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BLATANT MURDER

IN BROAD DAYLIGHT and in front of numerous eyewitnesses, British soldiers shot dead an unarmed nationalist civilian and seriously injured a second.

The victims, 20-year-old Fergal Caraher, a married man with a 15-month-old son, and his 23-year-old brother, Micheál, were both

mercilessly shot by foreign soldiers as they went about their business in their own home village.

The close-knit South Armagh community of Cullyhanna, where the shooting took place, is shocked and extremely angry both that the killing should have happened and that the killers remain free to kill again. The Royal Marine Commandos who carried



● Francis and John Caraher carry their brother Fergal's coffin

out the shooting remain on duty and will be subjected only to an RUC inquiry, the outcome of which is almost certainly a foregone conclusion.

The circumstances of the shooting which occurred on Sunday afternoon, December 30th, show clearly that the killing of Fergal Caraher and the wounding of his brother was a premeditated and ruthlessly executed act of terror, a political assassination aimed at cowering a community which refuses to be cowed. The dead man was a member of Sinn Féin and both he and his brother were known to their killers.

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS

AP/RN has reconstructed events leading up to the killing based on eyewitness accounts, all of which are now in the hands of the Caraher family solicitor, Thomas Tiernan. The Caraher family are adamant that no inter-

nal British inquiry into the double shooting will satisfy them. They are equally adamant that justice must be done.

One of the main witnesses to the shooting, Liam Murphy, explained how, shortly after 3.30pm, he and Micheál Caraher had turned off the Slate Quarry Road onto the Tullynavall Road on the edge of Cullyhanna village. The pair were heading for the car-park of the Lite and Easy Bar, where they had arranged to meet Fergal Caraher before going for an afternoon visit to Dundalk. Murphy, driving a Ford Granada, noticed a Southern-registered grey Toyota Corolla immediately in front of him. The car had obvious engine trouble. Murphy and Micheál Caraher pulled in beside the Toyota and offered assistance. They were positioned on the Tullynavall Road adjacent to Cullyhanna Community Centre. Several minutes later Fergal Caraher, driving a white Rover, spotted Murphy's car and also pulled in at the community centre.

The trio managed to get the Toyota started and were chatting together when a British army patrol appeared from the direction of the Slate Quarry Road. Four soldiers approached the Carahers and Murphy, while others moved on up the Tullynavall Road.

The four soldiers questioned the three men and held them for approximately ten minutes. During this ten minutes local Sinn Féin councillor, Jim McAllister, arrived on the scene and stopped to ask if everything was all right. Fergal Caraher told him not to worry and that they would be all right.

WAVED THROUGH

On being allowed to proceed, Fergal Caraher drove off alone to the nearby pub, closely followed by the other two. He was waved through a checkpoint which was being operated between Cullyhanna chapel and the entrance to the pub car-park. Murphy was similarly waved through. Only traffic coming from the Dundalk direction was being stopped.

Fergal Caraher entered the pub car-park and stopped while Murphy drove on a short distance

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 3)



● Royal Marine Commandos at the scene of the shooting of Fergal Caraher (inset)



RUC MAN SHOT DEAD IN LURGAN

A FULL-TIME RUC reservist was executed on Thursday, December 20th, as he drove home.

Shortly after midnight, IRA Volunteers successfully identified and ambushed the RUC man's black Mini car near Warlingstown after it had left Lurgan RUC Station. In a statement is-

sued following the operation, the North Armagh Brigade of the IRA said its Volunteers had executed the RUC man who had 15 years service in the sectarian force.

OPERATIONS SUSPENDED

A THREE-DAY SUSPENSION of offensive military action was announced by the IRA in a statement issued through the Republican Publicity Bureau in Dublin. The suspension of offensive action was, the statement said, effective from midnight December 23rd to midnight December 26th. Reserving the right to take defensive action, the IRA said that active service units had been instructed to "suspend all offensive military action in the British occupied area for a period of three days".

Commenting on the various political responses to the IRA suspension of operations, Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams said on December 27th:

"Republicans noted that the responses of the unionist parties North and South were negative and predictably similar. The difference on this issue, as on so many others, between the OUP, DUP and the neo-unionists of Fine Gael, the Workers' Party and the Progressive Democrats, were differences of emphasis and not content.

"Mr Brooke's response, like the statement from Mr Haughey, was more positive. However, neither of these gentlemen can behave like hurlers on the ditch. They are the two main players. They can move the situation on and have the real responsibility to do so. Seventy years of partition and hundreds of years of British involvement in Irish affairs have failed to bring peace, stability or justice. Mr Brooke and Mr Haughey know this as well as the rest of us.

"There is an urgent need to develop an agenda which will bring about a total demilitarisation and usher in an era of lasting peace. The restoration of an Irish national democracy is the prize."

AS WE FACE into the challenges of a new year, it is important to look at the lessons of the last one. Nineteen ninety saw a remilitarisation of the conflict in the Six Counties by the British. Repression increased, most obviously in the many hundreds of house raids (in a single fortnight period in Derry 300 homes were raided); the re-emergence of systematised brutality in interrogation centres; increased SAS activity, and in the ordering in of hundreds of extra British troops: all the non-solutions which are as old as colonialism itself. We note with some satisfaction that the main proponent of the military option (whether it be in Ireland, the Malvinas or the Gulf) has been rejected and cast aside even by her own.

Despite the best efforts of the British war machine, ASUs (active service units) of the IRA have confronted the crown forces with the price of colonialism and brought it directly home to the policy makers who legislate for it. While our people suffer from the repression and death that British rule brings, no combatant or policy-maker will be able to relax.

The leadership of the IRA take this opportunity to applaud the determination, resilience and ability of republican activists, military or political, in having confronted Thatcherism in all its aspects and in having forged through it.

We hope our opponents have learned the lesson: the struggle for self-determination and a true Irish national democracy, encompassing all the Irish people, is stronger and more enduring than any British government or policy, be it Cromwellian, Thatcherite or Kitsonian.

The IRA is in existence in response to a part of Ireland, and its people, being held by military force against the will of the vast majority of the Irish nation. Let there be no mistake about our position. Amongst all the parties directly or indirectly involved in Ireland's British problem it is the nationalist and republican people of the Six Counties who desire peace the most, precisely because they are the people who have suffered the longest and the most under British rule.

Republicans will not be found wanting in the pursuance of justice and a lasting peace. Our aim is Irish unity and democracy, as it is the will of the vast majority of Irish people. We welcome the emergence of national democracies

SOLDIERS INJURED

Less than 12 hours later, in a bomb attack on a British army foot-patrol in County Fermanagh, two British soldiers were injured in the Hillhead Road area of Stewartstown, when Volunteers from the South Fermanagh Brigade detonated the bomb as a foot-patrol passed by.

KEEPING THE PRESSURE UP

The IRA maintained the pressure in both rural and urban areas on December 20th. In Belfast hundreds of crown forces personnel were tied down in lengthy clearance operations as a number of Belfast city centre shops were evacuated following telephone bomb warnings. A

number of devices left inside security gates were examined by British army bomb technicians — all turned out to be hoaxes.

There was another major alert at the permanent border checkpoint at Kilturk outside Newtownbutler, when a milk-float was driven to it and abandoned shortly after 10.30am.

The checkpoint was closed while British army technicians examined the milk-float.

A bomb left by Volunteers of the Derry Brigade, IRA, on the road to the permanent border checkpoint at Buncrana Road was defused, following a massive clearance operation which involved the sealing of main cross-border routes.

CHECKPOINTS ATTACKED

Less than 20 minutes after the end of the suspension of operations, on midnight of December 26th, IRA Volunteers launched a gun attack on the permanent border checkpoint in Roslea in County Fermanagh. Positioned on the top of a nearby hilltop, Volunteers fired over 400 rounds from heavy machine-guns before withdrawing from the area.

The Mid-Ulster Brigade of the IRA said its Volunteers carried out a gun attack on the permanent vehicle checkpoint in Aghnacloy shortly after 8pm on New Year's Day. In their statement on the incident, the Mid-Ulster Brigade, IRA, said that an active service unit, using a 12.7mm anti-aircraft gun, fired over 100 rounds at the checkpoint, before returning safely to base. Contrary to RUC reports, the IRA statement said that the



British army had returned fire both from the checkpoint and from further into the town, causing damage to a number of houses.

THE BUZZ IN BELFAST

Meanwhile in Belfast, two RUC men narrowly escaped death when they were injured in a bomb attack on Mountpottinger RUC barracks shortly after 9pm on December 27th.

Belfast was once again buzzing with the sound of RUC and British army sirens with incendiary bomb attacks on city centre stores at the weekend. Two incendiary bombs went off in the British Home Stores and a third in the Victoria Centre shortly after 3am on Sunday, December 31st. In a major operation, hundreds of crown forces personnel were tied down on Saturday night through to the early hours of Sunday, while British army technicians defused other incendiary bombs in city centre stores.

New Year message from the Irish Republican Army

Throughout the world and pursue the achievement of our own. Yet, while the British government applauds such democracies, it prevents it in occupied Ireland.

Seemingly it is the purpose of present British propaganda to claim that there is no solution, that this is an intractable problem or that the IRA cannot win. Every colonial power in every single colonial situation said the same ad nauseam until they had to leave.

Our message is straightforward enough and based on the experience of every national liberation movement in history. We will have national freedom. We are confident, we have the ability, the personnel, the material and most importantly the commitment and determination to break Britain's will to maintain the occupation of any part of Ireland.

We are entering 1991, which marks the tenth anniversary of the prison hunger-strikes in which ten young men died in a courageous and historical act of integrity and love for Irish freedom. This is the measure of this generation of free-

dom fighters. Is there one single person of all the British people who have that level of commitment to remaining in Ireland?

Nineteen ninety one also marks the 75th anniversary of the 1916 Rising and Proclamation. The British should realise that these historical events are the foundations of our commitment to achieving a true Irish national democracy based on the ideals of the leaders of 1916 and stated in the Proclamation of the Republic.

Conversely these are anniversaries of attempts by the British to defeat the struggle for Irish independence. As such they mark the abject failure of Britain's policies in Ireland and show the utter futility of British attempts to halt the onrush of Irish independence.

Momentous changes are occurring across the world, yet little has changed in this British-created sectarian statelet since the violent imposition of partition. We salute all those who have refused to succumb to the onslaught of repression the last 21 years has brought down. We salute our comrades in

Sinn Féin, republican prisoners at home and abroad, their long-suffering families, IRA Volunteers and their families, and international solidarity groups without whom our task would be much more difficult. We most especially salute the endurance and steadfastness of Irish nationalists in the Six Counties.

The challenge of 1991 is the achievement of a just and lasting peace in a free Ireland. The challenge to the NIO and Downing Street is to face up to the inevitability of Irish unity rather than trying to revitalise a dying colonial rule.

The SDLP leadership should desist from propagating the preposterous claim that the British are some sort of honest brokers. The Dublin government must face the reality of the British role in Ireland as one of foreign, military and political interference. Irish political parties must stop moving to a British agenda if peace and democracy in Ireland (or for that matter Europe) are to be achieved. Irish unity must be put centre stage again, where it belongs.

For our part, we pledge to all those who have suffered so much that we will not be found wanting in the fight against British occupation nor will we be slow in seeking peace, once British interference is removed, to allow all the Irish people to decide collectively the destiny of our country.

BLATANT MURDER

(CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE)

to a shop where he had spotted his wife Maeve. Murphy told Micheál Caraher to go and inform Fergal that he intended leaving the car with Maeve and would join them in a few minutes. As Liam and Maeve

Murphy walked from the shop onto the Tullynavall Road they saw the white Rover, with Fergal and Micheál in it, appear at the exit to the pub car-park. Without warning there was a short burst of gunfire followed by a more sustained firing.

Murphy dived for cover.

Two other witnesses continue the account — Francis Caraher, a brother of the two victims, and Pat Martin, a local publican. Francis Caraher, who lives on the edge of St Patrick's estate which looks onto the Tullynavall Road, noticed from his kitchen window that his brother Fergal's car was parked in the grounds of the local pub and that a soldier was at the car speaking to Fergal. Aware of the high levels of harassment in the area, Francis decided he should go and see if his brother needed help.

He left the estate and had only driven a short distance when he heard a soldier shout "Stop that fucking car, don't let him past". His car was then stopped at the check-

point which was positioned just above the car-park entrance. He could clearly see Fergal who, by this time, had been joined by Micheál. There was no sign of any trouble. Within minutes the Rover was leaving the car-park.

FIRING POSITION

Francis is totally adamant that it was driving slowly as it exited. As it cleared the exit there were a number of shots. Francis, less than 50 feet from the Rover, could see one soldier in a kneeling position at the side of the Tullynavall Road. He was firing at the car. A second soldier moved in close to the Rover and also began firing. There was pandemonium by this stage, with people screaming and diving for cover. The

Rover, which had been repeatedly struck by gunfire, drove off in the direction of Dundalk.

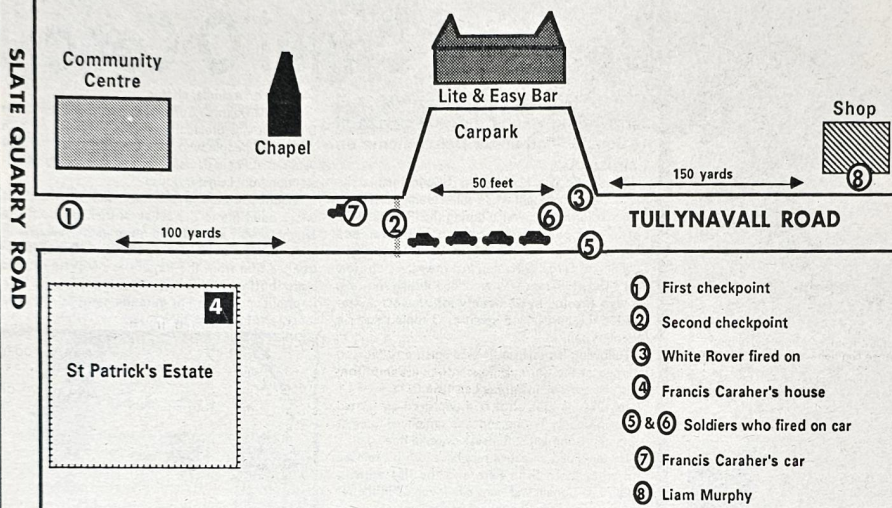
Francis Caraher's recollection is borne out by the testimony of Pat Martin. Martin was sitting in his car, which was one of four north-bound vehicles stopped at the checkpoint. Martin also saw Fergal being questioned by a soldier and then told to drive on. As the Rover headed for the exit, Martin heard a soldier near his car shout out a name. Martin then saw a second soldier respond. The second soldier ran from the checkpoint and took up a kneeling position facing into the car-park exit. Seconds later, as the Rover pulled out onto the roadway, the soldier began firing without warning. Martin watched horrified as a second soldier joined in the firing.

TISSUE OF LIES

These witnesses' accounts concurred with those of a number of others who saw part, or all, of what happened. There are of course natural small differences in people's recollection but every witness to the events is absolutely certain that there was no incident at any checkpoint. They all dismiss as a tissue of lies, the British army claim that two soldiers were struck by the car and they all agree that the firing occurred, without warning, just as the car drove from the car-park entrance at a normal speed.

Understandably, the Caraher brothers drove from the scene trying to escape their attackers. However, after a short while, neighbours who witnessed the attack found them bleeding heavily in the car which had come to a halt less than a mile from where it had been fired on. Although an ambulance was quickly on the scene, Fergal Caraher was pronounced dead on arrival at Daisy Hill Hospital in Newry. Micheál Caraher remains in a very serious condition in Belfast's Royal Victoria Hospital to where he was transferred on account of the severity of his injuries.

Scene of shooting



Subdued establishment reaction to Caraher murder

BY LIAM O COILEAIN

THE ROUTINE of establishment figures trying to outdo each other in statements of condemnation following a killing in the Six Counties was lacking this week. It was lacking because Fergal Caraher was murdered and his brother seriously injured by Royal Marine Commandos and because the two victims were, in the eyes of such 'right-minded' people, republican sympathisers.

In such circumstances a guarded response, rather than expressions of revulsion, is the preferred reaction; establishment figures judge that they have to be very careful in criticising the actions of British forces.

However, eyewitness evidence from numerous local people (including a brother of the dead man) that Caraher's car was waved through the checkpoint before it was fired on has forced the Dublin government to express its concern. Its equivocal response, however, has been to express itself "anxious to have all aspects thoroughly investigated and the fullest possible information made available" and it is seeking information on the incident through the Hillsborough Secretariat in Maryfield.

Local Sinn Féin representative Jim McAllister described the shooting as "Britain's New Year message to the Irish people", condemning also the return to duty of those responsible, saying "on behalf of all the people of this area I assert our outrage and disgust". The SDLP's Seamus Mallon also called for an independent judicial inquiry into the fatal shooting.

On Wednesday, the day of Fergal Caraher's funeral, Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams said: "With over 300 similar deaths in disputed circumstances and only one conviction, that of Private Ian Thain who was released back into the British army after only two years in prison, there can be little doubt that the British look after their own and will seek to protect those who carried out Sunday's brutal murder."

BALANCING ACT

Catholic Primate Cahal Daly received the most media coverage following his call for an independent inquiry. He said that many people "are completely unconvinced by the account so far given by the British army", but as usual, he felt it necessary to 'balance' his remarks by saying that such checkpoints are there "only because of IRA activity".

Despite this, Daly was immediately criticised by Official Unionist MP John Taylor, who criticised him for not being "impartial".



● INC picket outside the British Embassy on New Year's Day

and for speaking in a manner "which creates division and resentment in the community". The DUP's Willie McCrea said that such calls for public inquiries only "assisted the IRA propaganda machine" while his Belfast party colleague Sammy Wilson publicly gloated at Fergal Caraher's murder.

The Irish National Congress, which on

New Year's Day organised a picket outside the British Embassy in Dublin in protest at the Carahers' shooting, said: "The hope for a peaceful New Year has been tarnished by the summary execution of Fergal Caraher and the attempted murder of his brother Micheál."

It called on Britain to cease its "campaigns of harassment, intimidation and 'shoot-to-kill' policies against the nationalist community in the North".

PUBLIC INQUIRY

The group said that having completed a preliminary investigation, based on statements from eye-witnesses, it rejected "as a tissue of lies" the account of the incident given by the British army. It said that, if asked to do so by the Caraher family, "the INC's legal representatives will facilitate a public, sworn inquiry into the incident", the findings, statements, and evidence to be collated and sent to the Irish government, the Northern Ireland DPP's office and to national and international human rights organisations.

The Green Party also condemned "the 'shoot-to-kill' policy of 'death squads' in the security forces in Northern Ireland whereby unarmed men are murdered without pity".

The party called for a full and independent inquiry: "We emphasise that previous inquiries have only whitewashed the facts of murder. The inquiry must be seen to be independent with jurors from the Court of Human Rights, in view of previous statements by the British Attorney-General, in the House of Commons, admitting the chain of murders in Armagh, the subject of the aborted Stalker Inquiry, but that he did not intend, in the public interest, to take any action against the RUC and SAS involved."

Toughest MacBride bill yet for New York

IN ANOTHER MAJOR DEFEAT for the British government, what has been described by US activists as the "toughest ever MacBride bill" was introduced by New York City Council on December 20th.

The introduction is the latest in a long series of successes for the MacBride Principles campaign, in cities and states across the USA, which prevents US companies from investing in the Six Counties unless the firms comply with the independent anti-discrimination guidelines.

In a statement on the latest adoption of the MacBride Principles by one of the biggest municipal authorities in the USA, the Irish Northern Aid Committee said:

"Despite the credit claimed by the British government some months ago when introducing what was said to be radical, new anti-discrimination laws, absurd problems of le-

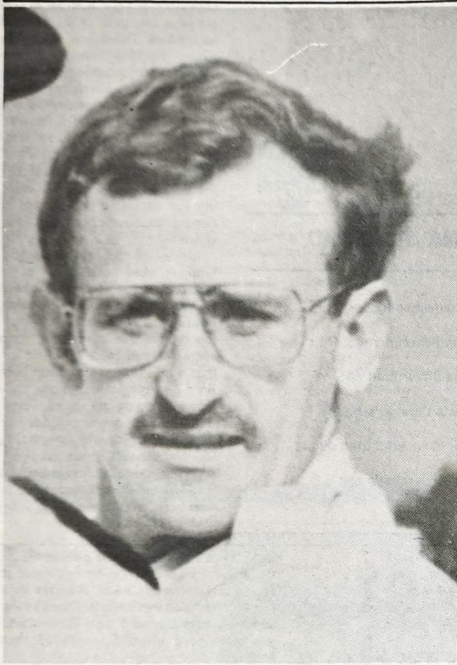
gal interpretation announced in the infamous Fair Employment Tribunal ruling on October 11th, have made it illegal to proceed with alleged discrimination claims. It is now illegal to disclose the religion of anyone connected with a religious discrimination case, making it virtually impossible to make a complaint about religious discrimination under the new law. The 1989 Act may also be in contravention of the European Convention on Human Rights and the Equal Opportunity Convention. Over 100 discrimination cases ground to a halt in one day. What are concerned Americans supposed to think?

"Because the British government knew

about the potential legal impediments in the Act before it was passed, it is clear that it was not a serious attempt to counter religious discrimination, but was intended for its propaganda value in countering world opinion and the American MacBride Principles campaign for fair employment in the North of Ireland.

"On October 11th, the British government proved that it has neither the will nor the ability to provide for civil and social justice in the Six Counties of Ireland that it occupies. New, tougher MacBride bills, with real money, tougher MacBride bills, with real money, are being drawn up through- out the United States and Irish Northern Aid will be in the forefront of this new, aggressive campaign for justice. MacBride is our primary political goal for '91 and beyond."

- THE MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES**
- Increasing the representation of individuals from under-represented religious groups in the managerial, clerical and technical jobs, while travelling to and from work.
 - Adequate security for the protection of minority employees both at the workplace and while travelling to and from work.
 - The banning of provocative religious or political symbols from the workplace.
 - All job openings should be publicised and made to attract applicants from under-represented religious groups.
 - Lay-offs, recalls, and termination procedures should not, in practice, favour particular religious groups.
 - The abolition of job reservation, appointment criteria, which discriminate on the basis of religion, race, or ethnic origin.
 - The development of training programmes that will prepare substantial numbers of current employees for skilled jobs including the expansion of existing programmes to train, upgrade, and improve the skills of minority employees.
 - The establishment of procedures to identify, and actively recruit minority employees with potential for further advancement.
 - Appointment of a senior management member to oversee the company's affirmative action efforts and the setting up of a timetable to carry out affirmative action principles.
- December 21st 1984



Dessie Ellis in London court

DESSIE ELLIS was remanded in custody on December 20th to appear on January 3rd, 1991, in Arbour Square Court, London.

Dessie was present at the ten-minute court hearing, where his solicitor, Gareth Peirce, said that she had only just received papers from the prosecution and was still without vital supporting material such as photographs. She also requested all material relating to previous linked cases. The court magistrate argued with this, saying such material was not necessary. Gareth Peirce pointed out that Dessie's case related to events which occurred in 1981/82 and that there

had been a number of similar cases arising out of the same events. She needed all papers that dealt with an alleged conspiracy. She said that Dessie had been subjected to a long process of extradition and yet she found herself still awaiting basic necessary material.

Peirce reminded the court of the ongoing obligation of proper disclosure rather than finding out after the committal that the same allegations had in fact been put to others in previous cases. Gareth Peirce said she did not want to waste the court's time but she also did not want to walk into a case blind.

Dessie received a round of applause from friends and family in the public gallery as he left the court.

Death of Daithí O Conaill

LONG-TIME republican activist and former Sinn Féin vice-president, Daithí O Conaill, died at his Dublin home on January 1st.

Born in Cork in 1937, Daithí O Conaill joined the Republican Movement while still a teenager. He volunteered for active service during the IRA's 1956-'62 border campaign and took part in the famous Brookeborough raid in which Volunteers Seán Sabhat and Fergal O'Hanlon lost their lives on New Year's Day, 1957. He was wounded during the raid. He was arrested by 26-County forces when he re-crossed the border and spent a six-month term in Mountjoy Jail.

Following his release he was again arrested and interned at the Curragh Concentration Camp from which he escaped in September, 1958.

In 1960 he was shot and captured by crown forces in County Tyrone and was sentenced to eight years imprisonment at Belfast's Crumlin Road Jail.

He remained an active republican on his release and when both Sinn Féin and the IRA split in 1969/'70, O Conaill was centrally involved in the re-organisation of the Republican Movement.

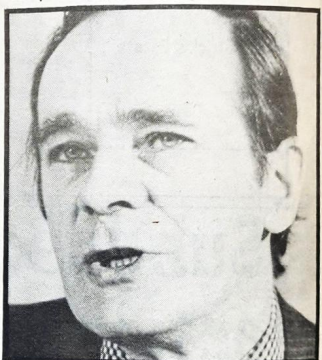
Daithí O Conaill was a member of the IRA's Army Council during the '70s and was on the republican delegation which negotiated a truce with the British government in London in 1972. He was also involved in the Feakle talks which led to the 1974/'75 IRA cease-fire.

He was again arrested in the 26 Counties in 1975 and sentenced to 12 months imprisonment for IRA membership and a year later received an 18-month

sentence on a similar charge.

In 1983 Daithí O Conaill resigned his position as Sinn Féin vice-president. In 1986 he was one of a number of people who left Sinn Féin following that year's Ard Fheis decision to end the policy of abstention from Leinster House.

Daithí O Conaill was a man who dedicated his entire adult life to the cause of Irish freedom. He fought bravely and suffered much in that cause and, while in later years deep political differences estranged him from the Republican Movement, his contribution had been very significant. The Republican Movement extends sympathy to his family and friends on their loss.



● Daithí O Conaill at a press conference with Sean Mac Stiofáin and Seamus Twomey in 1972

AT CHRISTMAS 434 sentenced and life prisoners from four jails in the Six Counties had the opportunity to spend a seven-day period with their loved ones. Although it was not the first such parole, this year it included a "record number" of prisoners and attracted much more media coverage.

AP/RN interviewed one of the republican lifers, Paul Baker, who was out of jail for the first time in over 13 years and found that behind the media hype about NIO generosity there was an immense amount of pressure on both prisoners and families.

For weeks before Baker got out of jail on parole, his family and friends began to make preparations for his first home-coming to Belfast's New Lodge. While they played down the amount of effort and expense put in, new carpets, bigger and better decorations and the odd touch of paint told a different story. It was a routine repeated in many homes where men and women in their 30s and 40s saw their families and communities on the outside for the first time in years. It was an experience almost beyond description and on a scale hard to imagine.

Finally Thursday, December 20th, arrived and Paul's relatives and friends left Belfast on the all-too-familiar journey to Long Kesh prison near Lisburn.

NERVOUS CHATTER

There was nervous chatter and anxious queries about being late for his release but no one seemed to notice or care about showers of driving rain and the dark clouds that framed the watchtowers and barbed wire fences of Europe's most infamous prison.

A few minutes after nine, with a huge throng of relatives crowded around the gate, the first parolees appeared and before long the car-park was a sea of smiling faces, hugs, kisses and happiness as cameras clicked and British soldiers looked down their gun sights from above.

Many of the prisoners and their families seemed almost unwilling to move as a multitude of introductions were made and faces in photographs on cell walls were now real.

A few visitors hurried past the parolees and their families, anxious to speed the pre-visit routine along. They sat as usual in the prefab waiting room with its gaudy Christmas tree, waiting to be searched. The warders had replaced the fairy on the Christmas tree with a miniature Union Jack. "Sure what do you expect," said a visitor with a sigh of resignation.

STOPPED & QUESTIONED

Time was at a premium and Paul Baker was not sooner back in Belfast than he began an endless series of visits, meetings and interviews. The first was for Sky TV who wanted to know what it was like "to be free". They got their answer less than 30 seconds after stepping onto the street when Baker and fellow parolee Tom 'Dutch' Holland were stopped and questioned by a foot-patrol of

Home and away — a week for a lifer



● Relatives awaiting Christmas parole releases

Scottish soldiers. The camera rolled but such footage would rarely if ever be broadcast, it is too illustrative, too close to the bone for British consumption.

Baker explained what he and many of the parolees were hoping to achieve while out. "Before we left jail various people agreed to meet with Sinn Féin departments, pressure groups, civil libertarians, cultural activists and the media in an effort to update ourselves first hand on the current situation. We can bring reality back to prison. A massive amount of information can be gathered, assessed and disseminated back into the jails in this way, a situation impossible to achieve through visits and letters.

"We also wanted to publicise the cosmetic and illogical nature of the parole system as it currently operates."

His own case is typical of the absurdity of the situation. Baker's brother Liam is serving 24 years in Long Lartin Prison, England, and Paul has been applying for two years to visit him. He was told to give up visits for a month and a half which he did. He was then told he wasn't getting the visit after all. He took his case to Belfast High Court and was told by the judge that he was "a security risk" and that he (the judge) "couldn't endanger others lives" by letting him go on the visit. A few days later Baker was released on parole, obviously no longer the 'security risk' the court said he was.

Three years ago his case was reviewed and he was "knocked back" (told he must wait for a new review of his case) for five years. By then Baker will have been released on parole another five times. Each time his family have the pleasure of welcoming him home only to have to say goodbye again at

the prison gates seven days later and all the time never knowing when, if ever, he is getting out for good.

"The Campaign for Lifers put our plight on the agenda. It was pressure brought to bear by their campaigning that forced the NIO to grant any parole, but it is important," he stressed, "to remember that it is a stop-gap. All they are interested in is taking the pressure off and appearing to be more humane in their treatment of long-term prisoners."

22p A PINT

The main benefit of parole to Paul Baker was spending such a concentrated period of time with his two children aged 18 and 15. They were one and four when he was sentenced to life imprisonment and, with the exception of visits, he has missed their childhood. He was determined to make up for lost time and allowed them to be tour guides as he went into the city centre and around his home area for the first time in so many years. There were so many changes, not least the price of things; a pint of beer was 22p when he went to jail and so many coins presented him with a strange challenge. He tried using notes where possible but ended up with more change than ever!

Baker spoke of the financial pressures that families of parolees go through to have their loved ones home for Christmas and described it as immense. "Two and three hundred pounds is a massive amount for any family and we do know of families going to credit unions for loans to ensure that their



● Raymond McCartney, O/C republican POWs, H-Blocks

loved ones have the best possible parole. It is a fact that they go into debt and also try to hide their financial plight from the parolees so as not to spoil our release. Add that to the psychological pressure of not knowing when full release will come and having a loved one home for what is an emotional roller coaster of seven days duration becomes a source of great pressure."

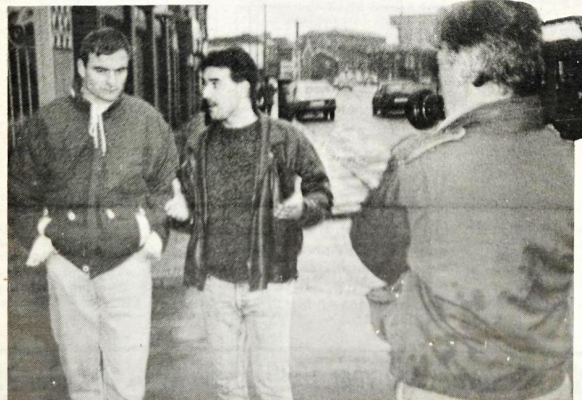
He spoke of the prospect of going back into jail after such a happy time at home. "For about two weeks everyone will be alone with their thoughts of home and their loved ones. The seven days will doubtless replay like a videotape over and over again, flashbacks to all the special moments when you were out. There's no doubt that it is hard but it does reinforce your position and you see how hard it is for the people on the outside to cope."

UNBELIEVABLE COMRADESHIP

There were several social functions for the parolees, including one in Belfast that was a tribute to Volunteer Sean Bateson who died in the H Blocks earlier in the year. To outsiders (anyone who hasn't been in jail) the amount of comradeship and demonstrable affection shown by those attending was unbelievable. There were so many familiar faces that one ex-prisoner said "it's like the Blocks only with women".

In spite of the camaraderie and evident enjoyment at such functions and indeed all the reunions, the craic was tinged by the knowledge that it was only seven days and the uncertainty of having no release dates.

Family pressures are evident. Everyone dreaded Thursday morning and many avoided going back to the car-park of the Kesh to say goodbye. They preferred to say goodbye on home ground where they could express their emotions out of sight of cameras and watchtowers. Ironically the sun shone as the parolees returned to jail. "It's like a dream at times," said one relative standing in the car park, "they're home and away again before you have time to appreciate it all."



● Parolees Tom Holland and Paul Baker being filmed by Sky TV on Belfast's Falls Road



● Paul Baker with his family at Long Kesh on his release for Christmas parole

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● Aerial view of the IRA operation in Downpatrick which resulted in the death of four UDR soldiers in April

although no one has yet been accused of actually killing the two soldiers.

Repression in the Six Counties was accompanied by a deepening recession in the 26 Counties. Workers at Coal Distributors Limited and at Waterford Crystal went on strike in separate disputes.

Thronged by well wishers, former Fermanagh/South Tyrone MP Owen Carron walked free from the Dublin Four Courts, when judges upheld his appeal against extradition to the North.

In Easter commemorations throughout Ireland, thousands of people re-affirmed their commitment to the ideals of 1916 and remembered those who have given their lives in the cause of Irish freedom. In their Easter message the IRA said:

"Peter Brooke recently said the IRA cannot be defeated. In saying that, he was both agreeing with his own generals and with us. But we will go further: our struggle is the manifestation of the resistance which will finally sever the British stranglehold over our country. We will have victory."

The release of the Winchester Three by the Court of Appeal in London on April 27th, was heralded as "the end of a nightmare" for Dubliners Martina Shanahan, Finbar Cullen and John McCann. The three had been jailed for 25 years in October 1988 on vague conspiracy charges. The court admitted that there had been no chance of a fair trial after Tom King's outburst over the right to silence, following the Winchester Three's exercise of this right in court.

On April 25th, 22-year-old Brian McKimm died in a hail of bullets fired

by a loyalist death-squad at what they thought was a convenient nationalist target, in the Ligoniel estate in North Belfast. McKimm, a Protestant father of three, died at the scene.

MAY

AS BARRIERS were coming down all across Europe, representatives from the border communities of South Tyrone and North Monaghan handed in six barbed wreaths, representing the occupied Six Counties, to EC heads of government meeting to discuss EC political union at Dublin Castle.

In a weekend of activities organised by the border communities, visitors toured border areas, witnessing at first hand the British army's destruction of border roads and the hardship inflicted on local people. They also visited sites of roads re-opened by local residents.

In a huge display of support, thousands of people attended a march in Belfast to mark the ninth anniversary of the H-Block hunger-strikes. Addressing the rally, Jim Gibney, a National H-Block organiser in 1981, said: "We are here today to protest at the murder by the British government of ten republicans. We are here to let the British know that we're every bit as angry today, nine years later, as we were in 1981."

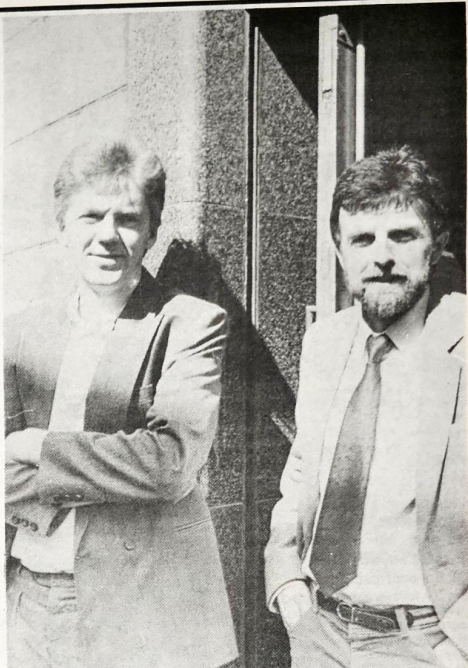
Twice in a two-day period, the IRA struck in the heartland of England, bombing two military targets in Lon-

don. On the 14th, a bomb rocked the Institute of Army Education at Eltham Road. The following day a Royal Marine Commando base was sealed off when sentries noticed perimeter fencing had been cut. Then, within 24 hours of that alert, a British army sergeant died when a booby-trap bomb exploded at a recruiting centre in Wembley; a private soldier was also seriously injured in the blast.

In both Belfast and Dublin environmental issues came to the fore during May. Proposals for a 70 acre landfill site to the North West of Dun Laoghaire harbour enraged local people who collected over 6,000 signatures on a petition against the proposal. In Belfast, continued quarrying at Black Mountain which overlooks West Belfast was described by the area's MP as "inexcusable".

Meanwhile Sellafield, the British nuclear fuel reprocessing plant, was back in the news when Bobby Molloy, 26-County coalition energy minister, failed to secure an EC debate on the issue. Figures showed that Sellafield's discharge of nuclear waste equalled the total for all other plants worldwide.

The Stevens whitewash into collusion between crown forces and pro-British death-squads was finally released. Despite the fact that during the course of the inquiry over 2,600 documents originating from the RUC had been recovered, the report exonerated the RUC, claiming that collusion was "neither widespread nor institutionalised". The release of the report had been anticipated some weeks earlier by Peter Brooke. With unusual candour, he had confided to the media: "It



● Jim Clarke and Owen Carron shortly after Carron's release

is up to the chief constable to decide what he tells me, then a number of us will meet and decide what we tell everyone else."

The month of May closed with a hero's welcome for one of County Tipperary's and Ireland's bravest sons, Patrick Hackett from Nenagh, who was severely disabled in a premature explosion in 1976. He came home after spending 14 years in English jails, much of that time spent on a blanket protest.

JUNE

THE FIRST DAY of June threw the British into a quandry, and yet another security review, as IRA operations in England and Germany left two British soldiers dead and another two injured. In the first operation, three soldiers were ambushed by Volunteers at a railway station in Lichfield, Staffordshire. Hours later Volunteers executed a British army major in Dortmund. Pressure was to be maintained with a bomb attack on a British military base in Hamelin, West Germany, two weeks later.

Two years after the British government's economic development initiative, Making Belfast Work, was launched, West Belfast hosted a conference on the impact of British economic policy on job prospects in the area. Commenting on the conference, MP Gerry Adams said that unemployment and economic development in West Belfast were only on the political agenda because the people of West Belfast had put them there: "The British are not interested in jobs for West Belfast. It is simply responding to the political pressure the people can mobilise in support of their case. It is important we keep up the momentum."

On June 4th, a 60-year-old father of

five was shot dead and two of his sons were seriously injured when a loyalist death-squad burst into their County Tyrone home. The murder of Patrick Boyle of Annaghmore came only days after a North Belfast taximan escaped death in a gun attack. On June 17th, another death-squad attack left a 37-year-old Glengormley man with gunshot wounds to the thigh and abdomen.

With only a week to go to the visit of Nelson Mandela, proof that a form of job apartheid was still alive and kicking in Ireland came with a report by the Six-County Fair Employment Commission on Craigavon. The population of the Borough is 60% Protestant but staffing levels revealed that Catholics only accounted for 12% of managerial jobs while only 3% occupied top positions.

In an *AP/RN* interview in June, the IRA described the bombing of the Tory Carlton Club in London as "bringing the war directly to those who keep the British army on the streets and in the fields of Ireland". That interview came as news still centred on the June 25th bombing in which the Carlton Club, "the rest and recreation centre of the high and mighty", had been seriously damaged.

On the 30th, two RUC men were shot dead in a daring operation in Belfast's city centre.

JULY

THE MONTH opened with the British government trying for all it was worth to ignore, and downplay, the importance of comments made by freed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela. Mandela, while in Dublin, said that only dialogue without pre-conditions between the British and the IRA could offer any hope of progress. Mandela, responding to media coaxing over his thoughts on the IRA's armed



● John McCann, Martina Shanahan and Finbar Cullen at a photo call shortly after their release in April

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tive Louis Robinson, one of the detectives involved in the Chris Black paid-perjurer trial.

On the 17th, the IRA struck in Thatcher's Finchley constituency, critically injuring a British army sergeant as he left a recruiting office. Within 24 hours a senior establishment military figure, and governor of Gibraltar when three IRA Volunteers were assassinated, Air Chief Marshall Peter Terry, was critically injured when IRA Volunteers opened fire on him at his Staffordshire home. The IRA warned that such attacks would continue so long as Britain persisted with its "illogical and illegal claim to Ireland".

Two more attacks were to occur in the Six Counties on the 19th. In Castlederg, County Tyrone, a senior RUC detective was injured in a gun attack, while in Derry several British soldiers were injured in a landmine attack at the Lonemoor Road.

On the same day in County Tyrone a pro-British death-squad attempted to slaughter two nationalist families in the Kildress area. Dozens of high-velocity shots ripped into the Casey and O'Driscoll homes during a prolonged and determined attack. Only security precautions taken by the families averted tragedy.

On September 23rd, a UDR man was executed at Oxford Island near Lurgan and a British soldier was seriously injured in an ambush near Silverbridge in South Armagh. On the same day, six South Derry men revealed that they had been the victims of the RUC torture poli-

reduced to a nonsense when over a dozen IRA Volunteers established a road-block within the Killen exclusion

zone in South Armagh, within full view of two border spy-posts. They detained and subsequently executed RUC Detec-

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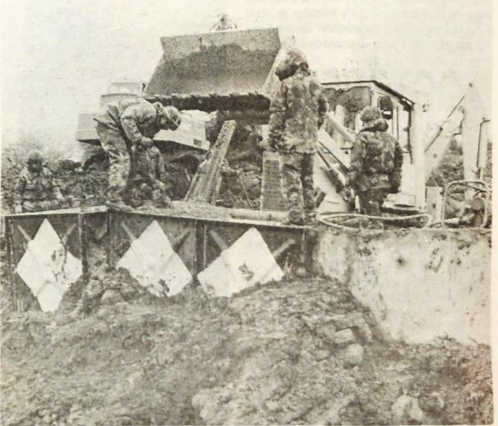
● Tommy Casey's wife Kathleen shows bullets fired through her windows and doors in a previous assassination attempt on her husband Tommy



● Loughgall Barracks destroyed in an IRA attack on September 5th



● Local people re-open the Butt's Bridge crossing



● British soldiers destroy the crossing at Butt's Bridge

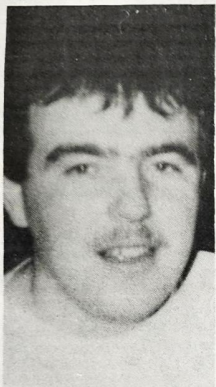
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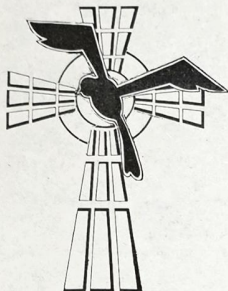
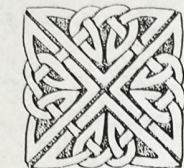
FALLEN COMRADES



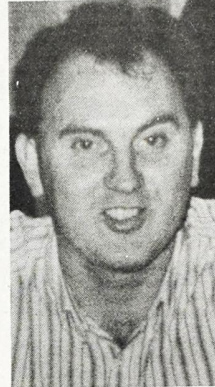
● VOL SEAN BATESON



● VOL MARTIN MCCAUGHEY



● TOMMY CASEY



● VOL DESSIE GREW

certain election victory into a disaster when he was proved to be a liar. He claimed on television that he did not try to influence President Hillery over the holding of a 1982 general election. But a UCD student produced a tape on which Lenihan stated that he did. At the height of the presidential election campaign, Charles Haughey fired Lenihan from his posts as deputy premier

September was to close with the nationalist community continuing to pay the price for British occupation. On the 29th, a 15-year-old boy was critically injured when a booby-trap bomb exploded under a tractor he was reversing on the family farm near Castlederg. The next morning Martin Peake (17) and Karen Reilly (18) were shot dead as the stolen car they were driving was ambushed by British soldiers in West Belfast. A British minister assured the press there was no shoot-to-kill policy.

OCTOBER

DESSIE ELLIS, the first victim of the 1987 Extradition Act, announced that he was going on hunger-strike on October 10th. His determination to make this anti-extradition protest took him to death's door during the weeks that followed.

Ellis was sought by the British courts to face their notorious conspiracy charges and he had no chance of a fair trial. His extradition provoked intense anger in Ireland, the US, Australia and elsewhere. At the height of the 26-County presidential campaign, all three of the candidates were asked to help save him and none did.

Fianna Fáil's Brian Lenihan turned a

land, the Haughey government refused to intervene as he neared death. Haughey told the Ellis family that British "justice" had "improved".

The court rejected Dessie's appeal and he was taken from the Curragh Military Hospital on a stretcher to the ironically named Casement Aerodrome, Baldonnell, where a waiting RAF jet took him to London. In Brixton Jail, England, Dessie Ellis ended his hunger-strike after 37 days (during which he almost lost his sight) deciding to fight on against British injustice in the courts and in the jails.

Mary Robinson won the presidential election after second preferences in the November 7th poll gave her 52%. Brian Lenihan's was the first Fianna Fáil defeat in a race for office since it was created.

Fine Gael's Austin Currie only got 17% of the first preferences and his abysmal showing brought down party leader Alan Dukes. On November 20th, Dukes was replaced by the even more lacklustre John Bruton. Bruton's victory was overshadowed by the tussle for leadership in the British Tory party where Margaret Thatcher was replaced by John Major. Towards the end of the month, in his first decision to do with Ireland, the new prime minister ordered an extra 600 troops to the Six Counties.

Sinn Féin scored an electoral victory in a by-election for Dungannon District Council (the seat held by McCaughey) when Francie Molloy won the seat with increased support. Molloy's victory disproved media speculation that the Sinn Féin vote was on the decline.

A leading British diplomat in Washington admitted that loyalist politicians were "an embarrassment" and that they had "a lot in common" with South African racists. That remark was borne out at the DUP conference where Peter Robinson was cheered to the echo when he "rejoiced" over Britain's shoot-to-kill policy.

Anti-republican rhetoric at the SDLP conference was almost as strong. John Hume held the IRA responsible for the British government's decision to virtually close off County Fermanagh at night, by closing border roads.

Malachy McIvor of Moneymore, County Tyrone, was murdered by a loyalist death-squad on November 8th



● MARY ROBINSON

cillor in Dungannon, was shot seven times in March during the IRA ambush of SAS operatives.

Three nationalists were murdered by sectarian killers during the month. On October 6th, 19-year-old Denis Carville was killed on the shores of Lough Neagh near Lurgan. Taxi-driver Frank Hughes from Dungannon was shot on October 23rd, when he answered a bogus call. Sinn Féin activist Tommy Casey, from Kildress, County Tyrone, met his death three days later.

Collusion between the British forces and the loyalist murder gangs was highlighted during the month when the sisters of UDA member, Brian Nelson, announced that he had been recruited by MI5. Nelson's testimony was a key element in the Stevens Inquiry.

On October 13th, two RUC members were shot, and subsequently died, when the IRA breached Belfast city centre's tight security cordon.

NOVEMBER

OVER 10,000 people marched in support of Dessie Ellis during the run-up to the Supreme Court verdict on his anti-extradition appeal, delivered on November 8th. In spite of appeals from TDs Neil Blaney, Tony Gregory and Roger Gar-



● The last curtain for Thatcher

Review of the year 1990... Review of the year 1990... Review of the year 1990... Review of the year 1990...



● Dessie Ellis pictured with two of his sisters, Patricia and Letitia, during his hunger strike



● Crowds march through the streets of Dublin in support of Dessie Ellis's hunger strike against extradition

and they struck again on the 29th, killing Raymond Robinson in Belfast.

The IRA executed an RUC District Inspector, the most senior Special

Branch member during the current conflict, and a serving RUC member at

Castor Bay on Lough Neagh, on November 10th. They were taking part

in a hunting-expedition with two other members. All four were killed. Two other RUC members were injured in a November 30th attack on the home of Judge Higgins in Belfast.

DECEMBER

BRITISH TROOPS shot Fergal Caraher dead in cold blood and nearly killed his brother Micheál at a checkpoint in Cullyhanna, South Armagh, on December 30th. As they drove through the village, the brothers were stopped and verbally abused by one British patrol outside the community centre. A second group of soldiers stopped them a short time later, searched their car and then shot them as they drove off. The DUP's Sammy Wilson said that there should be little sympathy for the murdered man, as he was a member of Sinn Féin.

The border areas of County Fermanagh were placed under curfew at the beginning of the month as a number of cross-border roads were closed after dark. The closures virtually cut off the entire county from Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan over Christmas.

Paul Magee and Michael McKee appeared at the Dublin High Court, on December 5th, for the start of their appeals against extradition to the Six Counties. The verdict on Tony Sloan's anti-extradition appeal will be given at the same time as that on the Magee/McKee case. All three escaped from Crumlin Road Jail in Belfast.

An English judge said, during a preliminary hearing to the Birmingham Six's third appeal, that he wasn't "going to let this spoil our Christmas" and put the case back till February. Judgement was also reserved in the appeal hearing of another unjustly imprisoned Irishman, Danny McNamee. In Belfast it was announced that soldiers who killed three men robbing Graham's Bookies on the Falls Road in January, would not be charged. Newry woman Donna Maquire was extradited from Belgium to the Netherlands on December 7th.

In continuing IRA, attacks a contractor was killed in South Derry at the beginning of the month and an RUC member was killed in Lurgan on December 19th. The IRA announced that no military operations would be carried out over a three-day period at Christmas.

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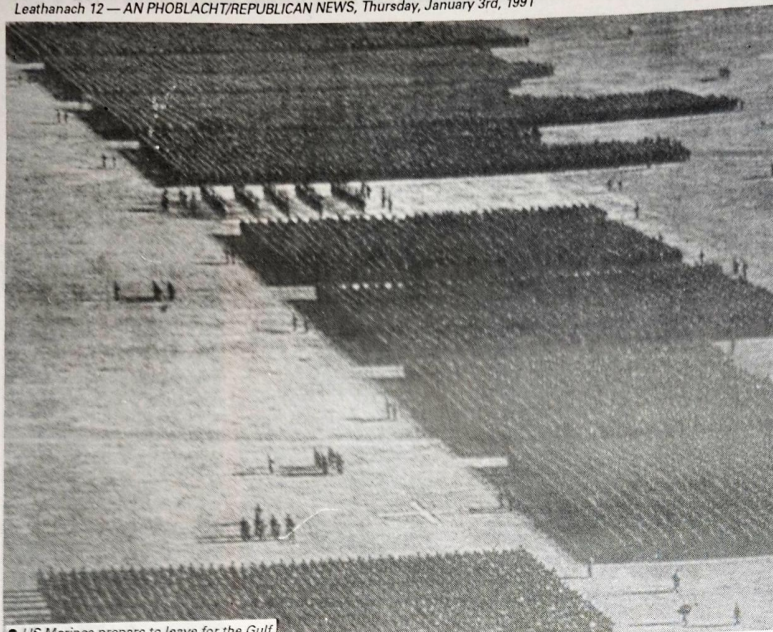
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● US Marines prepare to leave for the Gulf

As worlds collide

THREE WORLDS COLLIDED during 1990 and one has virtually ceased to exist. Since the end of the Second World War, when the globe was divided up by the victors, it has become common to describe the richer capitalist states as the First World, and the poorer nations as the Third World. Between these two lay the communist or Second World, a constant restraint on the ambitions of the colonial powers.

That restraint has now vanished and a year which began with the US invasion of Panama, ends with half-a-million US troops poised to invade yet another Third World country. The ground-rules of world politics are being re-drafted and George Bush hopes to provide the text.

Amid the political confusion and economic turmoil of Eastern Europe, Bush and his cohorts made substantial gains during the year. That entire region has been turned into a bonanza for capitalism. But, in the Third World, the going was a lot tougher. It is already clear that he faces an immense task in dislodging Hussein from Kuwait. The very act of war itself, irrespective of who wins, will embroil the US in a host of new problems in the region.

The emergence of Nelson Mandela as a world statesperson after only ten months of freedom, the enduring courage of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories and the steadfastness of the Cuban people, also show Bush won't necessarily have everything his own way over the next few years.

In the US Bush also has considerable problems to overcome. The Savings and Loan scandal will just not go away. It already promises to cost as much as the Vietnam War and the responsibility for it lies with the White House under Reagan and Bush. Opposition to the war against Iraq is growing daily and is prompting more and more US politicians to come out for peace. That could be serious for Bush, as the US Constitution gives Congress a considerable say

over the armed forces as well as the right to declare war.

There is increasing evidence of rifts within what is known as the West. Bush's staff have been intensely critical of some EC states for failing to give sufficient military backing to his war plans. And the Italian and Belgian governments are spearheading an attempt to turn the EC into a superpower, capable of rivaling the US on the military level. This would lead to the break-up of NATO, which has tied the Western European states to the coattails of the US for the last four decades. This increasing divergence has also been seen at the economic level during the recent GATT talks on world trade.

As the dinosaurs of world politics re-align themselves, there is increasing pressure on Dublin politicians to ditch the

state's traditional policy of neutrality. This is one of the most ironic features of the last year. Just as the end of the Cold War highlights the success of the state's neutrality policy, there are moves to drop it. Neutrality seems more vital than ever as US war technology lies primed for use.

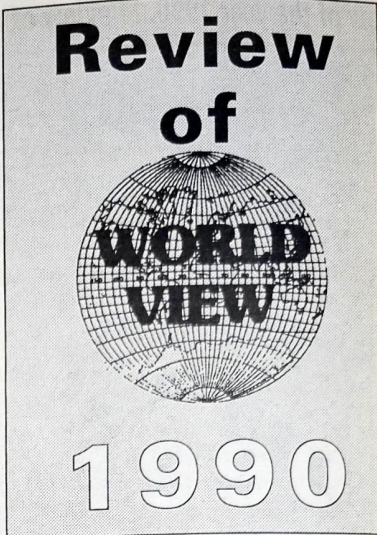
THE developments which led to the huge build-up of lethal hardware in the Arabian Desert happened this year in a series of tremors, the sort that precede an earthquake. The most important of these was the 'success' of Bush's adventure in Panama. Thousands of civilians were killed by US troops during the exercise, as General 'Mad Max' Thurman proved how well he deserved his nickname. The commander of the 36,000-strong US force was able to capture Noriega and to return him for trial to the United States on drugs charges. He had been a CIA pawn when he came to power but he later broke with his masters.

Panama was due to renegotiate the terms of the treaty with the US which governs the Panama Canal Zone. Large demon-

strations showed that Panamanians wanted to get back control of the zone from the US which has occupied the territory around the canal since it was built. By entering the country and deposing Noriega, Bush sent a shiver of terror through Central America.

THE most immediate effect of the invasion was to substantially boost the standing of the opposition candidates in the Nicaraguan elections, which were taking place at the time. Years of war with the US-sponsored Contras and of the deprivation which stemmed from the war were sapping the will of the Nicaraguan people. The CIA spent millions of dollars to help Violeta Chamorro of UNO (United Nicaraguan Opposition) who was standing against Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega for the presidency.

Chamorro promised peace if she was elected. The arrival of US forces on Panamanian soil was a heavy hint that an invasion of Nicaragua was possible if she was not. In the February 25th ballot, the Sandinista Front (FSLN) was defeated by a margin of 40.8% to 55.2% to UNO. This left the FSLN the largest single party in the National Assembly.



● Relatives of civilians killed in the US invasion of Panama

Chamorro's UNO was a rag-bag coalition, stretching from extreme right-wingers to communists and it could not provide unified leadership. By contrast, Ortega promised the FSLN would provide "leadership from below".

Dire predictions about the future of the FSLN proved unjustified in the months that followed, as tension rose between Chamorro and her right-wing deputy-president, Virgilio Godoy, and, as promised, aid from the US proved to be very miserly. Mind-boggling inflation which started under the conditions of war, continued in peace-time under the new rulers and the Sandinista-led trade union federation was forced to call mass strike action on June 27th.

Over 80,000 workers answered the call and the Contras, who had been allowed back into the country by Chamorro, prepared to attack the working-class barrios. Fighting broke out on July 8th, lasting for two days. It was finally broken up by the army, after peace proposals from Ortega — clear evidence that the FSLN is far from defeated. The Nicaraguan armed forces were reformed by the Sandinistas when they came to power in 1979 and are still commanded by Sandinista officers.

THE most powerful symbol of revolution in the world over the year, was the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the African Nation-

al Congress in February. After nearly 30 years in jail on political charges, the world watched as the ANC leader walked free from Victor Verster Prison. Mandela was offered his freedom some years ago if he consented to condemn the armed struggle.

He refused and remained in prison, presenting his jailers with an insoluble political problem. Protests against his imprisonment grew throughout the world. But releasing him meant an enormous climb down by the White supremacists who rule the country. The tide of anti-apartheid protest within the country was also rising and might engulf the White elite.

When FW De Klerk finally released Mandela, he hoped that the ANC deputy-leader would be prepared to bargain away key elements of the organisation's programme. But the 72-year old man, who contracted tuberculosis in 1988, proved to be an indefatigable opponent of injustice. He announced that he would not negotiate "over the heads or behind the backs of our people".

Despite his age and his health, Mandela embarked on a series of world tours to drive that message home and to keep the pressure on the National Party government. His objective was to persuade foreign governments to maintain the boycott of South Africa. He gave his solidarity to the PLO, the Cuban government and to the Libyan leadership. During his visit to Ireland, he called for talks between the



● Nelson Mandela with his wife Winnie, as the ANC leader walked free from Victor Verster Prison near South Africa's Cape Town

British government and the IRA. In the changing world political order, Nelson Mandela and the ANC began to form another power-bloc against imperialism.

Terrified that genuine majority rule might remove their privileges, the White racists sought to divide Black South Africans on a previously undreamt-of scale. The Zulu tribal organisation Inkatha was encouraged to step up its attacks on ANC supporters, and members of the paramilitary police, sometimes disguised as Blacks, tried to incite tribal warfare.

In Israel, the crude brutality of Zionist troops in the Occupied Territories meant further atrocities and ensured that the three-year Intifada (Uprising) continued unabated. At the same time, Israeli premier Yitzhak Shamir announced in January, that the racist Zionist state would become "bigger, better and stronger". As a flood of Jewish immigrants poured into the country from the USSR, the rights of Palestinians were further curtailed.

In October, 21 Palestinians were killed by Israeli border guards within the Muslim shrine of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and 180 were injured. Palestinians had assembled at the shrine to protect it against encroachments from racist Jewish groups who threatened to take it over.

Since its inception, Israel has been the West's bastion in the Middle East and the US has done everything in its power to assist its rulers. But the continuous and obvious brutality of the Israeli troops and the need to keep its war alliance with some of the Arab regimes together, meant placating Zionists had to take second place. In December, for the first time in its history, the US voted for a UN conference on the Middle East, in spite of Israeli opposition.

OVER the year, US strategists have had a patchy record in the Third World, involving some gains and some losses. But, in Central and Eastern Europe, capitalism made extraordinary strides as two events occurred with unexpected speed. German re-unification and the economic crisis of the USSR have shaken the foundations of world politics. Many of the former 'workers' states' are rapidly joining the Third World and the prospect of civil wars in the USSR looms.

The break-up of the 'Eastern Bloc' was heralded in November 1989 with the tearing down of the Berlin Wall. But it went much more quickly than any observers

predicted. The German Democratic Republic simply flooded as huge numbers of people stormed across the border between East and West Germany. The West German premier Helmut Kohl was determined to chalk up the re-unification of his country as one of the victories of his government — whatever the cost.

The West German Bundesbank, the most successful of its kind in the world today, simply bought out the East German economy by allowing the swap of East German Ostmarks for its Deutschmarks. This immensely costly move went against advice from the bank's chairperson and is causing inflation.

US and German firms are penetrating the whole of Eastern and Central Europe and the workers' movement lies in disarray. During the Polish presidential elections, Stanislaw Tyminski, an unknown emigré businessman, scored 23% in the first ballot on simple promises to make everyone rich.

Years of Stalinist terror, followed by years of inept, bureaucratic rule, have been brushed away, but the people have no experience of the new political figures who offer themselves to the electorate. Rank political opportunists are making a killing.

In the Soviet Union, this crisis is at a height. In May, Prime Minister Nicolai Ryzhkov announced a set of swinging price rises which caused panic buying. In Moscow and Leningrad shoppers were only allowed to buy if they could prove they lived in the city. Country people responded by withholding produce from the cities. Criminal gangs began to get a grip on the food-markets and food produced by state farms found its way onto the black market.

The popularity of President Mikhail Gorbachev began to wane sharply as the food crisis worsened. At the same time, many of the USSR's constituent republics began to seek independence. The Baltic republics of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia were not part of the Soviet Union until they were annexed in the first months of the Second World War. They asserted their independence, but Gorbachev attempted to cow them, blockading oil and gas supplies to the republics.

Nationalist forces in Georgia and the Ukraine also grew in support and the whole structure of the USSR seemed to be falling apart. Gorbachev proposed a new treaty governing the unity of the state, but this was rejected



● A demonstrator hoists the Palestinian flag in Israeli occupied territory

by a number of nationalist groups. Gorbachev was faced with the dissolution of the state he ruled and took on extraordinary powers at the very point when

he was losing the trust of increasing numbers of people. The military-industrial complex moved to curtail some of the more radical parts of his political programme and his foreign minister resigned. As the year ended, the danger of a Soviet leadership dominated by the military emerged.

Gorbachev now has the power to enforce his rule on the republics which have chosen independence and the backing of the Soviet army to do so. But such a move might well spark off civil war.



● MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

HUGE domestic problems have forced the Soviet Union to take a much more back-seat role on the international stage. In years gone by, the Soviet Union would have prevented the US from setting up the present invasion force in the Gulf. It would have vetoed the UN resolution under which the force was assembled. But, when Iraqi forces overran Kuwait on August 2nd, the Soviet Union stood by as Bush moved half-a-million troops into the region.

The invasion deposed the al-Sabah family which ruled the tiny city-state as its private possession. Kuwaiti oil revenues were invested in the West and the al-Sababs sought to keep the price of oil as low as possible, in order to benefit Western economies. This policy went directly against the interests of other oil-producing nations, such as Iraq. Baghdad also has a long-standing claim over Kuwaiti territory and went to war over it in the '50s.

The invasion split the Arab world as right-wing rulers like the other Gulf sheikhs and emirs moved to oppose it, while Palestinians broadly supported it. The arrival of a huge

Western invasion force also swung many poorer Arabs against the US. Rulers like Egypt's Hosni Mubarak owed far too much to the US, to go against Bush while King Hussein of Jordan tried again and again to stop the huge military buildup.

As the year ended, war seemed almost inevitable. Last-minute attempts to begin negotiations between the Libyans, the Egyptians and the Syrians and between the EC and Iraq were made, but hopes of negotiations between the US and the Iraqis faded. For the Middle East, and for the rest of the world, the new year began with the bleakest possible prospect.

A UN resolution was passed allowing Western military forces to use force to drive Iraq out of Kuwait after January 15th. It didn't entitle Bush to attack Iraq itself, but no-one believed his forces would simply restrict themselves to action within the borders of Kuwait.

There can be no doubt that historians will look back on the last year as a watershed in world history. Huge changes have begun and no-one knows the eventual results. But one thing is certain — the world's richest countries have gained enormously over the last 12 months and are demanding an even greater share of the world's resources.

● Food queues in a Moscow shop

ARMSTRONG, Billy (Full Sutton). Happy New Year Billy and happy birthday on the 26th. Keep feeding those broken bricks to Pól. From Róisín and family. Beir bua agus beannacht.

BAKER, Liam (Long Lartin). Happy New Year Liam. From your brother Sammy.

BAKER, Liam (Long Lartin). Happy New Year. From your brothers, sisters, aunts and uncles.

BAKER, Paul (Long Kesh). Happy New Year. From your brothers, sisters, aunts and uncles.

BAKER, Paul (Long Kesh). Happy New Year. From your daughter Sínead and son Robert.

BAKER, Shauneen (Maghaberry). Happy New Year. From Mum, Dad, Jim and Catriona.

BARKLEY, Danny (Long Kesh). Happy New Year son. Lots of love Mum and Dad.

BARKLEY, Danny (Long Kesh). Happy New Year to my grandson Danny. From your Granda and Granny Barkley, Aunt Philene and wee Gerard.

BARKLEY, Danny (Long Kesh). Happy New Year. From your loving sister Eileen and boyfriend Liam.

BARKLEY, Danny (Long Kesh). Happy New Year big brother. From your big sister Ann Marie.

BARKLEY, Danny (H5). Happy New Year Danny. From Mr and Mrs O'Neill.

BURKE, Michael (Portlaoise). Happy New Year. Missing you always. Love from your ever-loving wife Sheenagh. UTP XXX

BURKE, Michael (Portlaoise). Happy New Year. From your Mum, Dad, Patsy, Tanya and Peter. XXX

CARROLL, Dermot (Crumlin Road). Congratulations and best wishes Dermot and Ailish on your wedding on the 21st. Hope you will always be happy. From Mum.

CARROLL, Dermot (Crumlin Road). Best wishes Dermot for 1991. Freedom is around the corner. From Mum.

CLEARY, Gabriel (Paris). New Years greetings to Gay and all Irish POWs incarcerated on the Continent and in jails in the USA. From the Kevin Delaney Sinn Féin Cumann, Bray.

COYLE, Kieran (H6, Long Kesh). Thinking of you always. Happy New Year. From your darling wife Tina. XXX

COYLE, Kieran (H6, Long Kesh). Happy New Year. From Tanya, Tracy, Shay and Clara. XXX

CRAWLEY, John (Portlaoise). Best wishes for the New Year. Love Marie.

DOHERTY, James (France). Wishing you all the best for the New Year. We'll be thinking about you during your trial in January and keeping you in our prayers. Keep your spirits up. From Andy and Marjorie, Edinburgh.

DOHERTY, Joe (MCC, New York). We're all thinking of you when the clock starts striking. From San Francisco Irish Northern Aid.

DOHERTY, Joe (MCC, New York). Wishing you all the best throughout the New Year. From the Political Action Committee, Ulster Gaelic Club, San Francisco.

DOHERTY, Joe (MCC, New York). New Year greetings Joe. We're all behind you. From Peter, San Francisco.

DONAGHY, Brendan (H-Blocks). New Year greetings to brother. Hope to see you home soon. We all love and miss you. Love from your sister Anne and cousin John, San Francisco.

DONAGHY, Brendan (H3, Long Kesh). Happy New Year. From Dad and Mum, Marie, Michael and children; Jackie and Martin.

DONAGHY, Brendan (H3, Long Kesh). Thinking of you. Happy New Year. Love from your sister Anne, California and Patricia, New York.

DUFFY, Sean (Crumlin Road). New Year greetings. From Peter, Brongah and Seana.

ELLIS, Desse (Brixton). All the best Desse. Top go bo b. O Sheán, San Francisco, USA.

ELLIS, Desse (Brixton). Happy New Year Desse. Hope it brings peace and justice and bad cases to those who traded you. Tiocfaid ar lá. O Róisín and family, also Peter (Portlaoise).

ENNIS, Shay (Portlaoise). New Year greetings to Shay. From Dayo and Sean.

FITZGERALD, Gerard (Portlaoise). Happy New Year Fitz. Be good all May. From Danny, Eilish, Donna, Kieran, Michelle, Sharon, Damien and Gerard McGittigan.

FITZSIMONS, Harry (Crumlin Road). All the best for the New Year. From your loving wife Charlene and kids Stacey and Clara.

FITZSIMONS, Harry (Crumlin Road). All the best for the New Year. From Jim, Red, Mackers and Marty.

FOX, Anthony (Crumlin Road). New Year greetings. From Peter, Brongah and Seana.

HAMILTON, Fra (H3). Happy New Year Fra. Hope this year flies in just as quick as the rest have. All my love, your wife

Cathy. XXX

HAMILTON, Fra (H3). Happy New Year Daddy. You're the best Daddy in the world and I love you. From your daughter Caitlin. XXX

HAMILTON, Fra (H3). Happy New Year son. We will be thinking of you. God bless you. From your Mother and Father.

HAMILTON, Fra (H3). Just think of all the drink that we'll have cause you're not there to drink it all. From all the gang.

HAMILTON, Fra (H3). Just wishing you a happy New Year. From Jimmy and Sheila McShane and family; also from Tina, Pat and Sean; also from Rosie, Marty and Patrick; also from uncle John, aunt Lucy and family; also from uncle Jerry, aunt Patsy and family, Australia; also from Cathy, Jacqueline and Edding; also from Noreen and Joe Murray and family. XXX

HOLMES, Paul (Full Sutton). Best wishes for the New Year. From Pat McDonald and family and friends, Liverpool.

HOLMES, Paul (Full Sutton). Happy New Year Pól. Hope you're feeling better soon. Keep eating the broken bricks. From Róisín and family. Beir bua agus beannacht.

KANE, Pamela (Limerick). All our love and best wishes for the New Year. From Mam, Dad, brothers and sisters.

KANE, Pamela (Limerick). Happy New Year and every good wish. From all your friends in Cappagh and Gabbally.

KANE, Pamela (Limerick). Best wishes for the New Year and a speedy 1991. Beir bua. From the Martin McKenna Sinn Féin Cumann, Dublin North East.

KANE, Pamela (Limerick). Happy New Year. From Sheenagh and family. Cork. UTP; also from Bob, Terry and Kerry, USA.

KANE, Pamela (Limerick). We've only one thing to say "Doleys" (rich, rich) Merry Christmas and a lucky New Year.

KEARNEY, Gary (H4). Happy New Year Gary. From John, Anne, Ciarán and Seán.

KEARNEY, Gary (H4). Happy New Year Gary. From Mr and Mrs O'Neill and family.

KELLY, Tony (Portlaoise). Happy New Year Tony. We both miss you a lot. Love from your wife Marie and daughter Toni. XXX

KENNA, Brian (Portlaoise). Best wishes for the New Year. From your loving wife Veronica and Seán.

LYNCH, Peter (Portlaoise). Happy New Year Peter. The house is ready so you can come home anytime. From Róisín, Ronan, Gráinne and Dara. Tiocfaid an Seán. Beir bua agus beannacht.

MAC DONNAILL, Gearóid (Leicester). Best of luck in the New Year. Gearóid.

MAC DONNAILL, Gearóid (Leicester). From Michael, Greta and the kids.

MAC DONNAILL, Gearóid (Leicester). Thinking of you, especially at this time of year. Gearóid. From the Doherty family.

MACARTNEY, Ronnie (Gartree). All the best Ronnie and a happy New Year. From Mary, Lorna and kids.

MACARTNEY, Ronnie (Gartree). All the best Ronnie and a happy New Year. From Sean, Marion, Sean, Lillian, Jean, Margaret and Marie; also from Patsy, Rita and families.

MCCOMB, John (Frankland). Happy New Year John. Will get you that book soon. Meantime just keep "tholling" along. From Róisín and family. Beir bua agus beannacht.

MCCOTTER, Liam (Leicester). Happy New Year Liam. Thinking of you. Love from your sister-in-law Jackie. XXX

MCCOTTER, Liam (Leicester). Happy New Year uncle Liam. Love and kisses from Fionnghuala and Pádraic. XXX

MCCOTTER, Liam (Leicester). Happy New Year Liam. Thinking of you. Love from the Fusco family, Ardara.

MCCOTTER, Liam (Parkhurst). New Year greetings from all your family and friends who are missing you this Christmas. Keep the chin up.

MCCOTTER, Liam (Leicester). Pat and Sean (H-Blocks). Thinking of you especially at this time of year. From Michael, Greta and the kids.

MCCOTTER, Paddy (H3). Happy New Year Daddy. Lot of love and kisses. We miss you. From Fionnghuala and Pádraic. XXX

MCCOTTER, Paddy (H3). Happy New Year darling. Thinking of you and miss-

ing you. Love always from your wife Jackie. XXX

MCCOTTER, Paddy (H3). Happy New Year Paddy. Thinking of you. Love from the Fusco family, Ardara.

MCCOTTER, Sean (H-Blocks). New Year greetings. Don't get any more to those hair cuts. Just back comb your eye brows. From all your family and friends.

MCCOTTER, Sean (H-Blocks). Happy New Year Sean. Thinking of you. Love from the Fusco family, Ardara.

MCCOTTER, Sean (H-Blocks). Happy New Year uncle Sean. Love and kisses from Fionnghuala and Pádraic. XXX

MCCOTTER, Sean (H-Blocks). Happy New Year Sean. Thinking of you. Love from your sister-in-law Jackie. XXX

MCCOTTER, Sean (H-Blocks). New Year greetings. Hope you're still at the weight-lifting and body building. See you soon. From all your family and friends.

MCCOTTER, Sean (H-Blocks). All the best for the '91. Look after yourself. Good luck. From Marty.

MCKENNY, Joe (Frankland). Happy New Year Joe. Bet you're looking forward to dancing with Mary at the crossroads when you get out. That thought is enough to make anyone do "bird". From Róisín, Ronan, Gráinne and Dara. Beir bua agus beannacht.

MCKIERNAN, Charlie (H-Blocks). Happy New Year uncle Charlie. Lots of love from Joanne, Wee Tony and Sarah Louise. XXX

MCKIERNAN, Charlie (H-Blocks). Happy New Year uncle Charlie. Lots of love from Lisa, Joe and Wee Joseph. XXX

MCKIERNAN, Charlie (H-Blocks). Happy New Year. Thinking of you all year. Lots of love from your sister Barry, Bob, Michael and nephews and nieces. XXX

MCKIERNAN, Charlie (H-Blocks). Happy New Year. Love and best wishes. From your sister Mary, John and nieces and nephews. XXX

McLAUGHLIN, 'Seany' (H-Blocks). Happy New Year Seany. From Mr and Mrs O'Neill and family.

McLAUGHLIN, Seán (Long Kesh). Happy New Year Seán. From Sean, Kate and family; also from Ann and Paddy Barkley and family.

McLAUGHLIN, John (H3). Happy New Year. From your loving wife Bernie.

McLAUGHLIN, John (H3). Happy New Year Daddy. From Orla, Sean and Lee. We love and miss you.

McLAUGHLIN, John (H3). Happy New Year. From Bernie and family.

McLAUGHLIN, John (H3). Happy New Year. From Karen.

McLAUGHLIN, John (H3). Happy New Year. From Billy and Martin; also from Shaun and John; also from Cathy and Gerard; also from Paul.

McMAGONAGLE, Sean (Crumlin Road). Everyone here sends their best wishes Sean. Keep yourself well. All the best for the New Year. You're in our thoughts always. UTP. From Andy and Marjorie, Edinburgh.

McMILLAN, Joe (H3). Happy New Year. I'll have a drink for you. Love from Bernard, Rosemary and family.

McQUILLAN, Joe (H3). Best wishes for the New Year. Hope to see you soon. Love from Owen and Cathy.

McQUILLAN, Joe (H3). Happy New Year. From Mary.

McQUILLAN, Joe (H3). Happy New Year. Hope to see you soon. Love from Jim, Pat and family.

MULGREW, Mark (Long Kesh). New Year greetings. From Octo, Siobhán and Pádraic.

MURRAY, Barry (H5). Happy New Year. Love from Mary, Kevin, Aisling and Emmet. XXX

MURRAY, Marcus (Maghaberry). All the best for the New Year. From Mary and children.

MURRAY, Pat (France). Happy New Year Pat. French letters are no use to me because I can't understand them. Best wishes from the Belfast Dubs.

ODWYER, Ella (Durham). Best wishes for the New Year. From Gerard and Donna.

ODWYER, Ella (Durham). Best wishes for the New Year. Love Meta, Gerry and family.

ODWYER, Ella (Durham). Best wishes for the New Year. From Jackie.

ODWYER, Ella (Durham). Best wishes for the New Year. From Bernadette; also from John McMullan.

ODWYER, Ella (Durham). New Year greetings. Love from Esther, Eamonn and family.

O'HAGAN, Sean (H6, Long Kesh). Happy New Year my darling husband. From your ever-loving wife Róisín.

O'HAGAN, Sean (H6, Long Kesh). Happy New Year Daddy. Lots of love Tracy, Maureen, Denise, Kevin, Sean Og and Ursula.

O'HAGAN, Sean (H6, Long Kesh). Happy New Year son. From Mum and Dad and all the family.

O'NEILL, Joe (H4). Happy New Year son. Lot of love from Mum and Dad.

O'NEILL, Joe (H4). All the best for the New Year. From Michael, Lillian and kids; also from Gerry, Linda and kids; also from Anne and John; all the best to our Mucker Joe, from your two Buckers Ciarán and Sean; also from Bernie and Mick; also from Danny and Clara.

O'NEILL, Joe (H4). Happy New Year Joe. From Joe, Johnny, Carole and family; also from Granny O'Neill and Granny Morgan.

O'NEILL, Joe (H4). Happy New Year Joe and all the best for the New Year. Lots of love from Colette and Wee Mickie.

O'NEILL, Joe (H4). Happy New Year Joe. From Willie, Helen and all the clan in Glasgow; also from Alison, Steff and baby Kevin Barry in Glasgow; also from Tony, Joanne and Clarran, Glasgow; also from the Kevin Barry Flute Band, Glasgow; also from your aunts and uncles; also from Ann and Paddy Berkley and family.

QUINN, Dermot (Crumlin Road). New Year greetings. From Peter, Brongah and Seana.

QUINN, Frankie (Crumlin Road). New Year greetings. From Peter, Brongah and Seana.

QUINN, Liam (Albany). All the best Liam throughout the New Year. From the Political Action Committee, Ulster Gaelic Club, San Francisco.

QUINN, Liam (Albany). All the best for the New Year Bill. From all your friends in San Francisco.

QUINN, Liam (Albany). Happy New Year Liam. Keep the chin up. From your friends in Irish Northern Aid, San Francisco.

QUINN, Liam (Albany). New Year greetings Liam. 2,400 or bust for '91. Best wishes Diarmuid.

QUINN, Liam (Albany). New Year greetings Liam. Hope to see you soon. From Peter, San Francisco.

QUINN, Pauline (Maghaberry). New Year greetings. From Peter, Brongah and Seana.

RUSSELL, Robert (H-Blocks). New Year greetings Robert and also to all POWs incarcerated in British jails. From the Kevin Delaney Sinn Féin Cumann, Bray.

SLOAN, Eugene (Portlaoise). New Year greetings to Eugene and all POWs in Portlaoise, especially Dermot, Eamo, Davy Douglas and not forgetting Pamela Kane in Limerick. From the Kevin Delaney Sinn Féin Cumann, Bray.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to all POWs in prisons at home and overseas. From Mr and Mrs Doherty, Belfast.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to all POWs. O'Neill the Quinn family.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Ramo, Nailer, Ken, Dominic, Anto, Paudge, Gerry, Brian, Eugene, Shay, Lea and all the others in Portlaoise. From the Kane family.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Owen Roe O'Neill, Bronwyn McGahan, Pauline Quinn (Maghaberry). From Anne Donaghy, San Francisco.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Harry McCartney, Sean Duffy, Jimmy Joe Campbell, Danny Morrison and all the boys in A-Wing, Crumlin Road. From Teresa Cavanagh, Belfast.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to a dear son and brother Frankie Quinn and all Tyrone prisoners incarcerated in Ireland, England and abroad. From the Quinn family.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to all Irish POWs in jails at home and across the world. From the Fergal O'Hanlon/John Davey Sinn Féin Cumann, Lavey, South Derry.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to all our friends and comrades who are incarcerated in Portlaoise, Long Kesh, and abroad. From the Martin Forsythe Sinn Féin Cumann.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to all POWs at home and abroad. From Mick Hanly.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to all POWs at home and abroad. From Pat McMahon and family, Limerick.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to all POWs. From Sheenagh and family, Cork.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to all republican POWs everywhere. From Ennisicorthy Sinn Féin.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to all republican prisoners at home and abroad. From the Countess Markievicz Sinn Féin.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to all republican POWs at home and abroad. From Brian, Edinburgh, Scotland.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to all the Tyrone women in Maghaberry. From Tina and Róisín.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to all Tyrone republicans incarcerated throughout Ireland, England and Germany. Le grá Irene Cullen.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Bernard Fox. Beidh mé ag smaoineamh ort le mo ghrá uilig. Do bhean cheile Máire.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Bernard Fox. Leat ngrá uilig. O Róisín, Eamonn agus Brian.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Bernard Fox. Adh mór leat a chara. O chlan Campbell.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Denis 'Griff' Griffin. Happy New Year. See you soon. Liam and best wishes, Rita.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Denis 'Griff' Griffin. Happy New Year Daddy. We love and miss you very much. See you on the 1st. Caitriona and Caoimhín.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Dessie Ellis, Michael O'Duibhir, Paddy McKerr, Robert Russell, Nicky, Bru, Mick, Gerry Kearns, all POWs overseas and Pamela Kane. From Pat Bell, Finglas.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson (England) and Liam O'Duibhir (Ireland). From Martin Kelly, Ardara.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Gerard Kearney, Nicky Keogh, Jimmy Duffy, David Douglas (Portlaoise), and to all political prisoners. From Brian and Bernice.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Hodgies, Seany, Big Kev, Eugene Beag, Jimbo, Eugene Mór, Bangers, Gerry H, Sean H, Desse and all the lads from Ball Feirste. From all the lads in Ball Feirste.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Martin Molloy and John A Heaney (H-Blocks). From the Carroll family, Armagh.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Michael Mac Giolla Gunna. Adh mór uin Nollag. O Patricia, Mick and Clara. Le grá. XXX

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Póitín, Brownyn, Geraldine and all their comrades. From the Quinn family, Dungannon.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Robert Russell, Paul Devenny (H-Blocks). Seamus McShane, Dominic McElhinney (Portlaoise). From Anne Donaghy, San Francisco.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Ronnie McCartney (Gartree), Harry Murray and Jim McCann (H-Blocks). From Michael, Greta and kids.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Seamus Ennis. From the Countess Markievicz Sinn Féin Cumann, Tallaght.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Teresa Cavanagh. From Big Osey, Connetta and kids.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to the "riean nationalist people". Take care in 1991. Be strong. Death to British imperialism. Onwards to victory. Our day will come.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Tarlach Connolly, Frankie Quinn and Dermot Quinn (C-Wing, Crumlin Road). From Teresa Carroll.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Brú, Dermot, Eamo, Shay, Nailer, Scroggie, (Portlaoise). You are all missed but are a living inspiration to republicans in Ratiarnham and everywhere. From the Martin Forsythe Sinn Féin Cumann, Damien, Dave, Christy, Mick, etc.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS to Derek Dempsey. Wishing you all the best for the New Year. From Jackie, Paul and family.

Bríd Nic Dhomnaill — fós ag troid i '91



● Bhailigh cairde agus lucht tacaíochta Bhrid Nic Dhomnaill le chéile i mBaile Atha Cliath roimh an Nollaig. Ba i gClub an Chonartha a bhí an cruinniú agus bhí Bríd féin i láthair ann. Tá an baghchat ar a rang sa tSraith Saileach ar siúl go griangrafanna An Muirchoirtach ar Bhrid chomh maith le sintiús bliana de LA, nuachtán laethúil na Gaeilge. Sa phictiúir seo tá (ó chlé) Seán Mac Mathúna, Rúnaí Chonartha na Gaeilge, Bríd Nic Dhomnaill, Liam O Cuinneagáin, Cathaoirleach an Choiste Tacaíochta, agus Ite Ní Chionnaith.



If you are not in, then Sinn Féin can't win

TWENTY-SIX COUNTY residents, will you be 18 or over by April 1st, 1991?

If so, are you registered to vote?

Local government elections are

due to be held this summer and Sinn Féin needs your support, not just on the streets but also in the ballot box.

The closing date for receipt of completed Voter Registration

forms is January 15th, 1991.

Forms can be obtained from your local post office or library. These forms must be completed and returned by the January 15th closing date.

JOIN SINN FÉIN

SINN FÉIN is dedicated to forcing a British withdrawal from the occupied Six Counties, the re-unification of our country and the establishment of a democratic socialist republic.

If you would like to join Sinn Féin, or find out more about our activities and policies, fill in the form below and send it to Sinn Féin, 44 Paradise Square, Dublin 1.

Name

Address

.....

Tel:

Imeachtaí

PICKET ON US EMBASSY
Opposing US policy in Central America

11.30am-1pm
Every Saturday
Ballsbridge
DUBLIN

NORTH DUBLIN
RECLAIM THE SPIRIT OF EASTER
CTTEE

Meets 8pm every Thursday
16 North Great George's Street
DUBLIN

To organise a fitting celebration for next year's 75th anniversary of the 1916 Rising
Everybody welcome

SOUTH DUBLIN
RECLAIM THE SPIRIT OF EASTER
CTTEE

Meets every fortnight
Next meeting 8pm DRC Thursday
17th January
Crown Street
DUBLIN

SEAN SABHAT
COMMEMORATION

Assemble 2.45pm Sunday 6th

January
Bedford Row
LIMERICK
Prominent speaker

DRAW RESULTS

European Prisoners' Fund

1st prize, £100; No 106, Clodagh;
2nd prize, £50; No 80, Mrs Cramp;
3rd prize, £20; No 9, Tom Malone;
4th prize, £10; No 158, Paddy
Byrne; 5th prize, £10; No 103,
Clodagh; 6th prize, £10; No 246,
Ambrose.

PUBLIC MEETING

'Say no to war in the Gulf'
8pm Wednesday 9th January
New Ormond Hotel
Ormond Quay
DUBLIN

Speakers: Michael D Higgins, Dr
Maher Lutfi (representative of the
Palestinian Community of Ireland),
Eamonn McCann and others
Organised by the No To War In The
Gulf Committee

BLOODY SUNDAY MARCH
12 noon Saturday 26th January

Assemble Hyde Park
Marble Arch tube

LONDON
Rally at Kilburn
Organised by the Cttee
for British Withdrawal from Ireland

InDíl Chuimhne

DONNELLY, Frankie; MONTGOMERY, Laurence (11th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Frankie Donnelly and Laurence Montgomery, 3rd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oglai na hEireann, who were killed in an accidental explosion on January 5th 1979 while on active service. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

FOX, Brian (16th Anniversary). In loving memory of a dear son and brother Vol Brian Fox who died on December 21st 1974. Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on his soul. He is never further away than God and God is very near. Still sadly missed by his Mother, Father, brothers and sisters and large family circle.

FOX, Brian (16th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Brian Fox who was killed in an accident on December 21st 1974. Always remembered by Bernard, Maire and family.

McDADE, Gerard (19th Anniversary), James (16th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Gerard and James McDade, who died on December 21st 1971 and November 14th 1974. Always remembered in our prayers by Gerald and Eileen McDade and family.

McDADE, Gerard (19th Anniversary), James (16th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my brothers Gerard and James McDade, who gave their lives in the struggle for freedom. Your courage will never be forgotten. Always remembered by their brother Peter and their friends the Kerr family.

McDADE, Gerard (19th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Gerard McDade, who died on December 21st 1971. He gave his all in freedom's cause and faced the tyrant's gun. Proudly remembered by his mother-in-law and father-in-law and Kevin McGottigan, Ballymurphy, and entire family circle at home, in the USA and England.

McSHANE, Patrick (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Patrick J McShane who died in January 1990. A lifelong republican, he is still sadly missed and always remembered by the McCreech/McCabe Sinn Féin Cumann.

MONTGOMERY, Laurence (11th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my brother Vol Laurence Montgomery and his comrade Vol Frankie Donnelly who were killed in action on January 5th 1971. Always remembered by Sean, Kathleen and family.

Comhbhrón

CARAHER. The Republican Movement extends deepest sympathy to the entire Caraher family on the death of Fergal. I measc laochra na nGael go maith sé.

CARAHER. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Caraher family, Cullyhanna, on the tragic loss of Fergal, murdered by British terrorists on December 30th 1990. Always remembered by the Patrick McLagan Sinn Féin Cumann, Clady.

CARAHER. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Caraher family on the death of Fergal. Always remembered by the McCreech/McCabe Sinn Féin Cumann, South Armagh.

CARAHER. The staff of AP/RN extends heartfelt sympathy to the entire Caraher family on the recent death of Fergal. I measc laochra na nGael go maith sé.

DONALDSON. Deepest sympathy is extended to the entire Donaldson family on the recent death of Nellie. Always remembered and sadly missed by the Republican Movement, Short Strand.

DONALDSON. Deepest sympathy is extended to the entire Donaldson family circle on the recent death of Nellie Donaldson. Always remembered by the Sean Martin/Sean Tracy Sinn Féin Cumann, Short Strand.

DONALDSON. The Republican Movement (Short Strand), the Short Strand Commemoration Committee,

Green Cross (Short Strand), republican POWs in England and Ireland and An Trá Gearr Martyrs Republican Flute Band deeply regret the death of our friend and comrade Nellie and offer our sincere condolences to the entire Donaldson family. I measc laochra na nGael go maith sé.

DONALDSON. The Short Strand republican POWs in England and Ireland deeply regret the death of our friend and comrade Nellie who died on December 17th 1990 and offer our condolences to the Donaldson family at the time of their loss and our loss. Everyone, republican or otherwise, has their own particular part to play. No one is too old or too young. No part is too great or too small. I measc laochra na nGael go maith sé.

DONALDSON. An Trá Gearr Martyrs Republican Flute Band deeply regrets the death of our friend Nellie Donaldson and offers our deepest sympathy to the entire family circle. I measc laochra na nGael go maith sé.

DONALDSON. Deepest sympathy is extended to our comrade Denis and the entire Donaldson family on the recent death of his mother Nellie. Always remembered by the staff of AP/RN.

DONALDSON. Deepest sympathy is extended to our comrades Denis, David and families on the recent death of their mother Nellie. Always remembered by Richard and Chris.

Notices Deadline

All notices should be in our Dublin or Belfast offices no later than 5pm Monday for inclusion in that week's paper

Hold your heads high

"THE TIME for crying is over, we have all cried, and you have all cried. Dry your tears, hold your heads high, and go back to the work that you know how to do." These were the words of dignity and determination which PJ Caraher spoke at the crowded graveside of his son Fergal in Cullyhanna.

Almost 2,000 mourners from many parts of Ireland braved biting wind and blustery snow and sleet to gather in the townland of Kiltybane and in the village of Cullyhanna, on Wednesday, January 2nd, for the burial of Fergal Caraher, the latest victim of Britain's military occupation of Ireland.

Shortly after 10.30am, the funeral cortege emerged from Fergal's home at Kiltybane and was walked the short distance to the home of his parents, PJ and Mary, before being driven in a motorcade stretching over a mile to the nearby village of Cullyhanna for requiem mass and burial in the church and adjoining graveyard of St Patrick's.

On the edge of the village, as hundreds of mourners huddled in what little cover was available, members of the Cullyhanna band, to which Fergal belonged, formed and led off as the coffin was again shouldered by family and friends for the final walk to the church grounds. The only sound accompanying the simple and highly dignified family funeral, was that of women and men reciting decades of the rosary as they followed the

remains, for once without the unwanted and aggressive presence of British army and RUC personnel.

At the graveside after a short religious service local Sinn Féin councillor and family friend Jim McAllister welcomed and thanked all those who had attended to show their solidarity and sympathy for Fergal's widow Margaret and for his parents whom he described as "highly respected pillars of our community and good, kind neighbours".

BRITISH TERRORISTS

After a moving and personal tribute to the Caraher family, McAllister turned to the question of Fergal's murder: "Why was he killed? Sadly we had been expecting something like this. Threats have been made in recent weeks by the thugs who killed Fergal that they would finish off at least one of our number before 1990 ended. He was killed by British terrorists who know they can kill without fear and without recrimination from their paymasters in whose inquiries we hold absolutely no faith."

Remaining on the question of

the community itself to seek professional help from elsewhere to establish and conduct a true and impartial inquiry into the circumstances of Fergal's death and the wounding of his brother Micheál.

SIMPLE DETERMINATION

Ending with a sincere message of sympathy to the Caraher family McAllister passed the microphone to Fergal's father PJ who asked to be given a moment to address the mourners. In a voice filled with dignity and simple but touching determination PJ thanked those people from all over Ireland who

had sympathised with the family. He called on young people to be extremely careful when British troops were about and spoke of how he himself and his son John had been threatened with death as they tried to reach the car containing Fergal and Micheál on the day of the shooting. To loud applause he concluded:

"The time for crying is over, we have all cried and you have all cried, dry your tears, hold up your heads high and go back to the work that you know how to do, and do it. Go raibh mile maith againh go léir."

an inquiry, McAllister stated that, as the British legal system was incapable of delivering justice to Irish people, it was incumbent on



● Sinn Féin Councillor Jim McAllister helps carry the coffin surrounded by Fergal's family and friends

OBITUARY

On the threshold of life

WHEN BRITISH soldiers murdered 20-year-old Fergal Caraher in the South Armagh village of Cullyhanna on December 30th, they brutally and needlessly cut down a young man right on the threshold of life.

Their callous murder bereaved a young wife and mother, and left a 15-month-old son fatherless. The grief of Margaret and baby Brendan Caraher, and indeed of all the Caraher family, was shared by the close-knit South Armagh community where Fergal was born and raised, and that grief was only exceeded by the community's anger at the actions of the foreign soldiers.

Fergal Caraher was a well known figure in republican circles throughout Ireland, where he was often seen at marches and com-

memorations, in his capacity as bass drummer for the St Patrick's Youth Band of Cullyhanna. His passion for playing is shared by five other members of his family who still play with the band.

Fergal was born at the family home in Kiltybane, Cullyhanna, in April 1970, less than a year after British troops were again deployed openly on the streets of Ireland. He is survived by both parents, Peter John and Mary and by his brothers and sisters, John, Micheál (injured in the shooting), Francis, Máire, Joanne, Cathal, Phelim and Teresa.

HARD WORKER

His schooling began at St Patrick's Primary, Cullyhanna, which sits just yards from the sight of his murder. He went on to St Colman's College, Newry, before commencing work at Newry Meat plant, which he had to leave

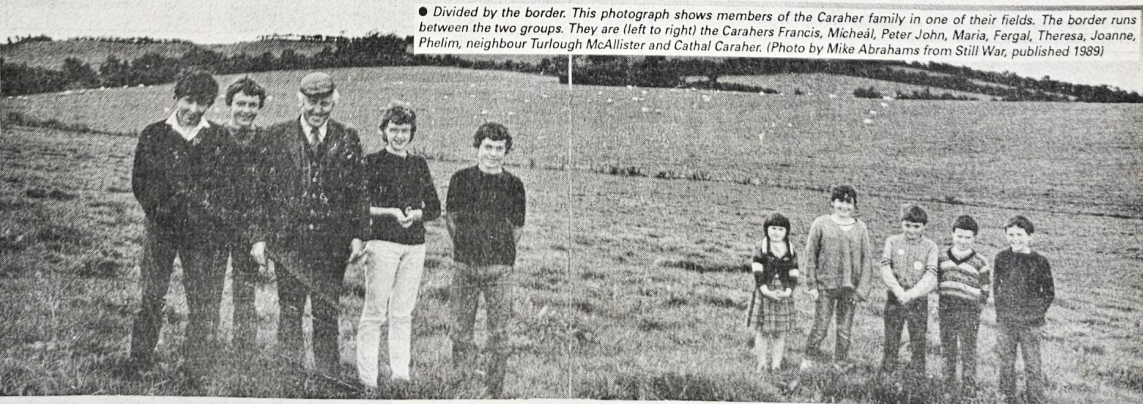
due to industrial injury. Workmates and friends describe Fergal as hard working and industrious, a trait which was to mark his additional responsibilities as a member of Sinn Féin.

Fergal married his wife, Margaret Brennan of Crossmaglen, in March 1989, and the couple moved into their first home at Crossmaglen. They remained there for several months before moving to the Caraher family townland at Kiltybane, to a home less than a mile from that of PJ and Mary Caraher.

Fergal was highly respected in his native village where he had for some years taken on the task of selling *An Phoblacht/Republican News*. His tragic death has robbed both his immediate family and his wider republican family of a young and vibrant man, full of potential. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a nam dílis.



● Fergal Caraher's sister and sisters-in-law carry his coffin



● Divided by the border. This photograph shows members of the Caraher family in one of their fields. The border runs between the two groups. They are (left to right) the Carahers Francis, Micheál, Peter John, Maria, Fergal, Theresa, Joanne, Phelim, neighbour Turlough McAllister and Cathal Caraher. (Photo by Mike Abrahams from Still War, published 1989)