetings to you, Joe. From all the 'C' family in Querrin, County Clare.

O'KEEFE, Laurence. (Crumlin Road). Happy New Year, Laurence. Hope you have a good one. From the O'Janet ush Sharon.

O'NEILL, Dolores. (Armagh). New Year greetings, Dolores. Wishing you

O'NEILL, John. (Hull). Happy New Year, Paul. We are thinking of you always. Love from Gran and Grandad; Stephen, Lillian and Tommy; and Bernadette and Michael.

O'CONNELL, Joe. (Parkhurst). New Year greetings to you, Joe. From all the 'C' family in Querrin, County Clare.

O'KEEFE, Laurence. (Crumlin Road). Happy New Year, Laurence. Hope you have a good one. From the O'Janet ush Sharon.

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THE MCCUSKER/MCULLAN SINN FEIN CUMMANN, SWATRAGH. sends revolutionary greetings to all our comrades incarcerated in British and Free State jails. Tioclaich ar la!

O'NEILL, Raymond. (Crumlin Road). Happy New Year, Raymond. Always thinking of you. Love from Mother and all your brothers and sisters. Hope you'll have better luck next time and be 'Out! Out! Out! From Donal Keilly and family.

O'SULLIVAN, John. (Crumlin Road). Happy New Year, Uncle. From Peter, Dan, John, Cathal, Conagh, Sheela, Declan and Wae Pete.

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QUINN, Peter. (Crumlin Road). Happy New Year, Peter. Always thinking of you. Love from all the Maguires.

QUINN, Peter. (Crumlin Road). Belated Christmas greetings and all the best for the New Year. From your comrades in the States.

RAMSEY, Gerard; STEWART, Sean. (Long Kesh & Portlaoise). Season's greetings, love from Ma and Da McDade and family.

ROGERS, Peter. (Portlaoise). New Year greetings. Hope you have a good day and that the New Year brings you the joy to future happiness. All our love to you. From your wife Deirdre and son Eamonn Peter, xxx.

ROGERS, Peter. (Portlaoise). Best wishes for the New Year. From the in-laws and outlaws of the Ryan family.

ROGERS, Peter. (Portlaoise). New Year greetings to you and all your mates. Better luck next time. From Geraldine, Brian, Pat, Peggy, Mary, Kevin, Ann, Ken, Rolin and Mickey and all the family.

THE IRISH SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT, BRITAIN. sends New Year greetings to all Irish republican prisoners in Irish and English jails. Special greetings to Eila O'Dwyer, Martina Anderson and all their comrades on remand. Best wishes for 1986.

ROGERS, Peter. (Portlaoise). New Year greetings to you and all your mates. Better luck next time. From Geraldine, Brian, Pat, Peggy, Mary, Kevin, Ann, Ken, Rolin and Mickey and all the family.

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STEWART, Sean. (Portlaoise). New Year greetings to you and all your comrades. Sean. You are always in our thoughts. From the Shanahan family.

STEWART, Sean. (Portlaoise). A happy New Year to you, Seanie. From Thomas, Theresa and baby James.

SUGRUE, Pete. (Portlaoise). Wishing you a happy New Year, son. Keep your spirit up. See you soon. Love from Mam.

SUGRUE, Pete. (Portlaoise). Thinking of you, Pete. Happy New Year, Love from Breda, Vincent and family. Love from Eddie, Jackie and niece Joanne.

SUGRUE, Pete. (Portlaoise). Keep your spirit up. Love from the New Year is good to you. Hope from Uncle Pete, Winnie and family. Auntie Betty and Marie.

SUGRUE, Pete. (Portlaoise). Wishing you a bright New Year, Pete. Love from Phil McD., Marie and Sean. Lila and Pat; Peg and Sean; and Mrs O'Connor; the Long Fellow and family; and Christina.

SUGRUE, Pete. (Portlaoise). Love and best wishes to Pete and John for the New Year. From the New Year.

SULLIVAN, John. (Portlaoise). Best wishes for the New Year, John. Love from Jose.

SULLIVAN, John. (Portlaoise). Happy New Year, John. From Breda, Vincent and family; and Eddie, Jackie and family.

TAYLOR, Alice. (Armagh). "For those who understand, no explanation necessary; for those who do not understand, no explanation is possible." Happy New Year. From Ann, Charlie, Donna and Lisa. To the Fergals (Portlaoise). Love and best wishes for the New Year, Fergal.

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NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO IRISH REPUBLICAN PRISONERS EVERYWHERE. From Una Toal, Dundalk.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO ALL REPUBLICAN PRISONERS IN JAIL IN IRELAND AND ENGLAND. Onwards to victory! From Councillor Eddie Fullerton.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO LORRY, Kevin and Vincent. (Long Kesh & Portlaoise). From everyone in Brian (Portlaoise).

NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO KEVIN, Gerard, Stevie and Marie. (Portlaoise). From the Toome family.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO YOU AND ALL THE POWS IN PORTLAOISE. From the Lynch family, Lurgan.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO ALL NEW YEAR PRISONERS AT HOME AND IRISH POLICE PRISONERS TO VICTORY. From Liam Haddock and family.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO MICKY, Tony, Peter, Jim, Gerry and Gerry M. (Portlaoise). Paddy McIntyre (H-Blocks); and all POWs at home and abroad. From Vreotha, Liam and family.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO JOE O'CONNOR, Paddy Murray, Roy Walsh, Eddie Byrne and Liam Baker. Lots of love from Kathleen.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO OUR SON, GAGLAGE AND PATRICK DOHERTY. All our love. From Mam, Dad and family.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO JOHN O'SULLIVAN, Pety Sugrue, Martin Ferris, Mike Brown, Billy Kelly, Gerry McGeehan, and all the others. Where keep your spirit up, lads. We are on a winner! From Gerry Walsh, Monaghan.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO CAOLIN, Mac Mathuna and Flair Campbell. (Portlaoise). Deslie Connolly (Long Kesh) and Eugene Gilmarin and Tom McQuillan (Crumlin Road). From Caolin, Derm, Jackie, Pearse, and the family.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO ALL POWS IN ENGLAND, ARMAGH, LONG KESH, CRUMLIN ROAD, PORTLAOISE AND MAGILLIGAN. From the McLaughlin family, Ardoyne.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO ALL MY FRIENDS IN PORTLAOISE. Especially Dan, Leo, Annie, Joe M., John S., Mick F., Liam H., Gerry, Tony and the family. From the O'Connell family, "The 12 Apostles". Greetings also to Pat Hackett, Eila O'Dwyer, Harry Duggan, Eddie Butler, John Connolly and all our comrades. Tioclaich ar la! From Sean O'G., Boria.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO MARTIN FERRIS, Cyril Mac Curtain, Mike Brown, Gerry Fitzgerald, Sean Stewart and Noel Gibson. From John and Louise O'Carroll and family.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO ALL IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS AT HOME AND ABROAD. From Thomas Mulholland, Lurgan.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO ALL THE ANTIPODARIANS. From the O'Connell family, "The 12 Apostles". Greetings also to Pat Hackett, Eila O'Dwyer, Harry Duggan, Eddie Butler, John Connolly and all our comrades. Tioclaich ar la! From Sean O'G., Boria.

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The Liam Óg Column

Dying for a fag

AT LONG LAST I've decided to join Fidel Castro. I know Noraid has been good to me, and I'm not complaining, but I must ask republican supporters to no longer bring me over boxes of cigars.

You see, I have made a New Year's resolution to give up smoking and although Castro made the same decision two weeks ago, it was the reading of *The Smoke Ring* by BBC *Panorama's* Peter Taylor, a book published by Sphere in 1984, which finally convinced me.

In his excellent (and frightening) book, Taylor shows how governments put wealth before health. Smoking accounts for more than 300,000 premature deaths a year in the United States, and nearly half a million a year in Eastern and Western Europe.

But because cigarettes remain one of the world's most profitable industries and provide governments with one of their biggest and most reliable sources of revenue (creating jobs in Third World countries as well), they are disinclined to take effective action. Tobacco companies spend millions of pounds each year sponsoring sport and art to get around advertising restrictions.

In Britain, revenue from cigarettes brings the treasury over £4 billion a year; cigarette-related diseases, on the other hand, cost the health service a tiny fraction of that in direct costs - £165 million a year.

"When the cigarette is lit," says Taylor, "the nicotine which is dissolved in the moisture of the tobacco leaf evaporates and attaches itself to minute droplets, less than one-thousandth of a millimetre across, which are contained in cigarette smoke. These droplets are so tiny that when the smoke is inhaled they can reach the smallest passage in the depths of the lungs. The drug is absorbed by the body at remarkable speed.

"It reaches the brain in seven seconds... Within 20 to 30 minutes of the cigarette being finished, the nicotine has left the brain and the smoker feels the need for more. Addiction, or the pharmacological need for nicotine, seems to take over once the smoker is inhaling about 20 cigarettes a day."

If you want a description of what a diseased lung looks like, you can read this book - for the price of two packets of cigarettes.



Margaret Thatcher performs Nat King Cole's old number, *Smoke Gets in Your Eyes*... from Newry, Plumbridge, Ballinamallard, Toomebridge, Enniskillen, Ballygowley, Tynan, Carrickmore and Castlederg

ALSO recently released in Dublin is *The Smoking Habit*, by Dr Joyce O'Connor and Dr Mary Daly. The book, based on interviews with over 2,744 people, is published by the Health Education Bureau and Gill & Macmillan, price IR£5.

New Leinster House le

gislation to be enacted by the middle of 1986 will ban smoking in designated public areas, such as cinemas and public offices, and will oblige tobacco companies to pay a miserly 2% of their advertising budgets for use in health education programmes about smoking.

ACCORDING to Colin Brady, the *Daily Telegraph* and *Sunday Telegraph* correspondent based in Belfast, the son of Moyle Sinn Féin Councillor Sean Regan, who was among the 18 republicans arrested last week, was "a Sinn Féin organiser in Northampton".

Colin must have filed his story from the office party.

STRANGE as it may seem, not all of Margaret Thatcher's followers share her total enthusiasm for war games.

One Conservative Party councillor in the Welsh city of Swansea has condemned a new computer

game based on the Falklands/Malvinas War where the British fleet tries to land its forces on the islands.

His criticism? The British only have a 50-50 chance of winning.

ADMIRATION for the IRA can sometimes come from unexpected quarters as some residents of Callanbridge Estate in Armagh discovered on New Year's Day when British troops and members of the RUC paid them an unwelcome visit.

Impressed by the IRA ambush in the city centre shortly after midnight, a squaddie named Steve, of the Prince of Wales Own Regiment, informed locals that the IRA is "the best-equipped guerrilla army in the world". A slight exaggeration perhaps, but Steve's admission that he is an avid reader of *AP/RN* shows that he can't be all bad.

Unfortunately, however, even the best-equipped guerrilla armies find it difficult to distinguish between the well-armed agents of oppression so we can only tell Steve to have a happy New Year - desert!

Dúirt siad

Intelligence reports indicate that 1986 could be a bad year for the province.

- News Letter

★★★★

The British side is known to be extremely anxious that the Anglo-Irish agreement should herald visible successes against subversives and the ability of the Irish government to deliver on this is seen as something of a quid-pro-quo for the political 'concessions' by the British in the agreement. Success against subversives would also help to counter some unionist opposition to the agreement.

- Irish Times report, four days before the dawn raids across the North on Sinn Féin members.

They cannot expect us to shed crocodile tears, like them (Sinn Féin) for these people.

- SDLP general secretary Eamonn Hanna on the detentions under Section 12 seven-day orders of Sinn Féin members.

★★★★

It was to be expected that there would be arrests after the recent attacks on police stations in Northern Ireland.

- South Down SDLP candidate Eddie McGrady excusing the Sinn Féin arrests.

★★★★

The fact that a number of the arrests have been on Assemblymen and councillors is irrelevant. The RUC presumably has a basis for making the arrests.

- Dublin government spokesperson.

★★★★

The Anglo-Irish conference is supposed to rebuild the nationalist community's faith in the North's police and courts. How can it hope to succeed against the background of the supergrass system? Having RUC patrols accompany UDR men is peripheral to issues as central to the present alienation as what happened this week in the Belfast Crown Court. After Harry Kirkpatrick, what guarantees can Peter Barry deliver?

- Irish Press editorial

★★★★

Only a snowman would call a general election in January. And you know what happens to snowmen in spring.

- What was said of unionist prime minister Terence O'Neill who called an election in the winter of 1969. The speaker? Snowman Ian Paisley.

★★★★

If the constitutional opposition falls, then we will resort to extra-parliamentary activities. If that means breaking the law and taking action against the government and people of the South of Ireland, we will take it....

I mean cross-border activities by unionists which could involve towns like Dundalk, Buncrana, and, if necessary, as far down as Cork... These (these activities) could very probably result in bloodshed.

- Gregory Campbell, DUP

★★★★

Not long ago, Fretlin say, Indonesian troops rounded up the 60-odd inhabitants of a village (suspected of an earlier anti-Indonesian ambush) and made them dig a large hole about five feet deep. All 60 - men, women and children - were then buried vertically in this hole so that only their heads were showing. A bulldozer, driven by a laughing Indonesian soldier, finished the job.

- The *Guardian* on the little-reported but ongoing genocide of the East Timorese people by US-supported Indonesian government troops.

NOTES
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